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- Fax message for Dr. Peter Carey, Trinity College from Arnold Kohen (14.05.1991)
- Fax message for Martin Rendon from Arnold Kohen (14.05.1991)
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- Message for Toby Volkman from Arnold Kohen (20.04.1991) Subj.: Timor Workshop Finance, Etc.
- Letter to Ms. Toby Alice Volkman, Social Science Research Council from Arnold Kohen (20.04.1991)

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

3812 Windom Place, NW

Washington, D.C. 20016

Tel. 202-363-1649

Fax 202-363-3658

Oct. 8, 1991

Fax message for Bishop Paul Moore

Dear Paul,

I thought I would give you a brief update on recent developments.

Under separate cover, I will be sending you copies of the resolution as it was adopted by the conference committee around Oct. 3. There were only minor alterations in the Senate text in the final documents, which I received late yesterday and am having printed.

We are proceeding with gathering signatures for the companion Senate letter, but we may have a lot more to address and the text may need to be altered. This is because the Portuguese Parliamentary mission seems likely to visit East Timor on November 3. Different reports say the same thing -- Indonesian repression has increased in anticipation of the visit. It is likely that there will be more of the same in the period ahead.

Under these circumstances, it is just as well that the Wallop letter remains in circulation. I already told Ms. Arrowood of the Wallop staff that the letter may need to be reworded and that you may be sending a letter to Sen. Wallop on this matter in the weeks to come, depending on developments in connection with the Portuguese Parliamentary mission. We are gearing up for a concerted push over the next three weeks or so, and that includes work with the press (such as the people we met in April at the Washington Post), now that things are timely.

On a related front, I want to contact staff of Senators Kassebaum and possibly Simpson as well (both, incidentally, are Episcopalians) for a friendly chat regarding co-signing the Wallop letter. Staffers of these senators were among the group that went to Timor in August in the aforementioned bought-and-paid-for trip, but in the end these staffers, at least, seem harmless, and it wouldn't hurt to make their acquaintance and try to bring them on board. I would like to send them notes on your behalf, and have you designate me to meet the staffers in question. Is this all right with you?

I will phone you tomorrow, hopefully to get your approval on these matters.

Best wishes,
Arnold

**United Engineers
& Constructors**
A Raytheon Company

April 2, 1991

General L.B. Moerdani
Minister of Defense and Security
Republic of Indonesia

Dear Pak Benny:

FOR TOBY VOLKMAN

Attached is a FAX I just received from the Social Science Research Council (SSRC) in New York. The SSRC is holding a closed workshop in Washington on 25-26 April concerning East Timor. The invitee list appears rather skewed, but the SSRC recognizes this and is now trying to include at least one more pro-Indonesia/pro-ABRI participant.

I've just been invited, and I think I can be helpful. However, having a truly experienced, authoritative, and well-spoken ABRI officer present at the workshop would be preferable. Colonel Luhud Panjaitan could perform this role extremely well, but there may be other men of his caliber. I have not mentioned this possibility to Luhud. I don't know who ABRI might have in D.C. in late April who could explain ABRI's views concerning East Timor to this kind of academic group. Perhaps there is someone from Lemhannas or CSIS who might also be appropriate and available. If you think ABRI should be represented, I'm sure the SSRC would invite anyone you suggest.

Please let me know if I can facilitate communications on this issue or on other issues involving the international academic community.

Sincerely yours,



HAROLD W. MAYNARD



MINISTER OF DEFENCE & SECURITY
REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA

Jakarta, 10 April 1991

United Engineer & Constructors
for the attention of :
Mr. Harold W. Maynard
30 South 17th Street
Philadelphia, P.A. - 19101
U. S. A.

Dear Harold,

Thank you for letting me aware that a closed workshop on East Timor will be held in Washington end of this month. In concurrence with your suggestion, Colonel Luhud will be informed to attend the said workshop. Since he is at the moment in Washington, please address his invitation to the office of the Defence Attache, 2020 Massachusetts Ave N.W, Washington DC 20036.

Looking forward to seeing you again.

Sincerely yours,

R. R. R.

COMISSÃO PARA OS DIREITOS DO POVO MAUBERE - CDPM
Rua Pinheiro Chagas, 77, 2.º Esq. Telex 352 87 16 (3 linhas)
1000 LISBOA Fax 011534009 Telex 64062 CIDAC P

TO: ARNOLD KOHEN - EAST TIMOR RESEARCH
FROM: CDPM PROJECT

Lisboa, 27/12/1991

THE 1992 CONSULTATIVE MEETING IN SOLIDARITY WITH EAST TIMOR

1. The next solidarity groups' consultative meeting will probably be one of the most important in recent years. We think it should be held as soon as possible so that we can share information about what has happened in our respective countries since the Santa Cruz massacre and discuss our aims and priorities in the coming year.

We believe that the links and mutual understanding between all the groups need to be strengthened. We very much hope that this Consultative Meeting will be attended not only by Europe-based groups but by groups from the other continents. We propose therefore that this should be an International Consultative Meeting in Solidarity with East Timor.

2. At our last meeting in Lisbon in April 1991, it was decided that the next meeting would be held in Italy. However, the Italian group informed us that they will not be able to hold a meeting until May which is too late within the present context. After discussions with several activists who were in Lisbon recently, we want to make the following proposals:

- a. The Consultative Meeting will be held from 14 - 16 February 1992.
- b. If possible, it will be held in Geneva, to profit from the UN Human Rights Commission (27 January - 6 March) and to put pressure on the members of the Commission.
- c. If it cannot be held in Geneva it will be held in Brussels on the same dates.
- d. As there is no solidarity group in Geneva, the CDPM as conveners of the 1991 meeting, is willing to coordinate the preparations and collect your agenda proposals and ideas.
- e. If the meeting is held in Geneva, assistance will be available from the International Service for Human Rights and other Geneva-based NGOs concerning accommodation, the meeting place and so on. In Brussels, there are also groups and friends who are in a position to assist on these matters.

3. We very much hope you will be able to answer the following questions by the end of this year:

- a. Can your group take part in an International Consultative Meeting in February, and if so, how many people will attend?
- b. Will you be able to send us in Lisbon by the end of January a summary of the following:
 - how have people, institutions, the government responded to the 12 November massacre and what is your assessment of this response?
 - what were your main aims, priorities and activities in 1991?
 - what are your proposals regarding East Timor solidarity work in 1992?

4. We in CDPM will prepare an agenda on the basis of your proposals, for adoption at the start of the meeting.

Hoping to hear from you soon, our best wishes to 1992
In solidarity,

CDPM

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BIO

PHD Int Service Au
Concen. SEAUnited Engineers
& Constructors Inc.
International Operations30 South 17th Street
P O Box 8223
Philadelphia PA 19101

5 years

Prof - USAFA

IND.
AMB."Cutting
edge of
crowd""at
heart of
Ind.
Spec.
Forces"

215 422 3325

215 422 4375

Telex 83 4203

FAX 215 422 1686

United Engineers
& Constructors

A Raytheon Company

Harold W. Maynard
Director of
Indonesian Operations

Full Col in

ARNOLD KOTTEN:

Ind Army Spec. Forces

16 April 91

THANKS FOR THE

TAX

YESTERDAY

ON

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AND EARLY 1989).

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(PS)

COL. LUHUR

PANTJAHN

(TEL 703-506-874)

WILL

ALSO

ATTEND.

IT

SHOULD

BE

INTERESTING.

Hal

Copy

16 October 1991

TO: Prof. Noam Chomsky
Dept of Linguistics
Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Cambridge, Mass 02139

FROM: Joao Boavida
c/ RSP Queen Elizabeth House
University of Oxford
fax No. (0865) 270721

Dear Prof. Chomsky,

I am a refugee from East Timor and am now living temporarily in Oxford, England where I have been attached to the Refugee Studies Programme of Queen Elizabeth House, Oxford University, since January 1991. I am a graduate student in Politics, with majors in International Relations and Indonesian Studies, from the University of Melbourne, Australia where I took up residence in 1986 when I fled my home country following the Indonesian invasion and occupation.

I have been offered a place at the Institute of Social Anthropology of the University of Oxford, to work for an M.Phil degree to start on 14 October 1991 (i.e. today). I am also applying for affiliation to St. Antony's College. As stated in the attached 'study proposal', the end-objective of my study would be to provide systematic research of the socio-political and economic situation which East Timor confronts in its struggle for self-determination. As a former political prisoner who has experienced the bitterness of the Indonesian invasion and occupation, I am determined to devote my knowledge to the future self-determination of the Timorese people which has continued to be my main concern.

Unfortunately, however, my ability to become a student at Oxford is very much dependent upon being able to guarantee the funding by this week. I continue to work on the funding and have written to many organizations such as the Ford Foundation, the Rockefeller Foundation, Goullenkian, Fundacao Oriente, Silbury Trust, but so far the reply has been negative.

The tuition fees plus all other expenses are likely to amount to at least 9,000 pounds p.a., for home and EC students, as you will see in the attached sheet of 'fees and expenses'. My immediate concern is, however, to raise funds for the University and College fees which amount to the sum of some 4,000 pounds p.a. in order to allow me to take up the golden opportunity I have been offered.

Although I supported myself whilst enrolled as a full-time student at the University of Melbourne, I have not been able to build up my personal finances, and hence my inability to afford the expenses required over the academic period at Oxford.

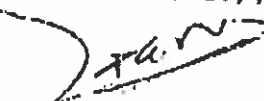
I am therefore writing to you to seek your help and advice on the quickest possible way to guarantee the funding by this week through individuals and/or organizations of your network. This could be done through an underwritten statement of guarantee of funding to allow the University to go ahead with my admission procedures. I am probably going to miss out on a couple of weeks' classes but I am sure I could make this up over the Christmas holidays.

My interest in Social Anthropology stems from an appreciation of how the methods and techniques which Anthropology provides contributes to an analysis of social and political problems of present world societies.

I believe that the chance to study at the University of Oxford will not only be an unique opportunity for me to tackle an issue of great importance, but also, in the longer term, will enable me to contribute to basic research of general anthropological significance.

I hope that my appeal will be looked upon favorably and look forward to your early reply.

Yours sincerely,



Adam Hoavida

Short Statement of Proposed Study
and
Reasons for Coming to Oxford

It has always been my dream to continue academic study. A major motive was to try to understand the political situation of East Timor in its struggle for self-determination, and my own interest in the subject of political anthropology.

The world is full of conflicts - ethnic, regional, political and religious - which are a constant source of instability and refugee crises. East Timor is only one of the many examples of these present day international realities. This former Portuguese colony - which has continued to be illegally occupied by Indonesia since December 1975 - has fought against all odds to exercise its inalienable right of self-determination.

Much has been said about the parallel between East Timor and Kuwait but it is interesting to ask why no similar action has been taken to resolve the question of the former. Whilst East Timor is one of the few remnants of Western European colonialism where the decolonization process has yet to be satisfactorily concluded due to the Indonesian occupation - there is now an increasing 'second generation' of claims to self-determination which are often seen as a major threat to the world order. Movements such as those in the Baltic states, Croatia, Slovenia, Quebec, West Papua, amongst others, are often seen as 'secessionist', whereby their claims to self-determination are equated with 'separatism' - meaning a demand to break away from the state concerned. Hence it seems unlikely that the 'second generation' of claims will have the blessing of the international community so long as they are seen as a major world order problem. However, what is often ignored is the fact that separatist movements are usually the by-product of the violation of the right to self-determination, Ireland, Bougainville, and the Sudan Peoples' Liberation Movement and Army (SPLM/A), being just a few such recent examples.

The purpose of my study will thus be to begin the examination of various political formula which could combine self-determination and state-sovereignty - within their own terms of reference - that could, in turn, provide some answers to problems arising from demands for 'secessionist' self-determination. My study will also cover the phenomenon of the refugee as a by-product of the pressures to create all-encompassing nation-state. In the case of East Timor my aim will be to develop political models to internationalize the all too peripheral question of self-determination within the changing world of the 1990s.

I have chosen Anthropology which, with its broad scope, seems to me to offer the best possible kind of training to understand people and institutions which so often frustrate these aspirations.

