

Indonesia Wins First Round, Round Two Coming Soon

Senate Takes Historic Vote on East Timor

By Charles Scheiner and John Miller

For the first time ever, the United States Senate took a roll call vote on US policy towards East Timor. Although we lost the vote on a provision to ban use of US arms in East Timor, the issue increased in prominence, and Senators are now on record (see next page for how they voted). Further debate, and probably legislation, will be taken up in the Senate the week of July 11. **Contact your Senators now and let them know what you think of their vote. Encourage them to speak out and vote for East Timor.**

It Happened One Night

The vote came up unexpectedly at 11 pm Wednesday, June 29. A week earlier, the Senate Appropriations Committee approved the Foreign Aid Appropriations Bill (HR 4226) with a prohibition against the use in East Timor of US military equipment sold to Indonesia. This provision would apply to future government-to-government (FMS) arms sales, and in essence restated the US-Indonesia treaty signed in 1958 which restricts the use of US-supplied weapons to "legitimate national self-defense" and strictly forbids their use for "an act of aggression against any other state." Since the treaty has been violated for two decades in East Timor, Senator Patrick Leahy (D-VT) persuaded his colleagues that it was time to reaffirm it.

Leahy had negotiated with the administration and Indonesia's Senate supporters, agreeing to limit the ban to "lethal arms" to placate those who wanted to weaken it. He was led to believe there wouldn't be a floor fight — but at the last minute Senator Bennett Johnston (D-LA) rose to challenge the measure. Johnston's motion to remove Leahy's language was debated for half an hour, and then approved on a 59-35 roll call vote.

Issues are joined

Although Leahy thought his provision was moderate enough to pass unchallenged, Johnston saw it as much more significant. He told the Senate that "the Indonesians are outraged...we keep poking them in the eye." He said the provision would "in effect" impose "an arms embargo on Foreign Military Sales to Indonesia." Indonesia was particularly offended, he said, because "we are tipping our hat or genuflecting in the direction of those who say East Timor ought to be an independent state."

A last minute letter from Secretary of State Warren Christopher was self-congratulatory about the administration "aggressively working with Indonesians" to improve human rights, and falsely claimed (as did Johnston) that the situation in East Timor is improving. He said that the State Department's "current policy to deny license requests for sales of small and light arms and lethal crowd control items to Indonesia" was enough.

Leahy defended his proposal as a modest step, and he objected to giving Indonesia "carte blanche" with arms and taxpayer

money. Russell Feingold (D-WI) described Indonesia's recent harsh measures against conferences in the Philippines and Malaysia, and the crackdown on press freedom. "I cannot think of a worse time... to remove a provision that says American arms should not be used to kill and torture the people of East Timor," he said. Senator Tom Harkin (D-IA) gave an impassioned plea not to reward Indonesia: "Just because (the East Timorese people) are small and because they are defenseless means we have to put up with what the Indonesians have done to them? I don't think so."

But most Senators did, at least this time. Senator Leahy and his allies are now planning for a much-needed extended floor debate on East Timor during the week of July 11 when the Senate is expected to take up HR 4426 again. They may also introduce additional legislation then, so call or write your Senators and encourage them to support it. And encourage those who voted with Leahy but kept silent — including six Republicans — to speak; they could sway others.

House of Representatives Takes a Different Tack

The House of Representatives passed a version of the Foreign Aid Bill which bars Indonesia from purchasing military training (IMET) from the United States, closing a loophole that Jakarta and the Clinton administration have exploited since Congress banned IMET as aid in October 1992. The Committee Report on the bill said it was "outraged" that administration — "despite its vocal embrace of human rights" — continued to provide the same IMET training for a fee. "It was and is the intent of Congress to prohibit United States military training for Indonesia," the report said.

The Report supports the State Department's small arms ban but also asks the administration to "carefully consider" human rights and other concerns before selling any any arms to Indonesia. Among the issues listed are whether Indonesia has complied with UN Security Council resolutions calling for military withdrawal from East Timor and self-determination for the East Timorese, and whether Indonesia is following agreements restricting US-supplied weapons to self-defense. The committee report also clearly acknowledges that there was a second massacre in the days following the November 12, 1991, Dili shootings which left hundreds dead.

The full IMET ban is largely the work of Committee Chair David Obey (D-WI), and the report language was developed by Representatives Obey, Tony Hall (D-OH), Nita Lowey (D-NY) and others. Although the Senate Appropriations Committee took the IMET restrictions out of the bill, we hope to have them restored when the bill goes to House-Senate Conference later in

All members of Congress can be reached through the Capitol Hill switchboard: (202)224-3121. Write Senators at U.S. Senate, Washington DC 20510; Representatives at House of Representatives, Washington, DC 20515.

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Lobby for East Timor A Success

Seventeen ETAN stalwarts reached out to 86 Congressional offices in April to urge them to step up congressional pressure to shift the direction of US policy on East Timor. ETAN's citizen lobbyists, working in teams of two or three, described the situation in East Timor to Congressional staffers and urged them to support legislation to pressure Indonesia to respect the rights of the East Timorese. During the lobby days, we also brainstormed ideas with longtime advocates for East Timor about additional actions Congress could take.

These efforts bore fruit as the House of Representatives decided to ban all military training for Indonesia, and the Senate began to debate US policy toward East Timor.

Congressional action has been especially important in blocking military aid and arms sales to Indonesia. At a recent conference at the Asia Society in New York, Thomas C. Hubbard, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs made clear that Congressional concerns help drive administration policy. "Let me point out that it was not the administration, was not the Bush administration, has not been the Clinton administration, that has blocked the extension of International Military Education and Training or IMET to Indonesia, it was Congress," he said.

During the lobby, ETAN members met with Senator Russell Feingold (D-WI), who called East Timor "One of the most meaningful things I have worked on as a US senator." Feingold said his 1992 defeat of incumbent Robert Kasten, a strong supporter of the Indonesian government, showed that one person can make a difference in the Senate.

Evidence of ETAN's influence was clear as a number of offices talked about the calls and contacts from ETAN members over the past two years. Many Senate offices recalled the recent debate about the Feingold amendment in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

We plan to continue to familiarize members of Congress and their staffs with the issues. With this background, we hope members of Congress will respond sympathetically as initiatives in Congress arise.

ETAN has set up a database to track Congressional positions on East Timor. If you have contact with a member of Congress or their staff, please let us know where they stand.

