

The East Timor *Estafeta*

ISSN #1088-8136

Voice of the East Timor Action Network/U.S. Vol. 2, No. 4-Vol. 3, No. 1/Winter 1996-97

EAST TIMOR BATTLE HEATS UP ON CAPITOL HILL *by Matthew Jardine*

The November re-election of President Bill Clinton, in and of itself, means little for the people of East Timor. There were some positive additions in the Senate, as well as one welcome departure, that of Bennett Johnston (D-Louisiana), long one of the Suharto regime's most staunch supporters in the legislative body. The overall composition of the Senate as well as that of the House of Representatives, however, changed little. And Clinton's appointments as Secretary of State (former U.N. Ambassador Madeleine Albright) and Ambassador to the United Nations (Bill Richardson) seem to offer little in terms of indicating any constructive changes initiated by the Administration.

What has changed is the context in which individual Congresspersons and the Administration find themselves. Thanks to the Norwegian Nobel Committee's decision to confer the 1996 Nobel Peace Prize on Bishop Carlos Belo and José Ramos Horta of East Timor and ongoing concerns about Indonesian money flowing into Democratic Party coffers (see article, page 8), U.S.-Indonesia relations and East Timor have grown significantly as issues of contention over the last few months.

Soon after the Nobel Committee's announcement of the awarding of the 1996 Peace Prize to Bishop Belo and José Ramos Horta, the Clinton Administration reaffirmed its support for the selling of 9 F-16 fighter jets to Indonesia. But Congressional opposition to any U.S. military sales or assistance to Indonesia pending hearings on the campaign finance scandal have put the sale on hold. The opposition includes House Speaker Newt Gingrich and Benjamin Gilman (R-New York), chairman of the House Committee on International Relations.

Two recent Congressional visits to East Timor have further helped to raise the profile of the former Portuguese colony in Congress. Representative Patrick Kennedy (D-Rhode Island) accompanied Bishop Belo back from the Nobel Prize ceremony in Oslo, arriving in Dili on December 24. A February 3 "Dear Colleague" letter from Kennedy reported a military crackdown against the East Timorese. And Representative Frank Wolf (R-

Virginia), who visited for three days in January, described the situation to Amy Goodman, host of Pacifica Radio's *Democracy Now*, as one of "terror" and "total and complete fear."

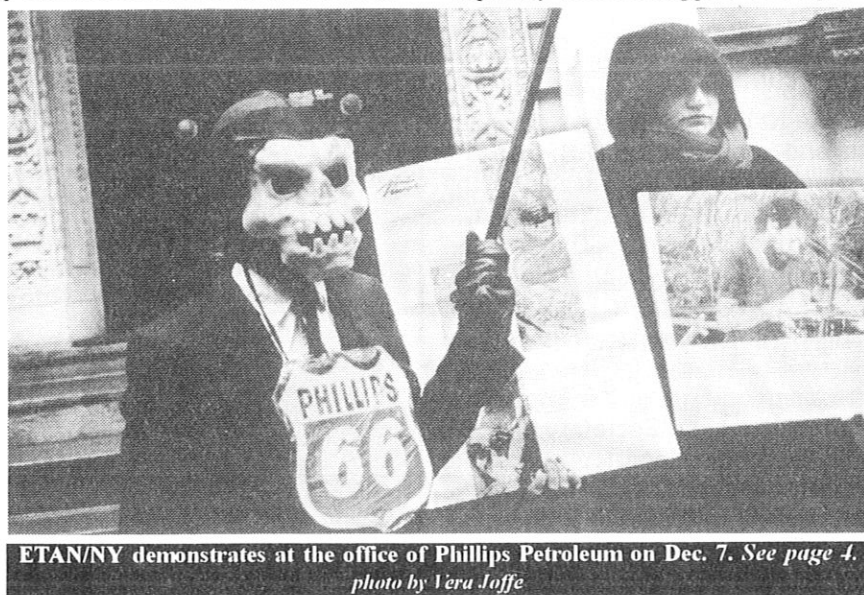
The January 30 release of the State Department's annual human rights report was further bad news for Indonesia. The report speaks of "a disaffected indigenous population [in East Timor] that generally resents Indonesian rule" and of "further instances of killings, disappearances, torture, and excessive use of force by the [Indonesian] military."

Despite the criticisms, the Administration remains silent on the matter of the Indonesian occupation of East Timor. Increasingly, however, members of Congress are calling into question the Administration's refusal to criticize the occupation.

House Resolution 45 (see Action Alert, page 3), for example, explicitly voices its support for a diplomatic solution to the conflict

in East Timor based on the people's right to self-determination. Such calls have had some effect on the Administration. In response to a recent letter from Senator Russell Feingold (D-Wisconsin), Clinton noted "with interest your support of a UN-sponsored self-determination referendum in East Timor." The letter marks the first time Clinton has expressed any willingness to consider East Timorese self-determination. Such words are

indicative of the increasing pressure on the Administration and provide an opening to activists to push the Administration toward truly embracing East Timorese self-determination. ■



ETAN/NY demonstrates at the office of Phillips Petroleum on Dec. 7. See page 4.
photo by Vera Joffe

What You Can Do:

- *Contact the Clinton Administration and urge them not to sell the F-16s and grant IMET funds to Indonesia. (Administration sources are pressing for \$800 thousand in IMET funding for next year.) White House Comment Line: (202)456-1111.
- *Contact your Senators and Representatives asking them to end all military assistance and arms sales to Indonesia until Indonesia complies with the U.N. resolutions on East Timor.
- *Write letters to the editor and op-eds for your local newspapers.

ETAN Works to Block Nomination of Stanley Roth to Key Foreign Policy Post

Washington circles are floating the name of Stanley Roth as the Clinton Administration's leading candidate to fill the post of Assistant Secretary of State for Asia, the key position in setting U.S.-Indonesia policy.

Roth has been one of the Suharto regime's strongest supporters in Washington over the last few years. Roth's appointment to the position would send the wrong message to Jakarta and indicate a dangerous direction in U.S. foreign policy and would almost certainly further weaken the Clinton administration's already tepid policy toward East Timor. Stanley Roth's record is one of consistently placing trade and friendship with Suharto and his army above human rights concerns.

For many years, Roth served as chief foreign policy staffer for Rep. Stephen Solarz (Chair of the Asian and Pacific Affairs Subcommittee in the House of Representatives until 1993), and Roth's friendship with Suharto government officials dates from this time. After the 1991 Dili Massacre, Roth stated that the U.S. would only consider reducing arms sales after Indonesia staged "another" massacre.

When Solarz lost his Congressional seat, Roth moved over to the Pentagon as Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for East Asian and Pacific Affairs.

Roth led the Pentagon's campaign to defeat the 1993 Feingold Amendment, which would have conditioned U.S. arms sales to Indonesia on human rights improvements in East Timor.

In 1994, he went to the National Security Council as senior director for Asia and is now at the U.S. Institute of Peace. However, in an October 1996 article in the *Washington Post*, he was frank about the Clinton administration's (and his own) priorities: "The 'driving dynamic' in policy toward Indonesia was Washington's desire 'not to totally screw up the trade relationship' while keeping up demands for improvement in the human rights situation."

Contact your Congressperson and let her know that Stanley Roth is unacceptable as Asst. Secretary of State for Asia. Especially in light of the Lipponi/Riady scandal (see article, page 8), Roth's selection would reinforce Clinton's image as someone beholden to Indonesian money. Choosing a more principled candidate would help restore faith in the U.S. foreign policy apparatus.

