

Estafeta

Voice of the East Timor Action Network/U.S.

Vol. 3, No. 2-3/Autumn 1997

As Fires Burn On, White House Fans the Flames

by Lynn Fredriksson

As fires brought on by the greed of Suharto and company continue to burn out of control in Sumatra and Kalimantan, shrouding much of Southeast Asia in noxious smoke and causing environmental damage on a planetary level, hundreds die from drought-related famine in West Papua (Irian Jaya). Meanwhile the Indonesian economy falters, pro-democracy activists sit in jails in Jakarta, and the East Timorese suffer the worst repression and military violence since the Dili massacre in 1991. Amnesty International, the East Timor Human Rights Center in Melbourne, Human Rights Watch, and our own State Department have all recently documented increased and dire human rights abuses. How long can such abuse of peoples and planet prevail? What further disaster is necessary before the dictator Suharto will allow change? What further human and environmental disaster is necessary before the United States administration will change its

policy of economically, politically and militarily supporting the brutal Suharto dictatorship, its oppression of the Indonesian people and its illegal occupation of East Timor? An answer may lie in the prevalent misconception that Clinton and company operate within a fundamentally moral framework and not a corporate-Machiavellian one. The truth is, while many ethical and physical fires burn across Indonesia, our administration and State Department sit in Washington fanning the flames.

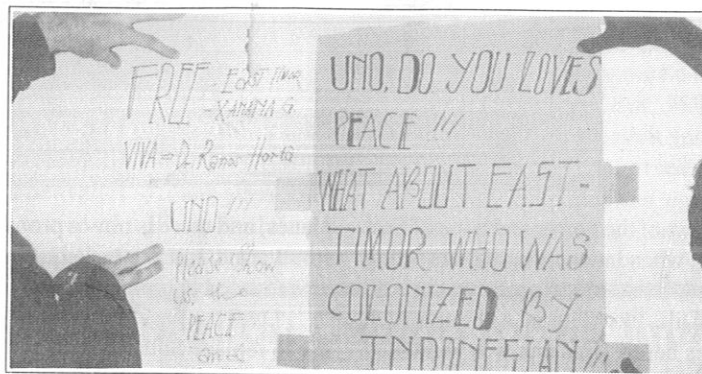
Since the fraudulent Indonesian parliamentary elections last May, thousands of additional Indonesian troops have been deployed to East Timor, dozens of young people have been killed, and incidents of arbitrary arrest and detention have increased, with hundreds of East Timorese imprisoned, incommunicado or disappeared. A stream of alerts have been issued on instances of torture. Implicated in this increased terror are the Indonesian Special Forces, Kopassus, to which the US still provides Green Beret training.

The East Timor Action Network with other grassroots organizations like Peace Action, Amnesty International, East Timor Religious Outreach, the Friends Committee on National Legislation, as well as many individual activists, have succeeded in pushing Congress to ban much of the military assistance and weaponry once provided to the Suharto regime. From 90% of the weapons used in

the initial invasion in 1975, we have cut back arms shipments to primarily helicopters, spare parts and ammunition. US activists have educated their senators and representatives about ongoing atrocities in East Timor, perpetrated by an Indonesian military in large part propped up by US training and supplies.

Congressional support

Since ETAN's inception in 1991, many in Congress have helped champion the human rights of the East Timorese by banning US weapons and military assistance. Among the House supporters are Tony Hall (D-OH) and Patrick Kennedy (D-RI), Nita Lowey (D-NY), Nancy Pelosi (D-CA) and most recently, Frank Wolf (R-VA) and Jose Serrano (D-NY). In the Senate, Patrick Leahy (D-VT), Russell Feingold (D-WI), Jack Reed (D-RI), and Ron Wyden (D-OR) have led the way. These congressional representatives have often opposed both the Bush and Clinton Administrations on East Timor policy, and have pressured



A young boy in East Timor holds up a plea to the United Nations Organization (UNO).

Sonya Hurston

the State Department to institute a ban that now includes the transfer of small arms, riot control equipment, helicopter-mounted weaponry and armored vehicles to Indonesia. Also in place is a ban on International Military Education and Training Program (IMET) in its full form. ETAN and our allies won a major victory last June when, after close to a year of delays, Suharto rejected the long-awaited, much-protested sale of nine US F-16 fighter jets. Suharto refused to accept the public and congressional linkage of human rights in Indonesia and East Timor with weapons sales, and rejected "Expanded IMET" as well.

For the past month, the joint House-Senate conference committee considering the Foreign Operations Appropriations bill has been poised to begin. The House version of this bill contains a ban on full

(continued on page 10)

DEMONSTRATE NOVEMBER 12

On the 6th anniversary of the Dili Massacre, ETAN and others will protest at all Indonesian government facilities in the country. Join us! (see back page).

About East Timor and the East Timor Action Network

East Timor is the size of Massachusetts, half an island between Indonesia and Australia. It was a Portuguese colony for four centuries, and its 600,000 people tasted independence following the anti-fascist Portuguese revolution in 1974. But peace and nationhood would not soon be theirs.

On December 7, 1975, Indonesia massively invaded East Timor, after getting the "green light" from President Ford and Secretary Kissinger. With essential weapons and diplomatic maneuvering from the United States, Indonesian armed forces still occupy East Timor. More than 200,000 East Timorese people (one-third of the pre-invasion population) have been killed by war, assassination, forced starvation and disease. The occupation persists, but the people of East Timor continue struggle for their right to decide their own political future.

Systematic campaigns of rape, murder, torture and arbitrary arrest have terrorized the people, and natural resources (including oil, coffee and marble) are pillaged for General Suharto's military-business complex. Massive human rights violations persist today; at least 707 arbitrary arrests and 49 deaths have been documented during the first half of 1997, in spite of increased attention following the award of the 1996 Nobel Peace Prize to two East Timorese leaders.

