

Xanana Gusmão Captured

Repression increases, but the struggle continues

On November 20, the Indonesian military captured Timorese resistance leader José Alexandre (Xanana) Gusmão in Dili. In the following few days, they rounded up dozens of his friends and family members, aged from 13 to 74. For the first ten days, all were held incommunicado in secret locations, subject to unspeakable threats, drugs, and torture.

As the Indonesian crackdown in East Timor continued, the increased violence and disinformation emanating from Jakarta was met by worldwide calls for the prisoners to be treated in accordance with Indonesian and international law – no torture, access to attorneys of their own choosing, etc. Portuguese President Mario Soares called on Indonesia to release Xanana, and offered him asylum.

After ten days, his military captors put Xanana on television, for a "cordial breakfast chat." His interviewer/translator was Abilio Osorio Soares, the Indonesian-appointed governor of East Timor, who has publicly expressed regret that the army didn't shoot down hundreds more when they killed 273 in the cold-blooded Santa Cruz massacre in 1991. In the interview, Xanana renounced the East Timorese struggle, supported the integration of East Timor into Indonesia, and called on his former colleagues in the Timorese underground to surrender.

Xanana's startling about-face had little credibility outside Indonesia. Instead, it provoked international outcries against mistreatment of himself and his family. "Sorry, but we're not that stupid," said Mario Carrascalão, who served as governor of East Timor for 10 years before leaving office in September, quoted in the Washington Post. "I am against Fretilin, but when I saw that statement, I was ashamed as a Timorese. It was an insult to my intelligence as a Timorese."

Psychologists and people who know Xanana personally viewed the videotape of the interview and concluded that Xanana has not internalized what he was saying, that there are clear signs that he had been tortured.

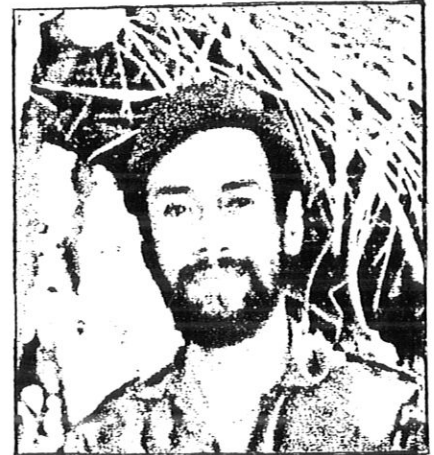
The Red Cross was finally allowed to visit Xanana on December 7. After that, Indonesian police made him available to selected journalists under strict military supervision and censorship. According to Portuguese TSF reporter João Gabriel, who met with Xanana (and 30 ABRI officers) on December 10, the rebel leader covertly made it clear that he still supports the struggle for Timorese independence.

The state-influenced Indonesian media has let loose a flood of fabrications about Xanana and the reputed collapse of the Timorese resistance, including **forged** letters, purportedly written by Xanana and widely distributed by the occupying forces in East Timor. The short version of the letter, addressed "to all fighters," reads:

As you all know, I was captured on 20 November 1992. I admit now that we have lost the war. Consequently, unite with the Indonesian officers. After careful thought, I ask you all to surrender to the nearest ABRI post. Don't waste this chance.

The Indonesian press has been filled with stories of guerrillas turning themselves in, totaling far more people than the Indonesians ever admitted were in the so-called "security disrupters." Although the Jawa

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José Alexandre "Xanana" Gusmão, the 46-year old commander of the East Timorese guerrilla movement, has led the underground struggle for more than a decade, inspiring thousands of Timorese and others all around the world.

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ETAN/US looks back and forward

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Next ETAN meeting

The next meeting of the East Timor Action Network/US will be on Sunday, February 28, at 2:00 pm at the home of Max Surjadinata, 100 LaSalle Street (apt 21B), east of Broadway near 124 Street, Manhattan, (212)222-1899. We will have a report from the Amsterdam solidarity meeting and an update on Washington and UN developments, as well as those inside East Timor. We will continue organizing for the speaking tour and the *Manufacturing Consent* film. Join us! If you're not near New York, be sure to send your ideas.