Senate, continued from page 1

the summer. Members of both houses, especially those on the two Appropriations Committees, should be encouraged to support the IMET cutoff.

Also in the House, the Banking Committee followed the lead of Representatives Joseph Kennedy and Barney Frank (both D-MA) to link US votes on World Bank loans to countries like Indonesia to an end to excessive military involvement in their economies (see page 3).

The Work Goes On

East Timor's increased visibility in Washington is encouraging to long-time Congressional supporters, while attracting new ones. ETAN's April Lobby

Days helped build momentum, as have local educational and lobbying campaigns. As we continue to extend our grassroots outreach and build the movement, we need to channel our growing energy and outrage toward further influencing Congress.

Now that the issue is out in the open on the Senate floor, we must ensure that members of Congress — and candidates for Congress — hear from enough voters to make them pay attention (see page 8). Although we lost the vote on June 29, there are numerous new opportunities for effective lobbying. With Clinton going to Jakarta for the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) summit in five months, now is a crucial time to increase awareness in Washington.

How The Senate Voted

The Senate voted on a motion to table a provision saying that lethal military equipment sold by the US government to Indonesia can not be used in East Timor. A 'No' vote is a vote FOR East Timor. The motion passed, 59-35, with 6 not voting. (A double-letter in the last column indicates people who spoke on the floor; YYs cosponsored Johnston's motion.)

Akaka, Daniel K.	D-HI	Y
Baucus, Max	D-MT	Y
Bennett, Robert F.	R-UT	Y
Biden Jr., Joseph R.	D-DE	N
Bingaman, Jeff	D-NM	N
Bond, Christopher.	R-MO	Y
Boren, David L.	D-OK	Y
Boxer, Barbara	D-CA	N
Bradley, Bill	D-NJ	N
Breaux, John B.	D-LA	Y
Brown, Hank	R-CO	Y
Bryan, Richard H.	D-NV	A
Bumpers, Dale	D-AR	Y
Burns, Conrad R.	R-MT	Y
Byrd, Robert C.	D-WV	Y
Campbell, Ben Nighthorse	D-CO	Y
Chafee, John H.	R-RI	A
Coats, Dan	R-IN	Y
Cochran, Thad	R-MS	A
Cohen, William S.	R-ME	Y
Conrad, Kent	D-ND	Y
Coverdell, Paul	R-GA	Y
Craig, Larry E.	R-ID	Y
D'Amato, Alfonse M.	R-NY	N
Danforth, John C.	R-MO	Y
Daschle, Thomas A.	D-SD	N
DeConcini, Dennis	D-AZ	N
Dodd, Christopher J.	D-CT	N
Dole, Robert	R-KS	YY
Domenici, Pete V.	R-NM	Y
Dorgan, Brian	D-ND	N
Durenberger, Dave	R-MN	N
Exon, J. James	D-NB	Y
Faircloth, Lauch	R-NC	Y
Feingold, Russell	D-WI	NN
Feinstein, Diane	D-CA	YY
Ford, Wendell H.	D-KY	N
Glenn, John	D-OH	Y
Gorton, Slade	R-WA	Y
Graham, Bob	D-FL	YY
Gramm, Phil	R-TX	Y
Grassley, Charles E.	R-IA	N
Gregg, Judd	R-NH	Y
Harkin, Tom	D-IA	NN
Hatch, Orrin G.	R-UT	Y

Hatfield, Mark O.	R-OR	N
Heflin, Howell T.	D-AL	Y
Helms, Jesse	R-NC	Y
Hollings, Ernest F.	D-SC	Y
Hutchison, Kay Bailey	R-TX	Y
Inouye, Daniel K.	D-HI	Y
Jeffords, James M.	R-VT	Y
Johnston, J. Bennett	D-LA	YY
Kassebaum, Nancy Landon	R-KS	Y
Kempthorne, Dirk	R-ID	Y
Kennedy, Edward M.	D-MA	N
Kerrey, J. Robert	D-NB	Y
Kerry, John F.	D-MA	N
Kohl, Herbert H.	D-WI	N
Lautenberg, Frank R.	D-NJ	N
Leahy, Patrick J.	D-VT	NN
Levin, Carl M.	D-MI	N
Lieberman, Joseph I.	D-CT	N
Lott, Trent	R-MS	Y
Lugar, Richard G.	R-IN	Y
Mack, Connie	R-FL	Y
Mathews, Harlan	D-TN	YY
McCain, John	R-AZ	Y
McConnell, Mitch	R-KY	YY
Metzenbaum, Howard M.	D-OH	N
Mikulski, Barbara A.	D-MD	Y
Mitchell, George J.	D-ME	N
Mosely-Braun, Carol	D-IL	N
Moynihan, Daniel Patrick	D-NY	N
Murkowski, Frank H.	R-AK	N
Murray, Patty	D-WA	N
Nickles, Don	R-OK	Y
Nunn, Sam	D-GA	YY
Packwood, Bob	R-OR	Y
Pell, Claiborne	D-RI	NN
Pressler, Larry	R-SD	Y
Pryor, David	D-AR	A
Reid, Harry	D-NV	Y
Riegle Jr., Donald W.	D-MI	A
Robb, Charles S.	D-VA	YY
Rockefeller IV, John D.	D-WV	Y
Roth Jr., William V.	R-DE	Y
Sarbanes, Paul S.	D-MD	N
Sasser, Jim	D-TN	N
Shelby, Richard C.	D-AL	Y
Simon, Paul	D-IL	NN
Simpson, Alan K.	R-WY	YY
Smith, Robert C.	R-NH	Y
Specter, Arlen	R-PA	N
Stevens, Ted	R-AK	YY
Thurmond, Strom	R-SC	YY
Wallop, Malcolm	R-WY	A
Warner, John W.	R-VA	YY
Wellstone, Paul D.	D-MN	NN
Wofford, Harris	D-PA	N

Indonesian Military Dominates Economy, Violates World Bank Rules

By John M. Miller

A report documenting the domination of the military over the Indonesian economy was issued in mid-April at a press conference on Capitol Hill. The study, produced by the Project on Demilitarization and Democracy (PDD), calls on the US to vote against loans to Indonesia in the World Bank until that country complies fully with regulations requiring countries to accurately report their military spending.

