

The East Timor *Estafeta*

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Nobel Peace Prize a Victory for East Timor

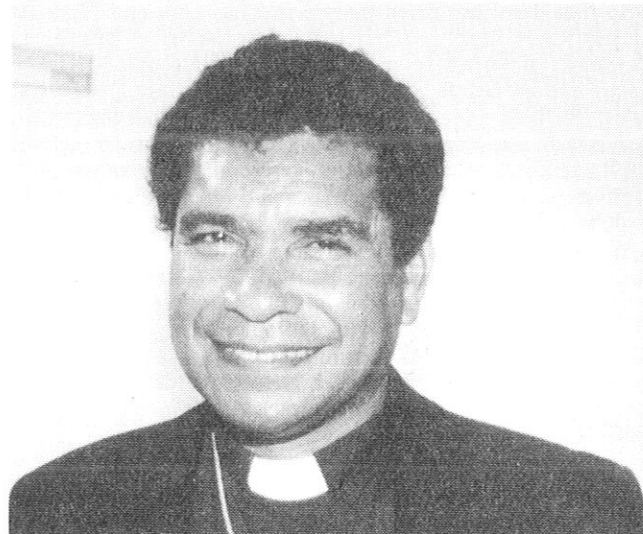
The people of East Timor and their supporters around the world were elated by the news that this year's Nobel Peace Prize will be awarded to two of the leading crusaders for East Timorese self-determination, Catholic Bishop Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo of Dili and Special Representative of the Council of Maubere Resistance (CNRM) Jose Ramos-Horta. The Nobel Committee noted that since Indonesia's 1975 invasion "it has been estimated that one third of the population of East Timor lost their lives due to starvation, epidemics, war and terror" and expressed their hope that "this award will spur efforts to find a diplomatic solution to the conflict in East Timor based on the people's right to self-determination."

Press coverage varied, with many reporters neglecting to point out that both Belo and Ramos-Horta insist on a UN-sponsored referendum in which the East Timorese themselves decide whether to be independent or "integrated" into Indonesia. Some coverage stressed divisions between the two, an argument countered by Ramos-Horta's praise for Belo and the Bishop's statement to an Australian reporter that "he (Ramos-Horta) has the right to win. More than me, I think."

The truth is that both men have been tireless campaigners for the rights of their people. During the 1980s the Catholic Church became a major focus for opposition to Indonesian repression. Belo's willingness to speak out was crucial to this development. In 1989, after sending a letter to the UN Secretary General saying "we are dying as a nation" and calling for international assistance (he did not receive a reply for five years), the Bishop survived the first of two assassination attempts. Even these close calls did not silence him. He was instrumental in calling attention to the additional victims killed in a Dili hospital after the November 1991 Santa Cruz massacre. Responding two years ago to the claim that East Timor has been improved by Indonesian development, Belo asked "Who is this development for? Who enjoys it? Not us, the Timorese. It is for the immigrants they are bringing in... they are using this so-called development to change our society, to destroy it."

Ramos-Horta has been a diplomat, journalist and academic. ETAN was honored to host his speaking tour of the U.S. last spring. The Suharto regime has been quick to pull several smears

against Ramos-Horta out of mothballs; some, which former Australian consul to Timor James Dunn called "utterly without foundation... [reflecting] the desperation of those making them," surfaced in *Time* magazine. But Ramos-Horta showed his Nobel caliber by saying that jailed leader of the East Timorese resistance Xanana Gusmao should have won the award. He added "I hope this prize will give even greater prestige to the name of Xanana Gusmao, our true leader."



**Bishop Carlos Felipe Ximenes Belo,
Co-Recipient of the 1996 Nobel Peace Prize and
Head of the Roman Catholic Church in East Timor**

Both men are using their sudden access to the international press to make strong statements against the Indonesian dictatorship. Ramos-Horta has aligned himself in solidarity with the Indonesian pro-democracy movement and other victims of the Suharto regime inside Indonesia. Also attacking the Clinton Administration's controversial decision to go ahead with a sale of F-16s to Indonesia (see page 2), Ramos-Horta pointed out that such transactions are no different from weapon sales to Saddam Hussein.

— Kyle Perkins



Constância Pinto organized the religious procession and protest that ended in the 1991 Santa Cruz Massacre. At the time he was leader of the East Timorese civilian underground. Constância subsequently escaped from East Timor after discovering that he was targeted for assassination by the Indonesian authorities.

Today, Constância is the U.S. Representative of the National Council of Maubere Resistance. For those readers interested in learning more about his inspiring story, ETAN is selling copies of the brand-new memoir *EAST TIMOR'S UNFINISHED STRUGGLE: INSIDE THE TIMORESE RESISTANCE*, by Constância Pinto and Matthew Jardine (292 pp., South End Press, Boston, 1996). To order, send \$18 + \$2.70 postage and handling to ETAN, P.O. Box 1182, White Plains, NY 10602.



"Over the last four years, I have watched as hundreds of Americans have been touched and activated by Constância Pinto's story. Now, readers everywhere will have the opportunity to learn about perseverance and resistance — when extraordinary hardships force everyday people to become courageous leaders. Constância Pinto's personal history, combined with Matthew Jardine's analysis of Western realpolitik, will move and motivate anyone with a conscience. Constância has experienced torture, brutality, and mass killings — and kept his spirit, commitment, and hope alive. We need only read about these horrors to know that they must stop."

— Charles Scheiner, National Coordinator of ETAN

U.S. Indonesia Policy Hits the Headlines... But It's Business As Usual for Weapons Sellers

As incredible as it may seem, U.S. policy toward Indonesia and East Timor is front page news, the "issue of the week" in the Presidential Campaign. A combination of an Indonesian conglomerate eager to curry favor with an only-too-willing White House, opportunistic Republican campaigning, the Nobel Peace Prize, and growing democracy fervor in Jakarta catapulted the world's fourth most-populous nation into the headlines in U.S. media for the first time since President Clinton visited in 1994.

Although the coverage thus far has been spotty, and has missed some important points, the question about whether U.S. policy toward Indonesia and East Timor has been based on financial self-interest or professed human rights concerns is a key issue.

ETAN is working to broaden this coverage, reminding the media that there are more people in Indonesia and East Timor than the Riady family and their friends. We have fact sheets on U.S. policy and arms sales toward Indonesia (contact ETAN for copies) and an action alert on the pending sale of F-16 fighter planes. We held a press conference at the National Press Club in Washington, and continue to provide information to the media. ETAN members around the country are taking advantage of the attention to write letters to the editor and op-ed columns, many of which have been published.

We did pass up one opportunity — when the Dole-Kemp campaign called to offer ETAN activists tickets to a Southern California Clinton rally so that we could hold up signs embarrassing the President.

