

### "New Generation of Resistance" Energizes North Americans

North Americans' awareness of East Timor took a quantum leap forward when five young East Timorese activists gave us a month of their lives, enduring a grueling pace of community meetings, university classes, media interviews, teach-ins, and discussions with US and Canadian officials, human rights activists, and UN diplomats.

Constâncio Pinto, Executive Secretary of the Timorese civilian underground until he was forced into hiding in November, 1991 (escaping five months later), gave us two months and endured an even more exhausting schedule - although we tried to be kinder to him than the Indonesia soldiers who tortured him in East Timor.

During their 14-state, three-province expedition, Maria Braz, Abé Barreto Soares, Elizabeth Exposto, Danilo Henriques and Constâncio met with staff of more than 30 Congresspeople and made their case to Ambassadors or staff from 25 Missions to the UN. They were presented to the State Legislature of California, and appeared on dozens of campus and community radio programs, as well as some mainstream newspapers and television. In addition to five Ivy League schools, they met with students and faculty at ten of the most prestigious and active universities in the country.

Everywhere they went, the Portuguese-American, Asian-American, and peace/justice communities received them with open arms. And everyone who met them was transformed, awakened, educated, and re-committed to work for Timorese self-determination. No longer just a body count, our very much alive East Timorese guests brought the reality of their country's occupation to us; for thousands of Canadians and Americans, East Timor is no longer just a far-away spot on the map where hundreds of thousands have been brutally killed. It is home to the new generation our visitors represent - forced to leave as children when Indonesia invaded, but still committing their lives to the struggle and hope that they will be able to go home again.

The tour was initiated by the Timorese Association of Victoria (Australia), and coordinated in North America by the East Timor Action Network/US and the East Timor Alert Network of Canada. It was exhausting, wonderful and empowering; we're trying to see when we can do it again, to cover the other 37 states.

In 1975, the tiny half-island of East Timor was invaded by Indonesia. During 18 years of military conflict and occupation, the East Timorese people have never surrendered their wish to govern themselves, despite the killing of one third of their population - 200,000 people. The United States government provided weapons and diplomatic support throughout the genocide, and approved the invasion in advance.

The East Timor Action Network/U.S. was formed at the end of 1991, following a massacre in Dili, where Indonesian troops shot and killed over 271 young Timorese participating in a peaceful memorial demonstration. Several foreign witnesses helped tell the world that Timorese resistance, and Indonesian murder, continues. Since then, international popular support for East Timor has resurged, Washington is beginning to change its policy, and ETAN has expanded to over a thousand activists and many local groups.

In September 1992, Congress overrode the Bush administration and cut off U.S. military aid to Indonesia. Last March, the U.S. supported a U.N. resolution criticizing Indonesia's human rights violations in East Timor, reversing 17 years of policy. Although the Clinton administration has yet to make an unambiguous statement, many in Congress are pressing for further action.

Network News is published bi-monthly and sent to members and supporters of ETAN/US. We regret that we cannot include background information in every issue, and encourage you to ask for our other resources.

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## Fewer and Fewer The Unlikeliest Family Spreads the Word

By Cesar Silva Baptista  
Special to *The Portuguese American*

We all come into this world in the same way. As the ripe fruit of our mothers and fathers we enter life traumatically; if we are lucky, we are born into a stable, peaceful environment. For five East Timorese youth ambassadors touring the United States this month, freedom is not taken for granted. Childhood and their lives as young adults were harshly interrupted first by colonial abandonment and then foreign invasion with its ensuing genocide and terror.

Perhaps the darkest chapter in East Timorese history begins nearly 20 years ago, when Portugal had a revolution. The change of government from Salazar's Dictatorship to a cadre of short-lived communist revolutionaries forced one of Europe's poorest countries to face reality. A grave bankruptcy, brought upon by fighting three futile wars in Africa, also forced Portugal to abandon East Timor, a small half-island colony in between Australia and Indonesia.