The impetus for this project has partly grown out of my association with the Refugee Studies Programme (RSP) of Queen Elizabeth House. Since my attachment to RSP in January 1991 the focus of my study has been on the social, political and psychological aspects of the worldwide refugee phenomenon. This period of study has brought into focus one of the most intractable problems - the phenomenon of refugees - which is all too often overlooked in the literature of international relations. It is an ambitious academic project which, will almost certainly require a period of intensive fieldwork.

The main reason for selecting Oxford as the host for this proposed study is the well-known academic reputation and extensive facilities which the university is able to provide. In addition, my attachment to the Refugee Studies Programme has familiarized me to a great extent with the academic environment of Oxford University.

Joao Frederico Boavida

Oxford 2 August 1991

/* Written 4:03 pm Oct 2, 1991 by gn:tapol in igc:reg.easttimor */
/* ----- "Belo: Resistance should be in talk" ----- */
Belo: Resistance should be involved in talks

Source: Publico, Lisbon, 9 August 1991, in East Timor News Monthly Memo, September 1991; and Jakarta Post, 24 September 1991.

Comment: It is interesting to compare the focus of Bishop Belo's statements in the media in Indonesia and in Portugal.

To Publico: "Resistance should be involved in talks," says Bishop Belo"

In an interview with Publico, the leading Portuguese daily, Bishop Ximenes Belo reiterated his 'personal' belief that a referendum was essential for the people of East Timor to decide on their future and also said that all currents of East Timorese opinion should be represented in negotiations about the future of the territory, including members of the national resistance.

Regarding a suggestion from Governor Mario Carrascalao that the forthcoming general elections be used as a way of establishing if the people were in favour of integration, he said: "This is unreal. This is just playing around with the people."

He said he had just returned from a tour of various parishes in Ainaro, Ermera, Lospalos and Baucau and said that things were calm, apparently because Xanana Gusmao had given instructions that nothing should take place to prejudice the Portuguese parliamentary delegation visit. He added that rumours that the resistance leader was sick were not true.

He also said that he believed that his telephone was being tapped, that he had difficulty receiving news from outside the country and that magazines to which he subscribed, such as Asia Focus, the religious affairs periodical, did not arrive.

[In contrast to what he says in an interview for a Portuguese newspaper - albeit on a tapped line - is the following, abridged report in Jakarta Post of his speech at a meeting of government officials and social and religious leaders in Dili:]

DILI BISHOP SAYS NO REPRESSION IN EAST TIMOR

Bishop Belo has denied charges that local authorities and the armed forces have taken intimidating measures against the local people. He said certain groups had made the charges in order to disturb the peace in East Timor before the upcoming visit of Portuguese parliamentarians.

He said Timorese should improve their religious life and mental attitudes and increase their participation in the development of the region. He said: "Significant progress had been made in the fields of agriculture, education, health, transportation, administration and social life in a short time."

He said funds for the construction of the church he had just dedicated had come not only from the armed forces and the provincial government but also from the local Protestant and Muslim communities.

/* Written 10:11 am Oct 6, 1991 by gn:tapol in igc:reg.easttimor */
/* ----- "Belo appeals to Portuguese Govt." ----- */
Bishop appeals to Portugal

Source: Expresso. Date: 4 October 1991. Byline: Mario Robalo.
Original language: Portuguese. Story type: News item, slightly abridged.

TIMOR: BISHOP APPEALS TO THE GOVERNMENT

The Bishop of Dili, D. Carlos Ximenes Belo, has for the first time appealed to the [Portuguese] Government to intercede quickly to bring to an end "the unhappy situation" prevailing in East Timor which seems to be interminable.

At the end of a long Pastoral Letter made public during mass last Sunday, a copy of which has reached Expresso, the prelate, after recognising our country as "the Administering Power" of the territory, declared that Portugal has the responsibility "to display friendship and cooperation, solidarity and support for the Timorese people".

The Pastoral Letter was sent to all parishes in the Dili Diocese "after considering the implications of the visit Portuguese parliamentarians to East Timor".

After saying that the information he had received about the visit had come from "sources in New York", Bishop Belo said: "There has been no information at all about the visit through official channels of the Holy See or the Papal Nuncio in Jakarta." According to the Bishop, the Church "is not for or against the visit" since this is a question of a political nature, but he said that the faithful "have the right to express an opinion on Timor's destiny" and "to choose between various forms of government".

After recognising that Indonesia, as "the occupying power" has helped to "lift the people of East Timor out of poverty and ignorance", the prelate spoke of the need for "a climate of freedom" and the need for "accurate information about public affairs".

Finally, he referred to "the Resistance and the Timorese political leaders" who were widely seen "as the most important of the interested parties".

/* Written 7:30 am Oct 18, 1991 by gn:tapol in igc:reg.easttimor */
/* ----- "Belo: "Towns are full of intel" ----- */
Bishop Belo pleads for help

Source: Original document. Date: 7 September 1991.
Comment: The letter from Bishop Belo, addressed to "Your Reverence" and datelined Dili, reached Portugal on 16 October and was made public in the Lisbon daily, Publico on 17 October. Square-bracketed words have been added.

The letter reads as follows:

Your Reverence,

Our situation has worsened in the past few weeks. As the visit of the Portuguese parliamentary delegation nears, the 'Bapaks' [Indonesian for 'father', which Timorese use when talking about the Indonesian military] have once again started a campaign of terror, of threats. Anyone who approaches the Portuguese will be killed. There is no climate of freedom. The campaign is being waged by the 'Dandin' [local military commanders] and the 'Bupati' [local government chiefs]. I urge Your Reverence to disseminate information about this tragic situation to solidarity organisations for Timor and to the press. The streets of Dili are controlled. In the streets of Baucau, Ainaro and Ermera, there are again control posts (in the hands of the military police). People's homes are being checked at night. All the towns are full of intel [intelligence agents]. The Portuguese will not be able to have contact with the Timorese because they have been threatened and indoctrinated.

[signed]

Carlos Filipe X Belo,
Apostolic Administrator of Dili

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/* Written 3:46 pm Oct 22, 1991 by gn:tapol in igc:reg.easttimor */  
/* ----- "Bishop Belo warns of retaliations" ----- */  
XIMENES FEARS RETALIATIONS
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Bishop Belo warns the parliamentarians of the risk of a
bloodbath after their visit to East Timor

Source: Publico, Lisbon. Date: 22 October 1991. Original
language: Portuguese. Byline: Fernando Sousa

Bishop D. Ximenes Belo, the Apostolic Administrator of Dili, has expressed his scepticism and anxiety about the results of the Portuguese parliamentary visit to East Timor. "For me, it would be better if they did not come," he said in an interview transmitted yesterday by TSF, saying that he was specially worried about the retaliations the population will suffer after the deputies have concluded their visit.

Bishop Belo believes that the "weapons and the bread" [literally, "the knives and the cheese"] are all in the hands of the Indonesians and stressed that only the presence of an "international force to control the situation after the departure of the Portuguese deputies" can guarantee the safety of the Timorese. This is because the Indonesian authorities "continue to declare to the remotest corners that the Portuguese are coming here to dissociate themselves and to support integration, which is why the people should remain silently in their homes, nobody should say anything or take part in demonstrations because, if they were to do so, they will all be killed after the deputies leave".

At the conclusion of the interview on TSF, Bishop Belo gave voice to his acute anxiety about East Timor being "abandoned" and reiterated that "if the Portuguese come here, travel round

like tourists then return home without making any commitments to defend the people afterwards, it will be the same as (our) being abandoned."

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/* Written 8:48 pm Oct 23, 1991 by gn:tapol in igc:reg.easttimor */  
/* ----- "Belo: UN presence needed in Timor" ----- */  
Bishop Belo: UN presence needed in Timor
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On 23 October 1991, Parliamentarians for East Timor, London, issued the following press release:

UN presence needed in East Timor to prevent bloodbath

Two weeks before Portuguese parliamentarians are due to arrive in occupied East Timor on a UN-supervised visit to the former Portuguese colony, Bishop Belo, head of the Catholic Church in East Timor, has called for "an international force to control the situation after the deputies leave". Interviewed this week by Portuguese radio, the Bishop voiced his fear of a bloodbath. He said everyone in East Timor was being told to remain silent during the deputies' visit, to stay at home and "not take part in demonstrations because if they do, they will be killed after the deputies leave".

In September, Bishop Belo wrote in a letter to a fellow Bishop in Portugal: "As the visit of the Portuguese MPs draws near, the Indonesians have once again started a campaign of terror, of threats. Anyone who approaches the Portuguese will be killed. There is no climate of freedom."

Parliamentarians in Japan, Australia, Canada, the Netherlands and the UK have today been asked to urge the UN Secretary-General, through their governments, to station an international observer force in East Timor for about three months from mid-November.

Lord Avebury, founding member of Parliamentarians for East Timor said, in response to Bishop Belo's plea:

For the conditions to be created in which the people can manifest their will to self-determination, they must be granted unimpeded access to the mission. This would enable them to express themselves both individually, and by mass demonstrations.

Since East Timor was invaded and illegally occupied by Indonesia in December 1975, this is the first official visit from Portugal, still recognised by the UN as the Administering Power. An agreement reached last month between Portugal and Indonesia, at talks in New York under UN auspices, provides that

The Portuguese parliamentary delegation shall be free to meet whomever it wishes and anyone who wishes to meet the Portuguese parliamentary delegation will be allowed to do so. No action, including of a security nature, may be taken by the Indonesian authorities that could prejudice any potential or actual contacts. Individuals who meet the Portuguese parliamentary delegation shall not be made to suffer any adverse consequences as a result of these contacts.

The events as reported by Bishop Belo mean that the Indonesian authorities are already in breach of this UN-brokered agreement.

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/* Written 12:32 am Nov 12, 1991 by web:etan in igc:reg.easttimor */
/* ----- "Belo in Canadian press" ----- */
East Timor ... David Webster ...11/11/91 ... 1
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The following full-page article appeared in the Nov. 17 issue of Catholic New Times, Canada's national independent Catholic newspaper, with an accompanying photo. Some of the details have changed between press time and publication.

BISHOP OF EAST TIMOR: CAMPAIGN OF TERROR HAS BEGUN

By David Webster

"Our situation has worsened in the past few weeks," writes East Timor Bishop Carlos Ximenes Belo, in a letter to supporters in the Portuguese Catholic Church, "As the visit of the Portuguese parliamentary delegation nears, the [Indonesian soldiers] have once again started a campaign of terror, of threats. Anyone who approaches the Portuguese will be killed. There is no climate of freedom...."

The United Nations secretary general attempted to bring about a settlement between Portugal, the former colonial ruler, and Indonesia, the country that invaded and annexed East Timor in December, 1975. The invasion, which could have served as the model for Iraq's invasion of Kuwait a decade-and-a-half later, has claimed the lives of 250,000 Timorese -- more than a third of the population -- through war, famine, and an aggressive forced birth control programme said to include forced abortions, involuntary sterilization of women, and murder by injection of newborns in hospitals.

*** Portuguese mission

This month, the UN efforts were supposed to bear fruit in the form of a mission of Portuguese parliamentarians to their former colony. Disputes over what journalists will be allowed to accompany the mission, however, have put preparations on hold indefinitely.

The delay is bad news for the people of East Timor. The visit was expected to be a rallying point for nonviolent protest against Indonesian rule (much as the Pope's visit to Dili, the Timorese capital, was in 1989). In preparation for it, the Indonesian military command that controls East Timor began a crackdown.

Troops arrived from all over Indonesia and are now stationed in virtually every part of East Timor in a bid to intimidate the people into expressions of support for Indonesia. Para-military units and death squads of off-duty soldiers increased their presence in the streets. Students and Timorese civil officials

suspected of sympathy with resistance forces in the mountains were sent away from East Timor, or simply "disappeared."

Finally, on October 28, Indonesian troops entered Motael parish church in Dili, where Timorese pro-independence demonstrators (some of them as young as 13) have taken refuge from soldiers for more than a year under the protection of Bishop Belo. Up until then, the church had always been respected by military authorities fearful of an incident involving East Timor's Catholic Church in the months leading up to the Portuguese mission.

However, just 24 hours after the mission was suspended, the military apparently felt free to act.

*** Military crackdown

Troops forced the church doors at 1:30 AM and shot two of the people inside: Sebastiao Ranel, 18, and Afonso Hendrique, 30. Both men were unarmed. Both were participants in the frequent anti-Indonesian protests that brought on the latest crackdown. Within hours hundreds of unarmed youth gathered to defend the church and were instrumental in preventing further killings.