The East Timor *Estafeta* is the quarterly publication of the East Timor Action Network of the United States. We welcome your comments and suggestions aimed at improving the newsletter.

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CORRECTION

from the World Policy Institute

January 15, 1997

Re: Background Briefing on U.S. Arms Sales to Indonesia

In late October of 1996 we issued a brief on the history of U.S. arms sales to Indonesia entitled "A Short Background on U.S. Arms to Indonesia" [extracted in the last issue of *Estafeta*, Vol. 2, No. 3/November 1996]. Unfortunately, due to an error in one of our source documents, the data on approvals of arms sales to Indonesia during the Clinton Administration was overstated. Based on an October 1996 fact sheet by the Washington-based Arms Control Association entitled "ACA Register of U.S. Arms Transfers," we were led to believe that in July of 1996 the Clinton Administration had notified Congress of an offer to sell Indonesia 2 Northrop Grumman E-2C radar aircraft worth \$400 million. In doing follow up to check on the status of this deal, we learned that the July 1996 date was a typographical error, and that in fact the offer had been reported to Congress six years ago, in July of 1990. The July 1990 offer was never completed, due to a combination of political sensitivity caused by Indonesia's crackdowns in East Timor during 1990/1991 (most notably the Dili massacre) and haggling over the costs and characteristics of the plane. As a result, our estimate of \$470 million in arms sales to Indonesia approved by the Clinton Administration needs to be revised downward accordingly.

Northrop Grumman still hopes to sell as many as 4 or 5 E-2C's to Indonesia at some point, but there is no firm timeline and no official offer has been made. A Northrop Grumman spokesperson told us "we're always looking for potential customers" for the E-2C, but termed the possibility of a sale to Indonesia a "long-term prospect." Arms industry analysts have also indicated that Lockheed Martin is interested in selling Indonesia their new C-130J radar plane, which offers similar capabilities to the E-2C at a somewhat lower cost. So, this is an issue to keep an eye on, but there is no official offer on the table at the moment.

Given this new information, it would be appropriate to say that the Clinton Administration has approved over \$270 million in arms to Indonesia since it has come into office (counting the pending F-16 deal), not the \$470 million figure that included the E-2C offer (but did not include an estimate of the F-16 deal). This is still a relatively high figure, but blocking the F-16 deal would knock that number down, and together with the small arms ban, would represent a significant victory for peace, human rights and social justice activists in the United States who have been working to block U.S. arms to the Suharto regime.

We will be releasing a new corrected edition of our background on U.S. arms to Indonesia within the next few weeks. The new edition will also include a chart listing all major documented arms sales from the U.S. to Indonesia from 1975 to the present.

Our apologies for this error. Please share this memo with anyone who is confused by the figures in our original report.

The full report from the World Policy Institute is now available. The cost (to cover photocopying and mailing) is \$5. Please call Jennifer Washburn at (212) 229-5808 (ext. 112) to order the report.

ACTION ALERT FROM THE EAST TIMOR ACTION NETWORK/U.S. ASK YOUR CONGRESSPERSON TO SUPPORT EAST TIMOR RESOLUTION

The following letter was sent to all members of the U.S. House of Representatives in early February, urging them to co-sponsor a resolution congratulating the winners of the Nobel Peace Prize and supporting a "diplomatic solution" to the conflict in East Timor based on "the people's right to self-determination."

House Resolution 45 was introduced yesterday with five Democratic and four Republican sponsors. If your representative is not among them, please call him or her and urge them to co-sponsor and support this resolution. All Representatives can be reached through the Capitol switchboard at 202-224-3121.

A similar resolution will probably be introduced into the Senate shortly. Both are expected to be acted on within a few weeks.

*Congressional e-mail addresses can be found at <http://www.nyx.net/~anon3210/> or <http://lawlinks.com/gov/house.html>

*Washington Congressional addresses and phones/fax numbers (and some email addresses) can be found at <http://politicsusa.com/PoliticsUSA/CapSource/source-2.html>.



(Text of the Resolution)

105TH CONGRESS, 1ST SESSION
H. RES. 45

To honor Nobel Peace Prize recipients Bishop Carlos Felipe Ximenes Belo and José Ramos Horta, and to express support for the process of building a just and lasting peace in East Timor.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

February 10, 1997

Mr. HALL of Ohio (for himself, Mr. WOLF, Mr. FRANK of Massachusetts, Mr. SMITH of New Jersey, Mr. KENNEDY of Rhode Island, Mrs. MORELLA, Mrs. LOWEY, Mr. LANTOS, and Mr. PORTER) submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on International Relations.

RESOLUTION

To honor 1996 Nobel Peace Prize recipients Bishop Carlos Felipe Ximenes Belo and José Ramos-Horta, and to express support for the process of building a just and lasting peace in East Timor.

Whereas the Norwegian Nobel Committee has awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for 1996 to Bishop Carlos Felipe Ximenes Belo and José Ramos-Horta for their tireless efforts to find a just and peaceful solution to the conflict in East Timor;

Whereas Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975 and has since systematically oppressed the people of East Timor;

Whereas since 1975 one-third of the population of East Timor is

(Letter from Rep. Tony Hall (D-OH) to his colleagues)

HONOR THE 1996 NOBEL PEACE PRIZE WINNERS
EXPRESS SUPPORT A LASTING PEACE IN EAST TIMOR
BE A COSPONSOR OF H. RES. 45

February 5, 1997

Dear Colleague,

In 1996, the Norwegian Nobel Committee awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for 1996 to Bishop Carlos Belo and José Ramos Horta for their work to find a just and peaceful solution to the conflict in East Timor. The Nobel Committee stated:

In 1975, Indonesia took control of East Timor and began systematically oppressing the people. In the years that followed it has been estimated that one-third of the population of East Timor lost their lives due to starvation, epidemics, war and terror.

In awarding this year's Nobel Peace Prize to Belo and Ramos-Horta, the Norwegian Nobel Committee wants to honor their sustained and self sacrificing contributions for a small but oppressed people. The Nobel Committee hopes that this award will spur efforts to find a diplomatic solution to the conflict in East Timor based on the people's right to self-determination.

Attached is a copy of an article on Bishop Belo which is in the February 1997 issue of *Reader's Digest*.

If you would like to be a cosponsor of the legislation to honor the 1996 Nobel Laureates, please call Bob Zachritz at 225-6465.

Sincerely yours,
Tony Hall, Member of Congress

estimated to have perished of starvation, war, and terror;

Whereas Indonesia's invasion was condemned by the United Nations, as was its subsequent occupation of East Timor;

Whereas on November 12, 1991, Indonesian troops opened fire on thousands of peaceful mourners and demonstrators at the Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili, the capital of East Timor, killing hundreds and wounding hundreds;

Whereas Bishop Belo has been the preeminent representative of the people of East Timor, and has at great risk to his own life fought for the human and civil rights of the people of East Timor, while also being a steadfast advocate for nonviolence and dialogue between the people of East Timor and the Indonesian authorities;

Whereas Ramos-Horta has since 1975 been the leading international spokesman for the people of East Timor, and has made valuable contributions to their cause through his efforts to create a peace plan for the region; and

Whereas both men are an inspiration not only for those who desire peace in East Timor, but for those the world over who seek peacefully to resolve longstanding, bloody conflicts: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the United States House of Representatives —

(1) recognizes, admires, and honors Carlos Felipe Ximenes Belo and José Ramos-Horta for their sustained and self-sacrificing contributions on behalf of their oppressed people;

(2) expresses its support for the continued efforts of Bishop Belo, Ramos-Horta, and the people of East Timor; and

(3) affirms its support for a diplomatic solution to the conflict in East Timor based on the people's right to self-determination.