Bipartisan Policy

Although ETAN has criticized the Clinton Administration for its shortage of meaningful action to pressure the Suharto regime to get out of East Timor, the support for Indonesia's occupation goes back through the Bush, Reagan, Carter, and Ford Administrations. And, although members of Congress with consciences from both parties have supported East Timorese human rights and self-determination, the Republican Congressional leadership has been no better than the Clinton Administration on these issues. The reasons are similar: large corporations have given financial incentives to key legislators like Representatives Robert Livingston (R-LA) and Sonny Callahan (R-AL) not to cross the Indonesian regime.

In the midst of the Clinton/Riady campaign flap, Bob Dole dubbed the Suharto regime "a brutal military dictatorship," and Newt Gingrich called for a suspension of "any actions towards Indonesia until we've had a chance to review this," including the F-16 sale. Their concern is touching, but one wonders where it was when Dole opposed 1994 legislation which would have prohibited the use of U.S.-supplied weapons in East Timor, and when Gingrich-appointed committee chairs worked to restore IMET military training aid and opposed limits on arms sales to Indonesia.

Big Arms Sales Increase, Small Ones Banned

On July 10, 1996 the Clinton Administration requested Congressional assent for the largest ever U.S. weapons sale to Indonesia — an FMS (government-to-government) sale of Northrop-Grumman E2C Hawkeye early warning aircraft, worth \$400 million. Although more attention has focused on the pending sale of F-16 fighters, these deals indicate that the Administration's professed concern for human rights is not wholly sincere.

On July 25, the Administration did take a positive step — expanding the 1994 ban on small and light arms exports to Indonesia to include armored personnel carriers like the ones in many village squares in East Timor. ETAN worked with Senators Patrick Leahy (D-VT) and Russell Feingold (D-WI) to encourage this measure, which the State Department took to head off possible Congressional action. Assistant Secretary of State Barbara Larkin wrote Senator Feingold that "we all agree [that these arms] should not be sold or transferred to Indonesia until there is significant improvement in the human rights situation there. This policy has been effective, and the Administration will continue to abide by the policy."

F-16s: Off Again, On Again

The Clinton Administration would like to sell the Indonesian military nine of 28 F-16 Falcon fighter planes originally sold to Pakistan which were never delivered because of nuclear proliferation concerns. The sale to Indonesia has been under discussion for nearly two years but was not finalized because of monetary disagreements. In October 1995, President Clinton personally urged General Suharto to buy the planes — although Indonesia has no external enemies and, therefore, no need for these warplanes.

Two days after the small arms ban expansion, Indonesian troops shut down an opposition party office. Subsequent protests in Jakarta were harshly repressed, letting the world see how thin the Suharto regime's façade of legitimacy really is (see *Suharto Under Threat...* on page 5).

The Administration announced that the sale of F-16s would be delayed, at least until 1997. Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas rejected Washington's concerns, "because this means interfering in Indonesia's internal affairs and opposing Indonesia's sovereignty." "We just wait until January 1997," he said, adding that Indonesia would take its stand then and would not exaggerate the problem.

In mid-September, twenty-seven human rights, labor, religious and other organizations wrote Secretary of State Warren Christopher that "The recent brutal suppression by the (Indonesian) armed forces and security forces of peaceful dissent violates Indonesian law and international human rights standards. The crackdown also portends a period of conflict and instability in Indonesia that will undermine U.S. interests in political stability and economic growth in East Asia. ... There should be no U.S. military backing for Indonesia until the government not only releases all citizens detained in the current crisis, but also observes internationally recognized labor rights and permits freedom of expression and free and fair elections. ... Military assistance and financing will only strengthen this repressive regime."

A week later, Assistant Secretary of State Winston Lord told a Senate Committee that "[w]e remain convinced that this transfer is in the U.S. interest and should proceed, and we intend to notify Congress of our intentions in January." Assistant Secretary of Defense Kurt Campbell chimed in: "So we thought this was prudent, it was a small number, and again ... consistent with Indonesia's responsible regional and international behavior." The two men had just visited Indonesian officials in Jakarta where they got a different impression of "responsible behavior" than the thousands of East Timorese and Indonesian civilians who have been tortured or killed by the Suharto regime, or are held in their prisons, often without charges or trial. After the 1996 Nobel Peace Prize was awarded to advocates of East Timorese self-determination, the White House reaffirmed its support for the F-16 deal.

(continued on page 4)

ETAN Activism: A Hot Summer



Summer is supposedly a time for vacation, but East Timor Action Network chapters throughout the country were busy stepping up the pressure on the Indonesian and U.S. governments on a number of fronts. On July 17, the twentieth anniversary of "Integration Day" (see page 7), demonstrations were held in front of the Indonesian Embassy in Washington, DC; demonstrations took place in a number of other U.S. cities as well as part of an international day of protest. Among the Integration Day events:

- In New York, more than 60 people demonstrated outside the Indonesian Mission to the United Nations. Activists distributed over 2,000 leaflets at the demonstration and at nearby Grand Central railway station.
- In Los Angeles, about 20 people picketed the Indonesian consulate for two hours, resulting in a shut down of the building that also houses Indonesia's state-owned airline, Garuda.
- In San Francisco, East Timor Religious Outreach and the local ETAN chapter co-organized a demonstration with more than 100 participants. As is becoming a tradition in San Francisco, the Indonesian consulate closed for the day as activists committed civil disobedience and blocked the entrances to the building, resulting in numerous arrests. (see page 7)

The following day, members of ETAN/NY joined union activists in a lunchtime demonstration against Nike's labor practices in Indonesia, with Cich Sukaasih, an Indonesian worker fired for union organizing at a Nike factory near Jakarta. On July 22, members participated with Kairos/Plowshares New York in a small protest outside the British Mission to the United Nations on the day the Seeds of Hope Ploughshares trial began in Britain (see page 8).

On August 17, Indonesian Independence Day, ETAN/NY supported a demonstration against Nike's collusion with the Chinese and Indonesian dictatorships. Frontlash (the youth organization for the AFL-CIO) sponsored the event organized by Students for a Free Tibet. At the official Independence Day reception at the Indonesian Mission to the UN on August 19, ETAN members

leafletted and unfurled a banner reading "This Is What the Indonesian Army Uses for Birth Control in East Timor" under an image of a bullet. ETAN/NY also tabled at the Lollapalooza music festival.

Because New York City hosts the United Nations, ETAN/NY helps present testimony each year to the U.N. Decolonization Committee hearing on East Timor. Charlie Scheiner, ETAN's national coordinator, is the U.N. representative for the International Federation for East Timor (IFET), of which ETAN is one of two dozen members. ETAN/NY activists read testimonies from groups unable to come from overseas, since UN rules require that statements be presented in person. ETAN/NY also hosted a reception this past July for those testifying at the hearings.

