

The East Timor *Estafeta*

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

Vol. 2, No. 1/March 1996

20th Anniversary of Indonesia's Invasion Marked by Growing Unrest within East Timor and World-Wide Protest

by Ben Terrall and Matthew Jardine

Two decades after Indonesia's brutal invasion of East Timor the Suharto regime continues to face strong East Timorese opposition to its occupation of their country. Unrest within the territory has grown over the last few months and the military authorities have responded with a heavy hand. Meanwhile, human rights and solidarity activists around the world marked the anniversaries of the November 12, 1991 Santa Cruz Massacre and the December 7, 1975 invasion with spirited and high-profile activities. (See article, p. 3.)

Intermittent rioting by East Timorese youths in September and October in many of the occupied territory's major towns has led to a significant increase in Indonesian military repression and a seriously deteriorating human rights situation. East

Timorese have responded with a series of foreign embassy actions in Jakarta in hope of gaining political asylum abroad and of bringing greater international attention to Indonesia's ongoing occupation.

December 7 Entries into Russian and Dutch Embassies

East Timorese activists and their Indonesian supporters shocked the world when large groups entered the embassies of The Netherlands and Russia on December 7th to mark the 20th anniversary of Suharto's invasion. While a number of such actions had taken place in the preceding months

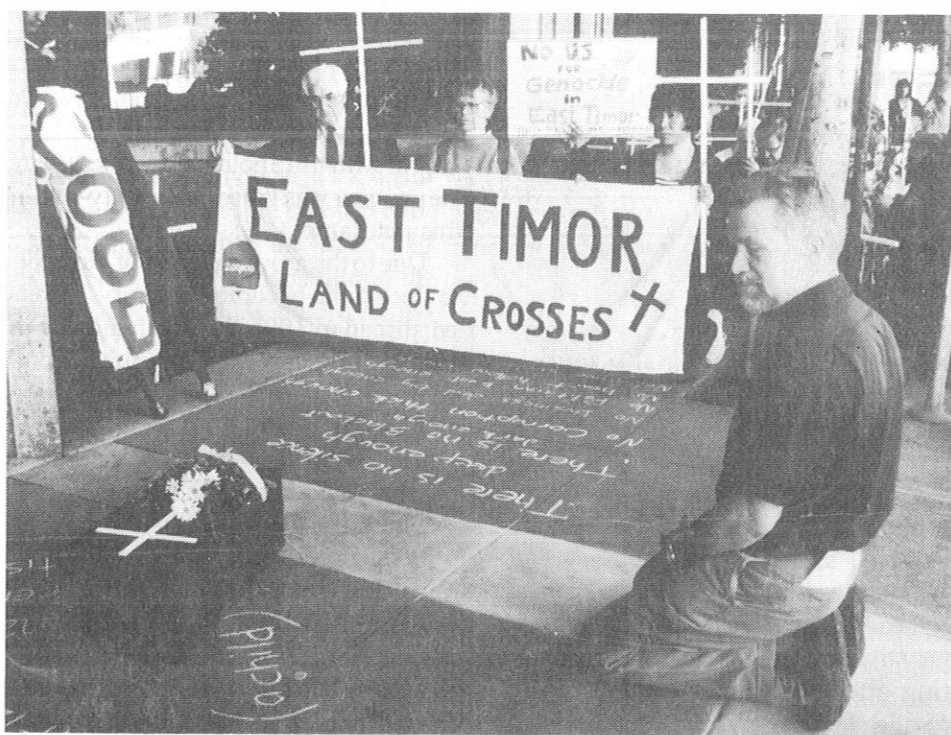
sign of the growing awareness among Indonesians of their government's atrocities in the former Portuguese colony. A recent Radio Netherlands four-part series broadcast to Indonesia in *Bahasa Indonesia*, for example, included interviews with Indonesian soldiers who had refused to serve in East Timor.)

Fifty-eight people rushed into the

Russian embassy and fifty-five scaled the fence around the Dutch embassy. A total of thirty-six Indonesian human rights and pro-democracy activists were among the participants. Indonesian security personnel prevented another group of East Timorese and Indonesians from entering the French embassy and arrested an East Timorese man standing in front of the Thai embassy.

The East Timorese were not seeking political

(continued next page)



Rev. John Chamberlin outside of the Indonesian consulate in San Francisco during East Timor Religious Outreach's November 12th demonstration. Photo: Scott Brayley

(most notably at the U.S. Embassy in November 1994 on the occasion of President Clinton's visit to Jakarta), it was the first time Indonesian activists joined their East Timorese counterparts. (This act of courageous solidarity is a

The East Timor Estafeta replaces *Network News* beginning with this issue. *Estafeta* is a Portuguese word that means messenger. East Timorese use the term for the people who carry messages for the resistance.