Following the shootings, 20 more people were arrested and taken into police station for "interrogation" -- an expression which, in Indonesia, is virtually synonymous with torture.

Short-term interrogations top Amnesty International's list of concerns about "widespread violations" of human rights in East Timor. One torture victim, Abilio Mesquita, described his questioning at the hands of military intelligence last Christmas:

"They took me to a big room, took off my clothes and immediately proceeded to apply electric shocks to my body. They also punched and beat me very badly until blood was running from my face and head. They beat my whole body with an iron rod.

They began to interrogate me. [Beating up the victim before asking questions has become increasingly common, according to church sources]... they took the iron rod again and kicked and punched me repeatedly and then finally, took a large stone, smashing it on my hand.

Blood was streaming down my face and I fell over. While lying on the ground, they took a rifle butt and smashed it into my face, and from this my right jaw broke. In agony, I shouted: 'Oh, Jesus.' They mocked me, saying: 'Go and call on your Jesus to come down and help you.' I wanted to cry but no tears came.... This treatment continued for four full days."

The suspension of the mission seems certain to bring down a new reign of terror in East Timor. Sources in Dili expect many more violations like the invasion of Motael Church to happen in the coming weeks.

With military control already tight leading up to the visit of the Portuguese, the Catholic church has been the only space for dissent, the only legal institution respected by the Timorese

people. Already, its functioning is ringed about with restrictions and barriers. Already, only its bishop remains able to speak, with even a measure of freedom, to the outside world. The question today is, will it be allowed to continue its mission and its existence in Indonesian-ruled East Timor?

*** Role for the UN

Bishop Belo has called for a UN peacekeeping force for East Timor to prevent a bloodbath. The call was backed on October 23 by New Zealand Cardinal Thomas Williams and Cardinal Evaristo Arns of Brazil and 56 other bishops from around the world, who appealed to the UN "to take steps to ensure that safeguards and guarantees set out in the Protocol agreed by the Indonesian and Portuguese governments are completely adhered to by the Indonesians, and particularly to ensure that no reprisals are taken against the people of East Timor following the visit." Reports received since, even before the Motael killings, show that the Indonesian-Portuguese agreement is already violated -- and no UN action has been taken to enforce it.

"In order that there be an objective observation of the real situation of Timor," Bishop Belo wrote last month in a pastoral letter, "the Church lifts once more her voice to ask that fundamental human rights be respected ... Safeguarding the legitimate interests of each, let the continuity of the Timorese people as an historical entity be guaranteed, in respect to themselves and their neighbours."

At the UN and in world capitals, the call for peace and justice in East Timor is being heard, but not heeded. World leaders do not acknowledge Bishop Belo's plea for a referendum on independence. They do not listen to the call by resistance leader Xanana Gusmo for peace talks without preconditions. They do not even listen to their own words when they speak of linking aid to human rights, while pouring millions of dollars of aid money into the deep pockets of Indonesia's ruling generals.

And all the while, as Bishop Belo has said, the Timorese "continue to die as a people and as a nation."

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/* Written 8:05 am Nov 13, 1991 by gn:tapol in igc:reg.easttimor */
/* ----- "Belo spurns invitation to Jakarta" ----- */
Belo refuses to attend KWI annual meeting
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Source: protected. Date: 12 November 1991. This item is part of a long Indonesian-language report received by TAPOL from Jakarta, other parts of which will be summarised later.

A short while ago, Mgr Julius Darmaatmadja, SJ, chairman of the Indonesian Bishops' Conference (KWI) invited Bishop Belo, Apostolic Administrator of Dili, to attend this month's meeting of the Indonesian Bishops' Conference. Bishop Belo's reply to Mgr Darmaatmadja reads as follows:

"I would like to inform you that I have received an invitation from the General Secretariat of the Bishops' Conference to

attend the Annual Meeting this November. But following the event at Motael Church on 28 October which has just taken place, I have decided not to come to Jakarta in "protest" at the arrogance of the Indonesian armed forces who broke the windows of Motael Church and murdered a young man named Sebastiao Gomes. My decision to protest grew stronger when, on the evening of 28 October, the Indonesian Television (TVRI) world news broadcast an untrue, false and fabricated report. That news placed all the blame on the Church!

For this reason, I have decided not to attend the forthcoming annual meeting in Jakarta from 3 till 12 November, either as an observer or as a guest.

/* Written 4:02 pm Nov 13, 1991 by gn:tapol in igc:reg.easttimor */
/* ----- "Belo's account of 28/X incident" ----- */
Belo's account of 28 October incident

The following is an unabridged translation from Portuguese of Bishop Belo's statement:

Diocese of Dili
Diocesan Secretariat
Jl Governador Alves Aldeia 25
Dili, Timor Timur

OFFICIAL STATEMENT

As the public is aware, on the 28 October on the TVRI broadcast "DUNIA DALAM BERITA", the official news was given concerning the lamentable events of the early morning of 28 October 1991, within the Motael Church and surroundings, which, for the good of the Church and for the Timorese People, must not be repeated.

For the most part, the points made in this official communique, widely reproduced throughout the press (Angkatan Bersanjata, Kompas, Jawa Pos, Surya, Suara Java Timur...) seem to be attempting to make the ends justify the means.

In these terms, the following should be known:

1. Since November 1991, a group of youths took refuge in the premises of the Presbytery of Motael, on the basis of personal security.
2. Contacts were set up between the civil and military authorities and the Bishop Apostolic Administrator of Dili and the Parish Priest of Motael, to seek a solution for the situation of these youths.
3. The military authorities, especially, were determined that these young people should leave the Presbytery before the visit of the Portuguese Parliamentarians and the delegation of the United Nations.
4. In these last weeks, and most intensely in the week of 21-26 October, culminating in the attack in the early hours of 28 October, there was a notable presence in the area of individuals on motor-cycles keeping watch on the Presbytery,

generally after the "dead hours" of the city.

5. In this official statement we call "dead hours" the time from midnight to four in the morning, when the city of Dili is practically without life. Normally, between these hours, there are only police, military, information agents of INTEL in the streets, with an occasional late member of the civilian population.

6. In the early hours of 28 October, a group of individuals on motor-cycles began to circle the perimeter of the Presbytery and the Church of Motael, shouting abuse. This time, from mere words they moved to action, throwing stones against the front of the Church and at the side known as "Taman Mini", and entering the grounds of the Church. Physical contact was inevitable (2 a.m.). Meanwhile, a number of individuals with pistols drawn began to advance, coming from the beach and entering the front door of the Church, where the young man, Sebastiao, was killed, riddled with bullets he was found dead some 18 metres from the door of the wall of the Church, on the verge of the other side of the road. The other victim, Afonso, was some 23 metres distant from the corpse of Sebastiao. Following the signs of blood on the road, a pool of blood was found some 57 metres from Afonso's body, killed by stabbings and wounded with a blunt instrument.

7. Later on in the morning (6 a.m.), the police proceeded to search the residence of the Parish priest, in adjacent property (the parish polyclinic, office and hall and the house of the parish domestic staff where the youths were gathered); the search inside the Church was only carried out after eight in the morning with the authorisation of the Bishop, who accompanied the policemen who were allowed to enter, in a number no more than four.

8. During these Searches were found anti-Indonesia pamphlets, Fretilin and Portuguese flags, as well as some objects (knives, sticks and iron bars) in the house of the domestic staff and outside of the parish offices, but not inside the Church as has been tendentiously broadcast. Within the Church three individuals were captured - two in a corner of the Church and one in the tower - who had taken refuge there in the midst of the confusion.

9. Finally, after the Bishop spoke to the people who had gathered after hearing the ringing of the Church bells (2 a.m.), everyone returned to their homes (9 a.m.) going in groups to different areas, the Bishop taking those who lived furthest away in his own car. Of those who stayed, fifteen persons were handed over to the police, who picked them up in a truck. The people handed over to the police were eighteen in total: the other three were accompanied by the Parish priest of Motael to the Police (POLRES), more than an hour earlier.

These are the facts that the Diocese believes should be made known to the public.

Dili, 2 November 1991

Diocese of Dili

Signed

Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo SDB
Titular Bishop of Lorum
Apostolic Administrator of Dili

/* Written 7:31 am Nov 14, 1991 by apakabar in igc:reg.easttimor */
/* ----- "Timor: Belo Speaks on Massacre" ----- */
From: Indonesia Publications/Task Force <apakabar>
Subject: Timor: Belo Speaks on Massacre

EAST TIMOR BISHOP SAYS TROOPS REPORTEDLY FIRED WITHOUT WARNING

By Moses Manoharan

DILI, East Timor, Nov 14, Reuter - East Timor's Roman Catholic bishop said on Thursday Indonesian troops reportedly fired without warning into a crowd gathered at a cemetery on Tuesday.

Witnesses say at least 50 people were killed in the firing at Santa Cruz cemetery, which has sparked international outrage. Bishop Ximenes Carlos Belo said separatist militants had put the death toll at around 180.

"I hear all kinds of talk about how many died," the bishop told reporters in Dili, capital of the impoverished former Portuguese territory which Indonesia annexed in 1976.

Belo said at least 89 youths were in hospital with serious bullet or knife wounds after troops attacked the memorial service for a slain separatist.

He said government officials admitted to only 19 dead in the shooting. Witnesses had told him that the troops fired directly into the crowd at the ceremony without any warning.

The military commander of the region, Brigadier Rudolf Warouw, said 91 people had been injured, including an army officer and a soldier.

Two American journalists who later flew to Guam for hospital treatment said soldiers fired repeatedly into the 2,000 mourners marking the death of Sebastio Gomes in riots two weeks ago.

Belo said some of those in hospital had been beaten so badly their faces were almost unrecognisable.

Witnesses said the cemetery was cleaned on Wednesday night and blood-splattered chapel walls were whitewashed.

Indonesia's military commander Try Sutrisno on Wednesday promised to investigate the incident. He said he regretted the deaths but the army had had no choice but to fire.

Diplomats in Jakarta said his comments showed Indonesia was finally taking steps to limit the damage to its international image, but feelings over the shooting were running very high in the West.

Among the casualties was a New Zealand student who is reported to have died after being shot at least twice. New Zealand has sent an envoy to East Timor and expressed its strong concern.

The European Community and the United States have both condemned the violence. U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar said he was profoundly disturbed by the events and called for a report by a U.N. official there at the time.

Dili appeared calm on Thursday but residents said fear permeated the city.

A Timorese opposition spokesman in Lisbon said a crackdown against anti-Indonesian activists had spread to the interior of the predominantly Roman Catholic territory of 600,000 people.

The atmosphere in East Timor, whose annexation by Indonesia is still not internationally recognised, has been tense since Portugal called off a planned visit there this month.

Up to 200,000 East Timorese have died in war or famine since Indonesia took over, diplomats say.

But they said they doubted there would be any sanctions imposed by the West, which has always tried to isolate the problem from its dealings with the rest of Indonesia.

The shootings came a week before President Suharto is due to leave on a three-week overseas trip, his longest so far. Suharto will go to Latin America and Africa and attend a summit of the Organisation of the Islamic Conference.

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/* Written 8:08 pm Nov 14, 1991 by apakabar in igc:reg.easttimor */
/* ----- "Timor: Bishop Belo Tells All" ----- */
From: Indonesia Publications/Task Force <apakabar>
Subject: Timor: Bishop Belo Tells All
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ROMAN CATHOLIC BISHOP SHELTERS 257 EAST TIMORESE AFTER DILI SHOOTING

By PASCAL MALLET

DILI, East Timor, Nov 14 (AFP) - East Timor's Roman Catholic Bishop Carlos Ximenes Belo said Thursday that 257 young East Timorese were given refuge by his episcopate office shortly after Indonesian troops fired on a crowd of mourners here Tuesday.

The shootings, in which up to 50 people were killed, occurred at the Santa Cruz cemetery during a memorial service for one of two young Timorese killed in mysterious circumstances here on October 28.

"On Tuesday morning, 257 young men came here to seek refuge, coming from the cemetery in different ways," Belo, a native of East Timor, told AFP. He said he had personally accompanied some of them back to their own homes later the same day and on Wednesday.