The people of East Timor call themselves Maubere and speak a language called Tetun. But they also speak Portuguese and worship Catholicism, both vestiges of a half-millennium of Portuguese rule. However, Portugal did little to disturb much of Timorese culture during its tenure. The great majority of East Timorese continued to live in balance with the universe; in rural villages of bamboo stilt-houses and followed the ancient ways.

Elizabeth Exposto's grandfather was one such proud Maubere. He was a farmer and a landowner, sharing his land with his family, his animals and his crops. Together with his wife, he helped raise 19 children and taught them the religion and culture of his people.

When the Indonesian military overran East Timor without provocation, they murdered nearly one third of the population. After a constant state of terror had been reached, they forced the rural population into the equivalent of W.W.II Nazi concentration camps. Demented medical experiments, forced sterilization, starvation and slave labor were everyday experiences for those fortunate enough to be spared. Lizzie's grandfather and much of her extended family were processed in this way.

Lizzie was 8 months old when her parents fled the Indonesian invasion and

went into exile aboard a Norwegian cargo ship bound for Darwin, Australia. She would not see any members of her family for 14 years, and some she never saw. One of her aunts had attempted to hide in the mountains with her children. With the promise of fair treatment, she surrendered to the Indonesian military. She didn't suspect it would be a trap, but days later the Indonesians revealed their betrayal by executing thousands of trusting East Timorese.

Having grown up in Melbourne, Australia, just one hundred miles away from her homeland, Lizzie is a normal happy teenager. Anyone would think she is Western. Her English is flawless, unless you count that thick Aussie accent against her. But who could? In person, she beams an optimism that feeds on the energy of well-paced youth. As the youngest in the group, it is her energy, approachability and good nature that help the others to hope for a future for the next generation.

Danilo Henriques also grew up in Melbourne. He was three years old when his family managed to escape the Indonesian paratroopers. The youngest son of enlightened government workers, his personality betrays a cosmopolitan upbringing. In immaculately hip clothes and swept back hair, he cuts the boldest image in the group. Danilo is the bait for an American audience, the dashing doer.

There can be no truer test of a post-modern man, than one who identifies with the neo-pagan aesthetics of western civilization. But although Danilo has prepared himself extremely well for those sorts of games, he also understands the higher calling of duty. Passion can not reside in a shallow heart, and it comes out in his voice when he adds his story to the groups' presentation.

There is no hesitation when he charges that the U.S. is directly responsible for his nation's fate. After all, Gerald Ford and Henry Kissinger had actually met with Indonesian President Suharto hours before he commanded the invasion that crushed his people's rushed attempts to set up their own state.

Danilo's natural stage presence may charm listeners, but underneath the eloquence of his message he demands action. After all, every US President, including Jimmy Carter has shmoozed with Suharto and increased arms sales. The very arms that rocketed villages and strafed defenseless civilians. The very ones that mowed down countless students in what has come to be known as the Dili massacre.

Constâncio Pinto did not escape the Indonesian invasion, but even if he had been offered the chance it is not likely he would have taken it. Three years after the invasion, he was only fifteen years old, but became a guerilla fighter on the front lines. It could not have been his

calling because he was picked up a year later and was forced into servitude for a police commander.

He really must not have been much good at that either because he was released a few months later, and went to Dili and enrolled at St. Jose Externasto, a Portuguese school, to continue his education. For the next ten years, he studied and became a teacher at the school. Soon, he was organizing civilian resistance groups under the code name 007, and two years later was elected to Secretary of Executive Committee of the National Council of Maubere Resistance (CNRM), the umbrella organization of East Timorese nationalist groups. Finally it seemed he had found the right post from which to fight for freedom.

Eventually, Constâncio was linked directly to the guerrilla forces and arrested. He spent a week in Indonesian jails which may be equal to a tour of Hell. They beat him to a bloody pulp for 12 hours, then kept him awake for four straight days by taking shifts at yelling in his ears, then they threw his limp body into an empty cement cell where the cold floor must have soothed his swollen body. When he was released he was watched and constantly intimidated with threats to his wife and parents.

