

The East Timor *Estafeta*

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

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East Timor Debate Intensifies in Washington D.C.

by Charles Scheiner

East Timor arrived in Congress this Spring in three related forms. Although none is yet resolved, the debate continues on several levels. ETAN is urging Congress and the White House to stop supporting the Indonesian military, whose past and present record in East Timor and elsewhere is among the bloodiest in the world.

On March 6, the U.S. State Department released its 1996 Human Rights reports. They accurately characterized the situation in Indonesia: "The Government continued to commit serious human rights abuses. The most serious abuses included harsh repression

of dissidents in East Timor, Aceh, and Irian Jaya. Reports of extrajudicial killings, disappearances, and torture of those in custody by security forces increased."

Nevertheless, the Clinton Administration continues to promote the sale of F-16 jet fighters to Indonesia. Top White House, State Department and Pentagon officials have declared that the sale is nearly complete, but the two governments are still haggling over price, terms, and number of planes. Indonesia may purchase some or all of the 28 warplanes which have been mothballed in Arizona since the U.S. government prohibited Pakistan from

taking delivery ten years ago due to nuclear proliferation concerns. Jakarta is reluctant to pay the asking price of \$13 million per plane and would like to avoid paying cash, and is seeking U.S. financing and offsets (trade concessions to allow Indonesian munitions makers to build weapons and spare parts for U.S.-supplied armaments). This would undercut the ostensible reason for the sale, to get money to repay Pakistan. There is significant Congressional opposition to this sale, and a "Dear Colleague" letter may be in process by the time you get this *Estafeta*.

In April, a dozen ETAN activists spent most of a week (*continued page 2*)

José Ramos Horta Tours the U.S.

East Timor's "Foreign Minister" Spreads the Word

by John M. Miller

East Timorese leader José Ramos Horta, tongue firmly planted in cheek, but making a serious point, apologized to his U.S. audiences for his thick accent and dead-panned that he must have a low IQ because he couldn't understand U.S. policy toward his country. How is it that the U.S. can intone piously about human rights while supporting General Suharto who has killed over a third of the East Timorese?

Sponsored by the East Timor Action Network, Ramos Horta, Special Representative of the Council of Maubere Resistance (CNRM), traveled to New Orleans, Los Angeles, the San Francisco Bay Area, Chicago, Oklahoma, New York and Washington, DC. He clearly laid out the impact of U.S. policy on East Timor to audiences in churches, classrooms and community centers. Highlights of the tour included appearances before locked-out workers at an Indonesian-owned

factory in Illinois (see article, page 4), the Chevron stockholders meeting (to oppose their exploitation of East Timorese oil), the national conference of PeaceAction and a Portuguese-American street festival. The East Timorese leader also met with religious leaders, members of Congress, UN officials, and the media. Articles about him appeared in such diverse publications as the influential ultra-conservative daily, the *Washington Times* and Brooklyn, NY's progressive African-American weekly, the *City Sun*. He also appeared on CNN's *Diplomatic License*.

Recalling his youthful admiration for the United States, Ramos Horta stressed the continuing resistance of the people of East Timor to Indonesia's rule even as they are victimized by Indonesian troops wielding U.S. weapons. He described the killing of many in his own family by these weapons, and the death and destruction of countless other families and whole villages. While noting some of the positive changes in U.S. policy due to grassroots and Congressional pressure, he underscored the need for increased activism if the U.S. is to ever support East Timorese self-determination.

See page 3 for excerpts of Ramos Horta's speech given May 21, at Park Slope Methodist Church in Brooklyn, New York. ■

BANNING READER'S DIGEST?

The March 1996 issue of the *Readers Digest* contained an excellent article "Hero for a Forgotten People" which profiles East Timor's Catholic Bishop Carlos Ximenes Belo. But if you didn't get a chance to see it--it hasn't yet been published in the U.S., although it was first in the Southeast Asia and later in the European edition--you're not alone. Indonesia banned the issue from the newsstands.

Contact *Reader's Digest* and urge them to print the article here. If you want to read it in the meantime, ETAN can send you a copy.

(continued from page 1)

in Washington lobbying Congressional aides. When we asked them to oppose the F-16 sale, many staffers responded that fighter planes are not (any longer) used in East Timor. But the U.S. continues to supply many weapons which are.

In 1994, Congress banned the export of small and light arms and riot control equipment to Indonesia, and that ban was slightly enlarged last year to include helicopter-mounted weapons. Now we are working with supportive members of Congress to bar helicopters and armored vehicles.

We hoped this could be part of the House Foreign Assistance Appropriations bill, but that did not happen. It is still a live issue, however, and has the broadest support of any of the current initiatives.

The battle this year has been over IMET (International Military Education and Training), the taxpayer-funded program which brings Indonesian soldiers to the U.S. for military training. Congress cut off IMET for Indonesia in 1992 after the Santa Cruz massacre, and reaffirmed that cut in 1993 and 1994. Last year, IMET was partially restored at the initiative of Representative Sonny Callahan (R-Alabama), who chairs the Foreign Operations Subcommittee. Since then, "Expanded IMET," (E-IMET), which is supposed to be limited to non-military training, has been allowed.

Although Indonesia's supporters call E-IMET a compromise between unrestricted IMET and no training aid at all, ETAN opposes it as symbolic and actual support for the brutal Indonesian army.