Belo said he went to the local military hospital Wednesday and counted 89 young men with either bullet or stab wounds, or both.

"As to the exact death toll, I don't know," Belo said, adding that while the military maintained there were 13 dead other sources, including witnesses, had told him between 50 and 80 people died in the shooting.

He said an army major had been stabbed during the clashes Tuesday and he believed that could have sparked the soldiers' fury.

Belo said that since October 28, when two Timorese were killed during a clash between separatist and security forces near the Motael church, he had been cut off from the rest of the world.

"My telephone has not been functioning since October 28...It is not a coincidence. Every time there is a special event here, my phone doesn't work," Belo said.

Since then, he had also not received any letter from the Vatican or from the apostolic nunciature in Jakarta.

However "I have received anonymous letters and phone calls, certain of them calling me pig," he said.

The bishop, who unlike other Indonesian Bishops is directly responsible to the Vatican, said he had met with visiting U.N. Human Rights Commission Representative Pieter Kooymans and East Timor Military Commander Brigadier General Warouw on Wednesday but declined to give details.

He said he had also sent a letter to Jakarta-appointed East Timor Governor Mario Viegas Carascallao refuting charges by Indonesian authorities that the church and members of the

religious community had some responsibility for the series of incidents on October 28 and Tuesday.

The accusations were "false," said Belo.

Belo also said in his letter that one of the two victims of the October 28 incident was known to work for Indonesia's security agency and the other was a separatist. He said that incident was a result of "provocation" by the authorities.

Tuesday's memorial service had been for the separatist.

Indonesian Armed Forces Commander General Try Sutrisno told journalists at the presidential office Wednesday that Tuesday's death toll was still being established but it would stand at below 50.

He also said religious leaders should ensure that churches and other holy places were not used for destructive activities, including efforts "to fish for unrest."

The military had said that the search of the Dili church compound yielded anti-government flags, banners and posters as well as knives and sticks.

Questioned on what were his intentions in the near future, Belo said that his duty was to remain among his people and "suffer in joy" while waiting for better times and a peaceful solution to the problems of East Timor.

Indonesia annexed the former Portuguese colony of East Timor in 1976.

The Fretilin, a pro-independence movement, has since sought independence from Jakarta for East Timor, while the United Nations still regards Lisbon as the administrator of the territory.

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/* Written 11:34 pm Jan 2, 1992 by gn:tapol in igc:reg.easttimor */
/* ----- "Bishop Belo calls for talks" ----- */
Bishop Belo calls for talks
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TAPOL report, 2 January 1992.

Speaking in an interview with Portuguese commercial radio on Monday, 30 December 1991, Bishop Belo, head of the Catholic Church in East Timor, called for dialogue without pre-conditions to resolve the issue of East Timor. He said he deplored the lack of concrete initiatives on the issue.

The Bishop said that what he had in mind had to be a broad dialogue among all those concerned - Portugal, Indonesia, the resistance parties and the church.

The Bishop declined to comment on the preliminary conclusions of the Indonesian government inquiry and on the replacement of Indonesian generals because he lacked accurate information.

Bishop Belo also spoke in the same interview of his deep anxiety about the physical and mental well-being of Father Ricardo, Vicar-General of the Dili Diocese, who has been undergoing daily interrogation and ill-treatment by the security forces for several weeks already. After a respite over Christmas and the New Year, the interrogations recommenced today, 2 January 1992.

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/* Written 6:57 am Jan 3, 1992 by gn:tapol in igc:reg.easttimor */
/* ----- "Belo at Xmas: We live in fear" ----- */
Bishop Belo's Christmas message
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Source: Jakarta Post. Date: 26 December 1991. Dateline: Dili.
Byline: Ardimas Sasi and Yacob J. Herin. News story abridged.

Comment: The real thrust of his message cannot be appreciated until we get the full text. Note that the thrust here is what he told reporters, but his words at the Mass convey a message which are not conveyed in JP's headline.

FORGET AND FORGIVE: BELO IN CHRISTMAS MESSAGE

Bishop Belo in his Christmas message appealed to the East Timorese people, many of whom remain traumatized by the Nov 12 tragedy, to forgive and forget and to develop the territory together. "Let's put our problems behind us and apologize to one another," he told reporters at his residence on Christmas eve.

"Let's look ahead in the spirit of Christ, to where there is no more enemy, no conflict and no ethnic problems."

The Bishop led the Mass at the cathedral in Dili. In his sermon, delivered in the local Potun dialect (sic) and Bahasa Indonesia, he urged the Timorese to strengthen the spirit of solidarity for the province's further development.

However, he acknowledged that for some families, this was a 'gray Christmas' because the Nov 12 tragedy had left their relatives dead, injured or jailed.

"We are all outraged. We are living in fear, not in peace. We suffer, hate, cry and lose hope," he said.

On Christmas Eve, thousands of people thronged the beach in front of Motael Church. Most arrived by foot from different corners of Dili.

Christmas was also celebrated among dozens of people detained in connection with the Nov 12 incident. A party for them was thrown in the cells with Brig. Gen. R.S. Warouw, chief of the East Timor military command, and police chief Col. Ishak Kodiyat paying a visit to exchange greetings with the detainees.

One detainee from Baucau told Jakarta Post he joined the Nov 12 demonstration in the belief that it was a move to make East Timor independent.

/* Written 11:30 pm Jan 3, 1992 by gn:tapol in igc:reg.easttimor */
/* ----- "Bishop exposes press lies" ----- */
Bishop Belo denies Indonesian press report

Source: LUSA, the Portuguese News Agency. Date: 3 January 1992. Two items, abridged.

Comment: A reminder, if needed, that much of what the Indonesian press reports about East Timor is invention.

BELO DENIES HE INVITED INDONESIAN OFFICIALS There are 41 Timorese awaiting trial

Bishop Ximenes Belo, head of the Catholic Church in East Timor, told LUSA news agency in a telephone conversation, that it was not true he invited Indonesian civilian and military officials to his residence for this year's Christmas celebration.

The English-language daily, The Jakarta Post, reported on 26 December that: "Bishop Belo and his clergy threw an open house yesterday morning which lasted until noon. Among the guests were leaders of the provincial government and the military."

"I invited no-one," the prelate said, but at that point the telephone conversation was cut.

After restoring telephonic contact with the Bishop, LUSA was told by him that there were 41 persons in detention who being charged for activities in connection with the 12 November massacre last year.

[Official sources said earlier that the number of detainees awaiting trial in Dili was 32.]

When the conversation again returned to the story in the Jakarta Post, the Bishop described the report as a lie, saying it was not the tradition for receptions to be held at the Bishop's residence with Indonesian authorities among the guests. But once again at this point, the phone-line was cut.
/* Written 10:51 pm May 12, 1991 by gn:tapol in igc:reg.easttimor */
/* ----- "Pope Blesses Timor Demonstrators" ----- */
Subject: Pope Blesses Timor Demonstrators

/* Written 5:46 am May 11, 1991 by igc:apakabar in gn:reg.indonesia */
/* ----- "Pope Blesses Timor Demonstrators" ----- */
Source: Reuter. Date: 10 May 91. Story Type: News. Original
Language: English. Dateline: Lisbon. Byline: None. Text:
Abridged. Brief Remark: Forwarded.

DEMONSTRATORS IN LISBON ASK POPE'S HELP FOR EAST TIMOR

Refugees from Portugal's former colony of East Timor demonstrated during Pope John Paul's visit to Lisbon on Friday asking him to help the mainly-Roman Catholic territory Indonesia seized in 1975.

The Pope made a brief stopover in East Timor during a visit to Indonesia in October 1989.

"Pope, do not forget the suffering people of Timor," proclaimed a banner unfurled by demonstrators who jumped over security barriers after a Mass celebrated by the Pope in a Lisbon stadium.

"Timor is the same as Kuwait. We want a referendum, democracy and freedom," said another, referring to the Iraqi invasion of the emirate last August which provoked a massive international military operation against Baghdad's forces.

Security men prevented the demonstrators getting near the Pope, but he stopped to read the black and white banners as he walked out of the stadium and then silently blessed the small group of Timorese waving at him.

Over 80 per cent of the Southeast Asian territory's population is Roman Catholic and the Church was the first to give

international publicity to reports that hundreds of thousands of Timorese died of starvation after the Indonesian invasion.

Timorese refugees said Indonesian security forces made many arrests after demonstrations for Timorese independence during the Pope's visit.

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/* Written 10:55 pm May 12, 1991 by gn:tapol in igc:reg.easttimor */
/* ----- "Pope on Timor -- Human Rights" ----- */
Subject: Pope on Timor -- Human Rights

/* Written 7:44 am May 12, 1991 by igc:apakabar in gn:reg.indonesia */
/* ----- "Pope on Timor -- Human Rights" ----- */
Source: Reuter. Date: 11 May 91. Story Type: News. Original
Language: English. Dateline: Angra do Heroismo, Azores. Byline:
None. Text: Full. Brief Remark: Forwarded.

POPE TRIES TO MAKE UP FOR EAST TIMOR "BLUNDER"

Pope John Paul appealed on Saturday for Indonesia to respect human rights in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor which it invaded in 1975.

His remarks followed Portuguese press criticism that he failed to mention the fate of the predominantly Roman Catholic territory during a Lisbon mass on Friday.

"John Paul has once again forgotten Timor," the leading national daily Publico said in front page headline.

In a radio interview on the plane taking him to the Azores, Portugal's mid-Atlantic archipelago, the Pope tried to make up for his "blunder."

He said he had wanted to address a group of Timorese demonstrators at the end of the Lisbon mass, but had to give up because there was too much noise.

"I wanted to say a nice word to them, but then the whole stadium started applauding ... so it was impossible to say anything," he told Portugal's Roman Catholic radio station Radio Renascenca.

"I hope this problem of East Timor will be solved in a way that respects the principles of justice, human rights and international law."

Portugal still harbours a strong sense of guilt over the way it abandoned East Timor when its colonial empire collapsed after the 1974 revolution.

A guerrilla movement is still fighting Indonesian rule in the territory of less than a million people, 16 years after it was annexed by the world's most populous Moslem state.

"What I want for this community is ... that it should be able to live according to the principles that it believes in -- with its own language, its own culture, its own traditions and its own religion," the Pope said.

A small group of Timorese tried to approach the Pope at the end of Friday's mass, but was stopped by security guards. The demonstrators unfurled banners denouncing what they said was torture by the Indonesian authorities in East Timor.

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/* Written 10:59 pm May 12, 1991 by gn:tapol in igc:reg.easttimor */
/* ----- "Pope On Timor -- Daily Prayers" ----- */
Subject: Pope On Timor -- Daily Prayers

/* Written 7:47 am May 12, 1991 by igc:apakabar in gn:reg.indonesia */
/* ----- "Pope On Timor -- Daily Prayers" ----- */
Source: Apparently EFE. Date: 11 May 91. Story Type: News.
Original Language: English. Dateline: Angra do Heroismo, Azores.
Byline: None. Text: Full. Brief Remark: Forwarded.

POPE JOHN PAUL II APPEALS FOR PEACE IN EAST TIMOR

Pope John Paul II on Saturday appealed for a just solution to the problems of the former Portuguese colony of East Timor, annexed by Indonesia in 1975.

"I want (East Timor) to live according to its own principles and convictions, culture and traditions," he told Portuguese Roman Catholic radio station Radio Renascenca during his four-day visit to Portugal.

"Every day I say special prayers" for East Timor, he added.

When Portugal's colonial empire broke up in 1974, it abandoned East

Timor which was subsequently annexed by Indonesia.

The Pope stressed that he did not visit countries in a political role but "as bishop and as Pope, a Church pastor who visits different Catholic communities."

The Pope was met by President Mario Soares and local officials at the airport in Azores before boarding the pope-mobile for the island capital of Angra do Heroismo where he celebrated mass in the unconventional setting of a bullring.

Before returning to Lisbon later Saturday the Pope will visit the mid-Atlantic archipelago's other main city, Ponta Delgada on Sao Miguel island.

The high point of the trip, the pontiff's second to Portugal since he became Pope in 1978, will be a visit to the shrine of the Virgin of Fatima on Monday.

