

The East Timor *Estafeta*

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

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No U.S. F-16 fighters or Military Training Aid to Indonesia!

By Charles Scheiner and Lynn Fredriksson

ETAN has been campaigning against the proposed sale of F-16 fighter jets to Indonesia since we learned about it in 1995. We have opposed U.S. taxpayer-funded training of Indonesian soldiers. In early June, we were able to declare victory on both!

In a letter from President Suharto to President Clinton delivered on June 2, the Indonesian dictator expressed his displeasure with "wholly unjustified criticisms in the United States Congress against Indonesia which are linked to its participation in the (E-IMET) program and the planned purchase of the F-16 planes." Suharto rejected both forms of U.S. support for the Indonesian military.

Foreign Minister Ali Alatas was optimistic that removing these controversies would facilitate future cooperation with the United States on "the many economic, political and security issues that have to be faced in the years to come."

Indonesia is purchasing jets from Britain (although the new Labour government is less pro-Suharto than its predecessor), and is considering buying some from Russia. They are exploring obtaining military training from Canada, Australia, and other countries. ETAN hopes that our victory here will spur East Timor's supporters elsewhere to step up their efforts.

The blocking of the F-16 sale and military training aid came with no help from the Clinton White House. Every few weeks this spring, a U.S. administration official would reiterate the intention to go ahead with this sale. On May 16, one official noted: "We remain committed to the sale of nine F-16s to Indonesia, but we don't plan to notify Congress formally at this time." Asked why notification hasn't been given, the official said: "Because we don't think we have the votes to win." They have carefully explained that the problem is congressional concerns about human rights, and is not related to the Riady/Lippo/Clinton/Suharto campaign finance scandal.

The Administration has also consistently pushed for unrestricted military training aid (International Military Education and Training - IMET). This program, which has brought hundreds of Indonesian soldiers to the United States for training at U.S. taxpayer expense, was banned by Congress in 1992, following the Santa Cruz massacre in East Timor. The Clinton Administration has evaded Congressional intent by selling the training formerly provided as aid. Congress renewed the aid ban every year since 1992 (over administration objections), although since 1995 aid for training in non-military subjects (known as Expanded or E-IMET) has

been provided. Suharto rejected the E-IMET; there could be efforts in the future to restore military IMET or other forms of U.S. support for Indonesia's brutal army.

Grassroots pressure on Congress and the Clinton administration, and congressional pressure on the administration held up the F-16 sale for more than a year, but the U.S. has continued to seek purchasers for the outdated planes, which are part of an order Lockheed sold to Pakistan a decade ago. The Bush and Clinton administrations did not allow them to be shipped to Pakistan because of nuclear proliferation concerns, and Pakistan now wants their money back. In May, they threatened to sue. In spite of this increased motivation for Washington to proceed, Suharto's tolerance came to an end. The U.S. is now looking to sell the planes to Chile or other Latin American or South-east Asian countries.

But another F-16-related sale to Indonesia is still being considered. *Defense News* wrote in April that "Turkey and Indonesia are nearing agreement on a 12-aircraft F-16 upgrade deal intended to extend the life and enhance the combat capabilities of the Indonesian Air Force front-line fighter fleet." This agreement is "dependent on U.S. government approval." In other words: we need to keep the pressure on! ■

Tensions Escalate in East Timor

By Kyle Perkins

There was a marked increase in violent conflict in East Timor during and after the May 29 Indonesian sham parliamentary elections (see page 5). At this writing (June 6), foreign journalists and observers have been banned from East Timor, but reports from Indonesian police and military spokespeople indicate that the resistance has attacked and killed more than 20 Indonesian military personnel in the past week. They are retaliating by sending in thousands of new troops, and with massive arrests and attacks on East Timor's population. At this time, information from the territory is unreliable and contradictory — although it is clear that many people will suffer. Most of this article focuses on events of the past few months ago, when we can be more certain of the facts. Coverage of the upheavals of the last week will have to wait until the next *Estafeta*.

(continued on next page)

ETAN calls for independent observers; condemns alleged attacks on civilians

Draft statement from the East Timor Action Network
June 9, 1997 (excerpts)

The East Timor Action Network/US, disturbed by ongoing violence in East Timor, calls for opening the territory to independent observers from the United Nations, human rights and other NGOs, and the international media.

The presence of independent observers would provide some protection to a civilian population being terrorized by Indonesian troops and police searching for independence guerrillas who launched a series of attacks on military targets beginning on Indonesia's election day. Without international observers, there is no way to verify Indonesian reports that East Timorese guerrillas may have deliberately attacked civilians. If true, this is a sharp change of tactics by Falintil, the East Timorese guerrilla army. Up to now the guerrillas have only attacked active military targets, refusing even to attack off-duty soldiers.

The East Timor Action Network condemns any targeting of civilians in the conflict, by either side. We are well aware that it is Indonesia's occupation that has by far brought the bulk of the terror on the East Timorese. Ongoing arrests, torture, disappearances and other abuses of the civilian population are well documented. According to church and other sources over 200,000 have died as a result of war, famine and disease since Indonesia invaded the former Portuguese colony in December 1975.

We call upon all parties to the conflict in East Timor to fully respect international law. Although neither the identities of the attackers nor their connection to the armed resistance, if any, is clear, ETAN/US deplors any tactics which involve committing violence toward noncombatant.

ETAN is also deeply concerned that guerrilla attacks are being used as justification for yet another massive wave of repression against the East Timorese population, including a massive troop buildup (6,000 additional troops announced so far). ETAN fears the "collective punishment" that may be visited upon the East Timorese people under conditions of arbitrary arrests and detentions, unmonitored by the international press due to the reinstated ban on foreign journalists.

The violence in East Timor can only be resolved by holding a UN-supervised referendum on its political status. However, by taking the simple step of opening the territory to independent observers Indonesia can show it is sincere about building trust before the June 19 UN-sponsored talks between Indonesia and Portugal. ■

ETAN's National Steering Committee will meet in Madison, WI, in mid-September. Call if you would like to participate.

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. We are looking for volunteers to help with editing and layout — are you interested?

Editors: Charles Scheiner
Matthew Jardine
Layout: Charles Scheiner
Distribution: WESPAC and ETAN/NY volunteers

Tensions Escalate (continued from page 1)

Several months after being awarded the Nobel Peace Prize, Bishop Carlos Ximenes Belo spoke from Dili on conditions inside East Timor. He described the "wave of euphoria" that swept over the young people of Timor after the Nobel awards, and the resulting crackdown. According to the Bishop, "the military [sought] to counterbalance the joyfulness by stepping up the actions of the pro-government militias, particularly the youth organization known as *Gada Paksi* (Youth Guard of Integration Upholders)."

"During the night," Belo explained, the *Gada Paksi* "roam the villages and search houses looking for young people connected with the underground network, as they call it, to arrest and intimidate them. . . . There have never been so many arrests as in the last week of December and then throughout January, especially here in the Dili area. But early February was worst of all. . . ."

Even the presence of a U.N. representative was not sufficient to curb ongoing Indonesian abuses in the occupied territory.