Callahan has emerged as Indonesia's leading Congressional advocate, perhaps because the Indonesian aircraft company IPTN (headed by Suharto Technology Minister B.J. Habibie) is building a factory in his district. On June 17, Callahan told his colleagues: "It is rather amazing to me how we can pick on a little country like Indonesia and at the same time be sending millions of dollars to Russia and letting them slaughter 30,000 people in Chechnya and not even mentioning it in this bill..." (Indonesia has a larger population than Russia, and East Timor has more people than Chechnya, as well as having suffered seven times as many deaths.)

On April 17, Representatives arrived at their offices to discover that there would be a vote, without amendments, on a

"non-controversial" catch-all military authorization bill that afternoon. The bill included many Representatives' pet projects, but it also included a 2-year authorization of E-IMET as one paragraph in a 56-page bill. Although the bill passed on a voice vote, Representatives Barney Frank (D-MA), Patrick Kennedy (D-RI), Nita Lowey (D-NY), Nancy Pelosi (D-CA), and Cynthia McKinney (D-GA) spoke against IMET on the floor, and Jack Reed (D-RI) and Tony Hall (D-OH) added comments in the Congressional Record.

As Barney Frank stated: "This legislation continues a pattern of rewarding the Government of Indonesia, which continues to engage in some of the most oppressive and racist activities in the world in their maltreatment of the people of East Timor. Indonesia's record in East Timor is one of the great moral failings in the world, and unfortunately it is a further moral failing that the rest of the world stands back and allows the people of East Timor to be so oppressed."

Congressional action is a two-step process, and authorization must be followed by annual appropriations legislation before money can be spent. The Appropriations Committee granted \$800,000 for E-IMET for Indonesia, and Rep. Barney Frank introduced a floor amendment to strike it from the bill. After 45 minutes of debate on June 11, the House had its first-ever floor vote on East Timor. In spite of opposition from both parties' leaders and the Defense Department, 149 Representatives voted for the Frank amendment. 272 Representatives opposed it, and E-IMET passed the House as part of this bill. The bill now goes to the Senate, where it will be debated in late June or early July.

Although we lost the vote, it is a very strong showing for an initial effort, and indicates continuing Congressional concern about human rights in East Timor. Many of IMET's supporters distanced themselves from the Suharto regime. Benjamin Gilman (R-NY), who chairs the International Relations Committee: "However, while I am opposing this amendment, I want to make it clear that I continue to have strong reservations about Indonesia's human rights record. Indonesia's military has an abhorrent human rights record. There is no debating that fact. The House needs to speak with one voice in condemning the continuing human rights abuses being perpetuated by the military." ■

The East Timor *Estafeta* is the quarterly publication of the East Timor Action Network of the United States. We welcome your comments and suggestions aimed at improving the newsletter.

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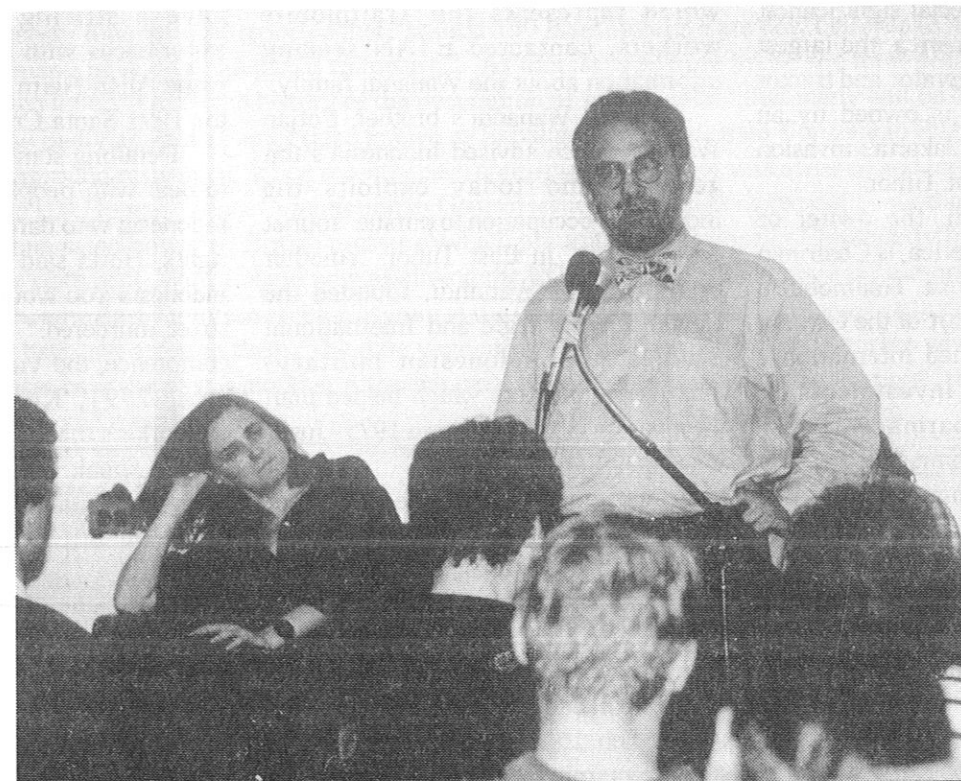
Excerpts from talk by José Ramos Horta in Brooklyn, New York, May 21, 1996

On Jakarta's 1975 invasion: It was thought in Washington, in Canberra, in [London] that the East Timorese people would not survive Indonesia's assault, that within days the problem would be resolved. Indonesian military thinkers ... decided that the problem would be resolved in one day. There's a famous phrase by one Indonesian general, "We'll have breakfast in Dili [East Timor's largest town], lunch in Baucau [the second largest town], and dinner in Los Palos [the third largest town]." ... Twenty years later, what is the situation? The resistance is stronger than ever, united under the ... leadership of Xanana Gusmão. ... He is in prison in Indonesia, like Nelson Mandela was in the past, like Aung San Suu Kyi for many years under house arrest but still in prison in Burma.