Xanana Captured (continued)

Pos newspaper reported that Bishop Belo had prepared a letter urging guerrillas to surrender, the Catholic prelate was quoted in a Portuguese newspaper:

This is a question of conscience for each individual, isn't it? To call on people to surrender and then kill them all. How could the church take responsibility for that? Each person is responsible for their own survival."

According to TAPOL, however, the reported surrenders are mass arrests, if they happened at all.

Notwithstanding this propaganda, the struggle continues. In Xanana's absence, Mau Huno (Antonio João Gomes da Costa) has assumed the leadership of the unified resistance and confirmed the ongoing military and diplomatic campaign for East Timorese independence, including Jose Ramos Horta as Special Representative of the CNRM.

Numerous communications from inside East Timor speak of greatly increased repression. One reliable source, relayed by Tapol on January 6, described widespread arrests and fear, even among people who did not support the underground. They gave some specific examples:

Some members of underground organizations who 'surrendered' in Baucau and who were then ordered to go into the bush to hunt down guerrillas have since been killed by Indonesian soldiers because they failed to capture anyone. They were given two alternatives to test the sincerity of their surrender: they would stay alive if they captured rebels or be killed if they captured no-one.

Operations by the military have reached a new peak of ferocity, forcing people to take oaths [sworn in blood to support Indonesia], all of which is carefully recorded. Youths, es-

pecially young girls, are being compelled to attend dance parties held by soldiers all over the country. No one dares to refuse or to protest as everyone is very afraid.

Things are far worse now than they were in 1975. We fervently hope that you will disseminate this information without mentioning the source. The situation in East Timor is dire; we sorely need intervention from the UN.

ETAN/US has been distributing an *Action Alert* to protest the treatment of Xanana and others arrested. Congressman Tony Hall, the *Washington Post*, human rights and legal organizations, and many other U.S.-based groups have made strong statements. Amnesty International has put out nearly a dozen Urgent Action calls since November 20.

The resistance is more than one person, and the struggle continues.

ETAN/US Passes First Year

The November 1991 Santa Cruz massacre was the impetus for the formation of the East Timor Action Network/US. We are preparing an Annual Report for our first year of grassroots activity, and won't take up space here to describe it in detail.

The high point of 1992 was, of course, the Congressional cutoff of military aid to Indonesia. The year also saw a greatly increased level of awareness and activism in the United States on East Timor. Print and electronic media coverage greatly expanded, and many justice, peace and solidarity groups have moved East Timor higher on their activist agendas.

ETAN has distributed information in a variety of ways, supplied speakers and videos, and published over 1000 pages of documentary materials. We have lobbied in Congress and the United Nations, and put out many action alerts and information bulletins. We provided logis-

tical and community support for Timorese and other non-Americans activists when they visit, and have arranged public meetings in cities from coast to coast.

As we enter our second year, we will do more the same, as well as some new projects, and hopefully have even more effect. We have over 500 contacts in more than half the states, people connected with a wide variety of organizations and constituencies. With a new administration coming to Washington, many (perhaps those outside the US more than here) believe that U.S. policy is about to change. Write President Clinton, Secretary of State Warren Christopher and your Senators and Representatives to help make it happen.

In 1993, we are organizing a national speaking tour of young Timorese activists (see below), lobbying the Clinton administration, and continuing to supply information and resources to Americans as they discover that the East Timorese people are still struggling. We will attend the international East Timor solidarity meeting in Amsterdam in February to discuss future plans, but we already know much of what we have to do in the "belly of the beast."

ETAN recently received a letter from CANVISTI, the underground Committee for Nonviolence and Solidarity inside East Timor, thanking us for our activities and expressing concern about their own security. As we hear from the East Timorese diaspora in Portugal, Macao, Indonesia, Canada, Australia, Mozambique and elsewhere, and from solidarity activists in many countries, it is clear that people all over the globe are looking to the United States, and to ETAN/US, as key to ending their 17-year nightmare.

1993 is a crucial year. We need your involvement, and your financial support, to take advantage of the opportunity provided by changes in American awareness and administration. Please make a tax-deductible contribution payable to "WESPAC Foundation/ETAN" and mail it to ETAN/US. Thank you.