Renewed international awareness of the horror and hope of East Timor began on November 12, 1991, when Indonesian soldiers acting under orders killed more than 270 nonviolent demonstrators in cold blood at Santa Cruz Cemetery in Dili, East Timor. Although such massacres had occurred many times before, this one was witnessed by foreign journalists, and their pictures and video showed the incredible courage of the youthful demonstrators -- and the unbelievable inhumanity of the Indonesian army.

We formed the East Timor Action Network in response to the Dili massacre. ETAN is a grassroots movement of more than 5,000 people in every state, with local chapters in 16 cities (see page 8). We work for human rights and political self-determination for the people of East Timor, and we see changing US government policy as the key to ending Indonesia's occupation. In America's democracy, albeit imperfect, we have more opportunities to act, at less risk, than East Timorese or Indonesians.

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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Charlie Scheiner
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East Timor is not essential to Indonesia - Foreign Minister Ali Alatas has called it "a pebble in our shoe." ETAN's goal is to increase the pain caused by that pebble until Indonesia throws it away.

ETAN is a single-issue United States-based organization, but we work with peace, human rights, labor, religious and other groups. We embrace tactics from public education to protest, lobbying to local organizing, resource production to media work. We are part of an international movement; ETAN represents the International Federation for East Timor at the UN and facilitates a worldwide flow of information and activism over the Internet.

For our first few years, ETAN focused on reducing US military support for the Indonesian occupation. We succeeded in cutting off US military training aid to Indonesia in 1992, and have maintained limitations on such aid ever since. Our grassroots pressure led to cancellation of several weapons deals with Indonesia, including the sale of F-5 and F-16 war-

planes, and there is now a prohibition on US exports to Indonesia of small arms, riot control equipment, armored vehicles and helicopter-mounted equipment.

Over the past few years, more and more Indonesians are working to replace Suharto with a democratic government. Many in that movement see East Timor as the regime's weakest point, and support East Timorese rights as a means to freedom in Indonesia proper. ETAN works closely with Indonesians and others struggling against the Jakarta regime.

Since ETAN's formation in 1991, Indonesia has spent 100 times our budget for lobbying and public relations. But we have what their money can't buy - the support of people who believe in basic human values. A few of these people are in Congress, but many more are in cities across America. At the beginning of 1997, we opened an office in Washington to educate politicians and increase East Timor's profile among public interest groups there. We also hired a field organizer to travel the country, training activists, catalyzing new ETAN chapters and strengthening grassroots pressure on government and corporations.

Estafeta (the name of this newsletter), is the Portuguese word for messenger. The East Timorese resistance uses it for the young people who, with great courage and ingenuity, carry messages among people in the civilian underground and armed resistance. Although the risks involved in this *Estafeta* don't compare with those taken by East Timorese teenagers, the message may be just as important - and your resultant action just as necessary.

ETAN is made up of people like you who contact their representatives in Washington, protest, and educate others about the situation in East Timor. We survive on your generous donations of time, talent and money. Join us, and thank you. ■



Juhani Yli-Vakkuri holds a Timorese flag as ETAN/LA demonstrates outside the Indonesian Consulate.

International Appeal to End Military Support for Indonesia

Most US weapons sales to Indonesia have now been curtailed, thanks to the work of ETAN and other activists. However, other countries, less accountable to their publics, are stepping in to fill the void. Stopping US weapons sales sends a strong message to Jakarta because US political support (symbolized by US weapons and training) is crucial. But the weapons flow continues, mostly from Europe. To build on our successes here, ETAN is encouraging activists in Indonesia's diversifying global arsenal.

According to a recent report from the US Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, Indonesia is both increasing its military budget (a 40% increase from 1994 to 1995 alone, with weapons imports more than tripling), and diversifying its sources of weapons. Supplier statistics are given for three-year periods: although the US delivered more than half of Indonesia's \$170 million worth of weapons received in 1992-4, by 1993-5, the US share had dropped to 23%, surpassed by Germany and the UK. Delivery statistics lag new orders by several years, but the trend is continuing, with Russia, France and others increasing their share.

According to recent State and Pentagon reports to Congress, the US delivered \$11 million in weapons to Indonesia under the FMS (Foreign Military Sales) program in fiscal year 1996. Licenses issued that year for new DCS (Direct Commercial Sales) totaled \$212 million, more than half of which is one sale of six dual-use satellites. Comparison of figures from different sources and categories is problematic, but the DCS licenses, for deliveries in future years, show that the US continues to be a major source of military hardware to Jakarta. And although IMET training aid has stopped, US Green Be-

ACDA figures for weapons deliveries to Indonesia by supplier country, in millions of dollars:

	1992-4	1993-5
USA	90	70
UK	0	100
Germany	80	110
Other NATO	0	10
Middle East	0	5
East Asia	0	5
Total	170	300

rets and Marines are still training Indonesian Special Forces troops.

To kick off the international campaign, activists at the recent Oporto conference (see page 11) drafted a declaration to oppose military support for the Suharto regime, which was signed by more than forty conference participants. In September, Alyn Ware brought the Declaration to the International Peace Bureau conference in Moscow, where it was translated into Russian and signed by peace movement leaders from a dozen countries. ETAN and IPB will continue to circulate the declaration, which we hope will become a project of the International Federation for East Timor (IFET).

At ETAN's Steering Committee in Madison, we formalized our International Coordination and Outreach Committee, which will continue and expand our work with activists worldwide to formulate anti-military, economic and legislative strategies. If you are interested in being involved in this work, contact Charlie Scheiner at the ETAN national office. ■

International Declaration Calling for an Immediate End to Any and All Forms of Military Support for Indonesia

For the last three decades, the Suharto regime has ruled Indonesia through brutal force. With imported weapons and foreign training, the military has suppressed democratic reform and intimidated the Indonesian people by murdering, torturing, or arresting those who challenge Suharto's reign of terror.