On the Resistance: We cannot talk about the resistance in East Timor as if it were only the guerrilla fighters in the mountains. ... The resistance in East Timor today, and it has been like that for more than ten years long, is an all-encompassing movement, involving school children, ... teenagers, school teachers, taxi drivers, street vendors, civil servants, priests, nuns, everyone, almost, performing a function in the resistance against Indonesian occupation. And that's why it has not been possible for an army, of the fourth largest country in the world ... a country supported by every Western power, by the United States, by Great Britain, Australia, France, Germany, Japan, everyone. Everyone has connived against the East Timorese; everyone has been an accomplice with Indonesia. And yet, in spite of that, the resistance is there, strong and alive and more active than ever, covering every sector of the society, because we have

an army not of one thousand guerrillas, or five hundred guerrillas, or two thousand guerrillas. We have a civilian army of 700,000 people. Against that, I do not believe, we do not believe, they will be able to win. At the same time in Indonesia there is growing awareness about the situation in East Timor. ... There are many, many other Indonesians ... including people who are very close to the regime, that today have the courage, wisdom, [and] generosity to side with the people of East Timor in [our] struggle for ... self-determination.

On the Future: A few years ago I was in Geneva, driving ... to another [U.N.] session ... [on] human rights. [I] tuned in to the ... BBC, and a story came out...about a Soviet cosmonaut who had gone [into space] a few months earlier. ... He was [now] trying to return home. His passport which had said USSR ... was no longer valid because the mighty Soviet Union had ceased to exist. The BBC story went on saying how he had to circle the earth many more times



José Ramos Horta at the Park Slope Methodist Church in Brooklyn. To his left is Amy Goodman, news director at WBAI/Pacifica Radio in New York City and the host of Pacifica's national daily political show, *Democracy Now*. Photo by Jeffrey Eisenmesser

before people in Moscow figure[d] out what was his nationality and who would pay for his return voyage. Finally he came back home to another country, another history. This is only to say that those who counsel us, really, those in the State Department and elsewhere around the world who tell us to be realistic, to accept occupation, to accept the inevitability of the occupation, of annexation, they have been slowly discredited.

East Timor ... will be independent and I hope that one day each of you can come to a free, independent East Timor and with us help rebuild, to build a country that will not have a standing army. ... East Timor will finally be a peaceful country without [an] army, ... [a country with a] police force without weapons. ... a country which will dialogue, [that will respect] human rights ... so that what we preach today, what we claim today we will comply with ...with our own people. And we can achieve that with your help, with your support. Thank you. ■

Making Links: East Timor Action Network Helps to Draw Connections for Locked-Out Trailmobile Workers *by Brad Simpson*

The East Timor Action Network has become involved with the struggle for justice of locked-out workers at the Trailmobile factory in Charleston, Illinois. While Trailmobile might appear to be just another sordid chapter in the continuing battles of American labor, this struggle holds special significance. Trailmobile North America, the largest manufacturer of refrigerator and tractor trailers in the U.S., is owned by an Indonesian with ties to Jakarta's invasion and occupation of East Timor.

Edward Wanandi, the owner of Trailmobile North America, is Chairman of Gemala North America, Trailmobile's parent company and part of the Gemala Group--a family-owned international conglomerate with investments in petrochemicals, pharmaceuticals, tourism, forestry, shipping, plastics, and automobile parts, among much else. Gemala Group entertains close ties with the Indonesian military.

In 1989 Gemala Industries bought the Canadian-based parent company of Trailmobile and immediately began fighting the union organizing efforts of its Canadian workers, including a two-year lock-out at one of its plants. In 1991 Gemala North America bought Chicago-based Trailmobile North America, leading to conflicts with Trailmobile's unionized workforce. Gemala closed its Canadian operations in 1993 and shifted production to Arkansas, a "right to work state."

Trailmobile locked out all 1,200 workers at its Charleston plant on Jan.

16, 1996 when they voted by a more than 10 to 1 margin to reject a three year wage freeze and contract concessions, this on top of a four year wage freeze under their previous contract. ETAN/US became involved in the Trailmobile lockout when the United Paperworkers International, which represents the Trailmobile workers, contacted ETAN seeking information about the Wanandi family.

Edward Wanandi's brother, Sofjan Wanandi, once advised Indonesia's top generals and today exploits the Indonesian occupation to pursue "tourist development" in East Timor. Another brother, Jusuf Wanandi, founded the Center for Strategic and International Studies, the Indonesian military-intelligence institute which helped plan the invasion of East Timor in 1975. Jusuf was assigned the role of organizing diplomatic support in the U.S. and Europe for the Indonesian invasion. A fourth brother, Marcus, is a Jesuit priest who, until recently, was assigned to East Timor. While there, he worked shamelessly to destroy the independence of the local Catholic church.

On Feb. 16, Trailmobile workers and supporters from ETAN/Chicago picketed Trailmobile's corporate headquarters in Chicago. They marched, chanted, and handed out leaflets to passers-by detailing the connections between the Wanandi family's exploitative activities here in the U.S. and the struggle for self-determination in East Timor.