On March 22, Jamsheed Marker, the U.N. Secretary-General's special representative for East Timor, arrived in Dili after meeting with Indonesian president Suharto in Jakarta. A group of East Timorese youth planned to meet with Marker on the campus of the University of East Timor. Marker didn't meet with them, so a group of several hundred young people went to the Mahkota Hotel, where Marker was staying, early the next morning to speak to the U.N. envoy and to present him with a petition and documents.

Many of the youths entered the hotel lobby and were soon surrounded and attacked by truncheon-wielding police. Indonesian soldiers also fired upon the students, wounding many (there have been unconfirmed reports of deaths). The authorities arrested 48 of the young people, most of whom are still in custody 10 weeks later. The Jakarta-based paper, *Kompas*, without irony, reported that a number "jumped through the window panes" of the hotel.

Though Marker avoided taking a position on the crackdown during his visit, when he returned to Jakarta he did meet with East Timorese students who had sat in at the Austrian embassy there until he granted them an audience.

The violence escalated markedly after the May 29 election performance in Indonesia. East Timorese guerrillas attacked military targets that day in cities across the territory, in what some in Jakarta are calling "East Timor's Tet." The military responded by sending 6,000 additional troops to East Timor, expelling foreign journalists, and escalating the repression. There are unconfirmed reports of dozens of killings and hundreds of arrests as we go to press in early June. Indonesian authorities are claiming that the GPK ("security disrupters" — their term for guerrillas) staged unprovoked attacks on civilians. If these reports are true, this is the first time in 20 years of struggle. Resistance spokesman José Ramos Horta, ETAN (see statement at left), Human Rights Watch and others have condemned attacks on noncombatants by all sides.

According to an April report of a Portuguese solidarity group (which based its analysis on documents from the guerrilla movement), "It is the civilian population that is paying the highest price in this war. An estimate (based on the documents in question) put the number of villagers murdered following retaliatory action taken by the Indonesians at five (at least) times the number of active guerrillas killed in combat. The numbers of civilians from villages and towns who have been arrested and/or 'disappeared' is naturally much higher than those killed — estimates (which do not include city-dwellers) put the figure in the region of 500 to 1,000 victims per year. Most are peasants. About a quarter of them are women, and the average age is over 30 years old."

At the U.N. Human Rights Commission (see page 4), José Ramos-Horta released torture photos which vividly showed that severe human rights violations continue. The photos, taken by Indonesian soldiers and later smuggled out of the country, provided concrete evidence of the U.S. State Department's own evaluation in its Human Rights Report for 1996: "security forces continued to torture and mistreat detainees, particularly in East Timor. [The Indonesian] police often resort to physical abuse, even in minor incidents." In May, more such photos were released. This most recent set can be viewed on the internet at

www.dayworld.net.au/~ekeberg/torture.html

There have been numerous arrests of East Timorese by the Indonesian authorities over the last few months. Herein, we highlight one case reported (May 23 and 29) by the Australia-based East Timor Human Rights Centre. *Estafeta* urges its readers to take action on this case as suggested below. Letters to the same authorities could also ask for the release and restraint from torture of the many other East Timorese taken into custody in late May and early June.

João Guterres

The ETHRC holds grave fears for the safety of João Guterres (also known as Mau-Lana), aged 28, who was reported missing following his arrest on 15 May, 1997, in the district of Baucau.

It is believed that João Guterres was arrested at a military checkpoint at Tigre (located between Vemasse and Laleai, Baucau district) and taken to Dili where he is currently detained at Battalion 744 headquarters in Taibessi. The reason for his arrest is unconfirmed. The ETHRC believes that João Guterres may have been arbitrarily arrested.

The East Timor Human Rights Centre is concerned for João Guterres if he is not located soon as he may be at risk of torture and ill treatment if still in detention.

Recommended actions:

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

- ✓ seeking clarification of the whereabouts of João Guterres;
- ✓ seeking clarification of the charges against him (if any) and calling for his immediate and unconditional release if he has not been charged with a recognizable offence under existing laws;

- ✓ seeking assurances that he will not face any torture or ill-treatment in detention and that he will be treated humanely and in accordance with international standards; and
- ✓ seeking assurances that he will have full and continuing access to his family and independent legal counsel

Send appeals to:

Military Commander Region IX/Udayana (includes East Timor)

Maj. Gen. H.A. Rivai
Pangdam IX/Udayana
Markas Besar KODAM IX/Udayana
Denpasar, Bali, INDONESIA
Telephone: +62 361 228 095
Telegrams: Pangdam IX/Udayana, Denpasar, Bali, Indonesia

Secretary General, National Commission on Human Rights

Prof. Dr. Baharuddin Lopa
Sekretaris Jenderal, Komisi Nasional Hak Azasi Manusia (Komnas HAM)

Jl Lathuhary No 4 B
Menteng Jakarta Pusat, INDONESIA
Phone/Fax: +62 21 392 5227
email: info@komnas.go.id

Chief of Police for East Timor

Colonel Yusuf Mucharam
Kapolda Timor Timur
Dili, East Timor, INDONESIA
Telegrams: Kapolda, Dili, East Timor

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

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 ■



ETAN-Boston demonstrates outside the Massachusetts State House as the Legislature considers an Indonesia sanctions bill. See article, page 11.
Photo by Mark Salzer

Nobel Laureates Propose International Code of Conduct for Weapons Sales

On May 29, eight individual and organizational winners of the Nobel Peace Prize gathered in New York to inaugurate an international campaign to adopt limitations on weapons sales to repressive governments. Joining José Ramos-Horta (right) were (L-R) Elie Wiesel, His Holiness the Dalai Lama, and Oscar Arias, who initiated this campaign. Also present were Betty Williams and representatives from Amnesty International, the American Friends Service Committee, and the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War. Congresswoman Cynthia McKinney (D-GA) moderated the event, which was followed by a strategy discussion the next day, and promises to bring coordinated international pressure on the merchants of death.

Photo by Joann Lo



The "Festival of Democracy" Elections, Suharto-Style

By Kyle Perkins

What the Suharto regime promoted as a "festival of democracy" turned out to be a carnival of repression. On May 29, the sixth general election since General Suharto seized power in 1965 took place after weeks of violence. The official death toll in pre-election violence is over 250.

The New York Times informed its readers that Suharto "has voiced worries about the violence. 'A complex society can be vulnerable to unrest if not handled carefully,' he said in December."

But in March, Suharto said that anyone who tried to defeat him unconstitutionally would be "clobbered." The armed forces commander-in-chief announced that during the campaign period, troops would be ordered to "shoot on sight" anyone who "violates the law." Despite these direct threats, the regime now insists that the majority of those killed died in "traffic accidents."

In occupied East Timor, where conducting Indonesian elections violates international law, at least 17 died in fighting between occupation troops and guerrillas. In the weeks that followed, Indonesia arrested large numbers of East Timorese civilians as collective punishment for the violence. They shipped in 6,000 additional troops to the territory, and expelled and barred foreign journalists. At this writing, the repression continues to escalate. (See pages 1-3).

1996 Nobel Laureate José Ramos-Horta said that attacks on polling booths in the occupied territory show "the degree of offence which the mock Indonesian elections, conducted in a climate of coercion and manipulation" give to the people there. "The fact that East Timorese are being forced to vote for Foreign Minister Ali Alatas, who has no links whatsoever with the territory, is a further major affront." (Alatas was put forth as the ruling GOLKAR party's candidate from East Timor.)