ORGANIZING AND ACTIVISM

by John Miller

The months of November and December are traditionally times of heightened activity by ETAN, because they mark two grim anniversaries: November 12, when Indonesian troops gunned down hundreds of unarmed East Timorese in 1991, and December 7, East Timor's "Day of Infamy," when Indonesia invaded in 1975. This year there was also something to celebrate: the awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize to two staunch defenders of their people's rights, Jose Ramos Horta and Bishop Carlos Belo.

Most locals used the conjunction of the Nobel Prize, the invasion anniversary and the campaign finance scandal to place op-eds, columns and letters-to-the-editor in local mainstream, Asian-American, and university papers.

Two new local chapters joined ETAN's national network since the last newsletter. ETAN/New Haven launched itself with a successful lunchtime talk by Carmel Budiardjo (see accompanying story). They have since held several other forums on the Yale University campus.

ETAN/Colorado recently hosted East Timorese activist Bella Galhos in Boulder (a report on Bella's tour will appear in the next Estafeta).

They have also put up an extensive web site on the Internet.

ETAN/Seattle performed colorful street theater on the 21st anniversary of the Indonesian invasion with costumed activists and giant puppets. The group, including high school students, enacted the transfer of more than a \$1 billion in arms sales from the U.S. to Indonesia using puppets representing U.S. Presidents and Indonesian President Suharto. The group also circulated "Indonesia Dollars" to shoppers, so they could "buy access" to the White House and presidential silence on East Timor.

ETAN/Portland held a candlelight vigil downtown in the afternoon of Dec. 10.

The Los Angeles chapter of ETAN held a candlelight vigil in front of the local Indonesian Consulate on Nov. 12. Upwards of 60 people then participated in a memorial funeral procession to and a brief ceremony at the Consul General's home about one mile away.

Jose Ramos Horta was the featured speaker at an interfaith memorial service on Nov. 12 in New York City organized by East Timor Religious Outreach with support

from ETAN/NY. In early December educational events were held on several area campuses. On Dec. 7, some 40 hardy people leafleted in the freezing rain at the Manhattan office of Phillips Petroleum (one of the U.S. oil companies drilling in the Timor Gap). They then marched to the Indonesian consulate. In mid-December a diverse group learned about human rights violations in Asia, including East Timor, at an event organized with Students for a Free Tibet and the Learning Alliance. And, most recently, over 125 people attended the February 2 benefit showing of *Death of a Nation*. Constancio Pinto spoke after the film.



ETAN/Seattle's Dec. 7 Demonstration

DC/ETAN held a candlelight protest at rush hour in front of the Indonesian Embassy on Nov. 12. On Dec. 10 they returned with other groups as part of a coalition.

Several dozen ETAN/San Francisco members leafleted at the Indonesian consulate on Dec. 10. The consulate closed for the day. Friends of ETAN/SF also attended a December forum on investment opportunities in Indonesia at the Commonwealth Club, where they asked how the occupation of East Timor and suppression of labor and human rights in Indonesia might adversely affect foreign investment. They later rendered the Consul General speechless by congratulating him on Ramos-Horta and Belo winning the Nobel Peace Prize.

ETAN/SF supported East Timor Religious Outreach's annual demonstration and nonviolent civil disobedience at the Indonesian consulate on November 12. Thirteen people, including several clergy, were arrested at the action, which highlighted the Nobel Committee's call for an end to Indonesia's illegal military occupation of East Timor and for an

internationally-supervised referendum on the future of the country.

In the Midwest, ETAN/Chicago and Madison combined for a noon rally outside the Indonesian Consulate on Dec. 10. They read statements by Ramos Horta and Belo and leafleted to music in tribute to East Timor. When they tried to enter the consulate's 14th floor office they were locked out. Undiscouraged, they distributed leaflets to the consulate's neighbors in the building. One member of the group later met with the Consul General.

ETAN/Rhode Island participated in a joint event on Dec. 10, Human Rights Day, with Amnesty International and student groups focusing on Burma and Tibet. On Nov. 12, Allan Nairn was the featured speaker at a Brown University forum. ETAN/RI has written to Providence-based Textron corporation, which has a deal with the Indonesian state-owned aircraft corporation to produce Bell 412 military helicopters. They are considering a protest campaign.

ETAN/Boston attended as Massachusetts representative Antonio Cabral introduced a bill before the state legislature to ban companies "doing business" with Indonesia from also doing business with Massachusetts. The bill (House Bill #6320), the first of its kind, is designed to

pressure Indonesia to withdraw from East Timor. ETAN Boston plans to devote considerable energy to lobbying for the bill this year. They have also leafleted at a number of gamelan concerts.

Richard Koch of ETAN/New Jersey placed op-eds about the Nobel Prize and U.S. policy toward East Timor in several of the state's largest newspapers including the *Newark Star-Ledger* and the *Bergen Record*.

Other groups are also doing important work on East Timor. ETAN/U.S. cooperated with Peace Action in their Days of Infamy campaign, which ran from Dec. 7-10. Activists from throughout the country leafleted, collected petition signatures and wrote letters to the editor opposing the sale of F-16s to Indonesia as part of their general work against the weapon sales to dictatorships. *The Nation* magazine's "Nation Alert" issued an action bulletin on "U.S. Arms and Human Rights: Indonesia and East Timor." And Working Assets Long Distance phone service included a similar alert in its monthly bill. Over 20,000 people responded by calling and writing the White House. ■

ETAN Hires Full-Time Staffers: ETAN has made significant strides over the last few months in strengthening its national organizational capacity and effectiveness. After an extensive search and interview process, ETAN has hired a Washington Representative, Lynn Fredriksson, and a Media and Outreach Coordinator, John Miller. It is ETAN's hope that both Lynn and John will work closely with grassroots activists across the country and help strengthen local organizing in the process. Most recently, ETAN also hired a field organizer, Kristin Sundell. *Estafeta* will publish Kristin's autobiographical introduction in its next issue.

Message from Lynn Fredriksson:

Greetings to everyone from ETAN's new Washington office. In early January, I arrived here from the San Francisco Bay Area, where I'd been living and working for the past year in several Catholic Worker communities. As you might suspect, the atmosphere here is much colder... though it's good to be in the Asia Pacific Center suite in the Methodist building across from the Capitol.

I graduated from Williams College, where I studied Russian and Political Science ten years ago. Since then, I've worked in four different but integrally related areas of activism and organizing: homeless service and advocacy, disarmament, nonviolent direct action, and international human rights. I've worked with the Community for Creative Nonviolence, managed a shelter for homeless men, promoted a US-USSR citizen's initiative for nuclear disarmament and economic conversion, disarmed an F-15E jet in a Plowshares action and done prison witness, and worked for Palestinian self-determination and justice for Iraq with Women Strike for Peace.

While living in California, I provided support for other nonviolent acts of disarmament. One was the Seeds of Hope-East Timor Plowshares action that disarmed a British Hawk aircraft destined for sale to Indonesia. (The plane was never sold and the four women were eventually acquitted, after proving necessity in a legal defense that included the testimonies of John Pilger and José Ramos Horta.) Not long after that I heard ETAN needed

organizers. I strongly believe that the same necessity which compelled the acquittal of the four British disarmers can compel Congress to make further military aid to Indonesia contingent upon human rights, demilitarization, and a referendum on self-determination for East Timor.