On the opposite coast, ETAN activists in Los Angeles tabled at the Lollapalooza festival in Irvine and at the Lotus festival, the annual celebration of L.A.'s Asian-Pacific community. As a result of these tablings, ETAN/LA has dozens of new contacts.

ETAN/LA was also active on the legislative front. The chapter had two successful visits with local members of Congress, Reps. Julian Dixon and Howard Berman, to discuss Congressional action on East Timor. The meetings were very encouraging as both Congressmen promised to fight the Clinton Administration's proposed sale of F-16 fighter jets to Indonesia. ETAN/LA activists were especially heartened by Rep. Berman's strong support for East Timorese self-determination and are looking forward to his playing a prominent role in Congress on East Timor. ETAN/LA intends to continue to intensify its Congressional outreach in coming months.

— Matthew Jardine

There are numerous ETAN events happening across the country in the next few months. Page 9 contains an Action Alert for these events. Please contact your local chapter or the national office for more up-to-date information.



East Timor activists met with Congressman Howard Berman (D-California) on Aug. 29 to discuss Congressional action on East Timor

Pictured from left to right are Rev. David Farley, Pastor of Echo Park United Methodist Church and member of East Timor Religious Outreach/LA; Tammy Smith of California Peace Action; Rep. Howard Berman; Mark Rhomberg of ETAN/LA; and Tom Waldman, Berman's Press Secretary and Admin. Asst.

Photo: Matthew Jardine

Military Training To Resume?

Administration spokespeople also restated their intention to resume unrestricted IMET (International Military Education and Training) – taxpayer-funded military training for Indonesian soldiers in the U.S. – with an increased appropriation when Congress returns next year. Congress banned IMET for Indonesia, against Bush Administration wishes, after the 1991 Dili massacre in East Timor. Although the Republican-controlled Congress partially restored the program in 1995, training on military topics is still prohibited. The Administration plans to ask Congress to restore it in January.

Since 1991, Congressional and grassroots pressure has limited several weapons deals between the U.S. and Indonesia. The Indonesian government takes notice when such sales are banned. For example, the *Jakarta Post* editorialized that the 1993 blockage of the transfer of US-made F-5 warplanes “resounded like [a] sonic boom” in Indonesia.

Many members of Congress have asked the Administration not to go ahead with the proposed F-16 sale, and to restore the prohibition on IMET. Administration officials have expressed concern that Congressional criticism will intensify. All members of Congress and candidates should be urged to speak out against the F-16 and all other weapons deals with Indonesia. Unless things change, the Administration plans to begin the F-16 sale process in January, the earliest opportunity to give Congress its traditional 30-day notice. They will include IMET for Indonesia in the 1997 budget, also prepared in January. Blocking these projects would send a very strong signal that the United States is more concerned about the rights of the East Timorese and Indonesian people than in sustaining their repressive military government.

– Charles Scheiner

What You Can Do

□ **Contact the Administration to urge them to block the sale of F-16s and the resumption of IMET training for the Indonesian military.** The U.S. should not be selling weapons to such a flagrant human rights violator. Write, call or fax President Clinton and Secretary Christopher.

White House Comment Line: Phone 202-456-1111 Fax 202-456-2461
E-mail president@whitehouse.gov

State Department: Phone (202)647-4000 Fax 202-647-6434
E-mail usdosweb@uic.edu

□ **Contact your Senators and Representative, urge them to press the administration not to approve the resumption of IMET or the sale of the F-16s.** Raise the issue with candidates during the election season. Visit Congresspeople while they are in their districts between now and January.

Congressional Switchboard: 202-224-3121

□ **Write letters to the editor and op-eds for your local newspapers.**

Please send ETAN copies of any responses you receive.

Last July, Massachusetts State Representative Antonio Cabral (D-New Bedford) introduced legislation to restrict the Massachusetts State Treasurer from investing pension funds in companies who do business with or in Indonesia. The Representative has also requested that Treasurer Joseph Malone divest the \$9 million dollars in Indonesian securities that Massachusetts currently holds.

“It is my hope that the proposed legislation will not only pass the Massachusetts legislature, but that it will be a model for U.S. sanctions against Indonesia,” Rep. Cabral explained. “Sanctions must be imposed until Indonesia complies with the U.N. resolutions [supporting self-determination for East Timor].”

A Short Background on U.S. Arms Sales to Indonesia

Adapted from research by William D. Hartung and Jennifer Washburn of the World Policy Institute

The United States government has aided the Suharto regime’s illegal occupation of East Timor from the moment of Indonesia’s 1975 invasion. The most tangible component has been a massive, steady supply of U.S. armaments to the Indonesian military. The following is based on Pentagon and State Department statistics, the Stockholm Peace Research Institute yearbook, the Arms Control Association, and the United Nations Arms Register.

In all, the United States has sold more than \$1 billion in weaponry to Indonesia since 1975, during Republican and Democratic administrations.

Two days prior to the invasion of East Timor, President Gerald Ford and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger gave the green light during a visit to Jakarta. Not so coincidentally, U.S. arms sales to Indonesia more than quadrupled from 1974 to 1975 from \$12 million to more than \$57 million. U.S. arms sales leveled off at \$10 to \$12 million per year during the last two years of the Ford Administration, but a pattern of U.S. military support was firmly established.

Despite its professions of support for human rights, the Carter Administration picked up where Kissinger and Ford had left off. As Matthew Jardine writes in *East Timor: Genocide in Paradise*, “In 1977, Indonesia found itself short of weapons, an indication of the scale of its attack. The Carter administration accelerated the arms flow.” U.S. arms sales hit \$112 million in 1978 and averaged nearly \$60 million per year during the Carter administration, more than twice the amount under the Ford administration.

Reagan maintained a steady weapons flow, averaging over \$40 million per year during its first four years before selling over \$300 million in 1986. In 1986 that US also sold Indonesia its first batch of F-16 fighter planes. They now have twelve.

Sales to Indonesia dropped slightly during the Bush years, to roughly \$28 million per year. When Bill Clinton first took office, many thought his campaign description of U.S. policy toward East Timor as “unconscionable” would lead to a further drop. Unfortunately, and in the face of significant Congressional opposition, the Clinton administration has approved over \$470 million in arms sales to Jakarta since it took office in 1993. At more than \$115 million per year, this is the highest level of U.S. sales to Indonesia ever.

According to Matthew Jardine (cited above), 90% of the weapons used in the 1975 invasion of East Timor came from the United States. Although Jakarta has diversified its weapons sources since that time, turning to Britain, France, Germany and others to round out its arsenal, U.S. supplies remain essential. According to the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, from 1992 to 1994 (the most recent years for which full data is available), Indonesia received 53% of its weapons imports from the United States.