With the beatings still fresh in his mind, Constâncio continued to lead the civilian resistance. When he was linked again to the nationalist cause he had to go into deep hiding. He still managed to organize the protest march that turned into a bloodbath on November 12, 1991. He was not far from the Santa Cruz Cemetery when Indonesian troops ambushed the peaceful students and killed them like they were killing animals.

Clandestinely Constâncio managed to escape to Lisbon, Portugal. He has not seen his parents nor his wife who has since borne him a son. He is so "hot" in fact that the U.S. Embassy in Lisbon attempted to bottle him up by refusing to issue a visa for him.

Constâncio is the heart of the delegation. His eyes are deep, drawing the unwittingly perceptive into his realm of brutal truths and tragic knowledge. And when he talks, he seems to be only breathing. The words just roll out in a woody tenor as part of some kind of musical 'connectedness.' Ironically, terrorist bombers don't seem to have any trouble getting through the U.S. Foreign Service, while this gentle man was nearly denied the right to free speech.

Ever since Abé Barreto Soares saw Indonesian soldiers savagely brandishing the severed heads of East Timorese resistance fighters, he has wondered why things are the way they are. As a 9-year old, he weathered the decimation of his family during the invasion and became a model student. He was accepted

to Java's Gadjah Mada University and earned a place in a cultural exchange program with Canada.

Yet Abé was torn with a profound conflict. He felt as if when he accomplished anything it was for the greater good of Indonesia. When he was an exchange student in Toronto, he received news of the Dili massacre. On television, he watched the senseless butchering of his peers and later learned that his Maubere friends in Jakarta had also been arrested. Suddenly he faced a very uncertain future. Although it was the hardest decision of his life, he sought political asylum in Canada and settled alone at the farthest point possible from his homeland.

Abé is the scholar in the group. His quiet nature is in contrast to the whirling turbine inside his head. And yet for all his thought, he cannot come up with any answers to THE question: Why? When he is not writing or speaking on behalf of the cause, he is resting or having polite conversation: the main faculties are for thinking only.

Maria Braz is the anchor of the group. At 24 years old the MBA candidate commands a relaxed sense of self that acts as a unifying force for her partners on their humble trip. She is the middle in age and the most well-rounded, able to speak Tetun, Portuguese and English well. She was also raised in Portugal, which puts her just about at the half-way point between East Timor and Australia, culturally speaking. She softens the contrast in world views that a mere 100 miles can make.

It doesn't hurt that Maria's heritage is from a now-legendary East Timorese noble family. The Atsabe royal family were known for their spirit of resistance as well as wise compromise. Of course, none of this is to say that she does not have a particular slant. As a strong woman, one of her dearest issues is the treatment of Maubere women by Indonesian forces, and their place in East Timorese society. She brings to the presentations a feminist point of view without male-bashing spitefully. However, it would probably be a safe bet that she thinks this could all be resolved if we put a woman in charge.

Lizzie, Danilo, Constâncio, Abé and Maria arrived in Washington just over two weeks ago, and began getting to know each other better. They travel together in minivans and sleep in close quarters. For all their individualities, it is not surprising that they can put them aside until the freedom of East Timor is won. But it is perhaps surprising that they all share a gentle good-natured quality about them. There is no pecking order among them, no power trips, no head games. They are like family because as long as Indonesia remains in East Timor, every day there are a few less of them.



Danilo, Maria, Elizabeth, Constâncio and Abé met with more than 30 Capitol Hill staffers.



So many exciting events happened during the tour that we won't even attempt to recap them. Here are a few anecdotes.

### Hunger Committee Dies

While in Washington, our Timorese visitors attended an extraordinary press conference outside the Capitol Building. Ohio Representative Tony Hall, who has led Congress on East Timor for over a decade, announced he was beginning a hunger strike to protest the elimination of the House Select Committee on Hunger, which he had chaired. "Congress is afflicted with famine," Hall declared. "We are hungry for heart - heart for the needy, the powerless, and the forgotten."