I've begun the work of gathering information to inform our legislative (including the "Democracy in Indonesia Act") and grassroots efforts, and to convince Congresspeople of the imminent need for decisive action to stop the occupation. I've also been working on the tours of East Timorese activist Bella Galhos, José Ramos Horta and a Portuguese-sponsored conference of East Timorese and Indonesian academics. All are coming through Washington; and Congress, the Administration and the media need to hear their voices. I intend to help

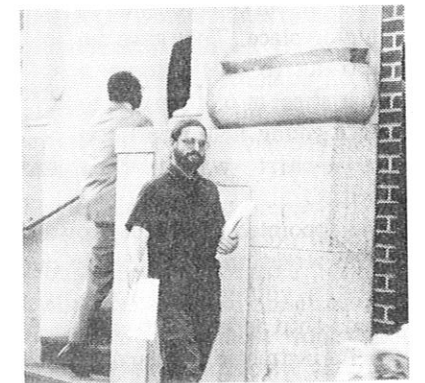
make that happen. We'll also be hosting Lobby Days in the Spring (see page 12) at which you can make your voices heard. In the meantime, continue writing, faxing, calling and e-mailing your Representative and Senators. Keep the pressure on! And call me if I can be of any help.

Lynn Fredriksson, ETAN Washington Office,
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Washington, DC 20002 USA

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Ramos Horta with *The New York Times Sunday Magazine*. A recent visit by Bishop Hilton Deakin of Australia, a close friend of Bishop Belo, has generated articles in several Catholic newspapers. I have also helped arrange for speakers on East Timor at a range of venues including a development organization, a state-wide peace group and a national Jewish conference. I'm working with a New York City teacher create a curriculum that will feature José Ramos Horta as a role model for youth. I am also beginning discussions to have East Timor included in a national curriculum on genocide. Future plans include working with ETAN's local chapters to strengthen their activities and effectiveness, creating a media packet, starting up an ETAN/US web site, and systematically pursuing a wide range of leads and requests for info, speakers and films. I will also be working to place a newly arrived (from Australia) photo exhibit "Betrayed, But Not Beaten" on East Timor in libraries, universities and elsewhere (see next issue for details or contact me).

As Media and Outreach Coordinator, I look forward to strengthening our local network, expanding ETAN's and East



Timor's visibility in the nation's media, and involving a broad range of constituencies and communities in support of human rights and self-determination for East Timor. If you have ideas or need help in starting a local chapter, putting on an educational event, encouraging your local media to cover the issues or in building links to labor, religious organizations or others, please contact me.

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For East Timor's Guerrillas, the Struggle Continues . . .

by Matthew Jardine

Friends had warned me before my departure for East Timor that people from the underground resistance might ask me to meet with the guerrillas who were eager for contact with a visitor from the United States. A number of foreigners had met with the East Timorese guerrillas since Australian Robert Domm made history by going into the mountains and meeting resistance leader Xanana Gusmão in September 1990. But no one from the United States had ever done so, and I had no intention of being the first.

As a person dedicated to non-violence, I've long been uncomfortable with military organizations. More importantly, the prospect of going into the mountains of Indonesian-occupied East Timor to meet with the guerrillas of FALINTIL scared me. It was, I thought, too great a risk for me and, potentially, for the resistance were my visit to be discovered by the Indonesian authorities.

On my third day in Dili, the capital of East Timor, I received a visit from two youths working with the underground resistance. They informed me that one of the leaders of the underground wanted to meet me that night, but could only do so at his hiding place. They gave me instructions to walk down a particular street at 6:30pm and to look for a young man wearing a unique t-shirt which they described.

At the appointed time, I begin walking down the street and, seemingly out of nowhere, a young man wearing the described t-shirt appeared 20 yards in front of me. As instructed, I casually followed him. After a few lefts and rights through Dili's streets, a car pulled up beside me on a deserted street and the door opened. Someone hiding on the floor told me to get inside quickly; he immediately had me hide on the floor as well. The car wound through Dili's streets, making sure that no one was following us. About ten minutes later, we arrived in the back of a house near the center of town. Underground activists quickly ushered me inside and introduced me to the family and then to their leader, whom the family was hiding.

I spent most of the night at the house

talking with this *responsavel*, or leader, from the underground. And, just as I had been warned, he asked me if I wanted to meet with the guerrillas. "Do not be afraid," he told me. "Your trip is very important to us. We would not allow you to visit with FALINTIL if we thought it would bring danger to you or the guerrillas." While still having deep reservations about going up into the mountains after our meeting, my exposure to the security apparatus of the underground opened my mind to their invitation and convinced me of the sophistication of their organization.

A few days later, a young man I had never seen before approached me on the street and introduced himself in impeccable English



David Alex (top row, third from left) and his fellow guerrillas. Jais is in the bottom row, second from left.

as a friend of the underground leader I had met. "Are you ready for the program?" he asked me. "It's all set for you to go up to the mountains tonight." Despite my apprehensions, I agreed to go.

I met my escorts late that afternoon near the downtown area. They quickly ushered me into a vehicle and made me lie down on the floor until we were safely outside the city. After a drive of about three hours and a brief hike we arrived at a safehouse on the rural outskirts of a town in the eastern part of the Indonesian-occupied territory.

After eating a meal of noodles and rice with the family of the house, I rested for a few hours as we waited for the *segurança*, the security person from the camp, to come and let us know that we could safely pass.

An *estafeta* (a messenger between the town and the guerrillas) served as our guide

as we climbed toward the camp. Exposed against the clear, moon-lit sky, we moved quickly along gently terraced farms, and across almost completely-denuded ridges, a result of Indonesia's ecocide aimed at denying cover for the resistance. We reached the camp after an arduous one-hour hike.

The camp, carved out of thick brush, was well hidden but very functional. A number of tarp shelters, a temporary latrine, a rainwater catchment system, and a small cooking area provided the living quarters for FALINTIL Commander David Alex and 10 fellow guerrilla fighters.

David Alex, a 21 year veteran of East Timor's war against Indonesia, seemed very happy to see me. "Thank you for coming," he said. "We are especially honored that someone from the United States has come to visit us."

The 46 year old guerrilla leader has been living in the mountains with the armed resistance since Indonesia's 1975 invasion. He last saw his wife in July 1979 when she was six months pregnant with a son he has never seen. At that time, the resistance was close to decimation because of an Indonesian military onslaught largely facilitated by the sale of U.S. and British counterinsurgency aircraft, and encouraged the civilian population under its protection to surrender.

In the aftermath of this campaign, FALINTIL was able to reorganize and rebuild under the leadership of Xanana Gusmão, the resistance leader now serving a 20-year sentence in an Indonesian prison after his 1992 capture.

Since the mid-1980s, the war has been largely stalemated with several hundred FALINTIL fighters facing anywhere from 15-30 thousand Indonesian troops.

The guerrillas exist in small groups and employ a defensive strategy, occasionally ambushing Indonesian troops. Until 1991, they were largely concentrated in the east, but have since spread throughout the territory so that guerrilla activity is now of relatively equal intensity in all regions of the country.

According to David Alex, FALINTIL now numbers between 500-600 full-time fighters with an innumerable amount of reserves. It is a lack of weapons that prevents the

deployment of the reserves. Five years ago, FALINTIL's supplies were greater, but the Indonesians have captured many weapons. The quality of FALINTIL's weapons, however, has increased, according to David Alex, who is in charge of one of FALINTIL's four regions and commands about 150 fighters, including five women.