The Suharto regime extended its domination and control when it invaded and annexed the nation of East Timor over twenty years ago. Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch/Asia, and the Catholic Church estimate that more than 200,000 women, men and children have died as a result of the continued illegal occupation. Despite numerous UN resolutions calling for Indonesia's withdrawal from East Timor, world support and military assistance for the regime has spread.

We, the undersigned, call for an immediate end to any and all forms of military support for Indonesia. We demand that the governments of the world stop the export of military goods, technology, and training; cease issuing or honoring arms export permits; and publicly announce a formal arms embargo with Indonesia. We commit to using all available economic, diplomatic, and political channels to prevent any instruments of death from reaching the murderous hands of the Suharto regime.

Please circulate this declaration for signature by people from anywhere in the world, and return signed copies to ETAN, PO Box 1182, White Plains, NY 10602 USA.

ETAN Steering Committee Adopts New Programs

ETAN activists from across the United States came together for a September weekend in Madison, Wisconsin. Forty-five ETANers, including our national Steering Committee and others, enthusiastically shared our experiences, developed new campaigns, and strengthened our organizational structure. We voted in a new Atlanta chapter, and welcomed activists from groups forming in Minneapolis/St. Paul, St. Louis and Sarasota, FL.

As a decentralized, locally-based network of chapters and activists, ETAN people meet formally only every year or two. But the face-to-face discussions proved far more rewarding than countless email, phone, and postal interactions. In addition, our first national meeting since hiring full-time staff provided valuable feedback and input for future campaigning. We formed many committees (see facing page) to strategize,

some of their eye-catching banners. Both are available for other chapters. Activists from Atlanta, Chicago and Los Angeles expressed gratitude to ETAN National Field Organizer Kristin Sundell for her hard work in helping to form and revitalize chapters. Her energy and commitment has proven vital to the growth and power of ETAN.

Broadening our work

Over the last six years, ETAN's main focus has been reducing US military complicity with Indonesia's occupation, challenging weapons sales and military training aid from Washington to Jakarta. We have had considerable success in that area, and the Madison meeting provided an opportunity to evaluate where we are and plan where we want to go.

Once again, we mobilized a national

When Suharto cancelled warplane and military training deals with Washington last June, he pointed out that the controversy over military cooperation was an impediment to more important aspects of the US-Indonesia relationship. ETAN will be challenging those more important aspects - the free flow of money and resources into the pockets of the Suharto family and US-based transnational corporations. We discussed an economic campaign to pressure selected corporations to withdraw from Indonesia until East Timor is granted self-determination. Boycotts, divestment and selective-purchasing laws, such as those which helped bring down apartheid in South Africa and now confront pariah governments in Burma and Nigeria, can force the Suharto regime to respond. Our new Economic Campaign Committee held lively discussions (including one on park benches long into the balmy night), and is strategizing a campaign which will include local and state legislative activities on selective purchasing and divestment from companies which support Suharto's occupation of East Timor.

Increasing our outreach

Strategies to strengthen chapters, including an organizing kit, a new packet of materials, greater coalition work, local phone trees, a key contact list and a speakers bureau were approved to support and sustain our growing Action Network. These measures will give fledgling chapters more support and increase the effectiveness of our public education. Outreach and resource committees were formed to facilitate production and distribution of new materials.

One of the most exciting decisions made in Madison was to hire Constâncio Pinto, East Timorese resistance leader who fled his homeland in 1992. For most of 1998, Constâncio will work full-time for ETAN, the Asia-Pacific Center for Justice and Peace, and Global Exchange, dividing his time between Providence, Washington, and speaking throughout the country. If you'd like him to come to your community, contact ETAN.

In addition, ETAN will organize a half-dozen conferences on East Timor in different regions of the United States next spring. Now is the time to think about hosting such a meeting, which will include both substantive information about East Timor and workshops on organizing skills. If the idea intrigues you,

explore local co-sponsors.

We discussed hiring a media consultant to expand East Timor's visibility in the press. A representative from the progressive public-relations firm Communication Works suggested a campaign to increase mainstream news coverage, and ETAN's new Media Committee (contact John Miller) is now developing a concrete, time-limited campaign and investigating how we can use the media more effectively.

Strengthening our organization

We revised ETAN's structure to improve gender balance and give more ETAN members input into decision-making by expanding and empowering our committees. Key to active decision-making on a timely basis will be the new Executive Committee (EC), which includes our staff and National Coordinator, and five members elected in Madison. The EC works within the overall policies determined by the Steering Committee. Other Committees which were formed or reinforced are Legislative, Media, International, Resources, Outreach, Economic and Fundraising (see box). Please contact the convenor of any area you'd like to help with.

ETAN will also form an advisory board of East Timorese activists, and endorse the campaign by 23 Nobel laureates for a "Decade for a Culture of Non-Violence." One of the most controversial questions was the proposal for ETAN/US to endorse campaigns of a broad progressive nature. After extended discussion, we decided to limit ETAN's endorsements to campaigns that have an impact on East Timor and Indonesia. This would include broader campaigns that advance the struggle for rights in East Timor and Indonesia or address East Timor/Indonesia as an example, other international

human rights issues (as defined by UN human and civil rights conventions), and struggles for self-determination. As, before ETAN local chapters are autonomous on this (and most other) structural questions, but may use this policy for guidance, and individual ETAN members are encouraged to use all appropriate channels for actions on issues that interest them.

On the financial front, ETAN's budget more than tripled between 1996 and 1997, and we decided to increase the energy devoted to fundraising, formalizing our Finance Committee. Working Assets Long Distance phone service has included ETAN among its grant recipients for 1997; WALD members should vote for ETAN in the ballot in your November phone bill (see box below). We expressed gratitude to foundations which have supported ETAN so far, and discussed how to write and circulate grant proposals for some of our exciting new projects. If you are interested in grant proposals or other fundraising, contact Charles Scheiner.