Hall ended his fast after three weeks, having raised the consciences of many and persuaded the Congressional leadership to ensure that hunger issues would not vanish into the Capitol's memory hole.

### Intimidation and Harassment

While Constâncio slept in New York, an Indonesian general announced that he had been arrested in Dili, and the international media dutifully picked up the report. It didn't take very long to expose the lie, although the *Far Eastern Economic Review* printed it a week later, only later to run an "I am Still Free" letter from Constâncio.

However, Indonesian authorities began to harass Gabriela Lopes da Cruz Pinto, Constâncio's wife and the mother of his one-year-old son who has never seen his father. They arrested and interrogated her, demanding that she tell them where her husband was. Of course, they knew perfectly well where he was, and were simply trying to intimidate him. Gabriela was ordered to report daily to the military for further questioning. With the help of the International Committee of the Red Cross and a lot of calls and letters to and from American officials, the pressure on Gabriela has eased for the moment. We'll continue to pay close attention.

The Indonesian government is not the only one which gave Constâncio a hard time. When he applied for his US visa in Lisbon, it was denied, and was only granted after calls and faxes from Senators and university officials. The Canadian consulate in New York also hassled him until an MP called to tell them to issue a visa.

### Propaganda and Souvenirs

If you missed the tour, or if you met our visitors but don't recall their every word, we have printed copies of their speeches; send \$5 for copying and postage for the set of five. We also have a detailed listing of tour activities, and are working on a commemorative booklet to try to capture the essence of the tour on paper. Paper Tiger TV is producing a half-hour video documentary of the tour, which should be available by the end of June for local cable broadcast. Contact ETAN for more information.

### Meeting the VEEP

On Monday, May 7, Vice President Albert Gore received the Robert F. Kennedy Book Award for *Earth in the Balance*. At the same time, Pacifica/WBAI news director Amy Goodman and New Yorker correspondent Allan Nairn received the RFK Journalism Award for their radio documentary *Massacre: The Story of East Timor*.

Allan and Amy invited Constâncio Pinto to the award ceremony. They introduced him to the Vice President, with whom he had a useful discussion about the East Timorese situation. After the dinner, there were questions, and Portuguese TV journalist Mario Crespo asked Gore about the "human environment" of East Timor. He replied:

*"The radio documentary that will be honored shortly is an extraordinary work outlining the nature of the outrage that has been committed against the people of East Timor by the government of Indonesia. The history of the conflict there is long and complex but the essence of the injustice is starkly simple: unarmed innocent people in their homeland have been killed and imprisoned and mistreated. It is an abuse of human rights. How it is remedied represents a full range of other questions. But the international community has attempted to seek redress of the grievances justly expressed by the people of East Timor. Our government here in the United States has also done so and will continue to make efforts in their behalf."*

## Manufacturing Consent Builds the Movement

The feature-length documentary *Manufacturing Consent: Noam Chomsky and the Media* has been playing throughout Canada and the US. It contrasts media coverage of the simultaneous genocides in East Timor and Cambodia, and has taught tens of thousands of people about East Timor. With the help of the producers, the East Timor Action Network is providing moviegoers with information about East Timor and how they can join the movement for self-determination. We have recruited hundreds of new activists in Los Angeles, Boston, Chicago, New York, San Francisco, Berkeley, Washington, Madison, Santa Cruz, Petaluma, San Jose, Portland and other places where the film has played.

This list of upcoming US playdates was provided by Zeitgeist Films, the distributors. Call them at 212-274-1989 if your city hasn't been scheduled. Starred showings are already covered by ETAN activists. If you can help in one of those cities, or another, please contact us. We have "instant tabling" kits and suggestions.