On May 11, the ETAN travelled to Charleston to bring the message directly

to Trailmobile workers. José Ramos-Horta, journalist Allan Nairn, and members of the Madison and Chicago chapters of ETAN met with Trailmobile employees and held a press conference for local media and about 50 workers and community supporters. Ramos Horta gave a stirring talk detailing his experiences with the Wanandi family, while Allan Nairn recalled his ordeal at the 1991 Santa Cruz massacre.

Detailing some of the methods used to deal with people in East Timor and Indonesia who dare to speak up for their rights, Horta said "you are lucky ... in Indonesia you would ... be found in the street, murdered." At the end of the press conference, the Vice-President of UPIU local 7591, Kevin Grant, told his co-workers that "after listening to these people speak, I honestly believe that Edward [Wanandi] would like to line us up on 14th Street and shoot us down into the ditch."

The Trailmobile struggle offers two lessons for ETAN: first, we must work hard to draw connections between corporate repression in the U.S. and the repression of East Timorese and Indonesians in their homelands; second, we must reach out to diverse communities, such as threatened workers, who might not otherwise seem like obvious targets for solidarity.

ETAN supporters interested in assisting the Trailmobile workers can contact the UPIU local 7591 at 1401 Madison Ave. Charleston, IL 61920. Phone: (217) 345-4535.■

INDONESIA HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVIST TO TOUR U.S.

Carmel Budiardjo, founder and director of TAPOL (the London-based Indonesia Human Rights Campaign) will visit the U.S. during the first half of October 1996 on a speaking tour. Carmel will be discussing her new book, *Surviving Indonesia's Gulag*, a memoir of her three years (1968-1971) in detention in Jakarta as a suspected member of the Communist Party of Indonesia. She will also discuss current events in East Timor, West Papua and Indonesia proper.

Carmel is one of the most knowledgeable and articulate spokespersons about Indonesia-related human rights issues in the world. In 1995, she received the Right Livelihood Award--what some call the alternative Nobel Peace Prize--for "holding the Indonesian government accountable for its actions and upholding the universality of fundamental human rights."

ETAN will be scheduling Carmel's tour around the United States, and we are still preparing her itinerary. If you can organize something in your community for her, please contact the ETAN national office.

News from East Timor and the Diplomatic Front *by Ben Terrall*

The National Council of Maubere Resistance (CNRM), the umbrella group which unites the various East Timorese organizations working for self-determination, issued a report on June 15 which states that "the human rights situation in East Timor has deteriorated seriously in the last two years." The report takes issue with the official Indonesian explanation for recent rioting and severe repression in Baucau, East Timor's second largest city.

While the military commander for East Timor, Colonel Mahidin Simbolon, claimed that the violence was "just youths fighting and rioting" and that "there was no [religious] desecration," the CNRM and other sources hold Simbolon's soldiers responsible. In an act of deliberate provocation, Indonesian security agents scrawled graffiti on the statue of the Virgin Mary in Baucau Church, prompting angry protests. The military then responded with extreme violence: Reuters reported on June 12 that "police opened fire during a street protest." The military also cracked down with house to house searches.

On June 17, Amnesty International reported that "at least 150 East Timorese are now believed to have been arrested"; the CNRM notes that "many have been subjected to torture." As this issue goes to press, the total death toll is unknown, but reports list at least two killed. Given the history of the occupation, it seems certain that many will be beaten and tortured: we can only hope none so badly as Pedro Nunes (also known as Sabalae), who succeeded Constâncio Pinto as General Secretary of the Timorese underground resistance. It has recently been confirmed that Nunes was arrested and tortured to death last year.

On April 22, The UN Human Rights Commission in Geneva issued a toothless statement about the ongoing occupation of East Timor. The Commission bowed to British pressure, which prevented the European Community from backing Portugal's efforts for a stronger statement. With Ireland now assuming the EC presidency, many hope for a more forthright position.

That same month, nine East Timorese seeking asylum at the German embassy in Jakarta were turned over to the Indonesian Armed Forces, who beat and arrested them. The nine were among more than 200 East Timorese who have sought political asylum in foreign bases over the past 6 months. Although most have been allowed to go to Portugal, the foreign governments have shirked their legal and moral responsibilities by refusing to consider the asylum requests.■

Absolut Terror in East Timor:

Made in Sweden *by Lisa Westberg*

Why would ETAN activists in Seattle and New York picket outside of Swedish consulates in their cities? Many throughout the world tend to think of Sweden as one of the West's more enlightened and principled countries, but this image is increasingly coming under attack. On April 18, Stockholm approved the Bofors company export of four naval cannons to the Indonesian government, thus exposing the "realpolitik" behind Sweden's foreign policy.

Sweden's foreign policy has often provided positive examples for compassionate, yet effective international action. Respect for self-determination, human rights and non-intervention are central principles. At the same time, however, Sweden--in the name of economic growth--has long provided arms that have helped to fuel some of the world's bloodiest conflicts, including Suharto's war in East Timor and India's repression in Kashmir.

When Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975, the ruling Conservative Party decided that the invasion was outside the terms that would limit the rights to trade arms, instead terming East Timor "disputed territory." This allowed Stockholm to approve the export of 40 mm and 75 mm Bofors cannons.

With the return to power of the Social Democratic Party in 1994, it appeared that Swedish policy toward East Timor would change. Indeed, Lena Hjelm-Wallen, Minister of Foreign Affairs with the Social Democratic Party, and her party fellows--while in opposition--had submitted a forceful motion to the Swedish Parliament, advocating a more active

role for Sweden internationally in support of East Timor. But the Bofors--Suharto case illustrates the difficulty of respecting human rights while depending on arms sales for economic prosperity.