For the short term

The Steering Committee threw around some great ideas for demonstrative actions on and around November 12 and December 7, including street theatre, oversized puppet shows, protests outside Indonesian consulates, a drum circle at the White House, coalition pickets with labor unions and women's groups, and the reading of the names of men, women, and children killed in Timor. See the back page for information on national coalition actions for November 12.

Thanks to those who helped to organize the weekend, especially Erik Gustafson, Diane Farsetta, Elliot Stokes and John Roosa of ETAN/Madison. We'll see everyone next year. ■

ETAN has been selected to be one of 40 groups to appear on the 1997 Working Assets donation ballot and share about \$3 million. The money is divided up solely by the votes of Working Assets members, so if you are a member, please look for the ballot in your November bill and cast a vote for the East Timor Action Network.

ETAN gratefully acknowledges recent financial support from foundations which helps make our work more effective, including:

The Mailman Foundation
The Solidago Foundation
The Threshold Foundation
The Ruben and Elisabeth Rausing Trust
The Samuel Rubin Foundation and
The Vanguard Public Foundation

We are also thankful for office space and support donated by the **Unitarian Universalist Service Committee** in Cambridge, MA.

ETAN Committees and Conveners

If you are interested in helping develop and implement ETAN work in any of these areas, please contact the listed person.

Fundraising/Finance Committee:
 Charlie Scheiner
 914-428-7299, etan-us@igc.apc.org

Resources/Publications Committee:
 Allie Epstein
 773-561-5131
 and others

Media Committee:
 John Miller
 718-788-6071
 etan-outreach@igc.apc.org

Legislation Committee:
 Lynn Fredriksson
 202-544-6911, etandc@igc.apc.org

Outreach Committee:
 Simon Doolittle
 617-876-7442
 doolittles@compuserve.com
 and Sam Gale
 612-473-2023, galex018@tc.umn.edu

Economic Campaign Committee:
 Mulaika Hijias
 617-493-5252
 hijias@husc.harvard.edu

**International Coordination/
 Outreach Committee:**
 Charlie Scheiner (see above)

Speaking Tour Committee:
 Kristin Sundell
 617-868-6600x319
 etanfield@igc.apc.org

**Executive and
 Personnel Committees:**
 Charlie Scheiner (see above)



flesh out, and implement our work.

ETAN locals across the country described their recent activities, and all of us were energized. As reported in *Estafeta*, many chapters have hosted speaking tours and organized dramatic protests. Boston's ETAN chapter is working with church youth groups to develop a successful outreach program, distributing packets, educating their neighbors, and creating a curriculum on East Timor for Catholic high schools. ETAN/Seattle held large demonstrations using giant puppets, and ETAN/Los Angeles brought

phone-tree action alert, this time to support Sen. Leahy's amendment to curtail the use of US-supplied weapons in East Timor. Future legislative efforts will include a renewed push for East Timorese political self-determination, as a fundamental right to go along with the rights not to be arrested, murdered, raped or tortured. Lynn Fredriksson, our Washington representative, will work with friendly Congressional offices on legislation supporting the East Timorese people's right to decide their form of government.

Speaking Tour: Democracy In Indonesia, Self Determination for East Timor

by Kristin Sundell

In late October and early November, an East Timorese activist and an Indonesian dissident will be appearing throughout the US. Their speaking tour is co-sponsored by ETAN and Indonesia Alert!

Working to free her homeland

Nina Maria da Costa was born in East Timor in 1960. At age 14, Nina fled to Australia with her family to escape the Timorese civil war that broke out shortly after their departure. One year later Indonesia invaded.

Nina was educated in Australia. Due to her command of English, she was constantly sought after to act as an interpreter and advocate for her community in its dealings with the Australian government, non-governmental organizations, and the media.

As the news about the realities of life in Indonesian occupied East Timor began to trickle out of her home country, Nina used her skills and freedom to promote and protect the human rights of her gravely abused people.

Since the mid-eighties Nina Maria has traveled internationally, raising awareness of her country's plight and speaking on behalf of her people. She has addressed women's conferences from Africa to Australia, traveled to Geneva to speak on behalf of East Timor at the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, and petitioned the Portuguese government on behalf of East Timorese refugees. She sits on the board of the East Timor Human Rights Center alongside her countryman, 1996 Nobel Peace Prize Co-Laureate José Ramos Horta.

A struggle for democracy

Born in 1972 in Kalimantan, Indonesia, Nico Warouw became involved in political activism as a university student.

Starting in 1993, a growing number of Indonesian students became involved in organizing among industrial workers. During this time, Nico organized workers employed in a textile factory owned by the Suharto family. He and other students helped form PPBI (Indonesian Center for Labor Struggle). PPBI began recruiting on campuses to train student activists as labor organizers.

In May 1994, PPBI was one of the main components in the formation of a new, multi-faceted national organization. Later, this organization became the People's Democratic Party (PRD).

On the 20th anniversary of the Indonesian invasion of East Timor (December 1995), protesters occupied both the Dutch and Russian embassies in Jakarta to bring attention to the plight of the East Timorese. Nico was instrumental in planning these actions.

In 1996, Nico began to work for the international department of the PRD. He left Indonesia to carry out the party's international work shortly before the Suharto regime scapegoated the PRD for the July 1996 riots in Jakarta.

Nico is currently based in Sydney, Australia, where he runs the international office of the PRD. He has spoken about Indonesia and the struggle for democracy to audiences around the world. ■



An Indonesian soldier watches a group of men and women walk across a field.