Responding to the study, House Banking Committee voted to require the Secretary of the Treasury to report to Congress on the Indonesian armed forces' involvement in that country's economy. The committee wants the US to consider the accuracy of information on military spending, efforts to reduce such spending and excessive military involvement in the economy when voting on loans in international banking institutions, like the World Bank and International Monetary Fund. The provision, part of International Financial Institutions Authorization Bill, was sponsored by Rep. Joseph Kennedy II (D-MA).

Military Control

PDD's report says that Indonesia receives \$1.6 billion a year from the World Bank, "a figure that mirrors Indonesia's officially-reported military budget." The report accuses Indonesia of under-reporting its military spending by 25 to 50 percent. PDD says the Indonesian military controls a large share of the civilian economy by demanding payoffs from the private sector. Corporations established by the military receive preferential treatment.

Charles Scheiner, coordinator of the East Timor Action Network, said at the press conference that the report should lead to actions making clear that the administration and Congress believe "that when we give money to someone, we do have some right to say you should not murder innocent civilians" or "annex a neighboring country."

Speaking at the press conference, Rep. Kennedy said, "this report paints a picture of an Indonesian army that has tentacles extending to every aspect of the economy and political life. Unfortunately, US taxpayers are subsidizing this regime through the World Bank and other financial institutions."

PDD recommends that Congress re-

quire a "no" vote on loans to Indonesia from international financial institutions unless Indonesia provides accurate data to the World Bank on its military spending, reduces the size and budget of its armed forces, ends military ownership of nonmilitary businesses, and complies with UN Security Council resolutions by removing its troops from occupied East Timor

In 1992, the World Bank explicitly rejected any link between its funding and human rights and self-determination for East Timor. Following the November 1991 massacre in Dili, the Netherlands said it would link new lending to Indonesia to improvement in human rights. Indonesia then announced that it would refuse any further aid from the Netherlands. Indonesia also disbanded the Inter-Governmental Group on Indonesia (IGGI), a consortium of international lending institutions and bilateral donors (including the US) chaired by the Dutch. A new consortium, chaired by the World Bank, was set up in July 1992. The Consultative Group on Indonesia (CGI) is identical to the IGGI, except without the Dutch. The CGI has offered Indonesia nearly \$10 billion in aid and credits in the past two years.

Exploiting East Timor

Senator Russ Feingold (D-WI) in a statement said "It is inconsistent to support military rule and bloated defense budgets in the developing world, while at the same time promoting the protec-

tion of human rights." Rhetoric alone will provide "little or no progress for the people of Indonesia and East Timor."

East Timor provides a case study of the Indonesian military's economic control. The report cites the example of General Beni Murdani, who headed the military command that administered East Timor in the early 1980s. Murdani was principal owner with two other Generals of P.T. Denok, "a holding company that has enjoyed a virtual monopoly of the economy of occupied East Timor since the 1975 invasion." Murdani, who has also served as Commander of the Armed Forces and Minister of Defense, recently retired from active duty, but "continues to profit from the corporation today."

A 1982 investigation by the *Asian Wall Street Journal* showed how P.T. Denok (along with its subsidiaries) "completely controlled the purchase and export of East Timor's primary crop, coffee, and operated other protected businesses throughout the economy," says PDD. Since renamed P.T. Batara Indra, Murdani continues to profit from the company which is now formally owned by businessman Hendra Sumampauw. The company continues to be a major force in East Timor's economy.

"Financing Military Rule: The Clinton Administration, the World Bank, and Indonesia" is available from PDD, 1601 Connecticut Ave., NW #302, Washington, DC 20009; (202)319-7191 or ETAN.

In December 1975, Indonesia invaded the tiny half-island of East Timor. Nearly one-third of the population has died as a direct result of the invasion. During 18 years of brutal military occupation, the East Timorese have never surrendered their wish to govern themselves. The United States government provided weapons and diplomatic support throughout the genocide, and approved the invasion in advance.

The East Timor Action Network/US was formed at the end of 1991, following a massacre in Dili, the capital of East Timor. Several foreign journalists witnessed the murder by Indonesian troops of over 271 young Timorese participating in a peaceful memorial demonstration. These journalists told the world that Timorese resistance — and Indonesian murder — continue. Since then, popular support for East Timor has grown and US policy on East Timor has begun to change.

The East Timor Action Network/US supports genuine self-determination and human rights for the people of East Timor in accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the United Nations General Assembly Resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December, 1960 (on decolonization), and UN Security Council (384 and 389) and General Assembly resolutions on East Timor. ETAN's primary focuses are to change US policy and raise public awareness to support self-determination for East Timor.

Network News is published approximately every two months and sent to members and supporters of ETAN/US.

Your financial contribution is crucial to ETAN's effectiveness and success. Please make a contribution today. Tax-deductible contributions over \$50 for ETAN's educational work can be made payable to WESPAC Foundation/ETAN.

APCET Upsets Jakarta Eyewitness Report from Manila Conference on East Timor

by Charles Scheiner

Pressure from Indonesia and harassment from the Philippine government could not prevent the Asia-Pacific Conference on East Timor (APCET) from succeeding beyond anyone's expectations. The determined efforts of the President-Generals -- Suharto in Jakarta and Fidel Ramos in Manila -- could not keep the over 50 foreign delegates and more than 200 Filipinos from starting the conference on schedule. Instead of stopping the conference, the blacklists, blackmail, deportations and threats by the two generals kept APCET on the front pages, making the event -- held in Manila from May 31 to June 4 -- far more successful than if the generals had simply left it alone.

The Indonesian press called APCET a public relations disaster for Jakarta, as Indonesia's occupation of East Timor drew worldwide attention. The press compared the "Manila Incident" to the "Dili Incident." But unlike the massacres of November 12, 1991, which left hundreds of people dead, the worst the "Manila Incident's" victims had to face was hours on airplanes, only to be sent home. Those of us who got in helped to lay the groundwork for ongoing work on East Timor throughout Southeast Asia.

Much has been written about those who were kept out -- the blacklisted first ladies of France and Portugal, four Christian Bishops, Indonesian democracy advocates, and exiled Timorese resistance leaders. As the only US representative at the conference, I thought it might be interesting to share some personal impressions and conclusions.

Premonitions

Press coverage went global (including a *New York Times* editorial) before I left, and ETAN and others had been calling for people to protest to the Philippine government. I knew that Jakarta had coerced President Ramos to declare the conference "inimical to the national interest" of the Philippines. In his retreat from his original position that he could not override constitutional guarantees of freedom of speech and assembly, Ramos announced that he would not allow foreign delegates to participate.