Growing Unrest (continued)

asylum in this particular action, but rather attempting to publicize the plight of their country. As their petition to the Russian government stated, "[F]or the last twenty years we have exhausted all our means of struggle to show to the whole world . . . that our country has been occupied illegally, that our people have been occupied illegally . . . [and] massacred inhumanely, that our mothers have been raped and killed. And on this day, too, we have realised that . . . not one government in the world, including that of Russia, . . . has been able to understand our suffering and to understand the reality we have faced over . . . the last 20 years. And because of all this, we have decided to enter the Russian embassy."

The demonstrators quit the Russian embassy the following day after an agreement between Indonesian police and an Indonesian human rights lawyer guaranteed a bus and safe passage to the Indonesian Legal Aid Foundation. Indonesian government-sponsored thugs, members of Pemuda Pancasila, attacked the demonstrators as they were leaving the compound and boarding the bus. Indonesian police hijacked the bus, forcing it to go to police headquarters for the interrogation of the activists.

At the Dutch embassy, police and soldiers stood by as about two hundred Indonesian toughs stormed into the embassy compound and, armed with crowbars and bamboo sticks, attacked the demonstrators and embassy staff, including the ambassador, and caused considerable material damage. On Dec. 9, Dutch authorities permitted Indonesian police to enter the embassy and arrest the demonstrators. The authorities took the arrestees to military intelligence headquarters and later to police headquarters.

While police released all the demonstrators within a few days, many of them were subsequently re-arrested, while others face continuing harassment by the authorities.

Visit by U.N. Human Rights Chief

The demonstrations greatly embarrassed Jakarta, occurring during the high-profile visit of José Ayala Lasso, the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights. Ayala Lasso was in Jakarta on Dec. 7, the end of an official six-day trip to Indonesia, which included twenty-five hours in East Timor. While there, Ayala Lasso met with the head of the Catholic church, Bishop Belo, as well as Indonesian military and political authorities. In Jakarta, he also met with Xanana Gusmão, the imprisoned head of the resistance.

Security was extremely tight during Ayala Lasso's visit to East Timor, frustrating attempts by people to express discontent with Jakarta's rule. Indonesian authorities arrested six people trying to meet with the human rights chief. Five of them were carrying a message from the resistance for the U.N. high commissioner.

The human rights official's visit to East Timor certainly did not please Indonesian authorities. At a Jakarta press conference Ayala Lasso spoke of "grave violations" of human rights in the territory and of systematic torture of political detainees. Demonstrations plagued Ayala Lasso during his time in Jakarta, with aggressive, pro-government protesters surrounding and banging on his car.

Other Embassy Actions

As this issue goes to press, nine East Timorese—seven men and two women, one of whom is pregnant—remained holed up in Australia's Jakarta embassy. This latest embassy invasion is the fifteenth such action since Sept. 1995. Targets have included the embassies of the United Kingdom, Japan, France, New Zealand, and Poland. It is worth noting that, despite the presence of three foreign consulates in Dili during the Portuguese era, there was never a single case of political asylum. Apart from the Dec. 7 actions, all have had the goal of gaining political asylum abroad. But the various governments have rejected the bids, arguing that all East Timorese have a right to Portuguese citizenship. Instead, the embassy staffs have merely helped the East Timorese—a total of sixty-eight—gain safe passage to Portugal.

The group currently in the Australian embassy, however, is refusing to accept asylum in Portugal. They are challenging the Australian government either to grant them asylum or to dare to hand them over to the Indonesian authorities. As national elections in Australia will take place in March, the situation is proving highly embarrassing for political elites in Canberra.

Unrest within East Timor Continues

The embassy invasions are unfolding within a context of growing frustration and desperation among the population in East Timor. Within the territory, increasing East Timorese resistance and intensifying Indonesian repression are making for a potentially explosive chemistry. On Jan. 30, a riot broke out in a prison in Dili as about one hundred East Timorese—many of whom are political detainees—attempted a mass escape. One prisoner was killed, and eighty-five injured. Eight escapees remain at large.

Due to the growing levels of violence and repression, many are fleeing the occupied territory. Over 1,000 East Timorese fled abroad in 1995-96, and hundreds more are hiding within Indonesia proper seeking sanctuary from the repression in their homeland. Hundreds of Indonesian settlers, too, have reportedly left East Timor to return to Indonesia due to the increasing strife in the territory—a sign of the increasing difficulty Jakarta is having in pacifying East Timor.

Militarily, the Indonesian army has significantly stepped up its operations in a renewed effort to destroy the guerrilla army. There have been a number of confrontations between the two military forces, with casualties sustained on both sides. A Feb. 5 FALINTIL attack on Indonesian battalion 711 yielded the capture of three green beret soldiers. While FALINTIL released one after disarming him, the other two remain as prisoners as of this writing.