Speaking Tour Schedule

Friday, November 7: Chicago, IL
Contact: Brad Simpson 773-561-5131 or simpsonb@nwu.edu

Saturday, November 8: Chicago, IL
Amnesty International Midwest
Regional Conference, morning panel
Contact: Elise Auerbach - Aais@midway.uchicago.edu
or 773-702-8638 or 773-404-9025

Saturday, November 8: Bloomington, IN
7:30 pm
Fine Arts Building Room 015
University of Indiana
Contact: Lisa Yu 812-857-5919

Sunday, November 9: Sarasota, FL
8:00 pm
Cook Hall, New College
Contact: Eric Piotrowski 941-952-1237 or
piotrows@virtu.sar.usf.edu

Monday, November 10: Austin, TX
7:00 pm
University of Texas: Garrison Hall,
Room #1
Contact: Kelly Seal 512-345-2063 or
mdseay@aol.com

Tuesday, November 11: Houston, TX
University of Houston
Contact: Herb Rothschild 713-743-9022
or H Rothschild@UH.EDU

Wednesday, November 12: Houston, TX
Demonstration at the Indonesian
Consulate

Thursday, November 13: New Orleans, LA
7:30 pm
Octavia Room (2nd Floor)
Danna Center, Loyola University: 6363 St. Charles Ave.
Contact: Sunita Patel 504-866-4116 or
spatel2@mailhost.tcs.tulane.edu

Friday, November 14: Chicago, IL
12:00 pm
Demonstration at the Indonesian Consulate
Contact: Brad Simpson 773-561-5131 or simpsonb@nwu.edu

Saturday, November 15: Ann Arbor, MI
7:00 pm
Koessler Room: Michigan League, 3rd Floor
University of Michigan
911 N. University Ave
Contact: Abduhlrahman Baris 313-973-7004

Sunday, November 16: Urbana, IL
7:00 pm
Room 192 Lincon Hall: 702 S. Wright St.
Contact: Lisa Cler (217) 239-5480 l-cler@students.uiuc.edu

New Resources on East Timor

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

Indonesia: One Struggle, One Change. New documentary shot in East Timor and Indonesia in 1997. Features trial footage of courageous pro-democracy Indonesian activists in solidarity with East Timor and comments by José Ramos Horta. Global Exchange, US, 1997. 30 min. \$150 institutions, \$60 community groups, \$30 individuals.

Bitter Paradise: The Sell-out of East Timor. The East Timorese struggle, in the context of Canadian government and corporate support of Indonesia. By Elaine Briere, Canada, 1996. 56 min. \$30 for personal use, \$100 for institutions.

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_____ Total

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___ Please send me ETAN's full resource listing brochure.

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____
Phone _____ Fax _____
E-mail _____

Tax-deductible contributions over \$50 can be payable to "WESPAC Foundation/ETAN." Other checks should be made out to "East Timor Action Network." Unfortunately, we cannot accept credit cards and all foreign checks must be drawn on banks with a U.S. correspondent.

Audiotapes and CDs

Quito: A documentary music drama about schizophrenia and East Timor. By Peter and Martin Wesley-Smith. The life and death of Francisco Baptista "Quito" Pires, an East Timorese refugee in Darwin who was shot by police and later committed suicide. Australia, 1997. \$15.

Books

From One Day to Another: Violations of Women's Reproductive and Sexual Rights in East Timor by Miranda E. Sissons. Documents the violent misuse of the Indonesian family planning program. 44 pp. East Timor Human Rights Centre, Australia, 1997. \$5.

"East Timor and the U.N.: The Case for Intervention." By Geoffrey C. Gunn. UN documents, with commentary and call to action. Africa World Press, US, 1997. 240 pp. \$20.

East Timor: Genocide in Paradise. By Matthew Jardine. Basics that Americans should know. 95 pp. Odonian Press, US, 1995. \$6.

Indonesia: Arms Trade to a Military Regime. Overview of Indonesia's military plus chapters on their weapons suppliers. European Network Against Arms Trade, Netherlands, 1997. 124 pp. \$8.

Pamphlets and Periodicals

"Human Rights Deteriorate in East Timor: Semi-annual report of Human Rights Violations in East Timor, January to July 1997." 34 pp. East Timor Human Rights Centre, Australia, 1997. \$4.

"Human Rights Violations in East Timor." Many disturbing color photographs of torture and killings, with an emphasis on recent years. 24 pp. East Timor International Support Center, Australia, 1997. \$5.

Indonesian Military Captures David Alex, Dies Under Suspicious Circumstances

by Matthew Jardine

The East Timorese guerrilla movement, FALINTIL, suffered a major loss when Commander David Alex died at the hands of the Indonesian military (ABRI) on June 25th. The Indonesian authorities quickly buried him the next day without allowing any independent observers, including his family, to see the body.

ABRI troops had captured David Alex and a number of his comrades in the outskirts of Baucau, the territory's second largest town. David Alex reportedly received wounds in the right lung and the right leg during the battle that led to his capture.

After his capture, Indonesian soldiers reportedly took him to the headquarters of the elite Kopassus commandos in Baucau, a reputed torture center. Hours later troops transported him

via helicopter to Dili and interrogated him at military intelligence headquarters. Indonesian authorities claim that he later died from excessive loss of blood in a military hospital despite their efforts to save him. Resistance sources report that Indonesian soldiers brutally tortured David Alex, eventually killing him. Whatever the truth, the Indonesian government's refusal to accede to demands, including that of Amnesty International, to permit an independent autopsy has only fueled the speculation that David Alex died as a result of torture or poisoning.

The Indonesian military had been hunting David Alex, the number three person in FALINTIL, for many years. Guerrillas under his command had recently launched a number of ambushes, causing heavy casualties among Indonesian soldiers and police, as part of a general FALINTIL offensive around the time of the May 29 "elections" for

Indonesia's parliament. ABRI responded by introducing thousands of additional soldiers into the territory, resulting in intense pressure on the guerrillas. It was in this context that Indonesian soldiers arrested David Alex.