Activists throughout the world, however, refuse to sit back. On April 26, the Swedish East Timor Coalition (SETC) and Swedish Peace and Arbitration Society protested outside the parliament in Stockholm, and on May 14, 10 demonstrators chained themselves to the stairs at the same location. The government has received protests from Finnish anti-arms trade and peace groups, from Parliamentarians for East Timor with 800 members in 36 countries, and the influential Swedish Christian Council. In Dublin, a vigil was held outside the Swedish Embassy.

International pressure will undoubtedly encourage the Swedish government to reconsider the contract. Send letters and petitions to the Swedish government and Swedish embassies and consulates. Ask to meet the Ambassador or Consulate in person, or other important staff. SETC also encourages follow-up protests outside Swedish diplomatic installations.

To take action, email the Swedish government: regeringen@sb.gov.se. Address any mail to Leif Pagrotsky. Call /fax the Swedish Foreign Office: Minister of Foreign Affairs, Lean Hjelm-Wallen; Phone + 46-8-405 1000; Fax +46-8-723 1176. The Prime Minister Goran Persson; Phone + 46-8-405 1000 Fax: +46-8-723 1176. To let SETC's know of your actions, send name and address of the organization you are affiliated with to: SETC, Phone/fax +46-8-648 3193; email janerik@forsberg.pp.se ■

How did your member of Congress vote on the question of military aid to East Timor?

This listing shows how all Representatives voted on the Frank amendment (see page 2); you should thank or question yours when he or she is campaigning over the next few months. A Y' is a vote for the Frank Amendment, N' against. Double letters indicate that the Congressperson spoke on the House floor. Lower case indicates they missed the vote but expressed their position, 'A' means absent with no position expressed. The list is alphabetical by state, and by name within each state.