Among the U.S. corporations that are profiting from arms sales to Indonesia are Lockheed Martin (maker of the F-16 and the C-130 transport planes, both of which have been shipped to Indonesia); Textron (whose Cadillac Gage and Bell Helicopter divisions have supplied armored vehicles and military helicopters to the Jakarta regime); Northrop Grumman (which has a deal pending to sell two E-2C radar planes to Indonesia); and General Motors/Hughes (which has sold 500MD helicopters to Jakarta as well as air-to-air missiles).

Suharto Under Threat as a Tide of Democracy Sweeps Indonesia

By Carmel Budiardjo

The news that the courageous East Timorese Jose Ramos-Horta and Bishop Carlos Belo were awarded this year’s Nobel Peace Prize has brought renewed attention to Indonesia, where the world’s longest-ruling dictator, in the closing years of his despotic reign, is busy tightening the screws on his own people. General Suharto’s current crackdown on dissent is a sure sign he knows how much he is despised and how weak his regime has become.

Suharto grabbed control thirty-one years ago in one of the bloodiest seizures of power this century. More than a million people were slaughtered in less than six months as he installed a military regime that has held Indonesia in its grip ever since. The massacres decimated the left-wing movement under the Indonesian Communist Party, which had at least ten million followers. Since then, Suharto has used the threat of the communist menace to prevent the emergence of political opponents; at the same time, he has constructed a New Order corporatist state where economic development is the be-all and end-all, and politics is treated like a dangerous import from the West.

The events of 1965 so traumatized the people that it was not until the early 1990s that a nationwide pro-democracy movement began. Today, for the first time in more than thirty years, the forces of democracy have a rallying point in

Megawati Sukarnoputri, daughter of the country’s first president, Sukarno. The popular founding father of the Indonesian Republic, Sukarno was ousted by Suharto and died in 1970, a broken man under house arrest.

Since the early 1990s, the spirit of opposition has affected all sectors of Indonesian society. For years, workers in factories across the country have struck to demand better wages and the right to organize, resulting in an increase in the government-set minimum wage to a little more than \$2 a day for the production of sneakers, garments and electronic goods exported to the global market. The one officially-sanctioned union serves the interests of big business as a puppet of the regime; consequently, two independent unions have emerged in the past four years. The regime has acknowledged this challenge, locking up each union’s president and charging both with subversion, a death penalty offense.

Young people on campuses across Indonesia have begun to challenge the regime’s strategy of depoliticising student movements. In April this year, three students were killed when armored personnel carriers crashed onto a campus in Ujungpandang, South Sulawesi to quell student protests against a hike in local bus fares. The tragedy triggered still more demonstrations demanding that the army

officers responsible be brought to trial.

The banning of three popular political magazines in June 1994 helped focus attention on the perilous state of the Indonesian press, controlled for more than three decades by the regime. Many journalists have now joined AJI, the Alliance of Independent Journalists, set up in the wake of the 1994 bans. Three journalists serving long prison sentences for defying government censorship were recently transferred to a remote prison in West Java because of their continued journalistic successes – even behind bars. They were most certainly being punished for a recent interview with Xanana Gusmao, the imprisoned leader of the East Timorese resistance movement, widely-distributed in the AJI’s clandestine journal, *Suara Independen*.

But it was Suharto’s decision to force the PDI (one of the three government-endorsed political parties) to replace Megawati as chairperson that triggered the most defiant upsurge of pro-democracy fervor since the ‘60s. Megawati was elected in 1993 to lead the PDI, a party created in 1972 to take part in general elections under rules ensuring a massive victory for GOLKAR, the government party. She quickly emerged as a popular figure, providing an outlet for pent-up frustrations about the tightly controlled political system, the repressive apparatus run by armed forces accountable to no one, and the fabulous wealth accumulated by Suharto family members. As the Megawati-led PDI grew in popularity, Suharto acted swiftly and decisively to eliminate any possible threat to his victory in next April’s elections.

(continued on page 6)

East Timor Journal

Two friends returned from East Timor last month and provided this report. For the safety of those they visited, their account is being printed anonymously.

The knots of heavily armed soldiers patrolling near the airport in Dili, the capital, set the tone for our week-long visit to East Timor. Next to the terminal squats a military compound ringed with barbed wire, a frequent sight everywhere in the country. As our taxi headed into town, we passed swarms of military trucks loaded with soldiers. On either side stood crumbling cinder-block buildings emblematic of Suharto’s development model: force subsistence farmers from their land, deposit them in shabby, squalid houses and surround them with barracks and government buildings clearly designed to intimidate.

Walking the streets of Dili confirmed what we’d read of the Timorese: they speak with their eyes. Some older people look utterly defeated by twenty years of oppression and don’t make eye contact. Others look at Western visitors with the fear that is a palpable reality everywhere in East Timor. But a spirit of defiant resistance can also be seen in both young and old.

We were told by those brave enough to talk to us (discussions with foreigners often result in police beatings) that the period of our visit was “calm.” But in the middle of our stay two Timorese riding a motorcycle were shot dead by Indonesian soldiers near Viqueque, 100 kilometers

(continued on page 6)



East Timorese children flash the V-sign and mug for sympathetic visitors

Suharto Under Threat... (continued from page 5)

In June and July this year, the democratic forces took to the streets in many parts of the country and rallied around Megawati in free-speech forums at the PDI headquarters in Jakarta. The violent seizure of the PDI office by the government on July 27th was intended to stop this movement in its tracks. Many people were killed (just how many is still in dispute), scores were injured and hundreds were arrested. In the wake of this tragedy, Suharto's security forces targeted a tiny newly-formed political party, the PRD, as the "mastermind" of the July disturbances. The PRD was accused, without a shred of proof, of being the reincarnation of the communist party exterminated in 1965. By reviving this bogey, Suharto hopes to rally anti-communist forces to his side. This time around, however, the political maneuver is being treated skeptically, even within the ranks of his own supporters.

At the heart of Suharto's strategy is the question of who will succeed him, a question that is still his alone to answer. Much is at risk for him personally: he needs to designate a successor who can protect the phenomenal wealth of his sons, daughters and business cronies while protecting him from charges of crimes against humanity. The murderous actions of the Suharto regime are well known not only to Indonesians, but also to the people of East Timor and West Papua, where hundreds of thousands have been killed resisting the regime's aggression and occupation. That two former presidents in South Korea have been found guilty of corruption and mass killings has not gone unnoticed.

What are the prospects for Megawati as she fights for her survival as the legitimate leader of the PDI? The decision to challenge her removal in the courts was taken to prevent renewed confrontation between the masses supporting her and the armed

forces operating under instructions to "shoot-on-sight." No one, least of all Megawati herself, believes she will win her court battle: the Indonesian judiciary, like every other area of the government, is thoroughly corrupt.