I was not on the announced blacklist and the organizers urged us to go, so why not try? I kept thinking back to my first visit to Manila in 1986. I had left a week before dictator Ferdinand Marcos

was overthrown by the nonviolent "EDSA Revolution." This time, I was determined not to miss another major event in the nonviolent advancement of Philippine and East Timorese peoples' struggles.

As I flew across the Pacific, a Quezon City court judge was banning the conference, ordering the University of the Philippines (UP) to deny APCET access. I didn't know that as I made an uneventful trip through immigration and customs on Friday, May 27. I begin to realize how important this conference would be when, upon checking into my hotel, I caught a 15-minute news clip on TV featuring APCET.

Preparing for the Worst

In the morning, I went to the conference office. Minutes after walking through the door with Sharon Scharfe of ETAN/Canada, we were told to "write a statement we can release to the press when you are deported." Our hosts then briefed us on security and harassment -- phone taps, infiltration, mysterious visitors -- and settled us into our housing. Since the conference wouldn't begin until Tuesday (if at all), the UP hostel manager agreed that the court order didn't yet ban us from campus.

Judge Mariano Bacalla had issued his order at the request of the newly-formed Philippine-Indonesia Friendship Association. He rationalized that even if the government could not constitutionally ban the conference, a private group could stop it. Political "justice" is not new for Bacalla: He had been on the military tribunal that sentenced Ninoy Aquino (tried in absentia) to death by firing squad ten years ago. (Aquino was assassinated at the airport before his sentence could be carried out, setting in motion the events that led to the fall of Marcos.)

Renato "RC" Constantino Jr. and the other conference organizers decided not to dignify Bacalla's out-

rageous order with an appeal, but Law School Dean Pacifico Agabin did, and the Supreme Court set a hearing for Tuesday morning -- four hours before APCET was to begin.

Sunday, more foreigners arrived, and two -- Tom Hyland of the East Timor Ireland Solidarity Campaign and Nobel Peace Prize Laureate Mairead Corrigan Maguire -- were deported from Ninoy Aquino International Airport. Of the 32 people banned in advance, Maguire was the first to arrive and be deported -- but not before she gave a spirited interview, which punctuated TV coverage for the rest of the week. Over the next few days, authorities turned back ten more at the airport, but many more got through, including two East Timorese women from Australia and two Indonesian activists. Indonesia's 28th Province

Life was hectic for the next four days, as we struggled against government agencies and media to keep East Timor in the spotlight. Although Indonesia's occupation of its "27th province" (East Timor) received less media coverage than the clumsy efforts of its "28th province" (the Philippines) to expel us, East Timor nevertheless received meters of newspaper columns and hours of television time, making the Filipino people the most informed in the world (outside East Timor and Portugal) about Indonesia's genocide.

Monday we went public, putting the lie to the government's claim that for-



igners had been kept from the conference. Ten of us -- from the US, Canada, Portugal, Argentina, Australia, India, the Netherlands, and Hong Kong -- held a press conference to release a letter we had sent to President Ramos telling him, "We feel your actions over the last few weeks indicate that you have not been receiving good advice on the issues involved in East Timor.... We would like to [meet with you to] help you see the East Timorese side of the picture."

At 5 am Tuesday morning, officers from the Bureau of Immigration and Deportation (BID) came to our hostel, demanding a list of foreign delegates. A sleepy volunteer managed to act confused enough to send them away without names. Three hours later, BID served an "order" revoking permission for the ten of us at the press conference to be in the Philippines. A rumored BID hearing was rescheduled from 10 am 3 pm, but we decided we were in Manila for APCET not to study the inner workings of deportation. So only our lawyers went to BID.

The foreign delegates divided into groups, each accompanied by two paralegals. If we were arrested, a paralegal would go with them while another reported to the legal team. The organizers held our passports for safekeeping -- and so that we couldn't be deported without their knowledge. We carried signed legal motions to give to our arresting officers.

Solomon & the Supreme Court

The Supreme Court ruled that the University could host the conference, but President Ramos could keep foreigners out. He termed the ruling "Solomonic" (some said he thought Solomon cut the baby in half), but BID was apparently directed not to arrest anyone on campus. We walked peacefully from the hostel to the Law School, ringed by our paralegal, Church, and student protectors. Echoes

of the EDSA uprising were striking. As they had toppled the dictatorship eight years earlier, nuns and students were nonviolently asserting their democratic rights. We did not know that police had massed outside the campus, prepared to move in if the Supreme Court ruled the other way.

Throughout the week, the ghost of Ferdinand Marcos kept appearing in editorials and cartoons. Some said that even under the dictatorship, the University had been left alone; that Ramos was worse than Marcos. Others recalled the Filipino leaders who had been in exile and the conferences held in many countries to support the Philippine struggle for democracy. "How could we not support the East Timorese when we gained our own freedom with international solidarity?" they asked. And, as we kept reminding the media, the attempts to suppress freedom in Manila that week paled in comparison to the Indonesian military's actions in East Timor.

The Voices of the Banned

The conference began with the reading of messages from Timorese leader José Ramos Horta and Mairead Maguire, both banned from the Philippines. Ramos Horta, after expressing his disappointment with the Philippine government, noted that high-level Indonesian officials had been invited to APCET to present their views. "Are they so lacking in arguments, that they can only respond by brutally blackmailing the Philippines?" he asked.

We spent the afternoon discussing how to keep BID and deportations from diverting too much attention from East Timor. International messages of support poured in from deported delegates, East Timor's Bishop Belo, the Portuguese and other governments helping to keep the issues in focus.

Wednesday, APCET's substantive sessions began. Philippine Senator Wigberto Tanada in his keynote speech said "Simply put, the issue of East Timor... involves the domination of the weak by the force of arms of the strong, under the dictum that 'might is right.'"

Tanada explained why we should care

about East Timor. "[O]ur sense of worth as human beings obliges us not to deny others their own humanity and human existence. When a country goes against the grain of human decency, it is right to protest and immoral to compute the cost-benefit of protesting."

Tanada called his own government's policy "cowardly" and condemned it for trying to negate constitutional guarantees in the name of diplomacy. It perverts the national interest, he said, "to equate non-interference with silence, to abandon conviction for the sake of opportunism and to foster the illusion of an imaginary common interest where no real common interest exists."

"I look forward to the day East Timor will acquire its independence and take its rightful place in the community of nations. When that time comes, let it not be said that the Philippines, their neighbor, was silent party to their continuing oppression, repression and persecution."