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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ACTIVISTS COMMEMORATE 20TH YEAR OF OCCUPATION AND RESISTANCE

by Matthew Jardine

Activists around the world let the people of East Timor know that they are not alone in fighting Indonesia's occupation and national governments—most significantly those of the West—which are Jakarta's partners in crime. There were countless events to mark the 4th anniversary of the Santa Cruz Massacre on November 12 and the 20th anniversary of Jakarta's invasion of the former Portuguese Timor on December 7.

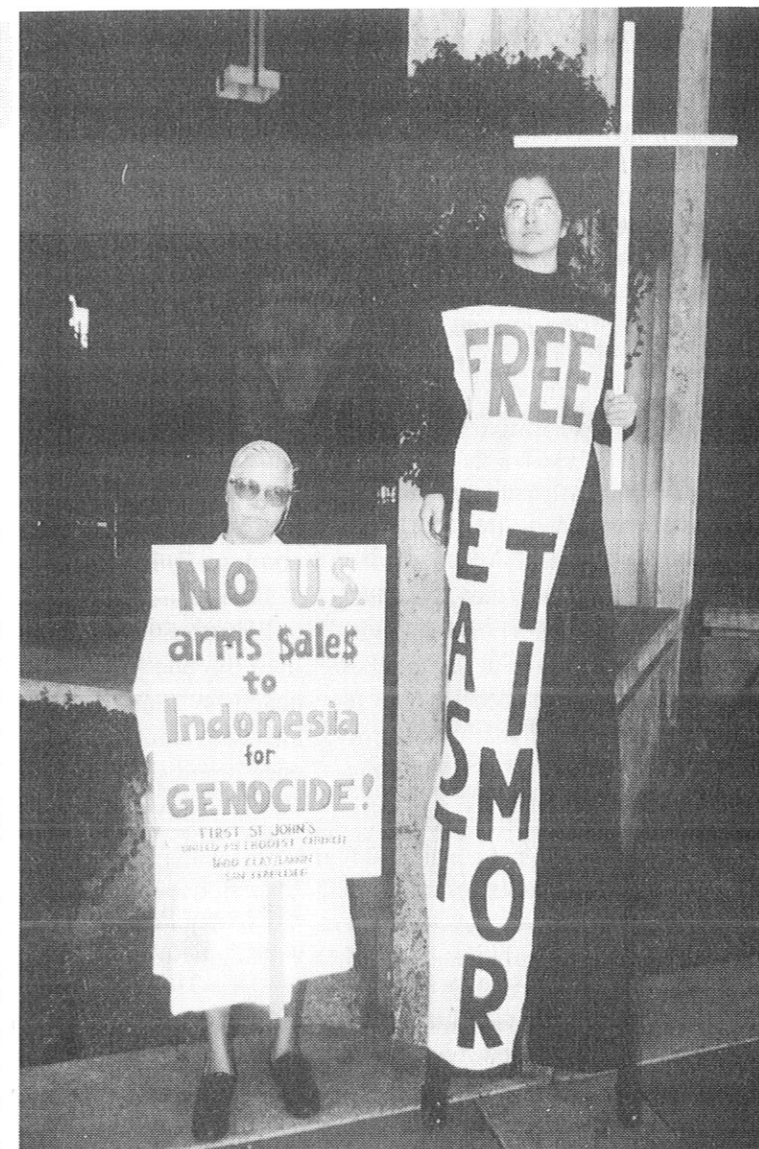
Here in the United States, events in cities ranging from Madison, Wisconsin to Los Angeles to New York to Seattle took place on and around November 12 to commemorate the Nov. 12, 1991 memorial march in Dili fired upon by Indonesian soldiers, killing over 250 people.

The event organized by the East Timor Religious Outreach (ETRO) that took place in San Francisco outside the Indonesian consulate was perhaps the largest demonstration ever in support of East Timor in the U.S. With the help of the East Timor Action Network in San Francisco, ETRO gathered nearly 100 peaceful protesters outside the consulate. Dressed in black, the participants—led by two people on stilts carrying large banners—staged a highly-visible procession around the consulate building.

The Indonesian officials locked themselves in the building, refusing to come out and meet with an ETRO delegation that wanted to present a letter to Indonesia's Consul General. At the end of the march, 16 people climbed over the consulate fence in an attempt to deliver the letter. San Francisco police quickly arrested the demonstrators, including two Catholic priests, two United Methodist ministers (one of which was ETRO National Coordinator Rev. John Chamberlin—see photo, p. 1), instructors from local theology schools, and members of ETRO and ETAN. The police released the arrestees shortly thereafter.

The ETRO event was part of a world-wide vigil dubbed *Ahi Naklakan* (the East Timorese term for light) to mark the 4th anniversary of the cemetery massacre. *Ahi Naklakan* began with the lighting of a candle by a grouping of international dignitaries in Dili on Nov. 9th (for a report by one of the participants, see p. 4). The symbolic light travelled around the world in memory of the Santa Cruz victims and emanated from the candles of demonstrators.