Is this Democracy?

Many in the U.S. also questioned the "festival." Senator Russell Feingold (D-WI): "Actually, it does not seem accurate to call this event an election since the polling was conducted amid worsening political repression and human rights abuses by the Indonesian Government. As in past elections, all candidates were prescreened and new political parties banned. Individuals who posed even the slightest challenge to President Suharto's power were not allowed to participate. We cannot mistake this pro-

cess for a real election. Rather, it was a pitiful example of a brutal authoritarian Government attempting to masquerade as a democracy."

Indonesians voted to fill 425 seats in the country's parliament, the DPR (the People's Representative Assembly); ABRI, the Indonesian armed forces appoints the other 75 members. Mohammad Hikom, a political scientist at the Indonesian Academy of Sciences, commented that "up to now, 30 years after it was created, there is not yet one bill that has been proposed by the DPR itself. [It is] worse than a rubber stamp as they don't even have a stamp. They just follow orders."

The 500 elected and military-appointed DPR parliamentarians make up half of the People's Consultative Assembly (MPR), along with 500 presidential appointees. This larger body will engage in a lock-step re-election of Suharto in March 1998.

The government party, GOLKAR, announced in advance they would gain at least 70% of the vote. Given the regime's domination of the electoral process, they had reason to be confident: the two nominal opposition parties – the Indonesian Democracy Party (PDI) and the United Development Party (PPP) – are forbidden to operate below the district level, and are thereby denied access to 40% of voters, while GOLKAR dominates every administrative level.

All six million civil servants and government employees are required to join KORPRI, a GOLKAR-controlled association; in turn, all must vote GOLKAR. As the authoritative observers at the London-based Indonesian Human Rights Campaign, TAPOL, point out, "the two other parties allowed to contest the election are required to adhere to the state ideology, *Pancasila*, and support the government's program . . . avoiding the international opprobrium that always confronts a one-party state, a system [created by Suharto in 1973] in which the regime's party would always win."

Objectors repressed

Despite considerable risks, record numbers of Indonesians protested the sham elections. Sri Bintang Pamungkas, an outspoken former Parliamentarian and leader of the newly-formed dissident party PUDI, was arrested in early March and charged with subversion, a capital offense, after advocating an election boycott. In Central Java, two students received one-year sentences for distributing leaflets which contained the phrase "protect the elections from cheating."

Indonesian authorities arrested members of the pro-democracy PRD party (which,

like PUDI, is not allowed to run candidates), and forced others underground after PRD members covered walls in eleven cities with the slogan "without Megawati, boycott the elections." Last year, the military ousted Megawati Sukarnoputri, daughter of Suharto's predecessor Sukarno, from the leadership of the PDI in a regime-manipulated party congress that left long-disenfranchised Megawati supporters enraged and led to the Jakarta uprisings of late July 1996.

Megawati stated that she wouldn't be voting, which some of her supporters saw as a veiled boycott endorsement. After her forced ouster, Megawati enthusiasts deserted the PDI in droves, many marching behind the banners of the Muslim-led PPP. The government decreed chanting "Megawati" illegal and sent out thousands of riot troops into the streets of Jakarta, feeding the rage and frustration of Indonesians fed up with the Suharto kleptocracy. Without Megawati, the PDI received less than 3% of the vote, down from around 15% in previous elections.

Mainstream U.S. news coverage of the resulting violence stressed that Suharto's *New Order* has "lifted" Indonesia from poverty. But by defying blockades of riot police, angry throngs of poor Indonesians expressed their disgust with the Suharto family and their billionaire cronies, who have only worked to lift themselves. One PPP float featured a dummy hanging from a gallows with a sign saying "corrupter" draped around its neck.

In the wake of GOLKAR's inevitable "landslide," the Independent Election Monitoring Committee [KIPP] pointed to evidence of multiple voting by individuals, ballots from unregistered voters and intimidation of election monitors. The group's findings are supported by the PPP, and are based on reports from volunteers at hundreds of polling stations in 47 cities across Indonesia. As of this writing, massive protests in response to early election results, which gave Golkar 74% of the vote, are sweeping the country.

The day after the vote, the U.S. State Department gave its assessment: "The United States believes that parliamentary elections are tightly controlled by the government of Indonesia. The electoral system severely limits political competition; Indonesian citizens do not have the ability to change their government through democratic means."

East Timorese people, of course, don't even have their own government.■

Victory for East Timor in Geneva

U.N. Human Rights Body Passes Resolution Critical of Indonesia

By Matthew Jardine

Indonesia suffered an embarrassing defeat at the annual meeting of the United Nations Human Rights Commission (UNHRC). On April 16, the Commission passed a resolution criticizing Indonesia for ongoing human rights abuses in East Timor. The resolution passed with 20 votes in favor, 14 against, and 18 abstentions.

The vote marked only the second time that the Commission has passed a resolution on East Timor. The first one, approved in 1993, was a delayed reaction of sorts to the November 12, 1991 massacre at the Santa Cruz Cemetery in Dili, the East Timorese capital. U.S. co-sponsorship of the 1993 resolution was key to its passage. But, like this year, the U.S. co-sponsored the resolution only after significant grassroots and congressional pressure pushed the Clinton Administration from its comfortable position of acquiescence to the Indonesian occupation.

The resolution expressed "deep concern at the continuing reports of violations of human rights in East Timor, including reports of extrajudicial killings, disappearances, torture and arbitrary detention." The resolution also called upon Jakarta to allow for the establishment of a UNHRC office in the Indonesian capital and to provide the officer "unhindered access to East Timor."

From 1994 to 1996, Indonesia was able to prevent a vote from taking place on a resolution at the annual gathering in Geneva. Instead, the Commission settled for a so-called "Chairman's Statement" which does not require member-states to take a public position. According to diplomatic sources cited by Earth Times News Service, Indonesia rejected such a compromise this year. In a tactical blunder, Indonesia's diplomatic delegation thought that it could win outright on a vote on East Timor.

But the awarding of this year's Nobel Peace Prize to Bishop Belo and Ramos-Horta helped significantly to raise East Timor's international profile. Combined with a deteriorating human rights situation in the territory, and Indonesia's failure to fulfill past prom-

ises to the Commission, such as releasing political prisoners, and inviting thematic rapporteurs from the UNHRC to investigate human rights matters, many Member-States found it impossible to allow Indonesia to escape unscathed from this year's meeting.

Indonesia did everything it could to defeat the resolution, even going so far as to block this year's Nobel Peace Prize Co-Laureate, José Ramos-Horta, from addressing the Commission from the podium. Ultimately, however, Jakarta's bullying tactics failed, resulting in a stinging defeat for the Suharto regime. "It can't get much worse than this for Indonesian diplomacy," stated a senior member of the regime's delegation to Geneva.

While such resolutions are not binding on U.N. member-states, they carry a good amount of moral authority. Moreover, they provide activists with a standard by which to hold their own national governments accountable vis-à-vis relations with countries criticized by the Commission.

The European Union introduced the original text of the resolution. The resolution had a large number of sponsors, including Angola, Canada, Brazil, Ireland, Mozambique, and the United States.

Those countries voting in favor were Angola, Austria, Brazil, Bulgaria, Canada, Cape Verde, Czech Republic, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, France, Germany, Ireland, Italy, Mozambique, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, the United States, and Uruguay.