Retired Philippine Chief Justice Marcelo Fernan discussed the legal aspects of the East Timor occupation, debunking Indonesia's claims, and declaring human rights to be "subsumed under the more fundamental issues of self-determination and nonaggression."

East Timor Wins the Day

As the conference continued, the Ramos government tried to justify its ham-handed handling of the issue. The Indonesian government had jailed scores of Filipino fishers, and it had threatened to cancel \$700 million in investments. A regional business conference in the southern Philippines was postponed after the Indonesian government kept its 100 delegates away. Jakarta also threatened to stop mediating between the Philippine government and Muslim Moro separatists in Mindanao.

By this time, the tide of press and public opinion had turned. Some commentators had initially blamed APCET organizers for making trouble for the Philippines. But the blame shifted to Suharto as people learned more about East Timor and as Ramos' concessions to Jakarta's bullying only brought more bullying.

Philippine Cardinal Jaime Sin, wrote East Timor's Bishop Belo that he was "sorry to see the political leaders of my own nation giving in to the pressure of a foreign nation.... How short is our memory and how thoughtless

we could become after only a few years from our own liberation."

Finger-pointing among Manila politicians became rampant, since the government had known about the impending conference for over a year. When President Ramos finally took responsibility, the damage had already been done: his government was labeled "Solomonic" — incompetent and without direction.

Thursday's conference sessions got down to basics — East Timorese activist Ines Almeida spoke the importance of the APCET conference to her people: "Men, women and children have been killed in these last 20 years without even the chance to make the world hear their crying... we are here to echo the voices of those young women and children who have disappeared without a trace"

Ines outlined the three-phase peace plan of the National Council of Maubere Resistance: military withdrawal, then autonomy, followed by a UN-supervised referendum. "Supporting this Peace Plan," she said, "will enhance the fact that the struggle of the Timorese people is not against Indonesia, let alone against the Indonesian people... we demand the right to live the way we want, and to choose freely our future as the people of Indonesia did demand from the colonial master of The Netherlands. So long as this right is not met, we will continue to resist until we win."

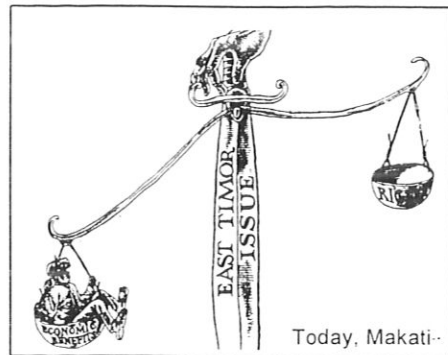
Our deportation hearings were postponed from Wednesday until Friday, because of legal deficiencies in the papers served by BID (perhaps subtle sabotage from people in the government who disagreed with the deportation). We again decided to remain at the conference and let our lawyers deal with BID. By Friday, with public opinion on our side, the government decided to settle, reinstating our permission to stay in the Philippines provided we left by June 11 (longer than anyone had planned to stay) and made no political statements after the conference. Everyone on the blacklist would be removed and was welcome to visit the Philippines in the future.

Voices from Under the New Order

Meanwhile, the conference focussed on Indonesia. Rachland Nashidik had come from Jakarta after other Indonesians were blacklisted. He told us that "our acceptance of the invitation to attend this conference -- and I do not want to sound overly dramatic here -- comes with very high risks. You all know the character of the regime in power in Indonesia today."

Many Indonesians believe that East Timor is "the 27th province of Indonesia" because of government propaganda, Nashidik said. They "believe that what happened in East Timor was not an annexation paid for by the Timorese with blood and tears, but an 'integration' accompanied by flowers and joy. Criticism of events in East Timor, even the demand for more openness of information, can be construed as an act of treason."

Nashidik explained he had come to the conference because "East Timor is part of the democratic and human rights struggle in Indonesia. Violence, repression and coercion in East Timor must be stopped in the name of our humanity.... We cannot let so many victims fall become of misunderstanding, hostility and revenge."



Another victim of Indonesian occupation, John Ondawane of West Papua (Irian Jaya), discussed his people's struggle against Indonesian annexation, transmigration, land confiscation, and cultural imperialism: "An apartheid system has been systematically imposed and operated in my country, where discrimination, corruption, social injustice and violation of democratic freedom have affected human freedom."

The conference ended Saturday with a speech by Bishop Soma and Renato Constantino's closing address: "We won the battle; it's time to win the war." Eighteen resolutions were adopted, supporting the East Timorese struggle and formalizing Philippine Solidarity for East Timor and Indonesia (PSETI) and the regional Asia-Pacific Coalition for East Timor (APCET) — no longer just a conference.

The Work Goes on

After a day of follow-up meetings and visits around Manila, seven of us practiced international solidarity by spending two days at the beach — with a mostly-kept promise not to discuss politics or conferences. Substantial work had

already been done, and we knew that when we got home there would be a lot more.

A few days later, I headed back to New York via Ninoy Aquino International Airport, wearing a "Free East Timor" T-shirt. As I checked in, the airline people eagerly told me how APCET was major news in London and Singapore. As I sat in the departure lounge, an American approached me. An environmental specialist for USAID in Jakarta 15 years ago, he had been asked to approve a malaria control project (spraying insecticide) for East Timor's swamps — without being allowed to inspect the site. "It was a population relocation project disguised as a health program," he said, recalling the involuntary herding of thousands of East Timorese into camps in the swamps, where they starved. "And the US government paid for it."

APCET planted seeds which will grow and flower for a long time. The skillful persistence and impressive commitment of the Philippine organizers — unwittingly helped by the ineptitude of the President-Generals and the fascination of the media — gave East Timor a higher profile than anyone could have imagined. I am thankful to have been a part of it, and look forward to continuing to work with PSETI, APCET and the activists from 18 countries who came together for a very exciting week.

The day I got home, the *New York Times* ran its second editorial on APCET. "In trying to manage the news in Manila, Indonesia has only quickened the world's curiosity about what it seems to be hiding," it said. Two weeks later, Jakarta banned three leading Indonesian weekly news magazines. It also began pressing the Malaysian government to ban a conference on East Timor planned for Kuala Lumpur. If APCET is a turning point for Philippine democracy and Asian awareness of East Timor, it may also mark the start of a curtailment of what little free expression exists in Indonesia. Only time will tell.