On December 7, demonstrations in many cities, including one of 2,000 in Melbourne, Australia, commemorated the 20th anniversary of Jakarta's bloody invasion. In the United States, events took place across the country including vigils, demonstrations, and educational events in Portland, Oregon, Princeton, New Jersey, and Chicago, and Boston. On Dec. 9th, ETAN/New York Metro sponsored a very successful event at Columbia University that featured Noam Chomsky, Allan Naim of *The Nation*, Reed Brody (see p. 4) and Constancio Pinto, the U.S. representative of the East Timorese resistance. Almost 700 people attended the sold-out fundraiser.



Roman Catholic Sister Stella Marie Good Pasture of the Dominican Sisters of San José and Cynthia Okayama Dopke (on stilts!), a United Methodist seminary student at the Pacific School of Religion in Berkeley, at ETRO's Nov. 12, 1995 demonstration. Photo: Scott Brayley

CORPORATE CAMPAIGN GOES INTERNATIONAL

ETAN's work around Texaco's annual shareholder meeting in New York last May brought us together with Acción Ecológica of Ecuador, which is suing and organizing against the vast areas of Amazonian rainforest destroyed by Texaco's toxic wastes. As half-owner of the largest foreign oil company in Indonesia (Caltex Pacific Indonesia), Texaco has joined with Freeport to promote business and suppress truth and morality in U.S.-Indonesia relations.

Acción Ecológica is bringing together a network of organizations opposing the environmental and human rights damages wrought by the oil industry all over the world. ETAN has been invited to this Oilwatch founding conference, which will increase awareness and synergistic activities among people of conscience on many continents. Look for a report in the next *Estafeta*.

TWENTY-FOUR HOURS OF REPRESSION: MY TIME IN EAST TIMOR

by Reed Brody

(Reed Brody is a New York-based lawyer. From 1994 to 1995, he was Human Rights Director of the U.N. peacekeeping mission in El Salvador. In Nov. 1995, he was part of a delegation of parliamentarians, religious leaders and human rights advocates which hoped to say a prayer at the site of the Santa Cruz Massacre. Seven delegates, including Brody, made it to East Timor, but were expelled after one day. The other eight were blocked at the Bali airport. This is Brody's report.)

In our 24 hours in Timor, we were subject to almost constant surveillance. Upon our arrival at the hotel, men with walkie-talkies appeared. When we went to a restaurant, security men with video cameras came along. The most frightening incident occurred at night, when we were talking on the beach, in an attempt to get out of earshot of our pursuers. Two trucks pulled up and disgorged at least 15 policemen in full riot gear brandishing bamboo truncheons. They surrounded us and ordered us back to our hotel.

Early the next morning, Mr. Triswoyo, the head of immigration for Dili, called us together and informed us that "security is everywhere here." He warned us not to interview local people, or to film or to mix with crowds. If we did, he said, "we will pick you off one by one." Foreigners, he said, by their mere presence, interest local people and incite them to actions such as throwing stones.

Although we were left to go, two hours later we were gathered up from various points in Dili and told by Mr. Triswoyo that he had received an order from Jakarta that we were to be expelled for security reasons and that no visitors would be allowed on the island until after the Nov. 12th anniversary.

What we lived through during one day, of course, is only a taste of what the Timorese must endure every day under Indonesian occupation.

In my work on human rights for the United Nations and humanitarian organizations, I have been to 82 coun-

tries. Yet I had never sensed so much repression and seen so much resistance as in my 24 hours in Dili. There is a complete lack of freedom--no freedom of speech, no freedom of movement and, worst of all, no freedom to be Timorese.

Despite the surveillance, we had many planned and chance encounters with Timorese. They told us about the escalating repression in the run-up to the two anniversaries of Nov. 12, 1991 and Dec. 7, 1975.

Everyone spoke of a wave of house-to-house beatings by police riot squads--like the one that encircled us on the beach--systematically beating young men with bamboo sticks, again like the ones brandished at us. We were also told of a wave of recent arrests, which people variously placed at between 150 and 400. The goal of these beatings and arrests was to intimidate or simply to incapacitate people from protesting.

One Timorese priest told us "The Indonesians think that we are animals, so they try to beat us into submission. But we are not animals, and when they beat us, it only makes us hate them more."

And the immigration officer was right when he told us that the presence of foreigners incite the Timorese to protest, for despite the obvious risks, every Timorese we met--ordinary people, kids, taxi drivers--used the occasion to express anger at the Indonesians, to support independence or just to thank us for being there. One boy came straight up to us and said "Independence or death." Children we passed said "Viva Timor Leste"--Free East Timor. People's eyes told us what they were thinking.