Opposed were Bangladesh, Bhutan, China, Cuba, Egypt, India, Indonesia, Madagascar, Malaysia, Nepal, Pakistan, the Philippines, Sri Lanka, and Zimbabwe.

Algeria, Argentina, Belarus, Benin, Chile, Columbia, Ethiopia, Gabon, Guinea, Japan, Mali, Mexico, Nicaragua, Russia, South Africa, South Korea, Uganda, and Zaire (not yet the Democratic Republic of the Congo) abstained from the vote. ■

"Sufficiently Sanitized by the Nobel Prize"

By Lynn Fredriksson, ETAN Washington Representative, and Charles Scheiner

After many years of raising issues, East Timor's supporters in Washington are being taken more seriously both here and in Jakarta. President Suharto's rejection of U.S. military support (see page 1) because he finds the East Timor issue distasteful is a good step — but the rotten taste must not be allowed to fade away. Now that the F-16 sale and IMET struggles are won, at least for the moment, we have the opportunity to step up Washington's pressure on Jakarta until they reach the inevitable conclusion that East Timor is just not worth the price.

The last four months have been a very hectic time in Washington, as the increased awareness of East Timor has provided many opportunities for action, and many actors on the stage. Suharto's letter has favorably resolved our two highest priority issues; now we need to explore ways of cutting other arms sales, redirecting economic aid, looking at trade relationships and otherwise increasing the cost to Indonesia's military elite of occupying East Timor. The East Timorese people, of course, have already paid an inconceivably high price.

Internal Congressional considerations have also had an effect on our strategy, as Congress strives to avoid controversy by omitting major areas of legislative work. Nevertheless, the flurry of activity in Washington this Spring is paying off, with many new allies, contacts, and coalition partners joining East Timor's side.

This article summarizes some of the major areas of work. As always, grassroots support around the country is the engine that drives East Timor work in the Capitol.

Mr. Ramos-Horta Goes to Washington

José Ramos-Horta arrived in Washington in late May for the second time this year. While here he gave briefings to key House and Senate staffers, and met with Timothy Wirth, the Undersecretary of State for Global Affairs. José was honored by the American Kurdish Information Network—linking U.S. weapons sales to Turkey and to Indonesia, linking the struggles of the East Timorese and Kurdish peoples.

NPR's *All Things Considered*, the Derick McGinty Show, the Voice of America and the *Washington Post* all covered the Nobel Peace Laureate's visit. The *Post* headlined Thomas Lippman's article, "No White House Meeting for East Timor Advocate" (5-28-97), which quotes an administration official suggesting that Ramos-Horta has not been "sufficiently sanitized by the Nobel Prize" to rate a White House meeting.

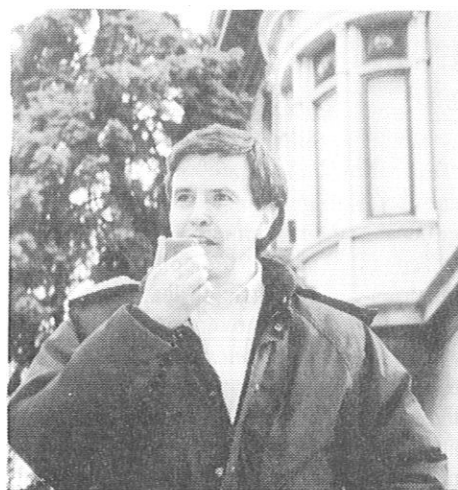
In New York later that week, Ramos-Horta did meet with U.S. Ambassador to the U.N. Bill Richardson, the first cabinet-level official to see him, and Richard Holbrooke, a close Clinton advisor just appointed special representative for Cyprus. Clinton, Gore, and Albright remain evasive, although Al Gore's office has indicated they will reconsider a meeting during Ramos-Horta's next visit. Congressman José Serrano (D-NY) is circulating a letter among his House colleagues, asking President Clinton to meet with Ramos-Horta. *Add your voice to the White House comment line (202-456-1111, fax:202-456-2461) to help make this happen!*

Travails of the Kennedy Bill

In March, Rep. Patrick Kennedy (D-RI) introduced H.R. 1132, the Indonesia Military Assistance Accountability Act. This bill would have barred government-to-government arms sales and some military training until a range of human rights conditions in East Timor and Indonesia were achieved. The bill is co-sponsored by International Relations Committee Chair Benjamin Gilman (D-NY) and 35 other Representatives.

It emerged from the International Relations Committee as part of the State Department and Foreign Aid Authorization Bill (H.R. 1486). Although substantially weaker than the original Kennedy Bill, the provision in the Authorization Bill (sponsored by Howard Berman (D-CA)) would make "small arms sales, crowd control equipment, armored personnel carriers, and such items that can commonly be used in the direct violation of human rights," as well as military assistance (excluding E-IMET), contingent upon specific improvements in human rights in both Indonesia and East Timor. The conditions pertaining to East Timor include the release of political prisoners, the withdrawal of Indonesian troops, and the establishment of a three-way dialogue among Indonesia, Portugal and East Timorese leadership under UN auspices.

Congress is nothing if not unpredictable, and this massive bill was divided (State and Foreign Aid separated) before coming to the House floor in early June. The Indonesia provision is now part of the Foreign Aid Bill, which many believe will never pass the House of Representatives. As we go to press, Patrick Kennedy has also introduced language similar to the Berman Provision as an amendment to the State Bill; this will reach the floor on June 10. This does not preclude the Berman Provision in the Foreign Aid Bill



Journalist Allan Nairn speaks to ETAN and Peace Action protestors outside the Indonesian Embassy on March 17.

(if it reaches the floor), but would rather reinforce it.

The IMET question became at least temporarily moot, however, when Indonesia surprised many by rejecting it (see page 1). Angered by congressional controversy over human rights in East Timor, Suharto wrote President Clinton, refusing E-IMET and the F-16 sale. As Foreign Minister Ali Alatas stated in a June 6 press conference, "The government of Indonesia has decided to forego its participation in the Expanded International Military Education and Training (E-IMET) program offered by the United States government as well as its planned purchase of nine F-16 planes from the United States government."

Congratulating Nobelists

The last *Estafeta* carried an Action Alert on Rep. Tony Hall's (D-OH) H.Res. 45, congratulating the East Timorese Nobel Peace Prize winners, and expressing "support for a diplomatic solution to the conflict in East Timor based on the people's right to self-determination."

The bill, with 33 co-sponsors, has been mired in Doug Bereuter's (R-NE) Asia and Pacific Subcommittee of the House International Relations Committee. ETAN has asked full Committee Chair Benjamin Gilman (R-NY) to move this resolution to the full committee where it will not be stuck under Bereuter's pro-Indonesian heels.

Rep. Bereuter, in congressional discussions and articles in his hometown newspaper (Lincoln *Journal-Star*, April 25), is offensively defensive of Indonesia. He maintains his support for E-IMET because "I am willing to oppose foolish-but-feel-good lobbying campaigns pushed by certain ethnic groups or religious denominations — even if I find myself on the losing side."

In another late-breaking development, Tony Hall has reintroduced the text of H.Res. 45 as an amendment to the State Department Authorization Bill. If could be accepted en bloc; if it appears separately, it will likely face Bereuter's fierce opposition.