"Yes, our numbers are small," David Alex admitted. "But we cannot base a struggle simply on the quantity of force. The quality and righteousness of the struggle are more important. And FALINTIL does not struggle alone, but along with all the East Timorese people."

The relative ease with which the resistance smuggled me in and out of the eastern region of the country provided a strong counterweight to official Indonesian assertions that the resistance is marginalized and isolated within East Timor. And my experience seemed to substantiate what I had often heard from underground activists: the resistance is everyone and everywhere.

During my 24-hour stay at the camp, numerous *estafetas* visited to deliver supplies and messages from other FALINTIL groups and underground resistance activists in the towns. A number of *seguranças* also passed by to brief David Alex on the activities of the nearest Indonesian military, reportedly five kilometers away, and local Indonesian intelligence assets. And my transport in and out of the region relied on the cooperation of numerous people from various walks of life, including some ostensibly working for the Indonesian security apparatus.

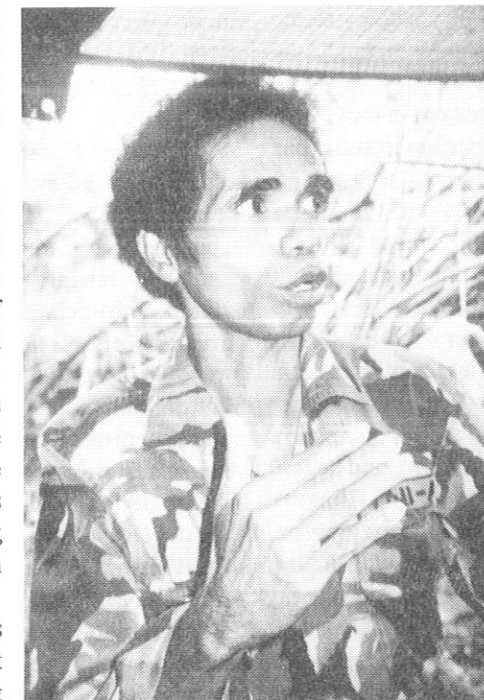
But the conditions of the guerrilla fighters are clearly difficult. They are almost constantly on the move, rarely spending more than a week or two at one site. The rainy season is especially strenuous for them as Indonesia steps up its military activities and the rain inhibits mobility and contact with guerrilla groups in other parts of the country. And they lack sufficient medicine for illnesses such as pneumonia and malaria, which are reportedly fairly common.

Over the last year, 11 of David Alex's troops have died in battle (while inflicting 43 deaths and 11 injuries on the Indonesian military). Despite Indonesia's claims of a vastly reduced military presence in the territory, the resistance reports that about 40 battalions, upwards of 30,000 Indonesian soldiers, are currently in East Timor. The ubiquitous sight of Indonesian troops

throughout the country, supplied with advanced military equipment from Britain, the U.S., and a number of other Western countries, would seem to substantiate the resistance claims.

David Alex's band had six U.S.-made M-16 rifles, a machine gun, two pistols (all captured from Indonesian troops), and a few hand and rocket propelled grenades for 11 soldiers. "If we had enough money," Alex told me, "we could simply buy the weapons from the Indonesians." The resistance reportedly purchases much of its military supplies, especially bullets, grenades, and uniforms, from Indonesian soldiers.

Several of David Alex's fellow guerrillas, including his 37 year old *ajunto*, or assistant, Jais, have been in the mountains



David Alex photos: Matthew Jardine

since Indonesia's invasion. A few of these 21-year veterans were only young children at the time, and thus have very little memory of life in the villages and towns of East Timor. Clearly, one of the challenges of a post-occupation government in East Timor will be the re-integration of the guerrilla fighters into East Timorese society.

The typical daily routine of the guerrillas is one of taking care of their basic necessities such as cooking, eating, and writing letters to friends and fellow FALINTIL fighters and underground activists. The guerrillas are a close-knit bunch; their fellow guerrillas are, in effect,

their family. David Alex and his men showed themselves to be well-informed of events taking place within East Timor and Indonesia and throughout the world. They have recently-acquired advanced radios to communicate with guerrillas throughout the east and monitor the shortwave, Portuguese language radio broadcasts of the BBC, Voice of America, and the Australian Broadcasting Corporation. Occasionally, they receive newspapers smuggled in from abroad.

The guerrillas have no intention of unilaterally ending their struggle. They see FALINTIL as an integral and indispensable part of an overall resistance to Indonesia's illegal rule of their tiny country. In their eyes, the recent awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize to José Ramos Horta, the head of the diplomatic front of the resistance, and Bishop Carlos Belo of East Timor has served to legitimize their efforts internationally.

"We will struggle forever to defend the rights of the people and to keep their hopes alive," asserts David Alex. "Only this way can we force Indonesia and the countries that provide the Suharto regime with arms and money, especially the United States, to follow international law and respect our human right to self-determination."

"The most important thing for U.S. activists to do," according to David Alex, "is to get the United States to end its support for Indonesia. Given U.S. power and influence, a change in thinking in the United States would force the United Nations Security Council to act to end Indonesia's occupation."

David Alex is most probably correct. If the Clinton administration were to make serious efforts to realize a negotiated settlement through the United Nations, the Indonesian government would probably quickly agree to sit down with the East Timorese resistance and negotiate a cease-fire. And David Alex and his fellow guerrilla fighters could finally come down from the mountains. ■



This is a lengthened version of an article that appeared in the January 14, 1997 edition of *The Christian Science Monitor*.

What is Indonesian Money Buying at the White House? by Charlie Scheiner

Over the last few months, a pattern of influence-peddling, cronyism, official secrecy, corruption, Presidential dissembling and the misuse of political power for personal gain has emerged among numerous political leaders in the United States. And economic interests of citizens of Indonesia have played a key role in the emerging scandal.

In a strange role reversal, a Western "democratic" government and political party are being exposed as the recipient of questionable payments from Asian companies. And, although such "gifts" may be the norm in Indonesian elites, the American press is increasingly outraged when it happens secretly at home. As described by the *Washington Post*: "Once again, we are being treated to the Clinton Administration's awesome talent for turning a misdemeanor into a felony - or the appearance of one."

INFLUENCE-PEDDLING

The scandal began to unravel when it became known that long-time Clinton acquaintance James Riady was a major donor to the Democratic National Committee. The Indonesian-American Riady is the son of Chinese-Indonesian billionaire Mochtar Riady (Lie Mo Tie) and represents his Lippo Group conglomerate in the United States. The facts dribbled out - aided by Republican election-year opportunism and hindered by White House disingenuousness - and Americans eventually learned that Riady has visited the White House 20 times, including six meetings with President Clinton. Although Clinton aides at first called them "social visits," they now admit that important policy matters were discussed.

The Lippo Group is one of Indonesia's top ten conglomerates, with assets in banking, real estate, and securities, and links with Liem Soie Liong's Salim Group. Lippo is also deeply involved in China. But their American political connections are Lippo's claim to fame. James Riady moved to Arkansas 19 years ago, and began to develop relationships with soon-to-be-Governor Bill Clinton. As his American patron rose in stature, Riady's influence grew as well, developing personal and business relationships with many who would later go to Washington with the new President. When Clinton crony Webster Hubbell had to resign as U.S. Attorney General in the face of Whitewater-related criminal charges, Lippo gave him a job. And Clinton hired a key Lippo employee, John Huang, for an important position at the Commerce Department, where he used political connections to develop lucrative ties between businesses in Arkansas, China and Indonesia.