Despite 20 years of repression, despite the slaughter of one-third of the population, resistance is everywhere. This is what Indonesia does not want people to see, and this is why we were expelled. ■

Washington Marks Time - East Timor Network Takes Action

by Charlie Scheiner

With Congress prancing around budgetary pronouncements and Presidential campaigning, there has been little time for issues of substance. Since the report in our last Newsletter, there has been no new Congressional action on East Timor-related issues. ETAN's focus remains the opposing of military aid and arms sales to the Suharto regime.

One current controversy is the Clinton Administration's efforts to sell Indonesia F-16 warplanes, supersonic tactical fighter jets made by Lockheed-Martin and denied to Pakistan because of their nuclear weapons activities. Although these have been pitched at levels from Clinton to Suharto on down, Jakarta remains reluctant to purchase the decade-old weapons for cash, preferring to buy new ones, and to get U.S. government financing. This could become a major issue for Congress and the White House during 1996. For an excellent four-page briefing paper on this issue, write Peace Action at 1819 H Street NW, Suite 425, Washington DC 20006 or contact ETAN.

On Dec. 7, to mark two decades after the Indonesian invasion of East Timor, Representatives Patrick Kennedy (D-RI) and Nita Lowey (D-NY) introduced the East Timor Human Rights Accountability Act (H.R. 2746). The bill would prohibit U.S. military and economic aid programs to the Indonesian government unless the President certifies to Congress that such aid is not used "to violate human rights in East Timor or to support the occupation of East Timor by Indonesia." Although this bill is unlikely to pass, it will be a useful vehicle for speaking to Congresspeople about both human rights and self-determination. Ask your Representative to co-sponsor it.

On the same day, several members of Congress took the floor, including Rep. Tony Hall (D-OH) who stated "I believe there should be increased international efforts to resolve the tragedy in East Timor, which continues to cause so much human

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Washington (continued)

suffering. After all, if we are able to do something about Bosnia, ... we can also do something about East Timor, and it probably would be a lot easier to do so in East Timor."

In mid-February, Amnesty International's Washington office--with ETAN's help--is convening a "discussion forum" on issues regarding Indonesia that Congress can address. The meeting will bring human rights, arms trade, and peace activists together to share information and strategies. We hope it will lead to improved cooperation and effectiveness among those who share our goals. ■

CORPORATE CAMPAIGN UPDATE

Freeport's Gold Loses Luster by Charlie Scheiner

Freeport McMoRan (FMI)--Indonesia's largest U.S. corporate patron--has come under increasing scrutiny over the last few months, shedding light on repression and environmental destruction in West Papua, which Indonesian claims as its 26th province of Irian Jaya.

Freeport, a New Orleans-based mining company, operates the world's largest copper and gold mines near Timika, in West Papua, the western half of the island which also contains Papua New Guinea. Since annexing the territory in 1963, Indonesia has overwhelmed the indigenous people with massive immigration, with Indonesian immigrants taking the most valuable land and mineral resources, and pushing the indigenous people into the mountains and jungle. Freeport's operations exacerbate the already severe human rights situation, and add land devastation and toxic waste to the mix. Their close cooperation with (and employment of) Indonesian military units to protect Freeport's operations only increases the tension.

Freeport McMoRan, as the largest U.S. corporate investor in Indonesia (with 10% owned by the Indonesian government), often fronts for Suharto's military regime in the United States. Their combative CEO, James R. "Jim-Bob" Moffett, introduced Suharto at his October fund-raising dinners in New York and Washington. Freeport's generous contributions to Congressional campaigns (including Appropriations Committee Chair Robert Livingston, R-LA) has helped pave the way for Congressional inaction on Indonesia and East Timor.

LOBBY DAYS: ETAN members from around the country will come to Washington for a few days in March or April to lobby Congress on East Timor. This was extremely effective in 1994 and 1995, resulting in hundreds of meetings with Congressional staffers and greatly increasing Capitol awareness. This year, we'll probably piggyback a weekend national ETAN conference and Steering Committee meeting on the Lobby Days. We are looking at weekends in mid-March and mid-April; contact ETAN if you might come.

grams on local television and run numerous defensive full-page ads in local papers and the *New York Times*. But even the *Wall Street Journal* thinks they are overreacting - "Wielding a Howitzer against a mosquito is a dangerous strategy. It draws undue attention to the Howitzer. And it usually allows the mosquito to live for another attack."

The controversy continues, and UT/Austin is now deciding whether or not to accept a Moffett donation for a building to be named after him and his wife. Tulane continues to debate whether to return Freeport's endowment. And New Orleans' principal daily paper, the *Times-Picayune*, detailed Freeport's activities and associated problems in four days of front-page articles at the end of January.