ETAN/US can supply copies of resolutions, speeches or articles from the conference, plus a more extended report. If you would like to be in touch with APCET or PSETI directly, you can contact them at 2 Matulungin Street, Central District, Diliman, Quezon City, Philippines. Phone/fax: 63-2-921-6774. Email: iid@phil.gn.apc.org.

Indonesia Tries to Buff Its Image in the U.S.

by Charles Scheiner

For several years, US public awareness has been growing about East Timor and human rights and environmental abuses in Indonesia. Indonesian military and economic interests, and their supporters here, feel beleaguered by public and governmental pressure.

Dissatisfied with the results of professional public relations firms, it is dropping Hill & Knowlton, their PR firm since 1977. And Indonesia's American corporate supporters are stepping into the breach. They are enlisting leading American politicians, businesspeople, journalists and academics in the quest for greater commerce between the United States and Indonesia.

The kickoff of the campaign was a conference entitled "Indonesia, the United States and the World Today" held at the Asia Society in New York City, April 13-15, 1994. Events have taken place in other cities as well with more planned for the fall.

Bankrolled by corporate underwriters -- including Bell Atlantic International, the mining giant Freeport-McMoRan, Mobil Oil, TEXACO, American Express Bank, JP Morgan -- the events were organized by the Asia Society, the Centre for Strategic and International Studies (Jakarta), the US-Indonesia Society and the American-Indonesian Chamber of Commerce.

More than two dozen high-level Indonesian officials came for the events. Indonesia's Foreign Minister Ali Alatas keynoted the New York conference.

Two dozen members of the East Timor Action Network peacefully picketed outside. They called for the withdrawal of Indonesian troops from East Timor and a UN-supervised referendum.

A leaflet distributed by the demonstrators urged Indonesia to respect the UN Charter and Security Council resolutions calling on Indonesia to end its illegal occupation of East Timor. The demonstrators also urged US corporations doing business with Indonesia "to use their influence" to help bring about change in Indonesian policy.

In both New York and Seattle, ETAN activists attended the meetings, asking questions at appropriate times. But even without us, Indonesia's supporters are very aware of the East Timorese blot on the US-Indonesia relationship. Many speakers talked about East Timor, the IMET cut, the blockage of the F-5 resale,

and the threatened revocation of trade preferences. They repeatedly bemoaned the lack of American public and Congressional awareness of Indonesia.

Others referred nostalgically to the 1940s, when Indonesian nationalists worked Congress and church groups to build American support for independence. This effort paid off, as the US encouraged the Netherlands to get out of Indonesia — in sharp contrast with our policy toward the French in Indochina. Perhaps a similar strategy would work again, conference participants wondered. Although one audience member asked if there might be a difference in American attitudes toward a struggling independence movement and a 29-year-old entrenched military regime.

Alatas States His Mind

Alatas spoke of Indonesia's efforts for regional peace, but his main focus was on economic development. US-Indonesia trade is close to \$8.5 billion annually, and hopes for the future are lucrative.

Alatas did mention East Timor: "The persistently slanted news items that you may have occasionally read about East Timor cannot begin to give you an idea of the tremendous range of issues and activities of common interest [in US-Indonesia relations]."

Alatas rejected "imposing human rights implementation as a political condition to economic and development cooperation." He pointed out that "We Indonesians have adopted a political and economic system that is rooted in our culture... that stress... the obligations of the individual to the nation and state which in turn are duty-bound to protect and promote the rights and welfare of its individual citizens."

When asked about the inconsistency of Indonesia pursuing its own values and customs, but denying "the national identity of East Timor, which has never been allowed to determine its own way of doing things," Alatas defended his government. "The East Timorese people, the overwhelming majority of them, have decided what they wanted. And it is only a very small, but vocal minority, living abroad, you can count them on the fingers of both hands, politically agitating for their minority view."

He blamed Portugal for creating the problem, and claimed that "what our political opponents and our detractors like to describe as Indonesia invading, annexing, and occupying another country is in

reality... assisting as restrainedly as possible in a decolonization process that unfortunately went tragically wrong."

When Journalist Allan Nairn then rose to point out that it was Indonesia that had killed 200,000 in East Timor. Alatas responded condescendingly, "You had a very unfortunate experience in East Timor.... And that therefore, perhaps, your views cannot but be slanted. But I'm very sorry to see that a man of your intelligence, a man of your background, continues to pursue something against all reasonability and rationality of even the smallest balance or logic."

The next speaker was Thomas C. Hubbard, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs. Hubbard spoke made only passing mentions of East Timor, democracy, human rights, and labor rights. "However, I would like to emphasize today -- and we think Indonesians understand this -- that when we raise these issues, we do so as a friend...." His main concern was Indonesia as a "Big Emerging Market."

Former Ambassador James Holdridge of International Harvester objected to the IMET and F-5 cuts, and urged closer ties with the Indonesian military: "It might be worthwhile to reward a country which has done so well in many other aspects of the relationships, in maintaining regional security, and peacekeeping and so on, rather than continuing to press down." Hubbard, speaking for the administration, agreed. He blamed Congress for the cut in IMET.

Holdridge rejoined that "the problem is that the administration has simply not fought hard enough with the Congress." A sentiment shared by Hubbard and most of the audience.

The Asia Society conference is the start of a multi-million campaign to improve Indonesia's public image, initiated and organized by corporations with billions of dollars at stake. Supporters of East Timor have our work cut out for us, trying to keep the truth visible behind the barrage of disinformation and propaganda. It should not be too difficult — the moral, historical, legal and political facts of East Timor — but we need to make the effort. ETAN will try to let you know about events in your area. Please keep us posted about things you discover, and actions you take. A few people can be very effective in reminding Indonesia and its profiteers that there is a cost to be paid for invasion and continuing occupation.

Confront the Candidates: East Timor & the US Elections

The congressional campaign season is well underway, and it is up to us to make East Timor an issue. In November, voters will choose the entire House of Representatives and one-third of the Senate. Incumbents and challengers will be out on the stump soliciting votes. With many incumbents retiring this year, we must educate a whole new crop of national legislators on the issues. Why not start with the campaign.

Use this opportunity to question candidates about US policy toward Indonesia and to press to support East Timorese self-determination in Congress. With the recent vote in the Senate, nearly every sitting Senator is now on record concerning the use of US arms in East Timor. Question them about their votes.

During the campaigns, East Timor can be raised at candidate forums, on radio and TV talk shows, and in private meetings with Representatives, Senators and candidates.