Later, Riady and Huang convinced Clinton to move Huang to the Democratic National Committee, where he directed his successful fundraising efforts at Asian-Americans. Although U.S. law prohibits foreign individuals or corporations from making political contributions, Huang worked close to the limit. The Democratic Party has had to return nearly half of the \$2.5 million Huang raised for the 1996 campaign due to its questionable sources, many of whom were closely linked to the Lippo Group. Although Huang has now been let go from the DNC and remains unavailable to the media, other White House and Democratic Party officials are trying to execute what was termed, in Nixonian Watergate days, a "modified limited hangout."

In addition to campaign finance regulations, it is against the law for individuals in government positions to use their position to benefit themselves, businesses they have ties to, or political

campaigns. Accusations of this sort are flying fast and furious in Washington these days, and there may be criminal charges. Some Republican politicians are hinting that the President has committed "high crimes and misdemeanors" for which he could be removed from office, but Republican fund-raising tactics differ little from those of the Democrats. Republican House Speaker Newt Gingrich called for hearings on human rights in East Timor and a suspension of all U.S. relationships (including arms sales) with Indonesia until the scandal is fully investigated, but his ardor may cool now that Election Day has passed.

POLICY INFLUENCE

In face-to-face meetings, Riady urged Clinton to meet with Suharto in Tokyo in 1993, to open up U.S. trade with China, and to back off on a U.S. investigation to remove Indonesia's trade preferences because of pervasive violations of workers' rights. Although Clinton did adopt these policies, his administration denies it was because of Riady's urging. And they could be telling the truth - many others, including major U.S. businesses with much more clout than Riady's Lippo group, were also pushing for corporate profits over human rights. And the Clinton Administration's tilt toward the Suharto regime continues policies of every Washington government, Democrat and Republican, since 1965.

As President Clinton comes under increasing pressure, he needs to prove that his policies have not been bought. In several post-election press conferences, he cited his administration's ban on exporting small arms to Indonesia because of East Timor as an example of his integrity. In fact, the ban on small arms (recently expanded to include armored vehicles), was taken to ward off stronger Congressional action. Last year, the Administration promoted one of the largest U.S. weapons sales ever to Jakarta - \$200 million in F-16 Falcon fighter jets. (The Administration now appears to be backing off due to public pressure.) Now Clinton wants to restore and expand U.S. taxpayer-funded military training aid (IMET) for Indonesian soldiers, which was banned by Congress after the Dili massacre and allowed only for non-military subjects since 1995, when the Republicans took control of Congress.

As the investigations continue, advocates for democracy, human rights, and self-determination for Indonesia and East Timor have an opening. Americans have discovered Indonesia, which heretofore was often ignored by the media. We must push for deeper understanding both of the Suharto regime (which is usually ignored in coverage of the Lippo scandal) and of the role of multinational corporations, including U.S.-based ones, in shaping government policies. And we must work to reshape those policies - public scrutiny can, perhaps, counteract cronyism and bribery in the ostensibly democratic system of the United States.

The continuing double-speak of Clinton Administration officials only make things worse for them and better for supporters of Indonesian democracy. At a November 14 press conference before departing for Asia, Assistant Secretary of State Winston Lord (a career diplomat who advocates increased trade with the autocratic Chinese and Indonesian regimes) thrice denied knowing James Riady or John Huang, but hedged: "I, literally, have not heard of either name. But it's conceivable I probably should have in the case of Riady. He's a rather famous person in Asia. So I just don't see any connection with our policy-making. But I cannot, of course, account for every last meeting and every last activity." *This article first appeared in the December 1996 issue of the TAPOL Bulletin.*

(Book Reviews, cont. from page 12)

the literature on this poorly documented period) and narratives of the people she befriended during her three years as a "tapol," or political prisoner. Not all were leftists. Suharto also cracked down on "aberrant" Muslim sects and, as Budiardjo notes, "for this regime, people in the middle are also extremists if they happen to be liberals or advocates of human rights."

Suharto's campaign of terror combined mass killings in the countryside with brutal repression in urban centers. The CIA helpfully provided lists of thousands of communist leaders to make the Indonesian military's dirty work less taxing. Small arms from the U.S. soon followed. *Time* called this "boiling bloodbath... the West's best news for years in Asia."

After a campaign on Budiardjo's behalf resulted in her release and exile to England, she helped set up an organization called TAPOL to publicize the plight of dissidents still jailed in Indonesia. TAPOL puts out a bi-monthly bulletin whose focus now includes the Indonesian pro-democracy movement and the East Timorese and West Papuan struggles for self-determination.

In 1995 Carmel Budiardjo received "The Right Livelihood Award" (sometimes known as "the alternative Nobel"). In endorsing her nomination for this award, the International Federation for East Timor wrote "if today the tide of international opinion is turning with regard to the Suharto regime... in no small measure this is due to the accumulated efforts for two decades of Carmel Budiardjo and TAPOL."

The publication of *East Timor's Unfinished Struggle* coincided with the fifth anniversary of the 1991 massacre at the Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili. That bloodbath, in which Indonesian soldiers killed at least 271 Timorese, occurred after

a non-violent protest march.

Allan Nairn, who joined the marchers and had his skull fractured by a soldier wielding a U.S. M-16, recalls in a foreword the last time he saw Pinto inside Timor, the night before the ill-fated march: "We were in a dark room lit by a single candle. Constancio was extremely tense. Part of his face was still frozen from the effects of torture. He was organizing the following day's protest and was under an army death warrant."

Pinto was just a boy when former colonial ruler Portugal withdrew from Timor, and the left-populist FRETILIN party (which Pinto's family supported) emerged victorious from a brief civil war in the fall of 1975. As Matthew Jardine notes in the detailed historical overview that opens the book, the United States gave Suharto the go-ahead for the December 1975 invasion and provided 90% of the weaponry used in the early, bloodiest years of occupation.

East Timor's Unfinished Struggle sets Pinto's personal story in the larger context of his people's struggle. Pinto joined the FRETILIN's army as a 14 year-old guerrilla. In the years that followed, his family often came close to starvation but managed to survive. Others weren't so lucky.

Pinto describes Indonesia's late-seventies campaign of "encirclement," in which U.S.-supplied napalm was dropped on the Timorese: "Parents abandoned their children [for fear] that they would slow them down, because their crying would put everyone's life in danger, or because there was no more food to feed them."

Pinto and his family were forced to surrender to the Indonesian military. After they relocated to the capital, Dili, Pinto eventually made contact with the underground. The personal risks were staggering: Pinto's mentor explained that freedom fighters must sometimes accept the

seizure of a spouse by the enemy in order "to protect the country and the people."

In 1990 Pinto was elected leader of the underground resistance. That year he helped organize important demonstrations held during visits by Pope John Paul II and U.S. Ambassador John Monjo.

After being arrested and badly beaten for three days in 1991, Pinto convinced Indonesian intelligence that he would work as an informer. In one of the most gripping sections of his story, Pinto describes the machinations involved in continuing resistance work while stalling impatient enemy operatives. He even argued with the head of military intelligence about the wisdom of attacking demonstrators. The colonel's response: "We will stop by any means necessary any demonstration ... against Indonesia[s] presence in ... Timor."

The November 12, 1991 Santa Cruz Massacre showed the world just how far Indonesia was willing to take that credo. While on the run from the military, Pinto helped to compile a list of the Santa Cruz victims. This documentation, coupled with the testimony and footage of Nairn and other foreign journalists who survived the massacre, contributed to the growth of today's world-wide solidarity movement.