John Paul II first visited Fatima in 1982 to pay homage to the virgin after an assassination attempt on him a year earlier on May 13, the Roman Catholic Church's day devoted to Our Lady of Fatima.

He said on arrival in Portugal that part of the reason for the trip was "to give thanks for the protection of the Virgin Mother who saved my life 10 years ago."

The Fatima shrine marks the spot where three young shepherdesses claimed to have seen a series of apparitions of the mother of Jesus in 1917.

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/* Written 6:10 pm Dec 20, 1991 by gn:tapol in igc:reg.easttimor */
/* ----- "Pope's Timor 'Stand' Unchanged" ----- */
Subject: Pope's Timor 'Stand' Unchanged

/* Written 4:51 pm Dec 19, 1991 by igc:apakabar in gn:reg.indonesia */
/* ----- "Pope's Timor 'Stand' Unchanged" ----- */

Excerpt from material received by Task Force Indonesia:

Pope John Paul II will not take a stand whether the predominantly Catholic diocese of East Timor should be part of Indonesia or not until the international dispute over the territory is resolved, Catholic bishops in Indonesia said Thursday.

Following a meeting with Indonesian President Suharto, Monsignors Darmaatmaja and Sukoto said the Roman Catholic Church leader will not agree that the diocese is part of Indonesia until its government can "assure" the world East Timor is part of the

country.

Darmaatmaja, Chairman of the Bishops' Conference of Indonesia, said, "The Pope has a principle that the church as a religious institution will not interfere in politics."

Sukoto said in the meeting they also discussed the november 12 incident in East Timor's capital of Dili. (Kyodo, Jakarta, Dec 19)

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/* Written 9:01 am Dec 15, 1991 by gn:tapol in igc:reg.easttimor */
/* ----- "Vatican Envoy in Dili!" ----- */
Subject: Vatican Envoy in Dili!
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/* Written 3:27 pm Dec 14, 1991 by igc:apakabar in gn:reg.indonesia */
/* ----- "Vatican Envoy in Dili!" ----- */
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Excerpt from material received by Task Force Indonesia:

An envoy of Pope John Paul II has arrived in the East Timor capital of Dili for a three-day visit but declined to disclose the purpose of his stay.

Vatican envoy Monsignor Giovanni de Andrea arrived on Friday, the leading Kompas daily said. It quoted an East Timorese priest, Alberto Ricardo da Silva, as saying the envoy's visit was purely a "pastoral mission" and in no way linked to the shooting in Dili on November 12.

De Andrea was met at the airport by East Timor Bishop Carlos Ximenez Belo and two other clergymen and was immediately whisked off to the Lahane seminary, the Jakarta Post said. They declined to comment on the visit.

The Jakarta Post cited sources close to Belo as saying that de Andrea came to get first hand information on the November 12 incident when troops shot into a crowd killing 19 people according to the official count.

The Berita Buana daily said the envoy had already been briefed on the Dili shooting by KWI Chairman Bishop Darmaatmaja in Jakarta where he spent three days before flying to East Timor. (Reuter, AFP, Dec 14)

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/* Written 10:07 pm Dec 23, 1991 by gn:tapol in igc:reg.easttimor */
/* ----- "Papal envoy leaves East Timor" ----- */
'Everyone traumatised' says Papal envoy
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Source: Publico. Date 23 December 1991.
News report, summarised from the Portuguese.

The Papal envoy to Timor tells Publico:

"EVERYONE THERE IS VERY TRAUMATISED"

"Everyone there is very traumatised" was the comment of the Papal envoy to Dili, Monsignor Giovanni Andrea, when asked by Publico about the situation in East Timor on leaving the territory at the end of last week. During his stay, he met not only the head of the Catholic Church, Bishop Belo, but also other members of the Catholic community.

When asked about the content of his mission and the results of his conversations with Bishop Belo, the Papal envoy was very reserved, saying only that his visit was intended as a "demonstration of affection" on the part of the Vatican.

The envoy said that he had been asked by the Holy Father to "listen to and give courage to the Apostolic Administrator of Dili". The initiative was also described as gesture of

frateral support from the Holy Father to a bishop who is being called up to discharge his ministry in difficult circumstances".

/* Written 9:28 pm Jan 19, 1992 by cscheiner in igc:reg.easttimor */
/* ----- "Meeting with Senator Pell on East T" ----- */
From: Charles Scheiner <cscheiner>
Subject: Meeting with Senator Pell on East T

/* Written 6:49 pm Jan 19, 1992 by SEANET-L@NUSVM.BITNET in cdp:bitl.seanet */
/* ----- "Meeting with Senator Pell on East T" ----- */
Reply-To: Southeast Asian Studies List <SEANET-L@NUSVM.BITNET>
From: Loren Ryter <ST701831@BROWNVN.BITNET>
Subject: Meeting with Senator Pell on East Timor

This is to report the outcome of a meeting with Senator Claiborne Pell regarding East Timor that occurred on Friday, November 17th, 1992 at his office in Providence, Rhode Island.

Senator Pell is the head of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and he has been a leader in the issue of East Timor in the past.

The meeting included Allan Nairn of New Yorker magazine, Amy Goodman of Pacifica radio, a Portuguese Priest who has been in East Timor who wishes to keep a low profile, Dean David Targan of Brown University, Carolina Matos who edits the Portuguese American, and myself, a student at Brown.

Senator Pell would:

- 1) support a bill which would cut off ALL aid to Indonesia contingent on its adherence to human rights.
- 2) support a congressional hearing on the matter
- 3) like to see a statement written by Nairn entered into the congressional record.

He has opened up ties to us through his office to work through this issue.

Also, a group at Brown is working on sponsoring a forum in Providence, and if anyone would like to help, please contact me.

--Loren Ryter (ST701831@BROWNVN.BROWN.EDU)
/* Written 3:25 pm Jun 11, 1991 by gn:tapol in igc:reg.easttimor */
/* ----- "Bishops silenced on East Timor" ----- */
Portuguese bishops silenced on East Timor

Source: East Timor News (Lisbon) Subject Memo. Date: 27 May 1991. This is a slightly abridged version of a 4-page report.

EAST TIMOR AND THE POPE'S VISIT TO PORTUGAL

A letter signed by prominent Catholic figures in Portugal, both clergy and laity, calling upon John Paul II to make a pronouncement in favour of the rights of the Timorese people, was handed in to the Papal Nunciature to be transmitted to the Pope. However the signatories were informed that it would in fact not be delivered because the Nunciature considered it "indelicate" that the letter had already been announced in the press. On being questioned about this, the assistant bishop of Lisbon, Albino Cleto, aligned himself with the Nunciature: "I think that there are other means which would achieve better

results. A letter, addressed to the Pope, which passes through the hands of many people, is not a very appropriate way to do things and will never reach its destination" (Diario de Noticias 9 May 1991)

The Catholic hierarchy itself in Portugal is aware of the issue. In 1984 it spoke out on the subject and in 1989 referred to the "physical and cultural genocide" which has continued to take place in East Timor: the people there "aspire to the full expression of their own individuality, which they are prevented from achieving by genocide." But the bishops have found themselves restricted in the showing in their support for the Timorese people because of pressures from Vatican diplomatic quarters. When questioned by journalists about the letter from prominent Catholics mentioned above, the Cardinal of Lisbon, who is also the head of the Bishops' Conference, declared some days before the visit that John Paul II "knows about the problem" of East Timor but went on to suggest that the occasion was not propitious to speak on the subject. (Publico 30 April 1991)

The weekly "Expresso" revealed that the bishop of Setubal, who, along with some other Catholics, had promoted a campaign of letters to the UN Secretary-General to appeal for support for Bishop Belo of Dili's call for a referendum in the territory, had been forbidden from carrying through the initiative as a result of an intervention on the part of the Nunciature, acting on instructions from the Vatican Secretary of State (Expresso 7 May 1991)

"John Paul II forgets Timor once more"

The Vatican news service took a different position to that adopted by the Portuguese and East Timorese Churches: a Radio Vatican document, distributed to journalists accompanying the Pontiff during his visit to Portugal, explained that: "The Socialist Party Government led by Mario Soares lost East Timor which became the 27th province of Indonesia on 17 July 1976" : this surprising statement goes against all UN decisions. The UN has never accepted the forced integration (as recently as last March Perez de Cuellar again declared that the East Timor problem was identical to those of Namibia and Western Sahara).

.....

On arriving in Lisbon John Paul went directly to the stadium where he celebrated mass. The theme of the sermon was evangelization in the context of the "Discoveries which were made by Portuguese navigators: "The sons and daughters of this country have become the messengers of the Good News amongst other peoples.... they traced new routes to the West and South, and passing the Cape of Good Hope they went to the East, and there they met the peoples and cultures with whom they were to share their christian love: Cape Verde, Guinea, Angola, St. Tome and Principe, Mozambique, India, Brazil, China, Japan, Malaysia, Indonesia". The Popes's own omission of East Timor and inclusion of all the other former colonies suggests that the Vatican regards it as a part of Indonesia.

As soon as the final blessing had been given at the end of the

mass, banners were raised from the area of the football pitch that was occupied mainly by young people. A group of these quickly detached themselves and moved to the front row. In white letters against a black background their banners read: "Our brothers in East Timor are arrested, tortured, executed! For liberty, justice and peace", "We are dying as a people and as a nation. We ask the world not to abandon us", "East Timor = Palestine", East Timor = Kuwait, we want a referendum, democracy, liberty", " Long live Xanana Gusmao, the leader of the resistance". These were young Timorese in exile in Portugal who were demonstrating, but behind them in the middle of the stadium, young Portuguese then began to slowly unfurl an enormous banner which extended the entire width of the stadium: TIMOR IS SUFFERING, young Portuguese Catholics in solidarity". It is unlikely that the Pope saw this banner as he made a rapid exit from the stadium, but he passed in front of the young Timorese and certainly saw them. The civil authorities left by the same path, and the President of the Republic when later asked to comment on the demonstration said that "this is a sentiment that is strongly held in Portugal and their action was a manifestation of the generosity of those young people. The fight for the defense of the civil rights of the people of East Timor must continue" (Diario de Noticias, 11 May 1991)

.....

"It is said that the Vatican is more interested in the future prospects of the Church in the colossal Indonesia than in the tiny nation whose future it is menacing... this is what the Christian must steadfastly reject in the name of Jesus whose body is forever marked with the suffering of the poor of this world, as the Pope recalled for us in his sermon", wrote the Dominican Bento Domingues (Publico 11 May 1991)

The Spanish and French press coverage of the visit also gave prominence to the East Timor question with "La Vanguardia", "ABC", "EL Diario Vasco", "Le Figaro" and "Liberation" all commenting on the Pope's reference to Indonesia in his sermon in Lisbon and the reactions this provoked in Portugal.

The Pope breaks the silence:

On the following day the Pope departed for the Azores. In the plane, John Paul II took the opportunity to call for the journalist who was covering the trip for the Portuguese Catholic radio station "Radio Renovacao". He made the following statement for broadcasting: "I spoke about the evangelization carried out by Portugal in its colonization period 500 years ago, in those islands which today are called Indonesia. Not only in Timor but in all those islands. And it is a historical truth that this colonization and later evangelization occurred - their results are still to be seen since the most Catholic islands are those of Timor and Flores. Yes, at the end, the representatives of the Timorese community were there with their banners and I was going to say some words of friendship on the spot, but the entire stadium began applauding and cheering and it was not possible to say anything. But, for me the problem is the following: during my visit to Indonesia and also during my visit to Timor I said to

the authorities that I was not going there as a politician but as a Pope and bishop, a pastor of the Church visiting the various Catholic communities. As to Timor, it is an important and solidly Catholic community, and so I wanted to visit it and that which I wish for that community - which I also said during my visit to Timor - is that it should be able to live in accord with its own principles and customs, its own language and culture. The political problem is a problem to be taken up in another place: the United Nations. I hope - I said this there and must say it again here - that the problem of East Timor is resolved in accord with the principles of justice, of human and of national rights."