Code of Conduct

The Arms Trade Code of Conduct was introduced by Cynthia McKinney (D-GA) as another amendment to the State Department and Foreign Aid Authorization Bill in the House, but it lost in committee 23-21. The code is now likely to join Tony Hall's and Patrick Kennedy's amendments to the State Department Authorization Bill to be considered on the House floor as an amendment to the Authorization Bill on June 10.

Representatives protest Indonesian repression

Patrick Kennedy initiated a sign-on letter to President Clinton on May 28. He was joined by Tony Hall (D-OH), Chris Smith (R-NJ), Barney Frank (D-MA), Lane Evans (D-IL), Howard Berman (D-CA), Nancy Pelosi (D-CA), Richard Gephardt (D-MO), and John Porter (R-IL), in protesting the repressive actions taken by the Indonesian government prior to the Indonesian elections, and in calling on the administration to provide an assessment of the conditions in Indonesia and observers to record Indonesian coercion and manipulation of election results.

Also in the House, we expect something to emerge from the Foreign Operations Subcommittee of Appropriations, to cut military assistance, but otherwise similar to the Authorization Bill language banning small arms and some other U.S. weaponry sold to Indonesia. Please call, write or fax your Representative (especially if they're on the Appropriations Committee), and encourage them to support whatever ban on weapons sales and military assistance to Indonesia is introduced as part of the Appropriations Bill.

ETAN lobby days

In April, about 20 activists participated in three days of lobbying against military sales and assistance to Indonesia and in support of East Timor's human rights and self-determination. ETAN's Spring Lobby Days generated over 80 visits to key House and Senate offices, and an enormous amount of new and renewed interest and vigor among a wide range of congressional staffers. (A few Congresspeople themselves made cameo appearances.) After a hard day of lobbying on April 14th, most of us joined local Catholic Workers at the Indonesian Embassy during rush hour to protest the occupation — with crosses and banners and a bull horn, to read the names of many of those massacred at the

Santa Cruz cemetery in 1991. Thank you to all who participated in lobby days! Come back to Washington soon. Think of the exciting follow-up work you've generated.

In the Senate

We expect the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to include some language in the State Department Authorization Bill banning weapons sales and military assistance. This provision would parallel but hopefully surpass the restrictions and conditions in the Berman Provision in the House Authorization Bill. This could take place as early as the week of June 9. Encourage your Senators on the committee to support the strongest effort made to sanction Indonesia's military and to support human rights and self-determination for East Timor.

Also in the Senate (a little further down the road), a similar amendment (which would parallel what emerges in the House Foreign Ops Subcommittee) will likely be introduced in the Senate Appropriations Committee. Ask your Senators, especially those on the committee, to be strong and firm on restrictions on weapons sales and military assistance to Indonesia. If they're already friendly to East Timor, encourage their leadership on the issue. If they're uncommitted, offer them recent information documenting ongoing, severe human rights abuses around the Indonesian election period.

Stanley Roth belatedly nominated

Since January, it has been rumored that former Congressional Staffer and Defense Department official Stanley Roth would replace Winston Lord as Assistant Secretary of State for East Asia and the Pacific. Mr. Roth has a long record of support for Asian dictators (Suharto, Marcos, and Chun Doo Hwan among others) and ETAN opposed his nomination (see last *Estafeta*). We urged the administration to name someone else, who would put human rights above military and trade concerns in the U.S.-Indonesia relationship.

The controversy over the Roth nomination delayed it for five months, leaving the position vacant. But in May, Secretary Albright submitted his name for Senate confirmation for this position. Although some Senators will raise serious questions about his record, he could be confirmed. Nevertheless, the delay and opposition to his nomination has put him on notice that he must prove that the Administration's Indonesia policy has not been bought for a few campaign contributions. Senate confirmation hearings for various assistant secretaries could take place in early July. There's still time to encourage your Senators to debate Stanley Roth's qualifications and human rights record.

Beyond Congress

The Washington office continues to work with the DC ETAN local to provide speakers and tabling and video presentations at area conferences, universities and activist venues. Over the last several months, Lynn joined Constância Pinto in speaking to a conference on development sponsored by Visions in Action and the Overseas Development Network at American University, at the Maryland United for Peace and Justice Conference in Baltimore, and the Peace Studies and COPRED conferences at Georgetown University. A number of ETAN activists joined forces with the School of the Americas Watch vigilers at the Capitol in April. We have shown *Death of a Nation* multiple times, including at an event sponsored by Peace Action and Amnesty activists at Georgetown University. Matthew Jardine motivated over 35 at Luna Books on May 29 with his slide presentation and readings from *East Timor's Unfinished Struggle*. Finally, José Ramos-Horta was a keynote speaker at the national COPRED and Peace Studies conferences here June 7; Allan Nairn provided the opening remarks.

During Peace Action's "Spring Cleaning" lobby days in mid-March, U.S. arms sales to Indonesia were a central focus. In addition to helping with training and lobbying, ETAN activists joined Peace Action for the largest demonstration to date at the Indonesian Embassy. Thirty-one people were arrested for a nonviolent "die in" on the Embassy driveway, bearing crosses with the names of East Timorese killed in the Santa Cruz massacre. Art Laffin, Anne Tucker and Reba Mathern, the only ones to refuse to pay a \$50 fine, went to court on June 4. Their trespass charges were dismissed on June 4, though the government reserved the option to reactivate the charges later.

Last but not least, I'm pleased to report that ETAN doesn't let President Clinton off the hook as easily as the *Washington Post*. On May 25, Matthew Jardine and I gathered local ETAN activists to inaugurate a new banner: "Mr. President: U.S. Policy on East Timor is Sinful" at the Foundry Methodist Church service, which was attended by Bill, Hillary and Chelsea Clinton. When the police and secret service cleared the roads around the church, amazing acoustics were established and a number of strong voices reached and admonished the president for his shameful support of U.S. military assistance to Indonesia and inaction on behalf of the East Timorese right to self-determination. Let's keep up the direct action!

Isabel Galhos Tours the United States

By Kristin Sundell, ETAN National Field Organizer

Last February, ETAN and the San Francisco-based human rights group Global Exchange hosted East Timorese refugee Isabel (Bella) Galhos for an 18-day tour of the United States. Her talks drew large audiences in Colorado, California, Missouri, Indiana, Illinois, Pennsylvania, Delaware, North Carolina, and New Hampshire.

Bella, 25, is one of three East Timorese who have defected to Canada. She was only three years old when Indonesia invaded her country. Her two young brothers were beaten to death and her father was thrown into jail when the Indonesian military entered her home in January 1976. After the Dili massacre, her older brother was jailed and brutally tortured for having made a "Free East Timor" T-shirt worn by some of the demonstrators.

Although she focused on her personal experience as a young survivor of the Indonesian occupation, Bella also addressed U.S. complicity in the invasion and occupation of East Timor and the United States government's continuing military and economic support for the brutal Suharto regime.

In her talks, Bella often recounted her experience with Indonesia's forced sterilization of Timorese women and girls. She was only thirteen years old when the military came to her school and asked all the young women to line up after forcing the boys to leave the room.