N Don Young, R-AK	N Matthew G. Martinez, D-CA	N Dan Miller, R-FL	Y Mike Ward, D-KY
N Spencer Bachus, R-AL	N Robert T. Matsui, D-CA	N Douglas (Pete) Peterson, D-FL	N Edward Whitfield, R-KY
N Tom Bevill, D-AL	N Howard P. McKeon, R-CA	Y Ileana Ros-Lehtinen, R-FL	N Richard H. Baker, R-LA
N Glen Browder, D-AL	Y Juanita Millender-McDonald, D-CA	N Joe Scarborough, R-FL	Y Cleo Fields, D-LA
NN Sonny Callahan, R-AL	Y George Miller, D-CA	N E. Clay Shaw Jr., R-FL	N James A. Hayes, R-LA
N Robert (Bud) Cramer Jr., D-AL	N Carlos J. Moorhead, R-CA	Y Cliff Stearns, R-FL	N William J. Jefferson, D-LA
N Terry Everett, R-AL	N Ron Packard, R-CA	Y Karen L. Thurman, D-FL	N Bob Livingston, R-LA
N Earl F. Hilliard, D-AL	YY Nancy Pelosi, D-CA	N Dave Weldon, R-FL	N Jim McCrery, R-LA
N Jay Dickey, R-AR	N Richard W. Pombo, R-CA	N C.W. Bill Young, R-FL	N W. J. (Billy) Tauzin, R-LA
N Y. Tim Hutchinson, R-AR	N George Radanovich, R-CA	N Bob Barr, R-GA	Y Peter I. Blute, R-MA
A Blanche Lambert-Lincoln, D-AR	N Frank Riggs, R-CA	N Sanford D. Bishop Jr., D-GA	YY Barney Frank, D-MA
N Ray Thornton, D-AR	Y Dana Rohrabacher, R-CA	N Saxby Chambliss, R-GA	Y Joseph Kennedy II, D-MA
N J. D. Hayworth, R-AZ	Y Lucille Roybal-Allard, D-CA	N Michael "Mac" Collins, R-GA	Y Edward J. Markey, D-MA
N Jim Kolbe, R-AZ	Y Edward R. Royce, R-CA	N Nathan Deal, R-GA	Y Martin T. Meehan, D-MA
Y Ed Pastor, D-AZ	N Andrea Seastrand, R-CA	A Newt Gingrich, R-GA	Y Joseph Moakley, D-MA
N Matt Salmon, R-AZ	Y Fortney Pete Stark, D-CA	N Jack Kingston, R-GA	Y Richard E. Neal, D-MA
N John Shadegg, R-AZ	N William M. Thomas, R-CA	Y John Lewis, D-GA	Y John Olver, D-MA
N Bob Stump, R-AZ	Y Esteban Edward Torres, D-CA	N John Linder, R-GA	A Gerry E. Studds, D-MA
N Bill Baker, R-CA	Y Maxine Waters, D-CA	Y Cynthia A. McKinney, D-GA	Y Peter G. Torkildsen, R-MA
Y Xavier Becerra, D-CA	N Henry A. Waxman, D-CA	N Charlie Norwood, R-GA	N Roscoe G. Bartlett, R-MD
Y Anthony C. Beilenson, D-CA	Y Lynn C. Woolsey, D-CA	yy Robert A. Underwood, D-Guam	Y Benjamin L. Cardin, D-MD
N Howard L. Berman, D-CA	N Wayne Allard, R-CO	N Neil Abercrombie, D-HI	Y Elijah Cummings, D-MD
N Brian P. Bilbray, R-CA	N Joel Hefley, R-CO	Y Patsy Mink, D-HI	N Robert L. Ehrlich Jr., R-MD
N Sonny Bono, R-CA4	N Scott McInnis, R-CO	N Greg Ganske, R-IA	N Wayne T. Gilchrest, R-MD
A George E. Brown Jr., D-CA	N Dan Schaefer, R-CO	N Tom Latham, R-IA	Y Steny H. Hoyer, D-MD
A Ken Calvert, R-CA	Y Patricia Schroeder, D-CO	N James A. Leach, R-IA	N Constance A. Morella, R-MD
N Tom Campbell, R-CA	Y David E. Skaggs, D-CO	N Ron Packard, R-CA	Y Albert Russell Wynn, D-MD
N Gary A. Condit, D-CA	Y Rosa L. DeLauro, D-CT	YY Nancy Pelosi, D-CA	N John Nussle, R-IA
N Christopher Cox, R-CA	Y Gary A. Franks, R-CT	N Richard W. Pombo, R-CA	N Helen Chenoweth, R-ID
N Randy Cunningham, R-CA	Y Sam Gejdenson, D-CT	N George Radanovich, R-CA	N Michael D. Crapo, R-ID
Y Ron V. Dellums, D-CA	N Nancy L. Johnson, R-CT	N Frank Riggs, R-CA	Y Cardiss Collins, D-IL
N Julian C. Dixon, D-CA2	Y Barbara B. Kennelly, D-CT	Y Dana Rohrabacher, R-CA	Y Jerry F. Costello, D-IL
N Calvin M. Dooley, D-CA	Y Christopher Shays, R-CT	Y Lucille Roybal-Allard, D-CA	N Philip M. Crane, R-IL
N John T. Doolittle, R-CA	N Michael N. Castle, R-DE	Y Edward R. Royce, R-CA	Y Richard J. Durbin, D-IL
N Robert K. Dornan, R-CA	N Michael Bilirakis, R-FL	N Andrea Seastrand, R-CA	Y Lane Evans, D-IL
N David Dreier, R-CA	N Corrine Brown, D-FL	Y Fortney Pete Stark, D-CA	N Thomas W. Ewing, R-IL
Y Anna G. Eshoo, D-CA	N Charles T. Canady, R-FL	N William M. Thomas, R-CA	N Harris W. Fawell, R-IL
Y Sam Farr, D-CA	N Peter Deutsch, D-FL	Y Esteban Edward Torres, D-CA	N Michael Patrick Flanagan, R-IL
Y Vic Fazio, D-CA	N Lincoln Diaz-Balart, R-FL	Y Maxine Waters, D-CA	Y Luis Gutierrez, D-IL
Y Bob Filner, D-CA	N Mark Foley, R-FL	N Henry A. Waxman, D-CA	N J. Dennis Hastert, R-IL
N Elton Gallegly, R-CA	N Tillie K. Fowler, R-FL	Y Lynn C. Woolsey, D-CA	N Henry Hyde, R-IL
Y Jane Harman, D-CA	A Sam Gibbons, D-FL	N Wayne Allard, R-CO	Y Jesse Jackson Jr., D-IL
N Wally Herger, R-CA	N Porter J. Goss, R-FL	N Joel Hefley, R-CO	Y Ray LaHood, R-IL
N Stephen Horn, R-CA	A Alcee L. Hastings, D-FL	N Scott McInnis, R-CO	Y William O. Lipinski, D-IL
N Duncan Hunter, R-CA	Y Harry Johnston, D-FL	N Dan Schaefer, R-CO	N Donald A. Manzullo, R-IL
NN Jay Kim, R-CA	N Bill McCollum, R-FL	Y Patricia Schroeder, D-CO	Y John Edward Porter, R-IL
Y Tom Lantos, D-CA	Y Carrie P. Meek, D-FL	Y David E. Skaggs, D-CO	YY Glenn Poshard, D-IL
N Jerry Lewis, R-CA	N John L. Mica, R-FL	Y Rosa L. DeLauro, D-CT	Y Bobby L. Rush, D-IL
Y Zoe Lofgren, D-CA		Y Gary A. Franks, R-CT	N Gerald C. Weller, R-IL