I spent 24 hours with David Alex and 10 of the 150 guerrillas under his command in late November 1996 (see *Estafeta*, Vol. 2, No. 4-Vol. 3, No. 1). "We will struggle forever to defend the rights of the people and to keep their hopes alive," he told me. "Only this way can we force Indonesia and the countries that provide the Suharto regime, especially the United States, to follow international law and respect our human right to self-determination."

David Alex may be dead, but his memory, his example, and the conditions that compelled him to resist are alive. As long as this remains the case, David Alex's struggle will continue. ■

East Timor Action Network Local Groups and Contacts

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ACTION ALERT

Disappearance/Fear of Torture

The situation inside East Timor has become especially tense since guerrilla attacks on military installations at the time of the sham elections in May. The military has responded in typical fashion: by terrorizing the civilian population. 1996 Nobel Peace Prize laureate Bishop Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo has described "a wave of detention and torture ... raining down on the young in the territory," and says the human rights situation in the country is at its worst point in five years. Human Rights Watch/Asia, in a recently released report (available from ETAN), describes widespread arbitrary arrest and detention, often accompanied by torture, after a build up of Indonesian paramilitary and counterinsurgency forces; the report states that "torture, particularly with electric shocks but also with a variety of instruments such as rattan, metal pipes, and electric cable, is a standard method of interrogation used by police and army personnel alike."

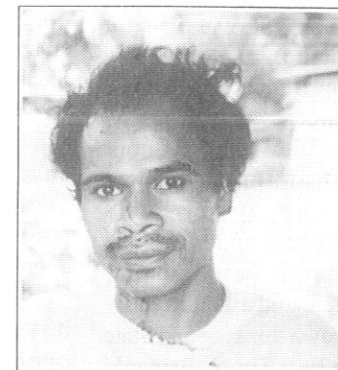
In early October, a source inside East Timor who managed to make phone contact with Australia, after trying for two weeks, said that the situation in the country was "very grim" and that "53 people had been killed" in the previous few weeks. Much to the advantage of the Indonesian military, there is still no UN or international human rights presence in East Timor that can check such reports. Instead, telephone and other communications are interfered with and the population is kept in a perpetual state of fear.

We in the outside world need to pressure the occupation forces to abide by international conventions on human rights. We encourage *Estafeta* readers to send follow-up letters on the case of João Guterres, whose arbitrary detention we discussed in the last issue of *Estafeta*, and to also query the appropriate authorities on the case of José Antonio Belo. Hundreds of others have been arrested in the past four months; we are singling out two in order to encourage our readers to take an action that can have very positive repercussions; East Timorese resistance leader Constâncio Pinto recently remarked that a dozen or so letters can sometimes keep an East Timorese prisoner from being killed.

João Guterres was arrested by members of Kopassus (Special Forces Command), notorious for being among the most brutal occupation troops, and taken to the "Red House" (Kopassus headquarters) in Baucau where he was detained from 16 to 17 May. There has been no news of João since then.

José Antonio Belo is a 25 year old activist who was tortured by the Indonesian military in 1995 after helping to organize a brief demonstration. He was in a small group of men arrested near Baucau on June 25, 1997, together with David Alex, second in command of the armed East Timorese Resistance (Falintil), by members of Kopassus (Special Forces Command). [see tribute to David Alex, p.7] It is unclear where José Antonio is now being held or whether he is being subjected to torture.

The East Timor Human Rights Centre in Melbourne just published a report documenting at least 707 arrests and 49 killings in East Timor between January and July, 1997. You can order the 34-page report from ETAN for \$5 (see page 7). ■



João Guterres

Matthew Jardine

RECOMMENDED ACTION:

Please send faxes/telegrams/express/airmail letters in English, Bahasa Indonesia or your own language:

- seeking clarification of the whereabouts of João Guterres and José Antonio Belo; if they are in detention, seeking clarification of the charges against them (if any) and calling for their immediate and unconditional release if they have not been charged with a recognizable offense under existing laws
- seeking assurances that they will not face any torture or ill-treatment in detention and that they will be treated humanely and in accordance with international standards; and
- seeking assurances that they will have full and continuing access to their family and independent legal counsel; and
- if João Guterres is no longer in detention, urging the authorities to hold an immediate inquiry into his current whereabouts.

SEND APPEALS TO:

1. MILITARY COMMANDER REGION IX/UDAYANA (includes East Timor)
General Syahrir MS
Pangdam IX/Udayana
Markas Besar KODAM IX/Udayana
Denpasar, Bali INDONESIA
Telephone: +62 361 228 095
Telegrams: Pangdam IX/Udayana, Denpasar, Bali, Indonesia

2. CHIEF OF POLICE FOR EAST TIMOR

Colonel Atok Rismanto
Kapolda Timor Timur
Dili, East Timor via INDONESIA
Telegrams: Kapolda, Dili, East Timor

ALSO SEND COPIES TO:

3. MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
Ali Alatas S.H.
Menteri Luar Negeri
Jl. Medan Taman Pejambon No. 6
Jakarta INDONESIA
Faxes: +62 21 360 541 / 360 517 / 380 5511 / 345 7782

4. SECRETARY GENERAL, NATIONAL COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS

Prof. Dr. Baharuddin Lopa
Sekretaris Jenderal, Komisi Nasional Hak Azasi Manusia (Komnas HAM)
Jl Latuharhary No 4 B
Menteng Jakarta Pusat INDONESIA
Phone/Fax : 62-21 392 5227
email: info@komnas.go.id

5. Indonesian Embassy to the United States

Ambassador Arifin Siregar
2020 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, DC 20036 USA
Phone 202-775-5200, fax 202-775-5365

(Washington Update, cont. from page 1)

IMET as well as report language calling for a UN or US envoy, and calling on the Administration to support a just solution in East Timor. The Senate version, much stronger, contains a provision, introduced by Patrick Leahy's office, which states that future transfers of US weapons (including helicopters) may occur only if Indonesia agrees that it will not use such weapons in East Timor. In its current form, this would be the strongest legal restriction on weapons to Indonesia yet achieved. [As I write, the bill is stalled over opposition by Rep. Chris Smith (R-NJ) to a provision for family planning aid to Mexico, with no resolution in sight.] ETAN has been lobbying for a final Foreign Operations Appropriations bill that would include both the House and Senate language. Though possible, we still face potential opposition from two pro-Indonesia representatives on the committee.