In addition to Freeport's effects and the revulsion they generate, many West Papuans oppose Indonesia's annexation of their land. The OPM (*Organisasi Papua Merdeka* - Free Papua Movement) is fighting a guerilla war inside and a diplomatic struggle outside. On Jan. 8, the OPM seized 26 hostages, including seven Europeans, in an effort to draw international attention to their struggle for independence from Indonesia. Thirteen are still held as of this writing (Feb. 15), although belated involvement by the International Red Cross may lead to their release. Thus far, the Indonesian military has been restrained in dealing with this situation, but precedent makes many fear a massive crackdown, with scores or hundreds civilian victims, after the hostages are freed. ■

ETAN is working with TAPOL and others on a West Papuan speaking tour around the U.S. in mid-April. Three religious and environmental leaders from the area around the Freeport mine will discuss human rights and Freeport as they travel the U.S., visiting Washington, New Orleans, Austin and other places. If you can help with this project, please contact us.

Speak Truth to Power! April and May are the season for corporate annual meetings, where shareholders get reports and the chance to publicly question top management of all publicly-held corporations. ETAN, by borrowing proxies, can often get into these meetings. If you are interested in speaking to the CEOs of corporations which promote Indonesia's occupation of East Timor, call them for their annual report, which will tell when and where their shareholder meeting will be. We can help with proxies and strategy.

ETAN Hosts José Ramos-Horta Speaking Tour East Timor Dignitary to Tour U.S. April 27-May 27

by John M. Miller

Since the founding of pro-independence political parties in East Timor, José Ramos-Horta has played a central role in the East Timorese struggle. He left East Timor only a few days before Indonesia invaded in December 1975 with the mandate to represent East Timor abroad on behalf of the recently-declared Democratic Republic of East Timor and FRETILIN, the largest political party. Soon after, he was speaking in front of the UN Security Council, urging the UN to take action to protect his homeland from the Indonesian military onslaught.

Well-informed, articulate and candid, he is the most prominent East Timorese in exile, taking East Timor's case for self-determination to governments and peoples around the globe. Beginning in late April, Ramos-Horta will bring East Timor's message to a range of cities across the U.S. in a speaking tour organized by ETAN. Ramos-Horta is Special Representative of the Council of Maubere Resistance (CNRM), the umbrella organization for pro-independence organizations and activists inside and outside East Timor which he helped form with Xanana Gusmão. Ramos-Horta is also Coordinator of the East Timorese Resistance Diplomatic Front Coordinating Commission. He continues to consult regularly with Xanana, who been imprisoned by Indonesia since November 1992. In 1993, Ramos-Horta formally presented the CNRM's peace plan before the European Parliament. The plan calls for a phased resolution to the conflict.

In October 1994, he headed a delegation of pro-independence East Timorese that met publicly with Indonesia's Foreign Minister Ali Alatas as part of an ongoing UN-sponsored dialogue to reach an internationally-acceptable solution. This was the first public meeting between an Indonesian Foreign Minister and external leaders of East Timor since Indonesia invaded. He also participated in the UN sponsored talks being held in Austria which brought together East Timorese from both inside and outside the country.

Ramos-Horta is very familiar with the United States, having lived here for a number of years. He is currently based in Lisbon and Sydney, Australia, and when not representing East Timor, he is Director of the Diplomacy Training Program, Faculty of Laws, University of New South Wales.

On February 1, he was awarded the First UNPO prize, given by the Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization for his unswerving commitment and work for the rights and freedom of threatened peoples.

In his political memoir, *Funu*, Ramos Horta writes of the time since the Indonesian invasion as "years of pain, anguish, frustration, hopelessness, but also of faith and satisfaction."

Despite the loss of many members of his family in the Indonesian invasion, he remains optimistic about East Timor's future prospects. He has often said that part of what gives him hope is the support East Timor has among people around the world. Whatever the duplicity of the world's governments, there are citizens willing to call them on it.

While a regular visitor to the U.S., lately he only has been able to make brief trips on short notice. With this speaking tour, Ramos-Horta will bring his message directly to the people throughout the United States. He is currently scheduled to speak in New York, Washington, Philadelphia, Chicago, Austin, and Los Angeles and more cities are being added.

For more information about the tour, contact: John M. Miller, (718) 788-6071; fbp@igc.apc.org.

United Nations Activity on East Timor Continues by Matthew Jardine

United Nations-brokered negotiations on East Timor aimed at breaking the diplomatic impasse continue between Indonesia and Portugal, the former colonial master. The seventh round of talks took place between the two countries' foreign ministers on January 16th. Little resulted from the latest meeting with Indonesia rejecting a Portuguese proposal for East Timorese participation in future negotiations.

Indonesia continues to refuse to discuss the political status of the former Portuguese colony and Lisbon will not accept anything less than East Timorese self-determination as called for by various U.N. resolutions.

The two sides did agree that a second round of All-Inclusive Intra-Timorese Talks should take place in Austria, beginning in mid-March 1996. These talks are parallel to those between the foreign ministers. Participants are comprised of an equal number of East Timorese from within the territory (supposedly pro-Indonesian) and East Timorese in exile. The first round of talks proved disastrous for Jakarta as a consensus declaration emerged in support of East Timorese self-determination. Jakarta later succeeded in getting one of the participants to deny the validity of the agreement, but the damage had already been done.