Anniversary of Dili Massacre Marked

November 12, 1992 was the first anniversary of the Santa Cruz massacre, where Indonesian troops murdered 273 peacefully protesting East Timorese people in cold blood. (ETAN/US can provide a list of those killed, wounded, arrested, or 'disappeared' on that fateful day.)

The anniversary was observed around the world, as people met to remember those killed at Santa Cruz and the 200,000 other Timorese who have died as a result of Indonesia's invasion and 17-year occupation.

In the United States, an interfaith memorial service was sponsored by the International Federation of NGOs for East Timor (organized by ETAN activists) at the United Nations Church Center in New York. About 50 people, including Nelson Santos of the National Council of Maubere Resistance (CNRM), José Luis Guterres of Fretilin and Portugal's new ambassador to the United Nations, joined in solemn prayer and reflection. In Los Angeles, a memorial screening of the Cold Blood video reminded university and community residents of the ongoing horrors of East Timor. In San Francisco, about 30 people picketed in front of the Indonesian Consulate, leafletting passers-by and reading the names of the victims by candlelight. The Consulate closed itself for the occasion. In addition, articles on East Timor were published in many college and community newspapers.

ETAN/San Francisco organizer Anne Treseder spent the anniversary in Lisbon, where she participated in masses, vigils, drama and demonstrations. In an article for the California-based *Jornal Português*, she described a hillside outside Lisbon:

"Students and others had planted 271 white crosses, each cross representing a Timorese killed by the Indonesian Army on November 12, 1991. At the base of each cross was a candle. Just after midnight, in the early morning of November 12, we

walked up the hill, lighting the candles one by one. A workman sweeping the streets nearby saw us, and, without a word, came and lit a candle. The hill was soon illuminated by candlelight. ... When I returned in the afternoon, I found that someone had come and put flowers on the crosses as well."

In her two weeks in Portugal, which included Xanana's capture, Anne met dozens of Timorese exiles. "Here I was, a citizen of a country that had turned its back on East Timor and had supplied the arms for the murder of a third of its people; and yet, I received only kindness."

Chomsky Film is Outreach Opportunity

Local activists around the U.S. have another opportunity to broaden their constituency and raise some money, as the new full-length documentary film *Manufacturing Consent: Noam Chomsky and the Media* begins its U.S. distribution.

Canadian co-producer Mark Achbar is eager to work with East Timor activists to promote the film and energize people on Timor. He is willing to hold benefits for ETAN, and would like us to help people know about the movie. East Timor is covered at length just before the intermission of the 165-minute documentary, providing a great opportunity for tabling to give out information and collect names and money.

Manufacturing Consent opened in Canada last summer and has been distributed there, but it will begin US showings early in 1993. Film Festival showings are scheduled in Palm Springs, Boston, and Chicago for the next few weeks, after which it will get broader distribution.

If you would like copies of some of the favorable reviews we have of the film, or are interested in trying to arrange or support a showing in your community, contact Jay Holmes at 212-289-9635 or Eleanor Hoffman at 914-235-1797.

Timorese Speaking Tour here in April

This is a great chance to reach new people!

In April, 1993, six young East Timorese exiles will visit the United States and Canada on a three-week speaking tour initiated by the East Timor Talks Campaign in Melbourne and the Timorese Association of Victoria (Australia). We are working out their schedule, which we expect to cover at minimum Northern and Southern California, the Northwest, the Midwest, New York, Washington DC, New England and Canada.

If you would like some of them to visit your community, and can help arrange an event (honoraria desired but not required), please contact Richard Koch at 908-542-6275. In Canada, call Jason Amyot at 519-979-3166. We are looking for tour coordinators in each city and region the tour will visit, as well as help with transportation and housing.

Colleges, high schools, peace and human rights groups, churches and other similar groups are natural allies. This is a rare opportunity to meet the people most directly affected by Indonesia's domination of their country, and a chance to extend our support for their struggle from political analysis and moral outrage to include human compassion. Who will forget East Timor after meeting someone from there?