"As to the suffering, I already spoke about that when I was there and when I celebrated mass. I have kept in contact with the bishop there, Mgr. Belo. I also at that time paid a special tribute to the victims when kissing the altar and on the steps of the altar. But I must stress one thing: if you talk about forgetting about Timor, that does not correspond to my true feelings, because I say a special prayer for that island every day." in the context of the "Discoveries which were made by Portuguese navigators: "The sons and daughters of this country have be/* Written 11:01 pm May 12, 1991 by gn:tapol in igc:reg.easttime
/* ----- "Islam In East Timor" ----- */
Subject: Islam In East Timor

/* Written 7:48 am May 12, 1991 by igc:apakabar in gn:reg.indonesia */
/* ----- "Islam In East Timor" ----- */
Source: CNS (Catholic News Service). Date: 9 May 91. Story Type: News. Original Language: English. Dateline: Dili, East Timor. Byline: None. Text: Full. Brief Remark: Forwarded.

MUSLIM LEADER SAYS ISLAM GROWING IN CATHOLIC EAST TIMOR

A Muslim leader says that Islam is growing in the predominately Catholic Indonesian-occupied territory of East Timor.

But Muslims enjoy a harmonious relationship with followers of other religions on the island, particularly Catholics who form the majority, said Haji Abdullah Sagram, a member of East Timor's Islamic Ulemas Council. His comments were reported by UCA News, an Asian church news agency based in Hong Kong.

He said that although Muslims are currently a small minority the region, they practice their religion freely.

"Thousands of Muslims came from various district towns to attend the Id-ul-Fitr (Islamic feast marking the end of Ramadan's monthlong fast) celebration without any disturbance," Sagram said.

Most of the Muslims in East Timor are recent Indonesian arrivals. Their number grew rapidly after East Timor was opened to immigration in January 1989.

At present, Sagram said, there are 16 small buildings or rooms for the performance of Islamic religious duties in Dili, the Timorese capital, and in other towns.

According to government figures, the Muslim population in East Timor is about 2 percent of the total population of 700,000. Catholics comprise 92 percent, Protestants 4 percent, Hindus 0.2 percent, Buddhists 0.1 percent and animists 1.7 percent.

East Timor was closed following the 1975 invasion by Indonesia. At least 100,000 East Timorese and possibly double that number may have died as a result of the fighting between troops and independence fighters, according to press reports.

There has been no interreligious conflict in Dili since Portuguese colonial times, said Mayor Domingus Soares, a Catholic.

"This harmonious life can be maintained through formal and non-formal meetings and cooperation among religious groups," Soares said.

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/* Written 9:40 pm Dec 13, 1991 by gn:tapol in igc:reg.easttimor */  
/* ----- "Sao Jose school to be closed down" ----- */  
Sao Jose School to be closed
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Source: Tempo. Date: 7 December 1991. Abridged.

[The facts regarding the school's history are as stated in Tempo and we do not vouch for their accuracy.]

CLOSING DOWN A LEFTOVER FROM PORTUGAL

The Portuguese-language Sao Jose School, known as Sao Jose Externato, will soon be closed down. The school has been shut since the 12 November massacre; according to one source, "many Externato pupils took part in the Santa Cruz ceremony". The school has long been suspected of producing 'anti-integration' elements. "I shall ask for the school to be closed down," Major-General Sintong Panjaitan [commander of the Udayana Military Command which covers the territory of East Timor] told journalists last month.

Irvan Masduki, chief of the Legal Affairs and Public Relations Bureau of the Education Department in Jakarta, said that the Department is in favour of closing down the school but had to proceed cautiously because it is under the protection of Bishop Belo which means that it falls within the competence of the Vatican.

The school was founded in 1964 and had a reputation for producing people who played an important role in society; many were able to continue their studies in Portugal. The school curriculum follows the Portuguese model, the medium of instruction is Portuguese with no Indonesian being used. The only languages used besides Portuguese are Tetum and English.

The school was closed down in 1976 but it reopened in 1983 to cater for young Timorese whose parents had fled to Portugal and wanted to join their parents, so needed an education that would prepare them for Portugal. It was intended that the school would remain open for four years but it continued to function as there were no moves to close it down. At the latest count, it had 537 pupils and 17 teachers.

Dr Wirjono, Rector of the University of East Timor, said he was surprised that there was a school that did not follow the national curriculum. However, some Timorese officials wanted the school to continue. Governor Mario Carrascalao for example saw it as an important centre for language instruction because "much of the history of East Timor is written in Portuguese".

However, since the Pope's visit in 1989, the school has been regarded as a problem. Many Externato pupils took part in the

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anti-integrasi demonstration during the Papal Mass.

Since the 12 November incident, it seems that the fate of Externato Sao Jose has now been sealed. "The school should conform to the [rules of the] Republic of Indonesia. The Department of Education is taking the necessary action to deal with the school," said Irvan.

/* Written 6:55 pm Dec 14, 1991 by gn:tapol in igc:reg.easttimor */
/* ----- "Japanese bishops to Belo and the U" ----- */
Japan's Bishops write to Bishop Belo and the UN

Original documents, abridged

At a meeting of the Catholic Bishops' Conference of Japan held on 12 December 1991, all three archbishops and 14 bishops of Japan signed a letter of condolence to Bishop Belo, head of the Catholic Church of East Timor. They also wrote to UN Secretary-General, Xavier Perez de Cuellar.

The letter to Bishop Belo said:

"We wish to express our great sorrow about this incident... and to convey our heartfelt sympathies to you."

On 20 November, a press conference was held in Tokyo by Father Stefani Renato, a priest from Nagoya Diocese. Fr Stefani who was in Dili on the day of the Santa Cruz massacre, "told everything he witnessed and heard from the people. He stressed how cruel the incident was because the Military fired on unarmed and helpless citizens."

After referring to the earlier incident at Motael Church where young people who demand self-determination were taking refuge, the bishops said:

"We wish that this right of self-determination which is the right of every nation and one that is guarantee by the UN Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights should be given back to the East Timorese through appropriate ways and means."

After reiterating support for Bishop Belo's call for a referendum in February 1989, and calling on the UN to carry out a thorough investigation of the massacre while doing its best to find a total solution to the question of East Timor, the bishops ended their letter:

"Japan occupied East Timor for three years and a half years during the Second World War and destroyed its beautiful cathedral. We remember this crime committed by our nation and sincerely repent of this action. Because of this sad history we feel a very strong solidarity with you. We wish that freedom will be established as soon as possible in East Timor and pray for you and your people that our Mighty Lord will help you with all His great strength."

The letter to the UN Secretary-General expressed deep concern as an ecclesiastical community in the same Asia-Oceania region.

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"Not only the church in Motael but many others throughout East Timor have been carrying out a humanitarian role in protecting the citizens whose fundamental rights have been and are continuing to be violated. Many of them have been in danger of losing their lives. The reason why the churches have acted in this way is because of the continuing violation of the various rights of the East Timorese people. In fact it was because of these violations that Bishop Belo felt compelled to ask you, in a letter in February 1989, to conduct a referendum in East Timor.

"We support this demand made by Bishop Belo and we plead with you to find a complete solution to the East Timorese problem. You expressed your intention to send a UN human rights specialists team to make a thorough investigation of this massacre. We strongly appeal that you quickly put this intention into practice so that there will be no more precious lives lost in East Timor."

From apakabar@access.digex.net Mon Oct 4 05:37:17 1993

Received: from access.digex.net by igc.apc.org (4.1/Revision: 1.108)
id AA08323; Mon, 4 Oct 93 05:37:15 PDT

Received: by access.digex.net id AA14109

(5.67a8/IDA-1.4.4 for askohen@igc.apc.org); Mon, 4 Oct 1993 08:38:37 -0400

From: "John A. MacDougall" <apakabar@access.digex.net>

Message-Id: <199310041238.AA14109@access.digex.net>

Subject: ET: Need for Checking 'Facts' (fwd)

To: askohen@igc.apc.org

Date: Mon, 4 Oct 1993 08:38:37 -0400 (EDT)

X-Mailer: ELM [version 2.4 PL21]

Mime-Version: 1.0

Content-Type: text/plain; charset=US-ASCII

Content-Transfer-Encoding: 7bit

Content-Length: 1460

Status: RO

Forwarded message:

>From easttimor-request@svcs1.digex.net Sun Oct 3 17:38:23 1993

Date: Sun, 3 Oct 93 14:28:00 PDT

From: Indonesia Publications/Task Force Indonesia <apakabar@igc.apc.org>

Message-Id: <9310032128.AA07814@igc.apc.org>

To: easttimor@access.digex.net

Subject: ET: Need for Checking 'Facts'

/* Written 11:22 am Oct 3, 1993 by kahn@mathp7.jussieu.fr in igc:reg.easttimor

/* ----- "Swedish interviews M. Ximenes" ----- */

From: kahn@mathp7.jussieu.fr (Bruno Kahn)

Subject: Re: Swedish interviews M. Ximenes

In his interview by a Swedish parliamentarian, Mateus Ximenes accuses Lopes da Cruz of not letting the students at his home receive telephone calls from abroad.

I am aware of two instances in which this is not true. One is an interview that was accounted for on this conference (I don't have the references at hand, unfortunately). The other one is a telephone interview performed by a journalist of Radio France Internationale. The journalist told me personally that she had been able to talk to one of the students. As they spoke poor Portuguese, Lopes da Cruz also acted as an interpreter, apparently not distorting questions/answers too much if I judge by the answers the journalist

told me she had received.

I feel this point, as well as the other accusations of the East Timorese students, should be double-checked as far as possible. Unfair accusations or exaggerations can feed pro-Indonesian propaganda.

Bruno

East Timor Research Project P. O. Box 32307 • Washington, D.C. 20007

Tel: 202 363 1649
Fax: 202 363 3658

August 14, 1991

M. Sergio Regazzoni
CCFD
4, rue Jean-Lantier
75001 Paris
FRANCE

Dear Sergio,

On behalf of all those involved in this endeavor, let me thank you for CCFD's recent grant to the East Timor Research Project. I know this was not an easy situation, to say the least, and I thank you for your efforts.

There have been some interesting developments in Washington. The US Senate approved a resolution on East Timor on July 29, with broad support of both parties. And a letter to President Bush is currently circulating in the Senate for co-signature. These materials are enclosed.

As of now, I plan to be in Paris at some point in October, and hope to meet with you at that time.

Once again, let me thank you for your courtesy and support.

Enclosed is the grant acknowledgement form.

Sincerely,



Arnold Kohen
Project Director

August 14, 1991

Sally O'Neill
Trocaire
169 Booterstown Ave.
Co. Dublin, Ireland

Dear Sally,

It was good to see you at Trocaire in May, albeit briefly.

I thought you would like to see a copy of a resolution on East Timor that recently was passed by the US Senate with strong bipartisan backing -- the result of years and years of work.

Needless to say, the support Trocaire has provided for this effort is much appreciated.

With best wishes,



Arnold S. Kohen
Project Director

East Timor Research Project P. O. Box 32307 • Washington, D.C. 20007

Tel: 202 363 1649
Fax: 202 363 3658

August 14, 1991

Mr. Jef Felix
Broederlijk Delen
Koningsstraat 171
B-1210 Brussel,
Belgium

Dear Mr. Felix,

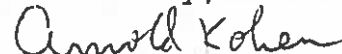
Enclosed is a resolution on East Timor that passed the US Senate with broad support of both parties in recent weeks - the result of many years of work.

The support of Broederlijk Delen for this effort is much appreciated.

Should circumstances permit it, I should be visiting Europe in October, and hope to meet with you and others in Brussels at that time. I will be in contact as soon as my plans are clear.

With best wishes to you and your colleagues.

Sincerely,



Arnold S. Kohen
Project Director

East Timor Research Project P. O. Box 32307 • Washington, D.C. 20007

Tel: 202 363 1649
Fax: 202 363 3658

August 14, 1991

M. Bernard Holzer
Secretary General
CCFD
4, rue Jean-Lantier
75001 Paris
FRANCE

Dear M. Holzer,

On behalf of all those involved in this effort, let me thank you for CCFD's recent grant to the East Timor Research Project.

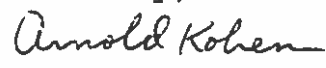
I would also like to thank you for your courtesy in taking the time to meet with me at the home of Rene Barreau in May. I especially appreciate this in light of the fact that you had just returned from a trip to Canada.

I believe you will be interested in some recent developments in Washington. The US Senate approved a resolution on East Timor on July 29, with broad support of both parties. And a letter to President Bush is currently circulating in the Senate for co-signature. These materials are enclosed.