The eighth round of ministerial talks between Indonesia and Portugal will take place in June 1996. Prior to that, the United Nations Human Rights Commission's annual meeting will take place in Geneva from March 18-April 26, 1996.

EAST TIMOR STUFF

VIDEOS

— *Death of a Nation: The Timor Conspiracy*. Full-length documentary by John Pilger and Max Stahl, produced for British TV in 1994 and aired in over 40 countries (not yet the U.S.). 76 min. For home use only, \$35.

— *Death of a Nation* (above) with public performance rights, \$149. [ETAN also has a 16mm film copy of *Death of a Nation* for theatrical fund-raisers.]

— *East Timor: Turning a Blind Eye*. Paper Tiger TV's video about US policy and the role of the media. Taped during ETAN's Spring 1993 New Generations of Resistance speaking tour. 30 min. \$20

— *Aggression & Self-Determination*. The US role and what you can do to change it. Produced by ETAN, 1992. 28 min. \$20

— *Cold Blood: The Massacre of East Timor*. British documentary including the November 12, 1991 massacre. 55 min. \$25

— *Xanana*. The human side of the East Timorese resistance leader told by people who know him. (For noncommercial use only). 30 min. \$25

— *Manufacturing Consent: Noam Chomsky and the Media*. Documentary by Peter Wintonick and Mark Achbar, 1992. Includes comparison of media coverage of East Timor and Cambodia. 166 min. \$40

AUDIOTAPES AND CDs

— *Massacre: The Story of East Timor*. Award-winning documentary by Amy Goodman & Allan Nairn, broadcast Nov. 1993. 40 min. \$8

— *East Timor: A Case of Genocide*. Radio program; a talk by Allan Nairn in Portland, OR on April 1, 1994. 60 min. \$11

— *Justice for East Timor*: Noam Chomsky and Constancio Pinto speaking at M.I.T. on April 11, 1995. 90 min. \$10

— *All in the Family*, an elegant and eclectic CD compilation by Australian rock bands (including Midnight Oil and Frente!) and East Timorese musicians. Profits to East Timorese orphanages and scholarships. Australia, 1994. \$15

BOOKS

— *Surviving Indonesia's Gulag: A Western Woman Tells her Story*. By Carmel Budiardjo. One of the world's leading activists for Indonesian and East Timorese rights, Briton Carmel Budiardjo was jailed by Suharto from 1968 to 1971. 213 pp. Cassell, UK, 1996. \$20

— *Generations of Resistance: East Timor*. Photographs by Steve Cox, historical introduction by Peter Carey. Large format, with 60 pages of photographs of East Timorese life and death, including color plates of the 1991 Dili Massacre. UK, 1995. 120 pp. \$22

— *East Timor: Genocide in Paradise*. By Matthew Jardine. Basics Americans should know. 96 pp. Odonian Press, US, 1995. \$6

— *East Timor at the Crossroads: The Forging of a Nation*. Edited by Peter Carey and G. Carter Bentley. Ten chapters by the most knowledgeable people in the world about all aspects of the East Timor issue, with an unsurpassed bibliography. Cassell/Univ. of Hawaii, 1995. 259 pp. \$20

— *Indonesia's Forgotten War: The Hidden History of East Timor*. By John G. Taylor. 230 pp. UK, 1991. \$20

— *Telling: East Timor Personal Testimonies 1942-1992* (just reprinted). By Michelle Turner. Oral accounts by East Timorese, recounting what they have lived through during the Japanese and Javanese occupations. 281 pp. Australia, 1992/1995. \$25

— *Power and Impunity: Human Rights under the New Order*. In-depth report by Amnesty Int'l on Indonesia and East Timor. 126 pp. UK, 1994. \$8.

— *International Law and the Question of East Timor*. Analysis by renowned

legal experts, published by the Catholic Institute for Int'l Relations and the Int'l Platform of Jurists for East Timor. 352 pp. UK, 1995. \$26 (\$15 for activists, quantity discounts)

— *East Timor: Prospects for Peace*. Report and papers of an Ecumenical Consultation held in Hong Kong in Dec. 1994. Includes key background and U.N. documents. 142 pp. World Council of Churches, Geneva. \$7.

— *Manufacturing Consent: Noam Chomsky and the Media*. From the film, with expanded and updated notes and resource list, edited by Mark Achbar. 250 pp. Black Rose Books, Canada, 1994. \$22

PERIODICALS

— *East Timor Documents*: compilation of reports, analyses, press releases, media articles and primary materials from global sources, approx. 130 pages per bimonthly issue. \$30/issue postpaid (\$15 for educational institutions, less for the movement). Add \$5 for air mail. Six-issue subscriptions encouraged. Send \$5 for sample.