"They told us we needed to be injected to stay healthy," she explained. "I was frightened; I didn't trust them. Five of them had to hold me down, and they had a very hard time. Then they came to my home the same week and injected me again."

Much later, with the help of Bishop Belo, she discovered that she and her classmates had been injected with Depo-Provera (a birth control drug).

Bella also spoke of living under a constant fear of being raped: "Women in East Timor are raped all the time by the military. They just come into your home and force you."

Bella began to work with the underground resistance in 1989, helping to plan demonstrations and convincing other women to take an active role in the movement. In 1991, Bella helped to organize the peaceful march to the Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili. When the Indonesian military opened fire on the demonstration, Bella managed to get herself and her pregnant aunt over the high cemetery walls to safety. More than 250 of her friends were not so

lucky, being brutally killed in the massacre.

In the aftermath of the massacre Bella joined the Indonesian military youth corps to mask her involvement in the demonstration. For three years the Indonesian authorities trained her to fight against her own people. During this time, Bella secretly used her army salary to help the resistance movement.

In 1994, after months of interrogation and instruction, the Indonesian government selected Bella to represent East Timorese youth in the Canada World Youth program. She was well trained to speak to the Canadian media and to portray Suharto's propa-



Isabel Galhos and Kristin Sundell

Photo by Matt Galloway

ganda machine's version of a "typical" young Timorese—educated, successful, and pro-integration.

Bella defected after her arrival in Canada with the help of her uncle, Constâncio Pinto, who had escaped East Timor shortly after the Dili massacre. Since then, Bella has been perfecting her English and touring Canada to speak for her country's freedom. The tour sponsored by ETAN was her first in the United States.

Most stops on the tour included a talk at a local university and interviews with the local media. Many attending the talks had first heard about East Timor after the awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize to two East Timorese leaders last October. They came

to learn more about the history and current status of East Timor and to find out what they could do to help.

During the tour, Bella was also able to testify at hearings held at the state legislature in Massachusetts on the "Act Regulating State Contracts and Investments with Companies doing Business with or in Indonesia." (See article, page 11.) Bella was also a panel speaker at a conference of East Timorese leaders and scholars at Columbia University, which was organized by ETAN in cooperation with Professor Antonio Barbedo of Portugal.

The tour was extremely successful in terms of both drawing large numbers of people and reaching out into areas of the country where ETAN's presence had been weak. Isabel Galhos is a powerful and pas-

sionate speaker and elicited a strong response from everyone who heard her.

ETAN is planning more speaking tours of young East Timorese and Indonesian activists this fall. Let us know if you'd like them to come to your community. ■

Welcome, ETAN/Philadelphia!

The contact person for the newest ETAN chapter is

Matt Galloway
416 W. Chelton #3
Philadelphia, PA 19144-4457
215-951-2266

In the last Estafeta, Lynn Fredriksson (ETAN's Washington Representative) and John M. Miller (Media and Outreach Coordinator) introduced themselves. Here's the third member of our staff, Kristin Sundell.

Greetings from ETAN's New Field Organizer

Hello! My name is Kristin Sundell, and last February I started working as ETAN's national field organizer. My work with ETAN had a hectic start, as I spent the first month preparing for and travelling with East Timorese refugee Bella Galhos on a national speaking tour organized by Global Exchange (see article, facing page).

Since returning from that trip I have spent about two weeks of every month on the road, including visits to Tennessee, Indiana, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and western New York State. (Potential ETAN chapters are now starting in Bloomington, IN, Milwaukee, WI, and Minneapolis, MN). I hope to meet with each of the ETAN local chapters within the next year. As I write, I am about to embark on a two-week trip in the southeast, including Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, and Florida.

Two years ago, I graduated from St. Olaf College in Northfield, MN. Although I entered college as a piano performance major, I soon realized that my activist-oriented priorities did not allow for long hours spent isolated in a practice room. After several false starts I created my own degree, focusing on social justice and the study of liberation theology, literature, African-American, and women's studies. Music and dance remain important parts of my life, although I have found little time for either in the past four months.

I first became aware of the situation in East Timor during a period of independent study in North Sumatra, Indonesia. Although I was rarely able to discuss politics openly during my time in Indonesia, it was often present as an undercurrent in conversations with my professors, fellow students and host families.

Our proximity to Aceh, and a conflict in the Batak Church in which the military imposed and backed their choice for the local Lutheran bishop, gave me a sense of the totalitarian nature of the Suharto regime. But it wasn't until I returned home that I began to understand the role of the United States as an active accomplice in the crimes of Suharto and other dictators around the world.

After graduating from college, I moved to Washington, DC and spent a year living in an intentional community committed to spirituality, a simplified lifestyle and social justice. While there, I also worked as an environmental lobbyist and organizer for the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America. Last fall, I moved back to Minnesota to work as an organizer in the reelection campaign of Senator Paul Wellstone, (one of the few progressives in the United States Senate). More than anything else I have done, the Wellstone campaign (which used volunteers and an extensive field operation to counter a blitz of attack ads from the opponent) convinced me of the incredible power people have when they are committed and organized.

One of the best parts of the last four months has been the amazing people around the country with whom I have had the opportunity to meet and work. To all of you, thank you for your work and your commitment. What I do every day would be worth very little without it! I look forward to working with you to increase ETAN's ability to put pressure on the governments, corporations, politicians, and individuals responsible for the continuing crisis in East Timor. Please feel free to contact me with ideas and suggestions and let me know how I can help and support your efforts. ■

When Kristin finishes her southern tour, she will be settling down in Boston. In the meantime, you can reach her via the ETAN national office or at etanfield@jgc.apc.org.



Kristin (lower right) was one of 31 East Timor supporters arrested during a "die-in" at the Indonesian Embassy in Washington on March 17.

New Resources from ETAN

ETAN has redesigned and updated our brochure for books, audiovisual, and other resources. Call or write if you'd like a copy. In this *Estafeta*, we wanted to highlight a few of the newest items available from ETAN (please add 15% postage).

Indonesia: Arms Trade to a Military Regime

Hot off the presses from the European Network Against Arms Trade in the Netherlands. With an introduction by José Ramos-Horta, this book gives an overview of Indonesia's military and includes detailed chapters on how they get weapons from Australia, the U.S., Canada, Belgium, Finland, France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland and the U.K. It is an invaluable resource to the international campaign to Stop Arming Indonesia. 124 pages, \$8.

Quito: A documentary music drama about schizophrenia and East Timor

A new CD from Australia, a collaboration of the East Timor activist twins Martin and Peter Wesley-Smith. About the life and death of Francisco Baptista "Quito" Pires, an East Timorese refugee who lived in Darwin, Australia and suffered from schizophrenia. Quito was shot by police in 1987 and committed suicide in 1990. His story is a dramatic metaphor for the struggles of his people. 67 minutes, \$15.

Bitter Paradise: The Sell-out of East Timor

A new video by Canadian activist filmmaker Elaine Brière, winner of the prestigious 1997 Hot Docs award for political documentary. Its dramatic unveiling of the arrogant, amoral complicity of Canadian corporations and politicians with the occupation of East Timor will resonate with people from all countries. 56 minutes. \$100 for institutional use, \$30 for activists.