The support of CCFD continues to be very important in maintaining and expanding this effort.

Once again, let me thank you for your courtesy and support.

Sincerely,


Arnold Kohen
Project Director

August 14, 1991

M. Rene Barreau
CCFD
4, rue Jean-Lantier
75001 Paris
FRANCE

Dear Rene,

On behalf of all those involved in this endeavor, let me thank you and your colleagues for supporting CCFD's recent grant to the East Timor Research Project. We know this has not been an easy situation, to say the least, and we thank you for your efforts.

I hope that your trip (and that of Jean-Pierre Catry) to East Timor was productive and not too difficult. I look forward to hearing about it.

There have been some interesting developments in Washington. The US Senate approved a resolution on East Timor on July 29, with broad support of both parties; I gave copies to Michel Robert in New York last week. And a letter to President Bush is currently circulating in the Senate for co-signature. (Please note that the July 18 letter -- on orders of the senator leading the effort -- cannot be released to the press until it is finished, which will not be until late September at the earliest) These materials are enclosed.

As of now, I plan to be in Paris at some point in October, and hope to meet with you and ASTO at that time. And let me thank you and Marie-Therese once again for having me to dinner in May.

With best wishes to all,



Arnold Kohen
Project Director

August 14, 1991

Donnacadh Hurley
Trocaire
169 Booterstown Ave.
Co. Dublin, Ireland

Dear Donnacadh,

It was good to speak with you today. Don't complain too much about my "Irishness:" it helps in the kind of work I do!

Things have been furiously busy around here. Enclosed is a resolution on East Timor that passed the US Senate on July 29 with broad bipartisan support, plus a companion letter that is currently circulating. (The groundrules for the letter are that it is not to be released to the press until it is complete, which will not be for some weeks. The resolution, however, can be released.) These developments, as partially outlined in the enclosures, should go a long way toward stimulating activity in 1991 and beyond, both here and internationally. There is a long and interesting story behind these recent happenings, but I'll save that for when we meet in Dublin, which I hope will be in October, as I mentioned.

Needless to say, the longstanding support of Trocaire is much appreciated and is an important element in the continuing vigor of this endeavor. Given our gains in Congress over the last year, it is crucial that our follow-up activity be as strong and consistent as possible -- especially considering the likelihood of the Portuguese Parliamentary visit to East Timor over the next year, which carries with it the potential for great bloodshed and the need for heightened action internationally. To facilitate this activity, in light of our modest overall budget, we are asking contributing agencies to consider an increase in funding to the Project. Should Trocaire be in a position to contribute as much as 8,000 Irish Pounds to the Project in 1992, it would be of great help toward advancing our mutual concerns. In any event, I hope to discuss these matters with you when I visit Dublin in October or thereabouts. You should have our three year proposal in your files.

Also enclosed are the revised financial reports of the Project for 1989 and 1990.

Should you need further information, please contact me. Otherwise, I will be in touch in late September regarding my visit to Dublin.

Thanks again for your hospitality during my May visit. I will look forward to having more time to talk and seeing more of Dublin the next time.

With best wishes,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Arnold".

Arnold S. Kohen
Project Director

All the best,

Arnold Kohen
Project Director

East Timor Research Project P. O. Box 32307 • Washington, D.C. 20007

Tel: 202 363 1649
Fax: 202 363 3658

August 13, 1991

Steve Alston
CAFOD
2 Romero Close
Stockwell Road
London SW9 9TY England

Dear Steve,

Enclosed is a resolution on East Timor that passed the US Senate on July 29 with broad bipartisan support, plus a companion letter that is currently circulating. (The groundrules for the letter are that it is not to be released to the press until it is complete, which will not be for some weeks. The resolution, however, can be released.) These developments, as outlined in the enclosures, should go a long way toward stimulating activity in 1991 and beyond, both here and internationally. There is a long and interesting story behind these recent happenings, but I'll save that for our next meeting in the Portuguese cafe on Stockwell Road.

Needless to say, the support of CAFOD and your confidence in our effort is much appreciated as well as crucial to the continuing vigor of this endeavor.

You will have received a copy of the resolution via fax by the time you get this, but I thought it would be good for you to have a clean copy. Julian, for one, would be interested in the assortment of characters in the Senate that pushed this thing through.

Looking forward to seeing you (in October, perhaps??)

All the best,


Arnold Kohen
Project Director

August 13, 1991

Tom Johnston
CCODP
3028 Danforth Avenue
Toronto, Ontario, Canada M1N 1A3

Dear Tom,

It was very good to speak with you and find out that you are well.

Enclosed is the resolution on East Timor I mentioned, which passed the US Senate on July 29 with broad bipartisan support, plus a companion letter that is currently circulating. These developments, as outlined in the enclosures, should go a long way toward stimulating activity in 1991 and beyond, both here and internationally.

Needless to say, the support of CCODP and your longstanding confidence in our effort is much appreciated as well as crucial to the continuing vigor of this endeavor, which continues to have a significant impact on the East Timor situation.

Try to get down here before long, and I'll try to do the same. I very much appreciated your hospitality and kindness when I visited Toronto in March.

Do take care of yourself.

All the best,

Arnold

Arnold Kohen
Project Director

PS Have a look at the NY Times
caption on the Pope's latest Timor
Statement.

August 13, 1991

Jess Agustin
CCODP
5633 Sherbrooke, est
Montreal, Quebec, Canada H1N 1A3

Dear Jess,

We have some good news here -- a resolution on East Timor passed the US Senate on July 29 with broad bipartisan support, and a companion letter is currently circulating. These developments, as outlined in the enclosures, should go a long way toward stimulating activity in 1991 and beyond, both here and internationally.

Needless to say, the support of CCODP is much appreciated as well as crucial to the continuing vigor of this endeavor.

Enclosed is the acknowledgement of receipt form for CCODP's 1991 contribution to the Project. On behalf of all those involved in this effort, let me thank CCODP for its confidence in our work.

As I noted in an earlier communication that included the Project's three year proposal, it would be extremely helpful if CCODP were able to act on the Project's proposal for 1992 funding by January. This would greatly improve the efficiency of the Project and assist us in our planning.

I will be in touch soon to discuss your trip to East Timor and follow-up efforts.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,



Arnold S. Kohen
Project Director

MALCOLM WALLOP
WYOMING

COMMITTEES:

ENERGY AND NATURAL RESOURCES
SMALL BUSINESS
ARMED SERVICES

United States Senate
WASHINGTON, DC 20510-5001

WASHINGTON OFFICE (202) 224-8441
CASPER OFFICE (307) 261-8415
2291 FEDERAL BUILDING 82601
CHEYENNE OFFICE (307) 634-0626
2009 FEDERAL CENTER 82001
LANDER OFFICE (307) 332-2293
POST OFFICE BUILDING 82820
ROCK SPRINGS OFFICE (307) 382-5127
2516 FOOTHILL BLVD. 82901
SHERIDAN OFFICE (307) 672-8488
40 SOUTH MAIN 82801

November 25, 1991

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

We have grown increasingly concerned about the human rights and humanitarian problems in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor. Our concern has heightened in the wake of the massacre on November 12, when Indonesian security forces killed between 75 and 100 civilians during a funeral procession for an East Timorese youth killed by Indonesian troops on October 28, 1991. We are aware that the Department of State has acknowledged formally at least some aspects of the problems in East Timor. Nonetheless, it appears that further action is warranted in light of continuing reports of repression in East Timor.

Various disturbing reports had come to our attention even prior to the November 12 massacre. Reliable sources in East Timor relate stories of Indonesian forces and those under their control using razor blades to cut the faces of young East Timorese dissenters. Reports from Amnesty International and Asia Watch in recent months detail torture, beatings, and other serious abuses of East Timorese. These, as well as other reports of atrocities, belie reports of improvements in the human rights situation in East Timor and lead us to conclude that the United States needs to take a stronger stand on this matter. We must make it clear to the Indonesian authorities that we are aware of and monitoring closely the situation in East Timor.

On the humanitarian front, we would like to register our concern over the inordinately high rates of tuberculosis, malaria, malnutrition, and infant mortality that exist in East Timor. Such problems are particularly worrisome when one recalls the catastrophic famine that occurred largely at the hands of the Indonesian military in the late 1970s. The United States could be an effective and positive force in this region by seeking ways to insure that the Indonesian government cooperates with private organizations, both secular and religious, that are in a position to help address these problems.

The President
Page 2
November 25, 1991

In addition, we would hope that the United States would be alert to any diplomatic openings that may present themselves in the future, with an eye toward a political solution that might end the needless suffering in East Timor and bring about true self-determination for the territory. The Senate showed its support for such action by passing a resolution on November 21, 1991, which stated, "the President should support the immediate introduction of a resolution in the General Assembly instructing the United Nations Commission on Human Rights to appoint a Special Rapporteur for East Timor to assist in the resolution of the East Timorese conflict in pursuit of the right of self-determination of the East Timorese people."

In conclusion, let us say that we are keenly aware of the value of close relations with the Government of Indonesia. It is precisely because of these close relations that we believe that the Government of Indonesia will be responsive to these concerns.

Sincerely,

Malcolm Wallop

Bob Crutcher

John Chafee

W. W. M. Rogers

Al Gore

Don Ruffe

John Seymour

Chuck Robb

Carl Levin

Jim Dasser

Clair Fea

Shendell Tard

Jay Rahyella

Allen Spector

Tom Maschke

Demis DeCiccini

Alan J. Dixon

John Glenn

Mark R. Santalero

Kevin Brainer

Henry Offord

John R. Gendler

Larry E. Craig

Paul Sabam

Richard Shelby

Herb Kohl

Barbara L. Mikulski

J. L. L. L.

Boel Adams

Carmine Mark

Alfonse D'Amato

Terry Sanford

Al Mins

Chuck Grassley

John McCain

Carl Kennedy

John F. Kerry

Kent Cochrane

Paul Wellstone

Steve Symms

Tom Harkin

Daniel K. Akaka

Sam Brownback

Alan Cranston

Sam Wulfsberg

Joe Biden

Bill Bradley

Frank R. Lautenberg

Arund H. H. Jr.

Patrick Leahy

The President
Page 5
November 25, 1991

Chin: DDA

Alan C. [Signature]

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

3812 Windom Place, NW
Washington, D.C. 20016
Tel. 202-363-1649
Fax 202-363-3658

August 19, 1991

Message for Father Francisco Fernandes

Dear Father Chico,

This morning I received two phone calls from Yorkshire Television, the British television company that wants to visit East Timor very soon. They are anxious to receive the response of Father Cunha to the questions we sent last week.

Has Father Cunha been trying to reach us by fax? It is possible that at times the connection may not work and has to be tried repeatedly.

In any case, please ask Father Cunha to send his responses to us via fax today. The man from Yorkshire Television will be phoning us tomorrow and we want to be able to give him some news.

We will also be trying to reach you by phone.

Very best wishes,

Annie

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

3812 Windom Place, NW
Washington, D.C. 20016
Tel. 202-363-1649
Fax 202-363-3658

August 19, 1991

For Drew Christiansen, S.J.

Through Tom Quigley----one page follows

Dear Tom,

It was good to see you this morning. I searched for Bob Hennemeyer in the cafeteria, but no luck. Please send him my best and tell him that I will be calling him soon.

Attached is the draft letter. I will phone you tomorrow to discuss it.

Best,





**AMNESTY
INTERNATIONAL**
BRITISH SECTION

3 August 1992

Arnold Koehn
3812 Windom Place NW
Washington DC 20016

By fax 0101 202 363 3658

Amnesty International
British Section
99-119 Rosebery Avenue
London EC1R 4RE
Tel: 071-278 6000
Fax: 071-833 1510
Telex: 917621 AIBS

Dear Arnold

Sorry for not getting back to you sooner. The usual madness has prevailed and then I took some time off.

Withing this building, the person you need to talk to is Alison Sanderson. She is responsible for the promotion of all our external events like the one you have in mind.

Further progress depends upon her, so I would suggest you give her a call. I have given her an outline of the idea, so it won't come as a complete surprise to her.

Hope you are well.

Best wishes

Robert Beasley
Campaigns Coordinator

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

3812 Windom Place, NW
Washington, D.C. 20016
Tel. 202-363-1649
Fax 202-363-3658

August 4, 1992

for Victoria Forbes Adam
Amnesty International

(2) Pages

Dear Victoria,

Attached is the news I mentioned.