— Internet services. ETAN provides several levels of electronic information about East Timor. Send a blank email message to timor-info@igc.apc.org for more details. Free.

MAGAZINES AND PAMPHLETS

— March 1994 special issue of the *New Internationalist* magazine on East Timor, edited by John Pilger. \$3.50

— "I Witnessed and Survived the Santa Cruz Massacre", Senate Testimony of Allan Nairn, 2/27/92. 12 pp. \$1

— Report from the Manila Asia-Pacific Conference on East Timor, by Charles Scheiner. June 1994. \$1.50.

— Bibliography of books and articles on East Timor. By ETAN, Feb. 1995. 50c

BUTTONS, T-SHIRTS, ETC.

— "Free East Timor" square button with photo of Timorese girl. \$1

— "U.S. Weapons out of East Timor" button. \$1

— "Indonesia Out of East Timor" bumper sticker (yellow/blue) \$1

— "Indonesia Out of East Timor NOW" bumper sticker (black/blood/white) \$1

— T-shirts: "East Timor: To Resist is to Win" with photo. "End U.S. Support of Indonesian genocide" on back. Only M & L available. \$13

— T-shirts: "Free East Timor", black with 3-color Fretilin flag. S,M,L,XL \$13.

The video, audio tape, and transcript of Noam Chomsky's December 9, 1995 program at Columbia University will soon be available for \$25, \$8, and \$4 respectively. Please contact us if you would like copies.

Total for Materials

Postage (20%, 15% for orders over \$50,
30% for international orders)

Esta/eta subscription (\$10 suggested)

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New Books on East Timor

Reviews by Ben Terrall

GENERATIONS OF RESISTANCE--EAST TIMOR

Photographs by Steve Cox

Historical Introduction by Peter Carey

Foreword by John Pilger

London and New York: Cassell

Available from ETAN/US: \$22

At a time when the Indonesian government's public relations machine is working non-stop to portray the occupation of East Timor as a campaign to advance a "backward" people, this book shows in agonizing clarity the reality of life under the boot in East Timor. Peter Carey's thorough historical overview draws from number of sources (including Norman Lewis's masterful *An Empire of the East: Travels in Indonesia*) to expose the untenable barbarity of the twenty year occupation. His detailed analysis of the Indonesian repression and East Timorese resistance to it perfectly complements Steve Cox's powerful photographs.

Cox was present at the 1991 Dili massacre; his color photographs of this horrific day are the emotional core of the book. As John Pilger notes, "it was Steve's extraordinary photojournalism that largely alerted the world to what had remained, effectively, a secret for sixteen years." Heart-wrenching and sometimes difficult to look at, the photos are nonetheless a testament to the phenomenal bravery of the East Timorese people.

Cox's ability to capture the telling detail--the little boy nervously waving to the camera as a truckload of Indonesian soldiers passes behind him, the agonizing empathy on the faces of villagers consoling an old man who's been beaten by soldiers--makes this an essential record of life in E. Timor. The example of the cover photo alone, of a boy marching in front of a banner depicting resistance leader Xanana Gusmão, should spur people in the U.S. to end Washington's complicity in the occupation and to push for East Timorese self-determination.

EAST TIMOR AT THE CROSSROADS: THE FORGING OF A NATION

Edited by Peter Carey and G. Carter Bentley

With a foreword by General Antonio dos Santos Ramalho Eanes (President of Portugal 1982-6)

Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press

Available from ETAN/US: \$20

East Timor at the Crossroads combines material prepared for two conferences on East Timor, one held at Oxford, one at the American University in Washington, DC. The contributors are an impressive cross-section of academics and activists.

Historian John Taylor discusses the emergence of East Timorese nationalism; the former Australian Consul-General in Portuguese Timor, James Dunn, writes eloquently on "Timor in International Perspective"; Professor of Government at Cornell Benedict Anderson, puts the occupation in a context of changing global power dynamics to explain why he thinks Indonesia's days of control over Timor may be numbered.

Discussion is thankfully not limited to Western experts: a veteran of the student resistance movement in Timor, Donaciano Gomes, and a former FRETILIN commander, Paulino Gama, both contribute essays describing the internal struggle against Suharto's war machine. Five other essays cover a range of questions from the role of the Catholic Church in East Timor to indigenous perspectives on colonialism and decolonization.

The collection closes with a colloquy from the American University conference that brought Dunn, Taylor, Allan Nairn, José Ramos-Horta and other friends of Timor together with several apologists for the Suharto regime. Ramos-Horta memorably counters pro-integrationist propaganda by observing that when he finally returns to East Timor he will have to say to the spirits of dead people "The oilmen who came here, the US diplomats who came here, the Third World diplomats who came here, they did not see you. They did not see you killed, so you are not dead. You are alive."

This valuable book also includes an extensive bibliography of works on East Timor published between 1970 and 1994.

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