Sometimes I Must Speak Out Strongly: A profile of Bishop Carlos Ximenes Belo

Max Stahl's new video tells the story of the Nobel Prize winner. Stahl, who produced *Cold Blood* and worked on *Death of a Nation*, has an unparalleled understanding of and empathy for the people of East Timor. 52 minutes, \$30 for non-commercial use.

Support East Timor in your Community

By Kristin Sundell, ETAN National Field Organizer

ETAN was formed in late 1991, following the massacre of over 270 unarmed East Timorese civilians. Several activists came together, believing that for change to happen in East Timor, U.S. support for the Indonesian occupation would have to end. The media coverage surrounding the Santa Cruz massacre provided an unprecedented opportunity to create grassroots pressure.

Awakened by the Santa Cruz massacre, energized by the courage of the East Timorese people, and outraged by the key supporting role the U.S. has played throughout the Indonesian occupation, activists across the country joined ETAN. They realized that East Timor exemplifies many other struggles for human rights, corporate responsibility, and demilitarization. The struggle for East Timorese self-determination is winnable, and if the U.S. and Indonesia reverse their present course, a strong precedent will be set towards demilitarization and freedom in other parts of the world.

East Timorese resistance leaders and academic analysts have identified changing U.S. policy toward Indonesia as the most effective way to end the Indonesian occupation. ETAN is working to convert Americans' lack of knowledge about East Timor into awareness, consciousness, and action. Our imperfect democracy gives Americans more opportunities to act, at less risk, than people in East Timor or Indonesia.

We define our scope in several ways:

- ✓ We are single-issue, focusing on Indonesia's occupation of East Timor and the U.S. support of that occupation and genocide. However, we work with many peace, human rights, religious, labor and other groups and networks which have East Timor as part of their agenda. As East Timor is not a "right" or "left" issue, we work with people and groups across the ideological spectrum.
- ✓ We see the East Timorese people's right to self-determination as an integral part of the solution to the current crisis there.
- ✓ We embrace a broad range of approaches from public education to protest, lobbying to local organizing, resource production and distribution to media work.

Acting Locally

ETAN's small national staff and budget cannot reach the great majority of the people

in the United States. Much of ETAN's work is carried on in local communities, schools, peace and justice groups and religious institutions. Acting locally is key to making national and global policy changes.

Although individual activists can accomplish much, several people struggling together can do much more, as a local organizational structure magnifies and concretize our efforts. In many communities, ETAN members have come together to form local chapters. In addition to providing mutual support and education, and being able to take on more ambitious projects, a formalized group is taken more seriously by the media, elected officials, and other opinion leaders (and followers). Chapter members decide to work together, on an ongoing basis, to educate their community about East Timor.

ETAN currently has fifteen active chapters around the country. A chapter should include at least five committed people. Chapters receive priority services from National ETAN, discounts on books and other resources, and participation in ETAN national strategy decisions. Chapters do not pay dues to National (or vice versa), although National sometimes makes loans to chapters to help them get off the ground. Some chapters are city-based, while others are formed at a particular school or university. ETAN's structure is flexible, and each chapter is free to choose its own structure, provided that its goals are consistent with ETAN and it is committed to nonviolence.

To become a chapter, a group should write a short statement describing goals and plans for the chapter, introducing the folks who plan to be active members, and identifying a steering committee representative and a contact person. For examples of statements or organizing ideas, contact Kristin Sundell at etanfield@igc.apc.org or 518-877-8230. Ideally, the steering committee representative would have access to e-mail, and be able to participate in discussions and meetings (every 1-2 years) of the national Steering Committee, which includes one member chosen by each chapter. Requests for chapter status should be sent to the ETAN national office, which forwards them to the Steering Committee for approval.

National ETAN employs three staff people: a Washington Representative, a Field Organizer, and a Media Coordinator.

All are available as resources to local ETAN chapters. If an individual or a group is not able to form a chapter, they can also serve as a contact person for their area. The names of local contacts may be given to other groups or individuals in the area interested in becoming active on East Timor.

Local Organizing Ideas

Each ETAN chapter independently decides which activities to undertake. However, educating the local community about East Timor and lobbying elected officials are important parts of the work of most chapters. Most also join in nationally-coordinated Days of Action, such as the December 7 anniversary of Indonesia's invasion of East Timor. A growing number of groups are also targeting corporations involved in Indonesia for sanctions or divestment.

Possible local activities include:

- ✓ Setting up tables or distributing flyers at public events and in public spaces.
- ✓ Making presentations to college and high school classrooms, churches, human rights or peace groups, etc.
- ✓ Letter-writing or phone campaigns to stop U.S. arms sales to Indonesia.
- ✓ Working with local media to provide op-eds, letters to the editor, and information to improve coverage of East Timor.
- ✓ Organizing events for visiting speakers. ETAN organizes several national speaking tours each year of East Timorese and Indonesian activists. We also have a speakers bureau of U.S.-resident experts who are available at almost any time.
- ✓ Public demonstrations against the Indonesian occupation of East Timor and the corporations and public institutions which support it.
- ✓ Meeting with Congressional representatives locally or in Washington as part of ETAN lobbying campaigns.
- ✓ Sponsoring film or video screenings to raise consciousness and/or funds.
- ✓ Coordinating actions, events or conferences with others, such as groups dealing with Burma, Nigeria, Tibet; Peace Action, Amnesty International; local peace and justice organizations.
- ✓ Working to pass state or city-wide legislation to institute sanctions against corporations selling weapons to Indonesia, stealing East Timor's resources, or otherwise supporting the Suharto regime. ■

Massachusetts Moves Closer to Indonesia Sanctions

By Mark Salzer, Greater Boston ETAN

On May 29th, the Massachusetts State Legislature's committee on State Administration approved a measure that would impose sanctions against companies that do business with Indonesia. The bill, H3730, "An Act to Regulate State Contracts and Investments with Companies Doing Business with or in Indonesia," now proceeds to the Massachusetts House Ways and Means Committee for consideration.

Burma activist Simon Billenness of Franklin Research contacted ETAN early last year to advise us of the bill's existence. The bill's lead sponsor, Representative Antonio Cabral of New Bedford, had introduced the Act in 1995, but the business community's efforts had put it into a study.

Cabral reintroduced the bill in the fall of 1996, bolstered by the state's enactment of a Burma sanctions law. Thanks to grassroots organizing, the state now prohibits state contracts with companies doing business with Burma. Cabral added to his bill a state pension funds divestment component that was modeled after apartheid-era South Africa divestment legislation that Massachusetts also pioneered. (It has since been modified along the lines of the divestment legislation crafted for Northern Ireland.)

On February 27, a hearing was held on the bill at the State House. Supporters who testified included José Ramos-Horta, George Aditjondro, Constâncio Pinto, Charles Scheiner, Allan Nairn, Bella Galhos, and Abigail Abrash of the RFK Human Rights Center. Concurrently, on the steps of the State House fifteen ETAN members demonstrated in support of the bill (photo, page 3). The hearing ran 6½ hours, of which five was taken up by testimony from supporters.

Although Wayne Forrest, Executive Director of the American-Indonesian Chamber of Commerce said that "99% of Indonesia lives in peace" and so, presumably we should not regulate business, the business community took up the remainder of the time with a general chorus reminding legislators that their bottom line was profits.