- 5/20-24 Ken, San Diego, CA\*
- 5/21-27 Coolidge Comer Movie House, Boston, MA\*
- 6/4 Oregon State University, Corvallis, OR
- 6/9-12 Crest Theatre, Sacramento, CA
- 6/10-16 Neptune Theatre, Seattle, WA
- 6/11-13 Rice Media Center, Houston, TX
- 6/11-17 Oriental Theater, Milwaukee, WI
- 6/23-30 Neighborhood Film Project, Philadelphia, PA
- 6/25-7/1 Mayan Theater, Denver, CO
- 7/3 & 4 Music Box Theatre, Chicago, IL
- 8/15 & 18 Taos Art Center, Taos, NM
- 10/1-23 (weekends) Dobie Theater, Austin, TX\*
- 10/8-10 Honolulu Academy of Arts, Honolulu, HI

Both these issues will be decided in the next few weeks. We can win -- if Washington hears from enough people around the country. Call today!

## No Fighter Planes to Indonesia

The government of Jordan would like to sell four US-made F-5E supersonic jet fighters to the Indonesian military for \$20-25 million. Under the terms of the original sale to Jordan, the US State Department can approve or prevent the re-transfer, which was requested late last year. Because of opposition from the public and from Congress, approval has become problematic, and the debate continues. ETAN distributed an Action Alert in early May, and the Institute for Policy Studies' Project on Demilitarization and Democracy is also active. Reuters and other media have begun to cover this controversy.

State Department spokespeople admit that the re-transfer process is moving slower than usual because "many in Congress, and at State, have concerns about the human rights situation in Indonesia." Please contact State Department officials, Senators and Representatives to urge them not to reward Indonesia's brutal government with more instruments of war.

Last year, Congress overrode the Bush administration to cut off military aid for Indonesia to protest the Santa Cruz massacre and Indonesia's 17-year occupation of East Timor. In March, the US cosponsored a UN Human Rights Commission resolution which criticized Indonesia for ongoing human rights violations and refusing to cooperate with international human rights organizations.

Vermont Senator Patrick Leahy is pressing the administration to block the arms deal. At the May 12 confirmation hearing for Lynn Davis, Undersecretary of State for International Security Affairs, Leahy said "It is inconsistent for the United States to license sales of

weapons to governments that, because of human rights problems, are deemed unsuitable for military aid. Indonesia is a case in point." Wisconsin Senator Russell Feingold told ETAN/Midwest activists that he will work to stop the sale, and support is growing.

The warplane sale is being pushed by Eidetics corporation of Torrance, CA and other US companies that would refurbish the fighters and transport them to Indonesia, and then upgrade Jordan's remaining 23 F-5Es under a separate contract. They claim that Russia or Britain will sell aircraft to Indonesia if the Jordanian sale is denied, but rather than compete with these two allies, the US should seek their agreement not to sell arms to Indonesia or other dictatorships.

### Contact:

Secretary of State Warren M. Christopher, 2201 C Street NW, Washington, DC 20520. (202)647-6575; (202)647-7120 fax.

Undersecretary of State of Political Affairs Peter Tarnoff, (202)647-2417.

Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs Winston Lord, (202)647-9596.

Also call Senators and Representatives (202)224-3121, and urge them to call the State Department.

## Cut Trade Subsidies; Support Workers' Rights

Indonesia currently receives millions of dollars in special trade benefits through a program called the General System of Preferences (GSP). Indonesia's status in the GSP program is being reviewed, and a final decision will be made soon. Pressure on the United States Trade Representative, through Congressional representatives, can help cut off this expensive subsidy of Indonesia, a persistent violator of basic human and worker rights.

GSP benefits allow some companies operating within Indonesia to export products to the US without duties and tariffs. An amendment to the GSP law mandates that all participating countries maintain basic internationally-recognized standards for worker rights, including the right to organize and form a union, the right to strike, and the right to minimum standards of workplace safety.

Nearly a year ago, Asia Watch filed a petition to the United States Trade Representative alleging worker rights violations in Indonesia and East Timor. The petition was accepted for further review, meaning that an inter-agency task force would research these allegations in detail.

The decision over the continuation or termination of GSP benefits for Indonesia is now at the highest levels of the Clinton administration, with Trade Representative Mickey Kantor and the State Department likely to be most influential in the decision. The review is already taking longer than expected, and sources say that Kantor supports suspending GSP. A debate continues between human rights advocates and proponents of a *realpolitik* approach to international economic and political relations.