Despite her attempts to hold back her supporters, forthcoming events could easily trigger confrontations. This month, the National Commission on Human Rights released surprisingly strong findings on July 27 that blame the regime for sparking the mass riots and note that 23 people are still missing, possibly dead. Many will use the subversion trials now commencing as a rallying point. Still to come are next year's elections - a mockery now more than ever - since the real PDI candidate is excluded from taking part.

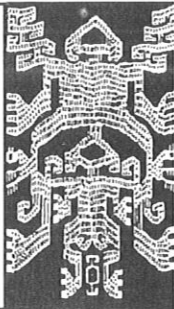
Megawati can take heart from the recent statement by Daw Aung San Suu Kyi of Burma hailing mass arrests of her supporters as a victory for her party. Now that the pro-democracy forces have taken root in Indonesia, there is no turning back the tide. Each new act of repression will help seal the fate of the Suharto regime and carry Indonesia into an era of democracy.

Carmel Budiardjo's memoir of imprisonment under the Suharto regime, Surviving Indonesia's Gulag, is available through ETAN (see Resource List on page 10). In 1995, she won the Right Livelihood Award (also known as the Alternative Nobel Prize) for her work with the Indonesian human rights campaign TAPOL, which she founded in 1973.

Carmel recently completed an ETAN-sponsored speaking tour of the U.S. The next issue of Estafeta will contain a report on her trip.

This year's official Asia-Pacific Economic Conference is to be attended by General Suharto and President Clinton; this year's Nobel Peace Prize co-winner Jose Ramos-Horta is slated to be the keynote speaker at the Manila People's Forum on APEC, an international gathering of people's movements and NGOs critical of APEC's neo-liberal agenda. Philippines President Ramos is welcoming Suharto with open arms while banning Ramos-Horta.

Indonesia predictably praised the decision, but the Catholic Bishops Conference of the Philippines condemned the ban as anti-democratic. Ramos-Horta responded with characteristic dry humor. "Who am I to be able to disrupt a summit of mighty states?" he asked. "I am a bit like Mickey Mouse... they are accusing me, a Mickey Mouse, of trying to disturb a party of elephants." As this issue of *Estafeta* goes to press, Ramos-Horta is still being denied permission to attend the Manila People's Forum. Please call the White House comment line at 202-456-1111 or write to demand that Clinton pressure President Ramos to reverse this ban.



East Timor Journal (continued from page 5)

southwest of Dili. Witnesses described the killers as special forces soldiers who covered their faces with black cloths. Another arbitrary execution - the recent murder of a young man in broad daylight - was described to us by a prominent Timorese. The soldier that shot the youth was apparently annoyed by the Timorese song he was singing.

Not a single Timorese we spoke to supported the annulment of East Timorese cultural identity that the occupation forces have been trying to achieve for two decades. A Timorese who was imprisoned for 11 years (and subjected to extreme torture) told us that he felt more free in prison - at least there he was able to speak openly about politics, economics and history. When asked if he'd ever gone to prison for opposing the Indonesian military occupation, a Timorese priest told us, "I've been in prison since 1975."

Most natives of the country are dirt-poor. We did speak to one well-to-do East Timorese who has a prestigious government job. He told us that "the situation here is very tense." He owns three cars and lives in relative luxury but said, "I'd rather be free and poor."

One of the most lasting impressions was made by a high school student we spoke to on a bemo (a small bus used for public transportation). He was eager to practice his English, and explained his desire to go to col-

lege abroad. When we asked him what he thought of the situation in East Timor, he grew suddenly quiet. He looked around the bemo and whispered, "I think you can understand the situation if you look. I'd like to tell you more but I can't." He repeated this last phrase several times before we left him; his eyes communicated in no uncertain terms what his words could not.

That night we saw "DEFEND TIMOR" painted on a wall in Baucau. The clandestine resistance member we had the opportunity to briefly meet seconded this sentiment: he called the Indonesian estimates of only 200 remaining guerrillas "bullshit" and said that if they have to, resistance forces (which include the guerrilla, diplomatic and urban clandestine fronts) "will fight for another 20 years." But he clearly yearned for an end to war: "We just want to be free, to live in peace and tranquility. How can anyone stand not to be free?"

These words resonated as we flew out of Dili. Around us sat prosperous Indonesians, clearly far removed from the travails of the East Timorese. From the edge of the runway, local children waved excitedly to the plane. Their oppressors have much to learn from the loving enthusiasm of these children. In the meantime, it is up to people in the West to make certain the Suharto regime is constantly reminded that we will not forgive the continued occupation of East Timor.

What Is Integration Day?

On November 28, 1975 Fretilin declared the independence of East Timor. The next day, according to the Indonesian government, four East Timorese political parties signed the "Balibo Declaration," accepting the Suharto regime's rule. One of the signatories to this document, Guilherme Goncalves, governor of occupied East Timor from 1976 until January 1980, told reporters last year that the declaration was forced on the people of East Timor. "The truth is nobody wanted it. It didn't reflect the true feelings of the East Timorese," Goncalves explained. "Whether we believed it or not, we had no choice. We had to sign."

The Indonesian government claims that the East Timorese decision to integrate into Indonesia (as its twenty-seventh province) was demonstrated by a unanimously-approved act of the East Timorese People's Representative Assembly on May 31, 1976. Indonesia described the 28 member "People's Assembly" as a body comprised of "prominent citizens of East

Timor" selected by the East Timorese people in the traditional method of consensus (rather than universal suffrage). But eyewitnesses and participants described how Indonesian intelligence officers, with the help of a handful of pro-Indonesia East Timorese, handpicked the delegates after checking that the candidates had no previous ties to either of the two pro-independence parties, FRETILIN and the UDT. A number of observers and "delegates" at the event reported that the Indonesian authorities completely stage-managed the proceedings.

The Indonesian authorities did not even permit the few journalists and Jakarta-based junior diplomats that attended the event to speak with the delegates of the "People's Assembly." As Hamish McDonald, a journalist present at the proceedings, stated: "Immediately after the council meeting, all were led back into their cars and briefly driven around the town before going straight back to the airport and taking off for Kupang [the capital of neighboring West Timor]. No one had a chance even to shake hands with council members, and executive members of the Provisional Government refused to answer press questions, climbing immediately into their

new Volvo cars."

On July 17, 1976 President Suharto signed into law East Timor's "formal integration" into the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia; it is this date that "Integration Day" celebrates. According to the Indonesian government, Suharto did so on the basis of a petition from the "People's Assembly" and an "on-the-spot assessment" in East Timor by a government delegation of the validity of the "strong desire" of the East Timorese to become part of Indonesia.