N Cass Ballenger, R-NC	Y Sherrod Brown, D-OH	Y Peter A. DeFazio, D-OR	N Bob Inglis, R-SC	N Martin Frost, D-TX	NN Owen B. Pickett, D-VA
N Richard Burr, R-NC	N Steve Chabot, R-OH	Y Elizabeth Furse, D-OR	N Mark Sanford, R-SC	N Pete Geren, D-TX	Y Robert C. Scott, D-VA
Y Eva M. Clayton, D-NC	N Frank A. Cremeans, R-OH	Y Robert Borski, D-PA	N Floyd Spence, R-SC	N Henry B. Gonzalez, D-TX	N Norman Sisisky, D-VA
N Howard Coble, R-NC	Y Paul E. Gillmor, R-OH	N William F. Clinger Jr., R-PA	Y John M. Spratt Jr., D-SC	N Gene Green, D-TX	N Frank R. Wolf, R-VA
Y David Funderburk, R-NC	Y Tony P. Hall, D-OH	Y William J. Coyne, D-PA	Y Tim Johnson, D-SD	N Ralph M. Hall, D-TX	Y Bernard Sanders, I-VT
Y W. G. (Bill) Hefner, D-NC	N David Hobson, R-OH	N Michael Doyle, D-PA	N Ed Bryant, R-TN	Y Sheila Jackson-Lee, D-TX	N Norman D. Dicks, D-WA
N Frederick K. Heineman, R-NC	N Martin R. Hoke, R-OH	N Phil English, R-PA	Y Bob Clement, D-TN	N Eddie Bernice Johnson, D-TX	N Jennifer Dunn, R-WA
N Walter B. Jones Jr., R-NC	Y Marcy Kaptur, D-OH	Y Chaka Fattah, D-PA	Y John J. Duncan Jr., R-TN	N Sam Johnson, R-TX	N Doc Hastings, R-WA
N Steve Myrick, R-NC	N John R. Kasich, R-OH	Y Thomas M. Foglietta, D-PA	Y Harold E. Ford, D-TN	N Greg Laughlin, R-TX4	Y Jim McDermott, D-WA
A Charlie Rose, D-NC	N Steve C. LaTourette, R-OH	Y Jon D. Fox, R-PA	N Bart Gordon, D-TN	N Solomon P. Ortiz, D-TX	N Jack Metcalf, R-WA
N Charles H. Taylor, R-NC	N Bob Ney, R-OH	N George W. Gekas, R-PA	N Van Hilleary, R-TN	N Lamar S. Smith, R-TX	N George Nethercutt R-WA
Y Melvin L. Watt, D-NC	N Michael G. Oxley, R-OH	N William F. Goodling, R-PA	N James H. Quillen, R-TN	N Charles W. Stenholm, D-TX	N Linda Smith, R-WA
N Earl Pomeroy, D-ND	N Rob Portman, R-OH	N James C. Greenwood, R-PA	N John S. Tanner, D-TN	Y Steve Stockman, R-TX	N Randy Tate, R-WA
N Bill Barrett, R-NE	N Deborah Pryce, R-OH	Y Tim Holden, D-PA	Y Zach Wamp, R-TN	N Frank Tejeda, D-TX	N Rick White, R-WA
NN Doug Bereuter, R-NE	N Ralph Regula, R-OH	Y Paul E. Kanjorski, D-PA	N Bill Archer, R-TX	N William Thornberry, R-TX	Y Thomas M. Barrett, D-WI
N Jon Christensen, R-NE	Y Thomas C. Sawyer, D-OH	Y Ron Klink, D-PA	N Richard K. Armey, R-TX	NN Charles Wilson, D-TX	N Steve Gunderson, R-WI
N Charles Bass, R-NH	Y Louis Stokes, D-OH	Y Frank R. Mascara, D-PA	N Joe Barton, R-TX	N E (Kika) de la Garza, D-TX	Y Gerald D. Kleczka, D-WI
N William H. Zeff Jr., R-NH	N James A. Traficant Jr., D-OH	A Joseph McDade, R-PA	N Ken Bentsen, D-TX	N Enid Greene Waldholtz, R-UT	Y Scott L. Klug, R-WI
Y Robert E. Andrews, D-NJ	N Bill K. Brewster, D-OK	Y Paul McHale, D-PA	N Henry Bonilla, R-TX	N James V. Hansen, R-UT	N Mark Neumann, R-WI
Y Bob Franks, R-NJ	N Tom Coburn, R-OK	N John P. Murtha, D-PA	N John Bryant, D-TX	N Bill Orton, D-UT	Y David Obey, D-WI
N Rodney P. Frelinghuysen, R-NJ	N Ernest J. Istook Jr., R-OK	N Bud Shuster, R-PA	N Jim Chapman, D-TX	A Herbert Bateman, R-VA	N Thomas E. Petri, R-WI
Y Frank A. LoBiondo, R-NJ	N Steve Largent, R-OK	N Robert S. Walker, R-PA	N Ronald D. Coleman D-TX	N Thomas Bliley, R-VA	N Toby Roth, R-WI
Y Bill Martini, R-NJ	N Frank Lucas, R-OK	N Curt Weldon, R-PA	N Larry Combest, R-TX	Y Rick Boucher, D-VA	N James Sensenbrenner Jr., R-WI
Y Robert Menendez, D-NJ	N J. C. Watts, R-OK	YY Patrick J. Kennedy, D-RI	N Tom Delay, R-TX	N Thomas M. Davis III, R-VA	N Alan Mollohan, D-WV
Y Frank Pallone Jr., D-NJ	N Earl Blumenauer, D-OR	YY Jack Reed, D-RI	Y Lloyd Doggett, D-TX	N Bob W. Goodlatte, R-VA	Y Nick J. Rahall II, D-WV
Y Donald M. Payne, D-NJ	N Jim Bunn, R-OR	N James E. Clyburn, D-SC	N Chet Edwards, D-TX	Y James P. Moran, D-VA	N Robert E. Wise Jr., D-WV
Y Marge Roukema, R-NJ	N Wes Cooley, R-OR	N Lindsey Graham, R-SC	N Jack Fields, R-TX	N L. F. Payne, D-VA	N Barbara Cubin, R-WY
N Jim Saxton, R-NJ					
YY Christopher H. Smith, R-NJ					
yy Robert G. Torricelli, D-NJ					
Y Dick Zimmer, R-NJ					
N Bill Richardson, D-NM					
A Steven Schiff, R-NM					
N Joe Skeen, R-NM					
Y John Ensign, R-NV					
N Barbara F. Vucanovich, R-NV					
N Gary L. Ackerman, D-NY					
N Sherwood L. Boehlert, R-NY					
N Eliot L. Engel, D-NY					
Y Floyd H. Flake, D-NY					
N Michael P. Forbes, R-NY					
N Daniel Frisa, R-NY					
NN Benjamin Gilman, R-NY					
Y Maurice Hinchey, D-NY					
N Amory Houghton, R-NY					
N Sue W. Kelly, R-NY					
N Peter T. King, R-NY					
N John J. LaFalce, D-NY					
N Rick Lazio, R-NY					
YY Nita Lowey, D-NY					
Y Carolyn B. Maloney, D-NY					
N Thomas J. Manton, D-NY					
N John M. McHugh, R-NY					
Y Michael R. McNulty, D-NY					
N Susan Molinari, R-NY					
Y Jerrold Nadler, D-NY					
Y Major Owens, D-NY					
N Bill Paxon, R-NY					
Y Charles B. Rangel, D-NY					
Y Charles E. Schumer, D-NY					
Y Jose Serrano, D-NY					
Y Louise McIntosh Slaughter, D-NY					
N Gerald B.H. Solomon, R-NY					
Y Edolphus Towns, D-NY					
Y Nydia Velazquez, D-NY					
N James T. Walsh, R-NY					
N John A. Boehner, R-OH					