ETAN/US distributed an Action Alert on this on April 18, and recent articles in the *Far Eastern Economic Review* and *The Progressive* highlighted labor abuses in Indonesia and East Timor. Ask us for copies.

### Contact:

Mickey Kantor is the US Trade Representative; Thomas Fusco (Deputy Director for GSP) and Jose Damond (Director for GSP) can be called at (202)395-6971.

Also call State Department and Congressional officials, listed above.



## Act Locally

The speaking tour and the Chomsky film motivated people all across North America, energizing existing local groups and catalyzing the formation of new ones. If you don't see a group or a contact in for your area, call the nearest one – they're all eager to clone themselves – or the national office.

We also have several campus-based groups, and we'll publish their addresses when the new school year begins.

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## Help ETAN Ride the Wave

Due to the phenomenal success of the speaking tour and the Chomsky movie, ETAN is growing rapidly, and our work and expenses swell as well. Your contribution (checks payable to "ETAN"), is needed and appreciated. Tax-deductible donations of \$50 or more for ETAN's educational work should be payable to "WESPAC Foundation/ETAN."

We have many T-shirts left, "To Resist is to Win" or "Indonesia's Killing Field", which sell for \$13 plus \$3 postage. Order from ETAN/ NY or ETAN/LA, and specify L or XL.

Our two books, John Taylor's *Indonesia's Forgotten War: The Hidden History of East Timor* (Zed, 1991) and Michele Turner's *Telling East Timor: Personal Testimonies 1942-1992* (New South Wales University Press, 1992), have just been reordered. Both are excellent, imported and hard to find in North America. You can buy either from ETAN for \$20. We have videos, too.

ETAN just published volume 21 of our *East Timor Documents* series; this 134-page issue includes press articles, research papers, organizational alerts, background material and primary sources from around the world for events between February 15 and April 10, 1993. The *Documents*, published roughly every six weeks, sell for \$10 per issue (discounts for activists), plus \$2.00 for international air mail. Encourage your library to subscribe, or get it yourself; much of the information is unavailable anywhere else.

Some of the material in the documents can be obtained more quickly through the reg.easttimor conference on PeaceNet or via Task Force Indonesia's free East Timor computer mailing list. If you have access to a computer or an Internet connection, call PeaceNet at 415-442-0220 or email TFI at APAKABAR@ACCESS.DIGEX.NET.

## First Continental ETAN Conference

Join us in New York  
July 10-11, 1993

ETAN/US and ETAN/Canada will hold the First Continental ETAN Congress in New York City this summer, probably on the weekend of July 10-11.

Local ETAN coordinators and activists from across the US and Canada, many of whom have never met in this rapidly-growing movement, will come together to share experiences, assess our strengths, and plan strategy.

One day of the weekend will be spent on global or continental issues, and the other will be separate discussions to deal with structural or national questions peculiar to each country.

We're hoping, but not guaranteed, to piggyback on the East Timor part of the UN Decolonization Committee, which isn't set yet but will be in "early July," according to the latest information from the Secretariat. If the timing works, East Timorese activists and their supporters from all over the world will be in town, and we'll welcome their participation.

If you're interested in coming, please get in touch as soon as possible so we can plan logistics and the program. We'd also like your ideas for the agenda. This meeting will *not* be open to the public, but only to East Timor supporters and invited guests. Participants, with rare exceptions, will have to raise their own expenses, although we will try to keep housing and food costs down.

### Next ETAN Meeting

The next ETAN/US meeting will be on Sunday, June 13, at 2:00 at 339 Lafayette Street in New York City. The main items will be the upcoming Decolonization Hearing and Continental Conference.

## "Rights and Wrongs"

Globalvision, the independent TV producers who created *South Africa Now* a few years ago, have a new TV series on international human rights issues, currently being aired on PBS. A segment on East Timor is in preparation and will probably be aired in June. Ask your local PBS station for details.