The object of a massive manhunt, Pinto managed a risky escape to Jakarta, then on to Lisbon and the U.S. If he had been caught it's unlikely he'd have lived to co-write this book -- his successor as head of the urban resistance was tortured to death last year. *Surviving Indonesia's Gulag* and *East Timor's Unfinished Struggle* thoroughly discredit apologists for the corporate-friendly Indonesian state. The strength of spirit and unflagging dedication to challenging the Suharto regime evidenced in both these books should be an inspiration to readers around the world. ■

Carmel's Tour by John M. Miller

ETAN hosted Carmel Budiardjo for a nearly three week-long speaking tour this past October. The tour took her to 11 metropolitan areas in nine states where she spoke on human rights in Indonesia and East Timor (see her article in the Nov. '96 *Estafeta* for the flavor of her talks). At each stop, she engaged in a round of mostly university-based talks and media interviews. Throughout, Budiardjo offered her unique perspective on last summer's crackdown on the opposition in Indonesia and the occupation of East Timor. The announcement of the Nobel Peace Prize award half-way into the tour no doubt contributed to interest in what she had to say. Carmel focused on West Papua in Austin where mining giant Freeport MacMoRan's local environmental record and threats to academic freedom are in issue, and

highlighted labor rights in Portland, home to Nike.

Budiardjo promoted her prison memoir *Surviving Indonesia's Gulag* with signings at several bookstores and attracted capacity crowds at lecture halls on a number of campuses. Cities she visited included Boston, New Haven, Austin, Minneapolis/St. Paul and Chicago. She received a standing ovation at the midwest regional Amnesty International "Freedom from Fear" conference in Madison. Other stops included several campuses in the San Francisco Bay Area and three cities in Oregon. Her last stop was Seattle, followed by a several speaking engagements in western Canada organized by the East Timor Alert Network. She also was interviewed for numerous local and national radio shows.

Carmel was pleased with the tour and felt it produced valuable results.

Resources on East Timor

The 21-year long invasion, occupation and genocide by Indonesian forces in East Timor have received little attention in the U.S. media. To help people learn about the island country, and how to support human rights and self-determination, the East Timor Action Network (ETAN/US) provides materials and speakers, and organizes events and campaigns.

Videos (all are NTSC 1/2-inch VHS)

- Death of a Nation: The Timor Conspiracy.* Documentary by John Pilger, 1994. 76 min. \$35 for home use, \$150 with public performance rights.
- East Timor: Turning a Blind Eye.* Paper Tiger TV on US policy and the role of the media. Taped during ETAN's 1993 speaking tour. 30 min. \$20
- Aggression & Self-Determination.* The US role and how to change it. ETAN, 1992. 28 min. \$20
- Cold Blood: The Massacre of East Timor.* British documentary including the Nov. 12, 1991 massacre. 55 min. \$25
- Sometimes I Must Speak Out Strongly.* Documentary profile of Nobel Peace Prize Winner Bishop Carlos Belo, by Max Stahl. 52 min., \$30 (for private use only), 1996.
- Manufacturing Consent: Noam Chomsky and the Media.* Documentary biography by Peter Wintonick and Mark Achbar, compares media coverage of East Timor and Cambodia. 1992. 166 min. \$40

Audiotapes and CDs

- Massacre: The Story of East Timor.* Award-winning documentary by Amy Goodman & Allan Nairn, originally broadcast Nov. 1993. 40 min. \$8. Updated version (12/10/96), one hour. \$8. **New!**
- East Timor: A Case of Genocide.* Radio program; talk by Allan Nairn in Portland, OR, April 1994. 60 min. \$11
- Justice for East Timor: Noam Chomsky and Constância Pinto at M.I.T.,* April 1995. 90 min. \$10
- Manufacturing Consent: Noam Chomsky and the Media.* Abridged from the film. 60 min. \$8
- All in the Family,* elegant and eclectic CD by Australian and East Timorese musicians. Profits to Timorese youth programs. Australia, 1994. \$15
- Love From a Short Distance.* Music for East Timor by Bono and others from around the world. Australia, 1996. \$15. **New!**

Books

- East Timor's Unfinished Struggle: Inside the Timorese Resistance.* By Constância Pinto and Matthew Jardine. A first-hand account of the East Timorese struggle. 292 pp. South End Press, US, 1996. \$16. **New!**
- East Timor: Genocide in Paradise.* By Matthew Jardine. Basics that Americans should know. 95 pp. Odonian Press, US, 1995. \$6
- Funu: The Unfinished Saga of East Timor.* By 1996 Nobel Peace Prize winner José Ramos-Horta. Autobiography and observations of the U.N. 208 pp. Red Sea Press, US, 1987. \$15.
- East Timor at the Crossroads: The Forging of a Nation.* Edited by Peter Carey and G. Carter Bentley. All aspects of East Timor, with unsurpassed bibliography. Cassell/U. Hawaii, US, 1995. 259 pp. \$20
- Generations of Resistance: East Timor.* Photographs by Steve

ETAN/US was formed after the November 12, 1991 massacre, when Indonesian soldiers murdered over 250 unarmed Timorese civilians in cold blood. We are a grassroots network of local groups, working to change U.S. policy toward East Timor. Our major current campaign is to end U.S. arms sales and military cooperation with Indonesia's army. **Join us.**

- Cox, with a 45-page historical introduction by Peter Carey. Sixty pages of extraordinary photos of East Timor, including 8 in color of the Dili massacre. Cassell, UK, 1995. Large format, 120 pp. \$22
- Surviving Indonesia's Gulag: A Western Woman Tells her Story.* By Carmel Budiardjo. The head of TAPOL spent 1968-1971 in Indonesian prisons, for "politics." Cassell, UK, 1996. 213 pp. \$18
- Telling: East Timor Personal Testimonies 1942-1992.* By Michelle Turner. Oral accounts by East Timorese, recounting what they have lived through. 218 pp. Australia, 1992. \$25
- Powers & Prospects: Reflections on human nature and the social order.* By Noam Chomsky. Based on 1995 lectures in Australia; East Timor is a central theme. 244 pp. South End Press, US, 1996. \$16 **New!**
- Indonesia's Forgotten War: The Hidden History of East Timor.* By John Taylor. 230 pp. UK, 1991. \$20
- Power and Impunity: Human rights under the New Order.* In-depth report by Amnesty Int'l on Indonesia and East Timor. 126 pp. UK, 1994. \$8
- International Law and the Question of East Timor.* Analysis by legal experts, by the Catholic Inst. for Int'l Relations and the Int'l Platform of Jurists for E. Timor. 352 pp. UK, 1995. \$26 (\$15 for activists)
- East Timor: Prospects for Peace.* Report and Papers of an Ecumenical Consultation. Includes key background documents. 142 pp. World Council of Churches, Geneva, 1995. \$7
- Manufacturing Consent: Noam Chomsky and the Media.* From the film, with expanded and updated notes and resource list, edited by Mark Achbar. 250 pp. Black Rose Books, Montr al, 1994. \$22
- Complicity --Human Rights and Canadian Foreign Policy: The Case of East Timor.* By Sharon Scharfe. 250 pp. Black Rose Books, Montreal, 1995. \$20
- West Papua: The Obliteration of a People.* By Carmel Budiardjo and Liem Soei Liong. Slightly dated but one of the few comprehensive books on West Papua/Irian Jaya. 150 pp. TAPOL, UK, 1988. \$10

Periodicals

- Estafeta*, ETAN's quarterly newsletter about developments in East Timor, U.S. policy and the movement for East Timorese self-determination. \$10 annual subscription.