Even if we take Indonesia's claims at face value, however, none meet the requirements of a legitimate act of self-determination as specified under international law. As defined by the United Nations General Assembly, the legitimate integration of a territory into a sovereign state requires an "impartially conducted" vote based upon "universal adult suffrage," at the time of which the territory has reached "an advanced state of self-government with free political institutions." Clearly these conditions have never existed in Indonesian-occupied East Timor.

- Matthew Jardine

20th Anniversary of "Integration Day" Sparks ETRO Protest in San Francisco

Government workers at the Indonesian Consulate in San Francisco celebrated Integration Day behind locked doors. They were hiding from the more than 100 protesters who gathered outside to denounce Integration Day and the Indonesian government's continued presence in East Timor. The protest, organized by the East Timor Religious Outreach (ETRO), drew supporters from the East Timor Action Network (ETAN), Pax Christi, Guatemala News and Information Bureau, Plowshares West, Magdalene Catholic Worker House, Global Exchange, and the Ecumenical Peace Institute and Overseas Development Network. A dozen students from Youth for Justice (affiliated with the Clergy and Laity Concern) came from Eugene, Oregon to show their solidarity with the brave men and women of East Timor. A cross-section of denominations was also represented by clergy from the Presbyterian, Lutheran, United Methodist and Catholic churches.

Outside the closed and darkened consulate, protesters made impassioned speeches protesting the Indonesian government's actions in East Timor. The government has erected a statue of Christ the King overlooking Fatukama Bay near Dili, the capital of East Timor, both to "symbolize Jakarta's desire to recognize East Timor's Christian character" and to commemorate the annexation. Rev. John Chamberlin of First St. John's United Methodist Church in San Francisco and Rev. Lee Williamson of Wesley United Methodist Church in Hayward both made special mention of the hypocrisy inherent in this gesture. "It's an insult to Christians. The



ETRO/SF demonstrators, moments before being arrested, blocking the main entrance to the Indonesian Consulate on July 17th, the 20th Anniversary of "Integration Day"

Sharon Luk and Elizabeth Lee, students at St. Ignatius High School in San Francisco, talk to Adrienne Fong, recipient of this year's Bishop Leontine TC Kelly Peace and Justice Award from the Methodist Federation for Social Action.

Indonesians are trying to say that everything is all right. But everything isn't all right, and we'll keep coming back until the people of East Timor are granted self-determination," Williamson told the crowd. Protesters were given chalk, which they used to cover the sidewalk around the consulate with messages of solidarity for the East Timorese and condemnation for the Indonesian government and their allies.

(continued on page 8)

(ETRO Protest... continued from page 8)

After the speeches, demonstrators went on a procession from the consulate to Fisherman's Wharf in the heart of San Francisco's tourist district, carrying large banners, placards and miniature coffins with flowers. Nearly a thousand fliers were handed out to interested passers by - particularly those at a Nike store. Throughout the demonstration, there was a heavy police presence with nearly one officer for every three protesters.

When the procession returned, an attempt was made to meet with consulate officials. Repeatedly ringing the buzzer failed to lure them from their hide-out on the second floor, prompting 22 demonstrators to occupy the grounds and chant "Free East Timor." The San Francisco police arrested the protesters (ranging in age from 16 to 77), charged them with trespassing, booked them and released them a short time later. Among those arrested were two St. Ignatius High School students who were participating in their first act of civil disobedience. Mug shots were taken and summonses for a court appearance were issued; protesters were soon released. Charges were dropped a week later.

Clergy and lay protesters have pledged to continue the civil disobedience to fight the occupation of East Timor, stating that only by supporting self-determination and human rights for East Timor will the Indonesian government be able "to embrace the Christian character of the East Timorese."

- Greg Knehans and Clare Campbell

Jesuit high school students or teachers interested in creating awareness, educational programs and advocacy on the issue of East Timor can contact Jim McGarry, Chair of the Religious Studies Department at St. Ignatius High School in San Francisco at (415) 731-7500 x735.



Seeds of Hope: A Victory for East Timor in Britain

In a surprise verdict, four British women were acquitted in late July of plotting to damage a Hawk jet fighter bound for Indonesia. Although all four admitted involvement in last January's Seeds of Hope Ploughshares action, a Liverpool jury found them not guilty of causing \$2.25 million in damage to the plane.

Lotta Kronlid, Andrea Needham and Jo Wilson cut through the fence around a British Aerospace aircraft plant in northern England on January 29, 1996. After videotaping themselves damaging the plane's fuselage and high tech electronics with hammers, they draped banners over the wrecked jet, left a video in the cockpit and then called the police, singing peace songs while they waited. A fourth activist, Angie Zelter, announced her intention of continuing the action and was also arrested.

During the seven-day trial in July, the women (three of whom defended themselves) said they were disarming the Hawk, not vandalizing it, claiming the action was justified because the plane was going to be used against the civilians of East Timor. (The Hawk was one of 24 sold by British Aerospace to the Indonesian dictatorship; similar planes previously shipped to Indonesia have been seen bombing East Timor.)

The jury of seven men and five women took just over five hours to reach their not-guilty verdict, which Wilson called a "victory for justice" and a "victory for the people of East Timor." Zelter added, "We think we have a very good case to prove that British Aerospace is aiding and abetting murder."

After the verdict, British Aerospace said that "it operates in accordance with export licenses granted by the [British] government." The company then served injunctions against further trespasses on the four women, who publicly tore them up.

- John Miller

Several of the inspiring women described above are interested of doing speaking tours of the U.S. Anyone interested in helping should contact ETAN for more information.

Trailmobile Update

On July 2, 1996 the locked-out workers of Trailmobile finally won a contract to end their more than 5-month strike (see *Estafeta*, June 1996). Trailmobile is owned by an Indonesian company headed by Edward Wanandi, who has extensive ties to the invasion and occupation of East Timor. ETAN provided Trailmobile strikers with information about the Wanandi family and brought José Ramos-Horta, the CNRM's Special Representative, and journalist Allan Nairn to Charleston, IL in May to speak about the Wanandis and East Timor. In July the union showed the East Timor documentary *Death of a Nation* and has pledged to work with ETAN in the future. United Paperworkers International Union local President Gary Collins wrote the accompanying letter of thanks.

- Brad Simpson

Open Letter to East Timor Activists

July 2, 1996

Dear Sisters and Brothers:

I am writing to thank you once again for your support for our locked-out members, and to let you know that we have ratified a new union contract which will end the Trailmobile lockout!

During an all-day secret ballot vote yesterday, UPIU Local 7591 members voted to accept a new agreement which turns back every single demand by Trailmobile for contract concessions and posts new gains in wages and benefits.

I am persuaded that this solid victory against corporate greed would not have been possible without the support of you and thousands of other union members and human rights activists around the world. With your help, we have demonstrated once again that people of goodwill, when they are united, can stand up against powerful corporate forces and prevail.