Question the Candidates

As the campaign season heats up, candidates and incumbents running for reelection will participate in forums and call-in shows. By asking clear questions about US policy on East Timor, you can simultaneously educate the public and establish candidates' positions. Your questions should be brief: point out the US role in supporting human rights violations in East Timor, the need to cut off arms sales to Indonesia, and what Congress can do to support self-determination and human rights for the East Timorese. Some sample questions follow. Feel free to adapt them, and try to follow up by asking for a specific commitment if none is given in the initial answer. (Be prepared to encounter candidates who may not be familiar with East Timor; offer to provide additional information and tell them you will get back to them later.) By having different people ask questions in a variety of forums candidates will see that East Timor is important to people in their district or state. Please let ETAN/US know where candidates stand on the issue.

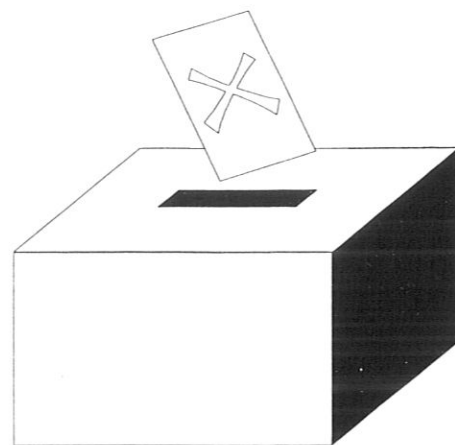
Meeting the Candidates

You can also try to meeting with a member or candidate at his or her office. This allows for a more extended exchange of views. When you write or call to request a meeting, state clearly what topics you want to address and provide a list of who will attend, including their organizational affiliation. It is especially

useful to invite representatives of other organizations or prominent members of the community. (It may also be easier to get a meeting if you join with others that have related foreign policy or human rights concerns. Contact local peace, human rights and arms control groups about arranging a meeting with a broader agenda in which East Timor can be raised.)

Confirm the date and time of your appointment in a follow-up letter. Before the meeting, decide who will speak and which issues will be stressed. ETAN continues to press for further restrictions on arms sales to Indonesia and overt US support for Timorese self-determination. Contact ETAN/US beforehand to find out what previous stances the member or candidate has taken, and if specific legislation or other action is in the works. We can also provide a packet of information to hand to the member or candidate and a form to report on the results of the meeting.

At the meeting introduce everyone. Be sure to thank the member or candidate for their time, and for any positive action they may have taken on the issue. Remind him or her that you reside in their district and how important this issue to you. Let him or her know that you plan to follow his or her action on East Timor.



Ask him or her what their position is and what he or she plans to do. Always be polite, even if they disagree with you.

Immediately after the meeting, record what was said. Follow up with a letter, thanking the member or candidate, reiterating your position and your understanding of any commitments made during the meeting or forum. Send a copy to ETAN, so we can follow up nationally.

Finally, do not let the issue fade away. Encourage others to write or call the member or candidate. Send letters to the editor, expressing your support or disagreement with the candidate on East Timor.

Sample Questions

◆ Since January, the administration has denied licenses for sales of small arms and riot control equipment to Indonesia, largely in response to unresolved questions concerning the massacre in East Timor of over 250 unarmed civilians in November 1991. Congress has cut off military aid to Indonesia. Do you support these measures? Should they be expanded to include a ban on all arms sales to pressure Indonesia to respect human rights and self-determination in East Timor?

◆ Do you agree that human rights should be a key element of our foreign policy? In 1975, Indonesia illegally invaded East Timor, its small neighbor with US support and weapons. Would you support a total ban on US weapons sales to the Indonesian military to pressure them to respect the rights of the East Timorese?

◆ In 1975, Indonesia invaded East Timor using US weapons. By using US military equipment for aggression against a neighbor, Indonesia violated the treaty governing arms sales between the two countries. This treaty only allows these weapons to be used for self-defense. Should the Congress enforce this agreement by forbidding Indonesia to use US military equipment in East Timor?

◆ In 1975, Indonesia invaded its small neighbor, East Timor, violating international law. At the time the UN passed resolutions almost identical to those it later passed condemning the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. Should the US be more assertive in supporting the right of the East Timorese to choose their own status? Should the US cut off arms sales to Indonesia to pressure it to obey international law and allow a referendum on self-determination?

Indonesia Cracks Down UN Talks Continue

In an effort to stifle dissent, the Indonesian government has banned several magazines and cracked on pro-democracy demonstrators opposed to the move. Dozens were arrested and beaten in Jakarta on June 27. Press freedom in Indonesia is crucial in ensuring the dissemination of information to counter the myths spread about East Timor by the Suharto regime.

Three of the most popular publications in Indonesia -- *Tempo*, *DeTik* and *Editor* -- had their publishing licenses revoked for publishing articles advocating greater democracy and critical of people close to President Suharto. Central to the ban was reporting on corruption surrounding the sale by Germany of 39 warships to Indonesia. One of the banned periodicals had recently reported that Indonesia may seek to outfit them with weapons from the United States.

Write or fax President Suharto, c/o Embassy of the Republic of Indonesia, 2020 Massachusetts Ave NW, Washington, DC 20036; (202)775-5200; fax (202)775-5365.

Timorese Youth Arrested, Jailed

Timorese youth continue to protest Indonesian rule and suffer imprisonment as a consequence. On June 27, two East Timorese were found guilty of raising the Fretilin flag on the anniversary of East Timor's integration with Indonesia last July 17. Simiao Soares Da Silva, 20, and Augusto Muozinho, 24, received three years in prison.

The Indonesian military arrested a key figure in the East Timorese underground in late May. José Antonio Neves, alleged head of the clandestine student movement Renetil, was picked up while trying to send out a letter from guerrilla leader Konis Santana. Neves was arrested in Malang, East Java, where he is studying theology.

At the same time up to 10 young people in East Timor were also detained. Six of them had staged a protest in front of foreign journalists during a government-escorted junket to East Timor in April.

In late June, three of those arrested were sentenced to 20 months in jail each "for expressing anti-Indonesia sentiments," according to a court spokesperson. The trials of Pantaleon Amaral, 18, Ishak Soares, 20, and Miguel de Deus, 20, began June 20.

The foreign ministers of Portugal and Indonesia met in Geneva, May 6, for the latest round of talks under the auspices of the UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros Ghali. The meeting was the fourth in a series of confidence-building talks. Ministers will next meet in January 1995 in Geneva.