Indonesia has a \$6 billion trade relationship with the United States, 40 times as much as Burma. Massachusetts ranks 16th in the United States in total exports to Indonesia, shipping nearly \$50 million in products during 1996, according to Cabral.

Companies such as Raytheon, Gillette and Reebok International Ltd., all headquartered in Massachusetts, do business with

both the Commonwealth and Indonesia. These companies (many represented through the Associated Industries of Massachusetts) and officials from the State Department, the Office of Special Trade Representative, the European Union and the British government have all sent envoys to meet with Cabral. (The Massachusetts Burma law, which went into effect on January 1, has sparked an international furor among U.S. trading partners. The European Union and Japan have protested to Washington about this law.)

The recent enactment of GATT gives the World Trade Organization (WTO) jurisdiction over international trade, and tries to prevent national and local governments from adopting stricter standards. Despite many legislators' assertions that it is a state's right to decide how the state spends its own money, Senate co-sponsor, Marc Pacheco of Taunton, said the bill was amended to make it conform to the WTO's Government Procurement Act.

Pacheco said he hoped the bill, which must now go to the House of Representatives Ways and Means Committee, "would send a strong message to the dictatorship in Indonesia that they must change their ways and provide the people of East Timor basic human rights and a measure of self-determination."

The Indonesia legislation was amended to exempt individual purchasing contracts of more than \$500,000 and construction contracts of more than \$7 million to avoid any potential violations of the WTO act.

While the changes may end conflicts with Washington and the EU on the Indonesia bill, opposition is expected to continue from corporations. Many are likely to be uncomfortable with a legislative list of those doing business in the country, Mr. Pacheco said.

"They may feel uncomfortable, but there's a heck of a lot of people who feel uncomfortable in East Timor," he said.

If the measure passes both houses of the state legislature, the ban would remain in effect until Indonesia complies with United Nations resolutions calling for self-determination in East Timor.

Cabral is promoting counterpart bills in Connecticut, California and New Jersey (all via Portuguese-American legislators) and is also urging Massachusetts counties to divest their pension funds. He says that Middlesex County (the Boston/North Shore

area), with pension funds of \$425 million has already agreed to divest and Bristol County is considering it. On June 7, a Providence press conference announced the beginning of a similar effort in Rhode Island.

H3730 has anchored Greater Boston ETAN's organizing efforts. On the day of the hearings, José Ramos-Horta spoke at the Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government to 350 people about the bill. Through Simon Billenness we have strengthened our ties to other activists struggling against corporate interests.

In April, over 150 Burma, Nigeria, Tibet and East Timor activists came together to discuss effective organizing strategies. Professor Noam Chomsky spoke at the beginning of those workshops and also with Constâncio Pinto in March (co-sponsored by South End Press). Constâncio Pinto also spoke with Anthony Arnone at Harvard in early spring (co-sponsored by the ISO).

It was at this talk that Catholic youth club director Bob Doolittle first conceived of organizing youth clubs to share the story of East Timor with other youth clubs. These students arranged to bring Bishop Belo to Cambridge on June 1st. ETAN/Greater Boston also flew Elaine Brière to Boston for the US premiere of her award-winning film, *Bitter Paradise: The Sell-out of East Timor*. Harvard Film Archives graciously turned over all proceeds from the two showings to ETAN. (This hard-hitting documentary is available on video from ETAN/US for \$30, see page 9.)

Throughout, we have used the bill as an educational and organizing tool with great success.

What you can do?

If you are from Massachusetts or know people there, please have them contact:

- ◆ Committee Chair Paul Haley, State House, Room 243, Boston, MA 02133.
- ◆ Speaker of the House Thomas Finneran, State House, Room 256, Boston, MA 02133.
- ◆ Members of the House Ways and Means Committee.
- ◆ Your State Senator and Representative.

The state switchboard telephone number is (617)722-2000. Please let ETAN/ Greater Boston know of your progress: 51 Marathon Street, Arlington, MA 02174-6917, email: etanbost@lbbs.org. If you would like a copy of the bill to show to other states' legislators, please contact us. ■

Academic "Roadshow" Raises Awareness

By John M. Miller, Media and Outreach Coordinator.

Educational efforts in North America on East Timor and Indonesia received a major boost earlier this year with a series of academic conferences and other events organized by the Foundation of Portuguese Universities with support from ETAN.

In late February and early March, a two-week traveling "roadshow" of academic experts and activists from Europe, the United States, Indonesia and East Timor spoke on campuses in over a dozen cities. Participant provided a global perspective usually unavailable in the United States. Nobel Laureate José Ramos-Horta was the keynote speaker at a number of events.

The Indonesian government felt so threatened by the conference series that they sent embassy and consulate officials or their relatives to most of its events; some came from as far away as London or Jakarta to pepper participants with questions. At times, the repetition of the same questions and allegations bordered on harassment. In most places this Indonesian effort backfired, with audience members seeing through the effort to disrupt discussion rather than add to it.

The tour opened with a conference at Columbia University. In an event unique in the United States, seven East Timorese openly discussed options for the future of their troubled land. Participating in the discussion were Constâncio Pinto, João Saldanha (a graduate student at Harvard), Mari Alkatiri of Fretilin, João Carrascalão of UDT, and Bella Galhos. The Rev. Arlindo Marçal of the Protestant Church of East Timor and Armindo Maia, acting rector of the University of East Timor, also participated in the discussion and tour at some risk to themselves, offering their perspectives from inside the territory.

In Washington, Maia and Marçal offered moving testimony before the Congressional Human Rights Caucus. Also participating in the hearing were Ramos-Horta and Dr. George Aditjondro, the Indonesian social scientist who chose exile in Australia rather than

face stacked charges in an Indonesian court. Aditjondro also briefed the media and a number of key Congressional committee staffers on the involvement of key figures in the "Indogate" campaign finance scandal with the Suharto regime and East Timor.

Prof. Maia and Rev. Marçal ended their U.S. trip early to return home to Dili, fearing repression. They received threats and harassment upon their return. A few weeks later, Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights John Shattuck visited them in Dili and urged the Indonesian government to protect their safety. Nevertheless, Maia's position at the university is being challenged, and he was physically attacked at his home on June 3 by a mob of pro-integration students.

Timorese participants in the tour (but not those still living in East Timor) testified before the Massachusetts state legislature.

Tour related events also took place in Cambridge; Camden, NJ; the Boston area; Baltimore; Cincinnati; San Francisco Bay area; Providence; New Haven and Fairfield, CT; and Vancouver, BC, Canada.

Also participating in the tour were Lojang Soenario, (founder, Watch Indonesia, Germany), Bishop Hilton Deakin (Auxiliary Bishop of Melbourne; Chair, East Timor Human Rights Center, Melbourne), Jakarta-based Dr. Kastorius Sinaga (Director, Pact/Indonesia NGO Partnership Initiative), and Pedro Pinto Leite (Secretary-General of the International Platform of Jurists on East Timor). Professor Antonio Barbedo de Magalhães of Oporto University was the main Portuguese organizer of the tour, which was joined by several other Portuguese academics.

This was the first U.S. undertaking of a series of conferences and seminars begun in Portugal and now spreading worldwide. If you are connected with an academic institution which would like to participate, contact ETAN and we can put you in touch with the Portuguese sponsors. ■

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