Patrick Kennedy's Indonesia Military Assistance Accountability Act was transformed by Howard Berman's office into an amendment to the Foreign Aid and State Department Authorization bill passed by the House International Relations Committee in May. The new provision resulted from compromises ostensibly made to accommodate Asia and Pacific Subcommittee Chair Douglas Bereuter (R-NE), a formidable Indonesia apologist. The provision restricts IMET and small arms sales to Indonesia until specifically named human rights improvements are met in both Indonesia and East Timor. In June, the State Department Authorization bill passed the House floor, split off from the Foreign Aid Authorization. That version, in Kennedy/Berman language, survived only as a non-binding Sense of Congress Amendment to the State Department Authorization Bill. The Code of Conduct on Arms Transfers and a watered-down version of Tony Hall's resolution on East Timor survived as amendments to this House bill as well. The Senate passed no version of these three amendments. Presently, this bill is also queued for consideration by conference committee. This second committee is equally stalled by Chris Smith's opposition to family planning funding. Staffers disagree about the state of affairs, but ETAN activists continue to lobby, particularly

to keep the Kennedy/Berman Sense of Congress amendment in the final version of the State Department Authorization bill.

Self-determination: The next step

We have proven we can be successful in advancing human rights and stopping weapons sales by pressuring Congress, especially those members which have either passed laws or pushed the administration and State Department to change policy. We must now do the same for self-determination. Within the coming months, key congressional supporters will be asked to back and gather co-sponsors for a resolution calling on the Clinton administration to support a UN-sponsored referendum on self-determination - in whatever ways possible - during international negotiations. While US involvement in these talks may be informal and indirect, the influence of the US position remains enormous. Currently, the State Department is not behind a just solution - only a politically and economically expedient one. Calls and letters to Madeleine Albright, and to Stanley Roth (recently unanimously confirmed as Assistant Secretary of State for East Asia and the Pacific), and other key contacts in the State Department will become critical in the near future.

Due to intense criticism of his poor record on Indonesia, East Timor and other Southeast Asian countries, Stanley Roth's official nomination was held up for over six months. In the brief Senate hearing on his nomination, Senator Feingold asked Roth six questions about Roth's own thinking and State Department policy on East Timor. Feingold cornered Roth into reaffirming current State Department policy banning small arms and other weapons to Indonesia through the next year. Activists can now push Stanley Roth to disprove accusations of prejudice in favor of the Indonesian dictatorship.

When human rights abuses are perpetrated in East Timor, it is especially important to alert the State Department, the US Embassy in Jakarta, the Indonesian Human Rights Commission (KOMNAS HAM), Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas, and military officials in Indonesia and East Timor and demand justice. When abuses are brought to our attention by Amnesty International, the ETHRC, and other

monitoring organizations, we send out alerts to activate our supporters to call or write. In one case, the brave dissident Jose Belo, a young man of 25, is still being held and likely tortured in a prison in Dili, since his arrest months ago during one of the Indonesian military's summer offensives (see page 9). There are few ways to reach some level of accountability for the military in East Timor; one is for governments Suharto relies on to intervene. Press coverage, UN observers, and human rights monitors are either refused official access to or severely restricted in East Timor. Our Embassy in Jakarta must send people into East Timor much more often.

To gear up momentum for these coming campaigns, ETAN hired East Timorese resistance veteran Constâncio Pinto from January to August 1997 to intensify our presence in Washington. Constâncio will also work with Global Exchange and the Asia Pacific Center for Peace and Justice to enhance East Timor's visibility and educate the public through speaking tours, field organizing, and meetings with congressional and United Nations offices. Work for East Timor in Washington, and throughout the country, will also benefit from more concerted media work to support our campaigns. Our economic and legislative campaigns over the next year require the assistance of more and more people in the US speaking out for East Timor. To reach these new people, we will utilize local and regional media outlets and attempt to gain more national coverage.

If I can leave you with one final message, it is this — it all revolves around you. Because of ever-worsening human rights abuses, the importance of self-determination for East Timor, the need to maintain and expand bans on US military aid to the Suharto regime, our expanded activities this year require even harder work in greater numbers. Grassroots activism has been and continues to be the driving force behind our success. To help with any or all of the bills, issues and projects outlined above, please contact your ETAN local representative, our field organizer, Kristin Sundell, our outreach coordinator, John Miller, or myself, your Washington representative. I realize the action alerts have been more frequent of late, but the pace is stepping up. And East Timor needs you. We can't do it without you. A Luta Continua! ■

Because of the need to get urgent action alerts out quickly, ETAN will be setting up key contact mailing lists and telephone trees in addition to the email and fax lists we already use. If you would like to be included in these rapid communications networks, drop a card to the national office with your contact information, or let your ETAN Chapter coordinator know.

ETAN Goes to Portugal: The VIIth Symposium on Timor of Oporto University

In late July, Clare Campbell (who is also on the board of the human rights group Global Exchange) and another ETAN member attended the opening conference of an international symposium on East Timor held in the city of Oporto, Portugal. The conference was organized by Professor Antonio Barbedo, a tireless advocate for the East Timorese people. It proved an excellent opportunity to meet international solidarity activists and both Indonesian and East Timorese dissidents.

Many people presented papers on East Timor over the course of the initial seminar. Translators were on hand to facilitate presentations in four languages: Tetum, Portuguese, English, and Bahasa Indonesia. Featured speakers included activists, political exiles, academics such as Peter Dale Scott and George Aditjondro, clergy and government officials. José Ramos-Horta, UDT President João Carrascalão and Portugal's President Jorge Sampaio were the keynote speakers on the last night of the conference.