Magazines and Pamphlets

- Transcript of 12/95 program at Columbia University with Noam Chomsky, Allan Nairn, Constância Pinto and Reed Brody. \$4.
- March 1994 special issue of the New Internationalist on East Timor, edited by John Pilger. \$3.50
- Senate Testimony of Allan Nairn, 2/27/92. \$1
- Report from the Manila Asia-Pacific Conference on East Timor, by Charles Scheiner. June 1994. \$1.50

Bibliography of books and articles. By ETAN, February 1995. \$5.50

A Day in the Life of U.S.-Indonesia Trade. Real Trade profile by International Trade Information Service, April 1995. 50 pp. \$7.50

Other

- "Free East Timor" square white button with photo of Timorese girl. \$1
- "Free East Timor" round black button with Fretilin flag. \$1
- "U.S. Weapons out of East Timor" button. \$1
- "Indonesia out of East Timor" bumper sticker. \$1
- "No Arms to Indonesia" Poster with cartoon and list of European arms exports to Indonesia. \$1
- 1997 East Timor Wall Calendar.** Striking pre-invasion, duotone photographs by Elaine Brière, with background information and action suggestions. Beautifully produced by ETAN/Winnipeg; includes many U.S. holidays. \$10

For information on Internet resources on East Timor, send a blank e-mail message to timor-info@igc.apc.org

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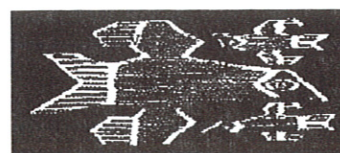
Contact Information for New ETAN Chapters

For a complete listing of all ETAN chapters, contact ETAN/US.

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Upcoming Events

Boston: South End Press is hosting an evening with Constância Pinto and Noam Chomsky. Thursday, March 27, at 7pm. MIT, Building 10, Room 250. Contact: (617)648-0548 or 617-787-6809.

On April 26, there will be a "Day of Solidarity. Burma, Nigeria, Tibet, and East Timor activists will gather to educate one another and share strategies. Contact: (617)648-0548 or 617-787-6809.

New Haven: ETAN/New Haven and WPKN Radio will co-host a benefit showing of *Death of a Nation* on March 20 at the York Theater in New Haven. Constância Pinto will speak after the film. Contact: ETAN/New Haven.

New York: ETAN/NY is organizing a panel on the U.S., Indonesia and East Timor for the March 28-30, Socialist Scholars Conference in New York City. Scheduled to appear

are Allan Nairn, Jeff Ballinger (Press for Change), Jennifer Washburn (World Policy Institute) and Amy Goodman.

Washington, D.C.: Constância Pinto will be the keynote speaker at the Working for Global Justice: Careers and Activism in International Development conference in Washington, DC. The conference runs from March 21-23 and Constância will speak on Sunday, March 23. Contact: Visions in Action, (202) 625-7402, visions@igc.org.

Chicago: Constância Pinto and Matthew Jardine will speak at DePaul University. Wednesday, March 12 at 7pm. Contact: (312)275-3723.

Madison: Constância Pinto and Matthew Jardine will speak at the University of Wisconsin. Thursday, March 13, 7pm. Contact: (608)251-4616.

San Francisco: José Ramos Horta will join with fellow Nobel

Peace Laureates Rigoberta Menchu and the Dalai Lama at a conference on peacemaking in San Francisco. "Peacemaking: The Power of Nonviolence" will take place from June 9-11 at the Bill Graham Civic Auditorium in San Francisco. The conference is being organized by Tibet House New York. Contact: (212) 213-5592.

ETAN/SF will host three benefit showings of *Death of a Nation* at the Red Vic theater in S.F. on May 21, at 2, 7:15 & 9:20pm. Contact: (415)668-3994 (the Red Vic) or (415)626-9906.

Los Angeles: Matthew Jardine will read from his new book, co-authored with Constância Pinto, *East Timor's Unfinished Struggle: Inside the Timorese Resistance*. He will also show slides from his recent trip to East Timor. Thursday, April 10, 7:30pm at the Midnight Special Bookstore at 1318 3rd Street Promenade in Santa Monica

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New Books on East Timor and Indonesia *Reviews by Ben Terrall*

Surviving Indonesia's Gulag: A Western Woman Tells Her Story
by Carmel Budiardjo
Cassell. 213 pages. \$17.95

East Timor's Unfinished Struggle: Inside the Timorese Resistance
by Constâncio Pinto and Matthew Jardine
South End Press. 289 pages. \$16.00.

Thanks to the Lippo/Riady campaign donations to the Democratic Party and the awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize to Bishop Carlos Belo and José Ramos Horta, Indonesia finally made it into the mainstream news this past fall. Readers who want to learn more about the ongoing scandal that is U.S. policy toward Indonesia would do well to buy Carmel Budiardjo's *Surviving Indonesia's Gulag* and Constâncio Pinto and Matthew Jardine's *East Timor's Unfinished Struggle: Inside the Timorese Resistance*. Both memoirs show that U.S. support for the Indonesian dictatorship has been a consistently bipartisan affair for three decades.

Carmel Budiardjo is English and became politically active while studying at the London School of Economics in the 1940s. In 1947 she helped launch the International Union of Students in Prague. There she met her future husband, an Indonesian, and moved to his homeland in the early '50s. Though she was barely able to speak the language, Budiardjo obtained a job translating for a news agency shortly after her arrival in Java. Within four years she received a degree in economics at the University of Indonesia. She then wrote economic analyses for both the Sukarno government and the PKI, the Indonesian communist party.

After General Suharto took power in the phenomenally bloody 1965 coup, tolerance of the Indonesian communists, and anyone associated with them, ended. By 1970, Suharto's forces had killed as many as a million Indonesians, banned all leftist organizations, and crammed prisons to capacity. Budiardjo herself spent three years in jail without charge or trial because of her PKI connections.

In understated, graceful prose she describes the daily travails of surviving in jails where few prisoners had even mattresses. Her book effectively interweaves autobiography, political history (including a chapter on the '65 coup that is a useful addition to

(continued on page 9)

EAST TIMOR ACTION NETWORK/U.S.

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ETAN Lobby Days in Washington, D.C.: April 13-15

ETAN members from around the country will gather in Washington, D.C. April 13-15 to lobby Congress on East Timor. This will mark ETAN's fourth consecutive year of having Lobby Days. Past experience has proven the effectiveness of the event, resulting in hundreds of meetings with Congressional staffers and greatly increased awareness of East Timor on Capitol Hill. For those of you who cannot participate in April, there will be a second round of Lobby Days June 8-10 (proposed). If you would like to attend or to learn more, please contact ETAN's Washington Representative, Lynn Fredriksson, at (202)544-6911 or etandc@igc.apc.org.

Spring Cleaning: Peace Action and ETAN Join Forces to Fight U.S. Arms Sales to Indonesia

Peace Action (formerly SANE/FREEZE) is dedicating its annual "Spring Cleaning: Congressional Education Days" to opposing U.S. arms sales to Indonesia. Along with ETAN, *Peace Action* is focusing on Indonesia as the wedge issue to highlight the value of the proposed Code of Conduct which would ban U.S. military assistance and arm sales to countries that systematically violate human rights and democratic principles.

Peace Action's "Spring Cleaning" will take place from March 15-18, 1997 in Washington, D.C. If you would like to participate or to learn more, call *Peace Action's* Jim Bridgman at (202)862-9740 (ext. 3041) or email him at paarmstrade@igc.apc.org.



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