In the most significant decision, the two ministers agreed "to meet with leading East Timorese supporters and opponents of integration," according to a statement by the Secretary-General.

In a statement issued after the talks, the National Council of Maubere Resistance (CNRM) said it was ready talk with Indonesia and with pro-integration East Timorese under the auspices of the UN. It called for the release of Xanana Gusmão as a "sign of good faith."

The CNRM described ongoing human rights abuses in East Timor in a document issued before the meeting. It said that Indonesia's often repeated claims of troop withdrawals from East Timor were not borne out in reality.

Resources

The East Timor Issue Since the Capture of Xanana Gusmão, by Herb Feith. This 37-page magazine-format pamphlet from Australia summarizes the major developments since late 1992. Xanana's arrest and trial, international pressure on Indonesia and prospects for a settlement are among the topics covered. Documents included in the appendices are Xanana's defense statement, editorials from US newspapers and the text of the CNRM's peace proposal. \$3.00.

East Timor Genocide, with Allan Nairn, produced by David Barsamian. Journalist Nairn, a dynamic speaker and eyewitness to the 1991 Dili massacre, has helped bring the issue of East Timor and US policy toward Indonesia to the forefront. An audiotape and transcript of a talk sponsored by ETAN that he gave in Portland, Oregon on April 1, 1994, are available. \$11 for the tape; \$7 for a transcript from ETAN/US.

East Timor — Death of a Nation, a special issue of *New Internationalist* magazine. Edited by John Pilger, this issue includes articles by Tapol's Carmel Budiardjo, along with testimonies from Timorese and fact sheets. \$3.50.

East Timor: Getting Away with Murder, a new book written and photographed by journalist Hugh O'Shaugnessy movingly describes the spirit and burdens of the East Timorese. Glenys Kinnock calls the 32-page book "a poignant and stark reminder of the continuing agony of East Timor." Published by the British Coalition for East Timor. \$10.00.

T-Shirts

East Timor: To Resist Is To Win with a photo of a young boy with his arms outstretched in a victory sign in front of a banner at the Santa Cruz demonstration. Large and Extra Large (specify size). \$13

East Timor: Indonesia's Killing Field with a photo of a priest in a cemetery with mountains in the background. Both shirts have "End US Support of Indonesian Genocide" or "End US Support of the Indonesian Occupation" on the back. Large and Extra Large (specify size). \$13

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Amnesty International Criticizes Arms Sales to Indonesia

Amnesty International USA (AI) highlighted Indonesia's poor human rights record in its third annual report on "Human Rights and US Security Assistance." The report criticized the Clinton administration for continuing to supply weapons, training and funds to human rights violators.

"The irony is that the Clinton administration supplies security assistance to countries with gross records of human rights abuses under programs entitled 'building democracy' and 'promoting peace,'" said AI USA Executive Director William F. Schulz.

AI's report criticized the Indonesian government for "severe restriction on the rights of freedom of expression and association [that] continues to be imposed on Indonesia and East Timor."

The report says that while Indonesia has repeatedly affirmed its commitment to international human rights principles, its promises "have not been matched by concrete measures." The Indonesian government has begun implementing only one of eleven recommendations by the UN Special Rapporteur on Torture made after a 1991 visit to Indonesia and East Timor.

AI is especially concerned about human rights violations in "regions where the government has faced armed opposition groups, as in Aceh, Irian Jaya and [illegally occupied] East Timor." Perpetrators of human rights abuse are "rarely brought to justice," the report said, citing the November 1991 Dili massacre as an example.

Amnesty criticized the State Department for violating the "the spirit of the IMET cut by silently allowing the Indonesian government to purchase military training in the US."

Indonesia should stop all extrajudicial executions; respect the UN Code of Con-

duct regarding governmental use of lethal force, explicitly outlaw all forms of torture; guarantee prisoners access to lawyers, physicians and relatives; repeal the anti-subversion law; stop using the so-called 'national interests' to imprison real and imagined political opponents, and create an impartial body to investigate human rights abuses in East Timor and elsewhere, says the report.

Under the Foreign Assistance Act, prohibits offering security assistance or selling military arms to any country violating human rights, except under "exceptional

circumstances." Administrations have long ignored the law and the report features 19 countries that receive "significant amounts of US security assistance," while violating human rights.

The US "does little to monitor how [its weapons] may be used against innocent people or the role this assistance plays in supporting repressive regimes," the report says. Washington should ensure that US does not put weapons "in the hands of people whose own governments refuse to prosecute them for acts of torture and killings."

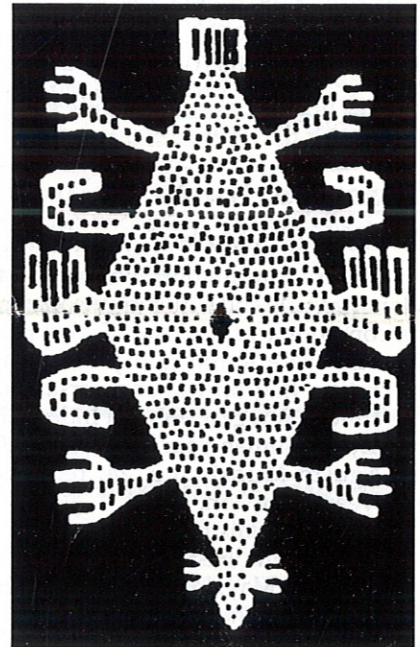
Constâncio Pinto Reunited with Family

Constâncio Pinto was reunited with his wife and son in Portugal in early May. The happy reunion came after Indonesia allowed Gabriela da Cruz Pinto and their son, Tilson, to leave one day before the UN-sponsored talks between Indonesia and Portugal held in Geneva. Tilson was born after Constancio had gone into hiding in East Timor and until their arrival in Portugal he had never met his son.

Constâncio, US representative of the National Council of Maubere Resistance, has been living and studying in Providence, RI over the past year. He fled East Timor and Indonesia in 1992 after learning of military death threats against him. He was the chief organizer of the November 1991 protest in Dili. During and after the protest, Indonesian troops massacred over 250 people.

Constâncio participated in ETAN's Spring 1993 speaking tour and other ETAN-sponsored events. Even after Constancio went into exile and was speaking publicly, the Indonesian authorities would often question Gabriela about his whereabouts.

Gabriela and Tilson left the country with passports issued by the International Committee of the Red Cross which manages a program to reunify families.



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