Question the Candidates on East Timor

by John M. Miller

The campaign season is now well underway, and while candidates are out seeking votes, you can help make East Timor an issue. By November, candidates for the Senate and House of Representatives will have appeared at numerous forums, debates, fundraisers and radio talk shows. Those concerned about human rights and self-determination for East Timor should take these opportunities to question and educate candidates.

By asking clear questions about US policy on Indonesia and East Timor, you can simultaneously educate the public and establish candidates' positions on US policy toward Indonesia and East Timorese self-determination. With the recent vote in the House of Representatives on IMET, nearly every incumbent has a record on which they can be questioned. And with many incumbents retiring and others unsure of re-election, we must educate a whole new crop of national

legislators on the issues. Why not start with the campaign?

Keep your questions 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. Try to follow up by asking for a specific commitment if none was 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.) Follow up with a letter, reiterating your position and outlining your agreement or disagreement with the candidate.

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. 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. Please let ETAN/US know where the candidates stand.■

Sample Questions:

- * In 1975, Indonesia invaded East Timor using US weapons. By using US military equipment for aggression against a neighbor, Indonesia violated the treaty restricting these weapons to only to be used for self-defense. Should all arms sales to Indonesia be banned until it respects 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 its small neighbor, East Timor, 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 its smaller 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 rights of the East Timorese? Should the US cut off arms sales to Indonesia to pressure it to obey international law and allow a referendum on self-determination?*

(Dis-)Integration Day

July 17th marks the twentieth anniversary of "Integration Day"--the day the Indonesian government marks as East Timor's official "integration" into Indonesia. Help educate people in the U.S. about Jakarta's ongoing occupation and U.S. complicity by observing the "holiday."

East Timor Religious Outreach is having an event in **San Francisco** on Wed. July 17. Call ETRO at (415) 474-6219 for the details.

ETAN/**New York** will hold a demonstration on the same date from 4-5:30 pm at 325 E. 38th St., at First Ave. at the Indonesian Mission to the UN. Leafletting at Grand Central Station to follow (5:30-6:30pm). Pick up leaflets at Lexington and 42 St. (718)788-6071

ETAN/**Washington D.C.** will hold a demonstration on July 17 at 5pm outside the Indonesian Embassy on Massachusetts Avenue.

ETAN NATIONAL STEERING COMMITTEE MEETS

The Washington DC ETAN local hosted about 15 ETAN activists from around the country during the Ides of April for our first national meeting in nearly two years. We had extensive discussions on local organizing, working in coalitions, and ETAN's corporate and military campaigns. ETAN endorsed the McKinney-Hatfield Code of Conduct on Arms Transfers (coming up for a Senate vote soon), and took steps to tighten our structure, forming Executive and Personnel Committees and deciding to incorporate.

We will organize several national speaking tours, the next of which will be Carmel Budiardjo (see p. 4) in October. We are also planning to pair young East Timorese and Indonesian activists later in the Fall with an emphasis on outreach to women. We also decided to hire two paid staff people (see below), one to work in Washington and the other to do field organizing.

Although everybody present recognized the need for more focussed work in the U.S. on West Papua and other Indonesia-related justice issues, we decided that ETAN per se cannot take them on. However, we will encourage others to form a broader Indonesia human rights campaign in this country, and will help interested people find each other. ■

ETAN/U.S. LOOKING FOR SKILLED AND ENERGETIC STAFFERS

The East Timor Action Network has received some generous grants and we are in the process of hiring a Washington Representative to monitor and report on government actions and work with Washington-based organizations, and one or two field organizers to support local ETAN chapters and activists around the United States. If you are interested, or know someone who might be, please contact the ETAN National Office as soon as possible, and we'll send out the complete job description.

Here's the abridged version, which we encourage you to circulate and reprint in relevant places:

WASHINGTON REPRESENTATIVE to monitor and coordinate with government entities and NGOs; provide information for ETAN's grassroots network, and write articles and alerts. Must be good at speaking, research and writing. Washington experience helpful but not essential.

FIELD ORGANIZER(s) to support and stimulate ETAN chapters by organizing speaking tours, events, media work, and local programs. Motivate, train and facilitate activists in ETAN's national grassroots network. Initiate and coordinate complicated campaigns and creative strategies; good speaking, writing and personal outreach skills. Extensive travel required for at least one position.

BOTH POSITIONS require experience in activism, good organizational skills, the ability to work independently and aggressively, familiarity with electronic communication, and an understanding of U.S. foreign policy and the political process. Women and people of color are encouraged to apply. Salary and benefits: If full-time (depends on funding and personnel availability), around \$20,000, negotiable plus benefits. If half-time, \$10,000. Starting date: Summer 1996.

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