The most lively discussion was provoked by Isabel Galhos, a young East Timorese activist now based in Canada who many *Estafeta* readers will recall from her recent successful speaking tour of the US. Bella presented an impassioned but diplomatic feminist critique calling for greater inclusion of East Timorese women in the leadership of the resistance.

Bella's talk was complemented by an emotionally charged speech from a woman who had come to the conference from East Timor at great risk. She pleaded with those in attendance to recall that people in her country are still dying on the ground and that the tragedy of Timor cannot be relegated to academic discussion. She went on to point out that the women of Timor are the backbone of the resistance and they still suffer from the systematic use of rape by occupation troops. Her testimony of survival and resistance was an extremely powerful call to action.

To that end, see the International Declaration Calling for an Immediate End to Any and All Forms of Military Support for Indonesia on page 3. Another important tool for organizing is Clare's paper for the conference (on the Massachusetts state legislature's "Act Regulating State Contracts and Investments with Companies Doing Business with or in Indonesia"), which is available from ETAN. ■

Heroic British Ploughshares Activist to Tour the US

by Kyle Perkins

In January 1996 Andrea Needham, along with Lotta Kronlid, Angela Zelter, and Joanna Wilson, disarmed a British Aerospace Hawk warplane in Lancashire, England with household hammers. The jet was part of an export deal of twenty-four Hawks to Indonesia. The Indonesian military has used Hawks from a previous deal to bomb East Timorese civilians. Six months later, all four women, members of the anti-militarist Ploughshares movement, were found not guilty on all counts. In November and December, Andrea will be touring the US and speaking about her experiences.

Andrea Needham was trained as a physical therapist in England. In 1987 she moved to Washington DC, where she worked in the Center for Creative Non-Violence homeless shelter for two years. She also spent a year as a member of the Dorothy Day Catholic Worker community in Washington.

After her return to England in 1992, Andrea began working to counter the Hawk deal. Over the next three years she immersed herself in the struggle against the sale of the twenty-four British Aerospace warplanes to Indonesia, organizing letter writing campaigns, lobbying Members of Parliament, leafleting, staging vigils, collecting petitions, engaging in civil disobedience, meeting with British Aerospace, and holding peace camps. In 1995, after being ignored by the government and British Aerospace, and with the planes dangerously close to being delivered, she and her colleagues decided to physically disarm one of the Hawk fighters, and did so on January 29, 1996.

Andrea will speak in Seattle and northern California Nov. 23 - December 3; she will appear on the east coast in December and early January. Those interested in hosting Andrea in their cities should get in touch with the appropriate contact person as soon as possible:

Seattle
Joe Szwaja 206-633-2836

Northern California
btterall@igc.org or 415-626-9906
Sonya Hurston cake@isaac.exploratorium.edu or 408-728-4190

East Coast
John Miller fbp@igc.apc.org or 718-788-6071 ■

José Ramos-Horta to visit US

1996 Nobel Peace Prize co-winner José Ramos Horta, the Special Representative of East Timorese Resistance leader Xanana Gusmão, will be visiting the US in November, and again in February 1998. Many of his engagements are now being planned by a national speakers' bureau: contact Royce Carlton at 212-355-7700 for February information.

During his current visit, Mr. Ramos-Horta will be making several free public appearances:

Monday November 10, Orange, CA
Title: The Power of Nonviolence
November 10th 7:00 pm
Waltmar Theater, Chapman University
Sponsored by the Peace Studies Department.
Contact: Don Will 714-997-6620

Wednesday, November 12, Eugene, OR
Title: The Power of Nonviolence & East Timor
November 12th 7:30 pm
EMU Ballroom, Student Union
University of Oregon
Sponsored by the Center for Asian & Pacific Studies.
Contact: David Frank 541-346-4198 ■

Nov. 12: ETAN to Protest at Indonesian Embassies and Consulates

by John M. Miller

On November 12, 1991 in Dili, the capital of East Timor, shots rang out as Indonesian troops armed with American-made M-16 rifles opened fire on several thousand unarmed East Timorese civilians gathered at the Santa Cruz cemetery. A day of mourning for one murdered young man had turned into an unprecedented demonstration for self-determination. At least 271 people were killed by gunfire that day and more were murdered in local hospitals as the wounded sought medical treatment. The full death toll may never be known. A UN investigator called the massacre a "planned military operation designed to deal with a public expression of political dissent."

While not the largest massacre in genocidal history of the Indonesian occupation, the Santa Cruz massacre, witnessed and photographed by foreign journalists, inspired a worldwide outcry. The massacre put East Timor on the international agenda as never before and inspired the formation of the East Timor Action Network. Among ETAN's local activities have been annual protests, educational events and memorial services in many cities.

This year on November 12, ETAN is helping to organize an unprecedented series of protests at Indonesia's consulates and embassies in the US. Never before have all six diplomatic outposts of Indonesia — Chicago, Houston, Los Angeles, New York, San Francisco, Washington, DC — simultaneously faced demonstrations opposing Indonesia's genocidal policies.

Around the world, November 12 will be an International Day of Solidarity for East Timor. Here in the US, nonviolent civil disobedience will take place in addition to a rally or picket in most of the cities. The protests are co-organized by ETAN, East Timor Religious Outreach, Peace Action and Amnesty International USA. Co-sponsors to date include Nonviolence International, Global Exchange, Jews Against Genocide, the War Resisters League, Visions in Action, Fellowship of Reconciliation, Veterans for Peace, Free Nigeria Movement, various Catholic Worker houses and others. ■

Contacts for Nov 12 Demonstrations

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(event will also be held on Nov. 14)
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Also ETAN/Chicago: (773)561-5131; simpsonb@nwu.edu

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Also ETAN/Texas: (512)345-2063; mdseay@aol.com

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