Although our members will now return to work with a fair union contract and a stronger, more united local union than ever before, we will never forget the many contributions made by you and others in forcing Trailmobile to end this cruel lockout. We are determined to stand in solidarity with the many friends we have made throughout this struggle, whenever we are called upon, to resist actions by the powerful which violate the rights of working people.

Thank you again for your generous support for our cause.

In solidarity,

Gary L. Collins
President, UPIU Local 7591

Complicity - Human Rights and Canadian Foreign Policy: The Case of East Timor

by Sharon Scharfe with a Preface by Xanana Gusmao
(Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1996. 250 pages.)

Available from ETAN/U.S. for \$20 + postage and handling.

To most people in the United States, Canada is for the most part an unknown country. Despite a land border and Canada's status as the U.S.'s largest trading partner, many in the U.S. are generally ignorant of our neighbor to the north and would be hard-pressed even to name the country's prime minister. Exacerbated by a virtual U.S. media blackout on Canada, such tendencies facilitate a world view that sees Canada largely as a non-entity in international affairs or, at most, a subordinate member of a U.S.-led team of Western countries.

Sharon Scharfe's book, *Complicity - Human Rights and Canadian Foreign Policy: The Case of East Timor*, helps to break through such misconceptions by illustrating the importance of Canada as a player in the global political economy - one with an agenda that at times dovetails with that of the U.S., but that has its own set of interests as defined by political, military, and corporate elites within Canada. Most importantly for East Timor activists, Scharfe's work meticulously documents Canada's partnership in crime with Indonesia's occupation of the former Portuguese Timor. Although Scharfe clearly aimed *Complicity* toward a Canadian audience, it is very accessible to the non-Canadian reader. The book does not assume a sophisticated understanding of Canadian foreign policy or governmental institutions.

Complicity is many things: it is an overview of Indonesia's brutal 1975 invasion of the former Portuguese Timor and its occupation over the last two decades; it is an analysis of the international response to Indonesia's illegal actions; it is an exposé of the Canadian government's complicity in facilitating the ongoing occupation and the wide gap between official, high-minded rhetoric and official practice; and, most significantly, the book is a plea to the Canadian people to help change its government's policies and practices toward Indonesia and East Timor so

that they are consistent with the best of Canada's political and moral impulses. In Scharfe's words, we should judge the success of her book by whether or not "readers are motivated to act, in whatever capacity possible. A people united can change Canada's complicitous behavior."

Five months prior to the 1975 Indonesian invasion of East Timor, Indonesian dictator Suharto visited Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau in Canada. One of the four discussion items on the agenda was "Prospects and Developments in Portuguese Timor." Several attempts by Scharfe to find out what exactly was discussed were unsuccessful. (The author filed numerous requests under Canada's Access to Information Act to gain insights into Canada's relationship with Indonesia. Many of the documents received were heavily censored.) But Canada's pledge of an additional CDN\$200 million in aid to Suharto's Indonesia, and its behavior in the more than 20 years since, provide some clues.

Canada abstained from voting on the first five UN General Assembly resolutions on East Timor, and voted against the last three. Indonesia has consistently been among the top five recipients of Canada's bilateral aid. In addition, Canada-based multinational corporations have an estimated CDN\$5 billion in investment in Indonesia, Canada's largest export market in Southeast Asia. While Canada halted arms sales to Indonesia in 1992 in the aftermath of the Santa Cruz Massacre, Prime Minister Jean Chretien's Liberal government resumed sales in 1993.

Numerous beautiful black and white photos from Portuguese Timor by Elaine Brière grace the book as well as a compelling foreword by Xanana Gusmao, the jailed East Timorese resistance leader, from his cell in Jakarta. These sections alone make the book worth owning. But ultimately, by thoroughly documenting Canada's role in the genocide and occupation in East Timor, the book's greatest asset is Scharfe's filling of a large gap in the literature on the West's partnership in crime with Suharto's Indonesia.

- Matthew Jardine

Sharon Scharfe serves as the Secretariat for Parliamentarians for East Timor, an organization of parliamentarians from 15 countries. *Complicity* is one of her many valuable contributions to the people of East Timor and to the cause of universal human rights.

Action Alert

November 12, 1996, Fifth anniversary of the Santa Cruz Massacre:

New York ETAN/NY will support East Timor Religious Outreach's Interfaith Service of Memorial and Thanksgiving on the 5th Anniversary of the Santa Cruz Massacre. St. Bartholomew's Church, 105 E. 50th St., Manhattan.

Los Angeles ETAN/LA will hold a one-hour candlelight vigil in front of the Indonesian Consulate (3457 Wilshire Blvd. @ Mariposa) from 5-6pm, and then conduct a memorial procession to the Consul General's home nearby where there will be a brief ceremony. Call (310)453-8593 for more information.

San Francisco East Timor Religious Outreach will host a demonstration with nonviolent civil disobedience at the Indonesian Consulate, 1111 Columbus St. (@Bay), San Francisco. Call (415)474-6219 for more information.

December 7, Twenty-first anniversary of Indonesian invasion of East Timor:

Chapters in numerous cities are planning actions. Please contact your local group for information.

December 14:

New York ETAN/NY is co-organizing an afternoon on peace and human rights in Asia with activist groups on Burma, Tibet, and other countries at the Learning Alliance (324 Lafayette St. 7th floor, Manhattan).

December 18:

New York ETAN/NY will hold a video showing and talk at The Puffin Room (435 Broome St. near Broadway, Manhattan) in conjunction with a month-long (Nov. 23-December 22) display of photos of East Timor and other trouble spots.

Resources on East Timor

The 21-year long invasion, occupation and genocide by Indonesian forces in East Timor have received little attention in the U.S. media. To help people learn about the island country, and how to support human rights and self-determination, the East Timor Action Network (ETAN/US) provides materials and speakers, and organizes events and campaigns.