## U.N. Moves Slowly; Negotiations Stall

East Timor became an issue at the Asian preparatory meeting for the UN Human Rights Conference, held in Bangkok in March. Indonesia successfully kept the International Federation of NGOs for East Timor from being accredited, but the controversy made East Timor far more visible than it otherwise would have been. At the major global conference in Vienna in June, many East Timorese and their supporters will be active.

The Indonesian and Portuguese Foreign Ministers met with the UN Secretary-General in Rome in mid-April to discuss East Timor, and agreed on nothing except to meet again in New York in September. A week earlier, UN envoy Amos Wako visited East Timor, observed Xanana's trial, and met with Xanana and Mau Hunu. His observations have not been made public, nor has his report from his 1992 visit. In mid-May, the Indonesian military accused Wako of encouraging Xanana to resist, but Jakarta's Foreign Minister downplayed the charges, surfacing a split within the Suharto regime that has widespread ramifications.

This summer, the annual meeting of the U.N. Decolonization Committee (also known as the Committee of 24) will take place in New York. Many NGOs and Timorese from different places and perspectives will attend. ETAN/US will host international guests; let us know if you can help or attend the hearing, tentatively scheduled for early July.



## Xanana Speaks Out!

On May 17, Timorese resistance leader Xanana Gusmão, who was captured last November, ended his apparent cooperation with his Indonesian captors. In a dramatic summation at the close of his three-month trial, Xanana declared that he is not an Indonesian citizen, does not support the integration of East Timor into Indonesia, and that the court has no right to try him. He also opposed the Timor Gap oil exploration treaty between Indonesia and Australia.

Judge Heronymus Godang cut him off three pages into his 28-page Portuguese-language statement, calling it full of irrelevant political theory. This is unprecedented in Indonesian political trials, where defendants are generally allowed to speak, even if their statements are later suppressed. International observers (including UN, US and European diplomats) were unable to get into the courtroom, and, unlike previous sessions, the trial was not aired over loudspeakers. Nobody other than the court has seen Xanana's statement.

As we go to press (May 18), sentencing is set for May 21.

After his capture last November, Xanana confused many supporters by his apparent acquiescence with Jakarta, identifying as an Indonesian citizen and calling on guerillas to surrender. Few believed his abandonment of lifelong principles was real, and there was much

speculation as to what had been done or threatened to him or his family, who were also arrested in November. His comment "wait until the end," called out in the courtroom a few months ago, now becomes clear.

The pace of Xanana's trial slowed markedly after prosecution witness Saturnino da Costa Belo, a jailed Timorese independence advocate, called out "Free East Timor! Viva Independence!" in court on March 4. Saturnino was beaten and dragged away, declared unfit to testify, and hasn't been heard from since.

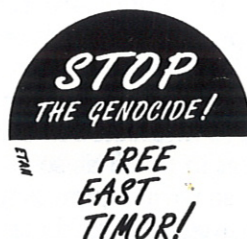
The resistance suffered a blow in early April, when Xanana's replacement as head of the CNRM, Mau Hunu (Antonio Gomes da Costa) was captured by Indonesian troops. He has been succeeded by Konis Santana, and the struggle goes on.

Indonesia is trying to portray the resistance in East Timor as over (not the first time in 17 years

we have heard that), using such devices as relabelling troops as police and increasing use of non-uniformed agents. The have also allowed foreigners into the territory, under close surveillance.

*New York Times* reporter Philip Shenon's April 21 front-page article "Fear and Repression Still Rule Area Occupied by Indonesia" was mostly about how everyone except government officials was afraid to talk with him. Three days later, he published an interview with Timorese Catholic Bishop Carlos Ximenes Belo, "A Voice, Often Silenced, Tells of East Timor's Fear." Belo discussed the widespread use of torture and gave details of people captured and then murdered after the November 12, 1991 Santa Cruz massacre.

"We lack the freedom to speak, to walk where we want, to have different opinions," said the Bishop. "The people of East Timor need the help of President Clinton and the United States."



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