When the Australian tour organizers approached us a few months ago, they suggested concentrating on Congress and the UN. At our request, they agreed to lengthen and broaden the tour, to help Americans learn about East Timor. They've raised most of the money in Australia, and the participants are donating their time, because they believe the American people are critical to pressuring Washington to get Jakarta to change its policies.

They're right. Please help make this a success in breaking through the wall of ignorance that surrounds the people of the United States.

Aid Flores Earthquake Victims in the Name of East Timor

Flores is the island just west of Timor, and shares its Catholic religion and some of its Portuguese colonial history. In mid-December, an earthquake and tidal waves killed nearly ten times as many people as the massacre at Santa Cruz Cemetery. Reports put the Flores death toll at up to 2,500, with hundreds of thousands of homes destroyed. We support the survivors of both tragedies.

The East Timor Action Network/US is encouraging people to donate to the victims of the earthquake to show that although we oppose Indonesian government policy, we support the people of Indonesia. Tax-deductible checks to "WESPAC Foundation/Flores" should be mailed to ETAN/US. We will forward them to an appropriate Indonesian non-governmental organization for victims of the Flores catastrophe. We have already raised over \$300, and the campaign has hardly begun.

We also encourage contributions directly to relief organizations, but by channeling it through ETAN (we will not keep any of this money), you can help the people of East Timor as well as those of Flores.

Resources

In addition to the speaking tour and Chomsky film discussed above, ETAN/US has a variety of resources to enlighten people about East Timor. Thanks to Canadian photographer/activist Elaine Brière, we just received picture postcards of Timorese life; a set of six cards (two each of three different photos) is \$1.00.

We also have audio tapes of *Masacre: The Story of East Timor*, Amy Goodman's half-hour radio documentary broadcast nationally on the anniversary of the Santa Cruz massacre (\$6); the one-hour *Cold Blood* video (\$25); and the half-hour, US-focused video *Aggression and Self-Determination* produced by ETAN (\$20). We still have T-shirts (\$15), and copies of John Taylor's book *Indonesia's Forgotten War: The Hidden History of East Timor* (\$20). Please add \$3 postage for orders of videos, T-shirts, or books.

ETAN continues to publish monthly compilations of *Documents on East Timor*. The current issue includes 95 pages of reports and analysis from around the globe on Xanana's capture, the talks at the UN, the situation inside East Timor, solidarity activities worldwide, and other events. If you would like a sample copy, please send \$6 (\$7.50 international air mail) to ETAN.

Timor Peace Talks in New York

On December 17, the foreign ministers of Indonesia and Portugal met with UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali in New York to discuss East Timor. Jakarta's Ali Alatas refused to concede even symbolic issues, and nothing was agreed except that they will meet in Rome in April.

ETAN/US worked with other solidarity groups to present an "Urgent Appeal" to the two ministers and the S-G. The appeal, calling on the recipients and the international community to work for human rights and self-determination, was signed by Archbishop Desmond Tutu and about 50 prominent people from all over the globe. We are continuing to collect supporters of the appeal, which will be presented to the UN Human Rights Commission in February.

Timorese Special Representative José Ramos Horta, who came to New York for the talks but was not invited to participate, attributes Indonesia's hard-line position to their upcoming elections. He says that Portugal was steadfast in defending Timorese interests, but that the Indonesian military instructed Alatas not to make any concessions. Horta sees 1993 as a "very crucial year for East Timor."

During the week of the talks, we learned that the United Nations has scheduled an Asia-Pacific regional seminar on human rights for Jakarta on January 26-28, and we distributed an Action Alert asking human rights organizations to protest this outrageous siting. Although it is unlikely that the meeting will be relocated at this late date, we still urge every participant to condemn the human rights situation in East Timor and Indonesia.

In 1992, public pressure convinced the United States Congress to terminate U.S. military training for the Indonesian army.

In 1993, will we be able to end weapons sales? Restrict non-humanitarian economic aid? Curtail multilateral loans? Force Jakarta to negotiate seriously and respect human rights in East Timor?

The only way to find out is to try.

East Timor Action Network/U.S.

P.O. Box 1182

White Plains, New York 10602 USA