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

- *Death of a Nation: The Timor Conspiracy*. Documentary by John Pilger, 1994. 76 min. \$35 for home use, \$150 with public performance rights.
- *East Timor: Turning a Blind Eye*. Paper Tiger TV on US policy and the role of the media. Taped during ETAN's 1993 speaking tour. 30 min. \$20
- *Aggression & Self-Determination*. The US role and how to change it. ETAN, 1992. 28 min. \$20
- *Cold Blood: The Massacre of East Timor*. British documentary including the Nov. 12, 1991 massacre. 55 min. \$25
- *Xanana*. The human side of the East Timorese resistance leader told by people who know him. (For non-commercial use). 30 min. \$25
- *Manufacturing Consent: Noam Chomsky and the Media*. Documentary biography by Peter Wintonick and Mark Achbar, compares media coverage of East Timor and Cambodia. 1992. 166 min. \$40
- *Indonesia: Islands on Fire*. Documentary by Maria Luisa Mendonça and Medea Benjamin of Global Exchange, exposes human rights abuses in Indonesia and East Timor, including footage from the July 1996 government crackdown. 1996. 25 min. In English, Bahasa Indonesian, and Portuguese, with subtitles. \$100 Institutions/\$50 Individuals. Order directly from Global Exchange: 1-800-497-1994. **New!**

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; talk by Allan Nairn in Portland, OR, April 1994. 60 min. \$11
- *Justice for East Timor: Noam Chomsky and Constâncio Pinto at M.I.T.*, April 1995. 90 min. \$10
- *Manufacturing Consent: Noam Chomsky and the Media*. Abridged from the film. 60 min. \$8
- *All in the Family*, elegant and eclectic CD by Australian and East Timorese musicians. Profits to Timorese youth programs. Australia, 1994. \$15
- *Love From a Short Distance*. Music for East Timor by Bono and others from around the world. Australia, 1996. \$15 **New!**

Books

- *East Timor's Unfinished Struggle: Inside the Timorese Resistance*. By Constâncio Pinto and Matthew Jardine. A first-hand account of the East Timorese struggle. 292 pp. South End Press, US, 1996. \$18. **New!**
- *East Timor: Genocide in Paradise*. By Matthew Jardine. Basics that Americans should know. 95 pp. Odonian Press, US, 1995. \$6
- *Funu: The Unfinished Saga of East Timor*. By 1996 Nobel Peace Prize winner José Ramos-Horta. Autobiography and observations of the U.N. 208 pp. Red Sea Press, US, 1987. \$12 **New!**

ETAN/US was formed after the November 12, 1991 massacre, when Indonesian soldiers murdered over 250 unarmed Timorese civilians in cold blood. We are a grassroots network of local groups, working to change U.S. policy toward East Timor. Our major current campaign is to end U.S. arms sales and military cooperation with Indonesia's army. **Join us.**

- *East Timor at the Crossroads: The Forging of a Nation*. Edited by Peter Carey and G. Carter Bentley. All aspects of East Timor, with unsurpassed bibliography. Cassell/U. Hawaii, US, 1995. 259 pp. \$20
- *Generations of Resistance: East Timor*. Photographs by Steve Cox, with a 45-page historical introduction by Peter Carey. Sixty pages of extraordinary photos of East Timor, including 8 in color of the Dili massacre. Cassell, UK, 1995. Large format, 120 pp. \$22
- *Surviving Indonesia's Gulag: A Western Woman Tells her Story*. By Carmel Budiardjo. The head of TAPOL spent 1968-1971 in Indonesian prisons, for "politics." Cassell, UK, 1996. 213 pp. \$18
- *Telling: East Timor Personal Testimonies 1942-1992*. By Michelle Turner. Oral accounts by East Timorese, recounting what they have lived through. 218 pp. Australia, 1992. \$25
- *Powers & Prospects: Reflections on human nature and the social order*. By Noam Chomsky. Based on 1995 lectures in Australia; East Timor is a central theme. 244 pp. South End Press, US, 1996. \$16 **New!**
- *Indonesia's Forgotten War: The Hidden History of East Timor*. By John Taylor. An essential history. 230 pp. UK, 1991. \$20
- *In the Shadow of Mt. Ramelau: The Impact of the Occupation of East Timor*. By George Aditjondro. Well-documented articles by courageous Indonesian professor. 96 pp. Netherlands, 1994. \$13
- *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 legal experts, by the Catholic Inst. for Int'l Relations and the Int'l Platform of Jurists for E. Timor. 352 pp. UK, 1995. \$26 (\$15 for activists)
- *East Timor: Prospects for Peace*. Report and Papers of an Ecumenical Consultation. Includes key background documents. 142 pp. World Council of Churches, Geneva, 1995. \$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, Montreal, 1994. \$22
- *Complicity - Human Rights and Canadian Foreign Policy: The Case of East Timor*. By Sharon Scharfe. 250 pp. Black Rose Books, Montreal, 1995. \$20 **New!**
- *West Papua: The Obliteration of a People*. By Carmel Budiardjo and Liem Soei Liong. Slightly dated but one of the few comprehensive books on West Papua/Irian Jaya. 150 pp. TAPOL, UK, 1988. \$10 **New!**

Periodicals

- *East Timor Documents*: compilation of press releases, articles and primary materials from global sources. \$30/issue postpaid. Discounted to \$15 for educational institutions, less for the movement. Add \$5 for air mail. Six-issue annual subscriptions encouraged. Sample copy \$5.
- *Estafeta*. ETAN's quarterly newsletter about developments in East Timor, U.S. policy and the movement for East Timorese self-determination. \$10 annual subscription.

Magazines and Pamphlets

- Transcript of 12/95 program at Columbia University with Noam Chomsky, Allan Nairn, Constâncio Pinto and Reed Brody. \$4.
 - March 1994 special issue of the *New Internationalist* on East Timor, edited by John Pilger. \$3.50
 - Senate Testimony of Allan Nairn, 2/27/92. \$1
 - *Report from the Manila Asia-Pacific Conference on East Timor*, by Charles Scheiner. June 1994. \$1.50
 - Bibliography of books and articles. By ETAN, February 1995. 50¢.
 - *A Day in the Life of U.S.-Indonesia Trade*. Real Trade profile by International Trade Information Service, April 1995. 50 pp. \$7.50
- ### Other
- "Free East Timor" square white button with photo of Timorese girl. \$1
 - "Free East Timor" round black button with Fretilin flag. \$1
 - "U.S. Weapons out of East Timor" button. \$1
 - "Indonesia out of East Timor" bumper sticker. \$1
 - "No Arms to Indonesia" Poster with cartoon and list of European arms exports to Indonesia. \$1
 - **1997 East Timor Wall Calendar**. Striking pre-invasion, duotone photographs by Elaine Brière, with background information and action suggestions. Beautifully produced by ETAN/Winnipeg; includes many U.S. holidays. \$10 **New!**
 - For information on Internet resources on East Timor, send a blank e-mail message to timor-info@igc.apc.org

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<i>Tax-deductible contributions over \$50 can be payable to "WESPAC Foundation/ETAN." Other checks should be made out to "East Timor Action Network." 10/24/96</i>	

East Timor Action Network / U.S.

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East Timor Support and Solidarity Groups

Because of the wide array of East Timor supporters around the world, this is necessarily a partial list. For a complete list, or to make additions or corrections, contact Charles Scheiner at ETAN/U.S. Starred* groups are members of the International Federation for East Timor (IFET).

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ETAN/US Local Chapters

THINK GLOBALLY, ACT LOCALLY
 If there are no contacts near you, get in touch with ETAN and we'll help help find activists to work with in your area.

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Women Against Military Madness
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