I may have sounded slightly strange/weird/edgy
on the phone, which may be attributed to my latest attempt to quit
smoking.

It was good to see you in New York.

More soon.

Arnold

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

Jan. 7, 1992

3812 Windom Place, NW
Washington, D.C. 20016
Tel. 202-363-1649
Fax 202-363-3658

For Hilary Coulby
Asia Desk
Oxfam

Dear Hilary,

The coalition keeps getting broader and broader-- see the attached Washington Post article. No, I had nothing to do with it, except in keeping the Post editor's interest up to speed, in general terms.

The attached Senate letter is private. No, it won't end up in The Tablet.

What next? Will you receive an opinion article, signed "The Devil," from The New York Times (or The Wall Street Journal, better yet), announcing that the invasion of East Timor was all a mistake, etc, etc???

Any reactions?

Bert,
Arnold



Catholic Institute for International Relations
Unit 3, Cannonbury Yard,
190a New North Road, Islington, London N1 7BJ

General Secretary: Ian Linden

18 September 1992

To Arnold Kohen

From Catherine Scott

Dear Arnold,

Hope all's well! Here's the section of Timor Link 24 which mentions the two US related items. I would particularly welcome a bit more information about the US/Diet Letter - no. of signatories, who started it, etc.

Looking forward to reading your article on the Horta Peace Proposals on Monday.

Have a nice weekend!

Talk to you soon!

Warm greetings

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'Catherine', is written over the printed name.

Catherine

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

3812 Windom Place, NW
Washington, D.C. 20016
Tel. 202-363-1649
Fax 202-363-3658

Oct. 23, 1991

Fax message for Ms. Marie Lehneis
c/o Bishop Murphy
Fax 301-727-5432

Dear Ms. Lehneis,

Attached is my note to Bishop Murphy and the materials I mentioned. After getting off the phone I realized there is another item you should have, namely a letter the Office of International Justice and Peace at USCC authorized me to send to Diocesan offices around the country.

I thank you for your efforts in this matter. We take no great pleasure in harrassing busy people and are only too aware of how many pressing local questions are competing for one's attention. However, the cumulative effect of these efforts has had its impact over time, and acts as a deterrent on those who would be more brutal without it. As the attached New York Times editorial makes clear, significant numbers in Congress have taken an interest, and this stimulates our government to take an interest that otherwise would not exist.

Should Bishop Murphy decide to contact Senators Mikulski and Sarbanes, it probably would be best to fax them a copy of the three pages of the Wallop letter and the list of current co-signers: this is what we are suggesting to others around the country, in the interest of efficiency.

Thank you again for your attention.

Sincerely,
Arnold Kohen
Arnold Kohen

PS I have also attached an endorsement by Amnesty International. Bishop Murphy spoke at their event in 1985 when they released a major report on East Timor in Washington.

Oct. 21, 1991

Fax message for Stephen M. Colecchi, Diocese of Richmond - 8 Pages

Dear Mr. Colecchi,

Attached are the three pages of the more recent version of the Senate letter I mentioned in our phone conversation, together with the list of senators who have thus far agreed to co-sign.

It would be very good if you could contact Senators Robb (fax 202-224-8689) and Warner (202-224-6295) at their Washington offices as you see fit -- hopefully over the next week -- and encourage them to co-sign (It may be best to fax the three pages of the attached Senate letter) especially in light of current human rights problems like the attached report from East Timor's bishop, etc.

I have attached a few other items from the earlier mailing, for easy reference.

Thank you very much for your assistance in this effort. There is evidence that the cumulative impact of these efforts is most positive -- at least relative to what would happen without them -- and they would not be possible without the help of people such as yourself. People from the church in East Timor with whom we are in contact are quite emphatic on these points.

Sincerely,
Arnold Kohen
Arnold Kohen
Project Director

*Thanks for your understanding
and willingness to help.
It is much appreciated. I
will be in touch.*

From: BITNET%"SEANET-L@NUSVM.BITNET" "Southeast Asian
Studies List" 18-NOV-1991 22:30:21.14 To: "'Carl A. Trocki'"
<CTROCKI@GUVAX.BITNET>
CC:
Subj: Timor news hard copy

Received: From UMDD(\$MAILER) by GUVAX with Jnet id 0595
for CTROCKI@GUVAX; Mon, 18 Nov 1991 22:30 EST
Received: by UMDD (Mailer R2.03B) id 2083; Mon, 18 Nov 91
22:30:31 EST Date: Mon, 18 Nov 1991 19:27:40 PST
Reply-To: Southeast Asian Studies List <SEANET-
L@NUSVM.BITNET> Sender: Southeast Asian Studies List
<SEANET-L@NUSVM.BITNET> From: Charles Scheiner
<cscheiner@IGC.ORG>
Subject: Timor news hard copy
To: "'Carl A. Trocki'" <CTROCKI@GUVAX.BITNET>

I've been taking all the information on the massacre in Dili from
SEANET and related electronic sources (available through
Peacenet) and formatting and printing it out. I now have a 50+
page book (of 3-column, 10-point type, 8-1/2 x 11) which I will
send to anyone who wants to pay the copying costs and postage (US
\$5.00 for domestic US mail, add more for international). Order
by email or by sending the costs to Charles Scheiner, PO Box
1182, White Plains, NY 10602 USA.

April 22, 1991

Message for Sergio Regazzoni, CCFD

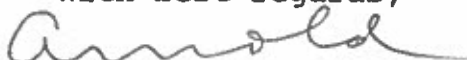
Dear Sergio,

I am in the process of setting up my schedule for a visit to your part of the world. Will you be in Paris and available to meet with me during the week of 27 May? If not, will you be available at any time between 23 May and 5 June? the week of 27 May is the best for me.

I would very much appreciate it if you could inform me of your availability -- or lack of it -- as soon as possible.

If Sergio is not in Paris at this moment, I would greatly appreciate it if one of his colleagues at CCFD could check his schedule during the period mentioned above, and send me a fax with this information.

With best regards,



Arnold Kohen
Project Director

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

3812 Windom Place, NW
Washington, D.C. 20016
Tel. 202-363-1649
Fax 202-363-3658

April 22, 1991

Message to Ms. Hilary Culby, Oxfam

Dear Ms. Culby,

Regarding your conversation with Robert Archer of CIIR, I will be able to meet with you on May 22 at 11AM. Could you confirm this time by fax, as I will need to re-book my ticket tomorrow.

Thank you for your attention.

Sincerely,


Arnold Kohen

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

3812 Windom Place, NW
Washington, D.C. 20016
Tel. 202-363-1649
Fax 202-363-3658

PS/you will get a
complete set in much
better form.

April 30, 1991

Dear Marty,

Thanks very much for
taking the time to meet with
Donaciano, John + me. They very
much appreciated it. On our
trip over to the Rayburn office,
Tony walked into the reception area
as we were leaving + John gave
Tony the inscribed book + we
exchanged greetings. The visitors
were very pleased.

I also introduced the visitors to
Monica + explained her pivotal role +
patience throughout the push last year.
all the best. 3 Pages follow Arnold

The New York TimesWASHINGTON BUREAU
1627 I STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006
(202) 882-0300

4/25

Arnold -

APOLOGIES GAZORE. GOT
CAUGHT UP IN NYT BUREAUCRACY
& CAN'T GET MYSELF UNTANGLED
UNTIL EARLY EVENING.

CAN YOU TAKE TIME FOR A
LUNCH & FILL ME IN ON
WHAT I MISSED?

PW

May 11, 1991

Message for Dr. Peter Carey, Trinity College

Dear Peter,

Sorry for the confusing phone message I left on your machine. Having recently played the role of chief concierge for the SSRC East Timor conference, I am reluctant to pass on too many tasks to any one person (And having played the role of concierge here, I appreciate all the more the work that went into the conference at St. Antony's last December). At any rate, friends had assured me that they would be able to find me accommodation for my upcoming visit, but it turned out that some signals were crossed. It now turns out that I do have a room for the 21st through the 23rd, but need one for the 24th.

As of now, I plan to return for meetings on the 28th and 29th (which means that I will also be available to take part in any follow-up meetings that may be needed regarding the photographic exhibition or anything else). If there is a room available at Trinity for the nights of the 27th through the 29th, that would be great. I am able to pay any fee that might be required. If this is a problem, I will look elsewhere, so don't worry about it. The last thing I want is for you to play concierge as well. If you could let me know how things stand by return fax, I would greatly appreciate it.

Thanks very much for your assistance.

All the best,

PS Did my May 9 fax re: the exhibition arrive in good shape?

The Social Science Research Council wishes to thank you for your participation in the workshop on East Timor. It is to be hoped that a process of reflection and dialogue will continue on this important issue.

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

3812 Windom Place, NW
Washington, D.C. 20016
Tel. 202-363-1649
Fax 202-363-3658

MAY 9, 1991
For Phil Shenon

Dear Phil,

I've been out of town + thus slow to respond to your fax.

I'm free to meet you anytime between now + May 19th, when I go off for two weeks. I'll phone Friday to try to set up a date.

Thanks,

Arnold

May 15, 1991

Fax message for Olga Fenning, Donnacadh Hurley

I would like to meet with Donnacadh on May 31. I had originally planned to arrive in Dublin on the afternoon of May 30, but now must meet with Steve Alston of CAFOD, who will have returned from a trip to East Timor on May 29 and will leave London again on May 31. I am not sure at what hour the meeting with Steve will end. I presume Steve's jet lag will overpower him at some point and I will be able to catch an early evening flight to Dublin, in which case perhaps Donnacadh will be available to meet me for dinner or coffee. If this is a difficulty, I can simply meet him on the 31st.

I do not have any other meetings in mind at this point, but if you have any suggestions, I would be glad to hear them. I will be in contact by phone the week of May 20 to confirm arrangements.

Looking forward to meeting with you on the 31st at least.

With best regards,

Arnold Kohen
Project Director

PS Attached are six pages regarding the statement of Pope John Paul II on East Timor last weekend.

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

3812 Windom Place, NW
Washington, D.C. 20016
Tel. 202-363-1649
Fax 202-363-3658

5 May 1991

Message for Mr. Donnacadh Hurley
Trocaire

Dear Donnacadh,

I have the possibility of visiting Dublin on May 30-31. Is that time convenient for you? If so, or if not, please inform me by fax, at the number given here. If not, I will do so later in the year.

In recent days there has been a large conference on Timor in Washington, which required a lot of preparation, making correspondence difficult during this period. But I am sure you have seen the excellent article that appeared recently in the Irish Times.

With best regards.

Arnold Kohen
Project Director

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

3812 Windom Place, NW

Washington, D.C. 20016

Tel. 202-363-1649

May 14, 1991
Fax 202-363-3658

Message for Dr. Peter Carey, Trinity College

Fax # 011-44-865-279911

Dear Peter,

Thanks for your fax of May 14, and for arranging to put me up in the Waldorf Astoria on May 24, and your other efforts at accomodation. I suppose we all play concierge from time to time. I am still playing the role of paymaster and chief distributor in the aftermath of the SSRC conference, and will continue to do so indefinitely....

I am certainly prepared to meet with the Director of the Museum of Modern Art while I am over, and it is for reasons such as this that I have given myself some extra time. If there is anyone else I should meet, I'm ready.

I will be in London until June 4, so I will be able to attend the June 2 event. Do you know which Jewish group is doing the sponsoring?

I am attaching six pages on the Pope's new statement on Timor. However it came about, it isn't bad. Perhaps his envoy in London faxed the Vatican with the April 20 Times leader....

Thanks again for everything. Looking forward to seeing you.

With best regards,



Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

3812 Windom Place, NW
Washington, D.C. 20016
Tel. 202-363-1649
Fax 202-363-3658

May 14, 1991

For Marty Rendon

Dear Marty,

Feeling guilty? Feel a little less so. Look at the
attached stuff -- 6 more pages.

I will be in touch soon.

Best,

Arnold

&100 Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

3812 Windom Place, NW
Washington, D.C. 20016
Tel. 202-363-1649
Fax 202-363-3658

May 11, 1991

Message for Dr. Peter Carey, Trinity College

Dear Peter,

Sorry for the confusing phone message I left on your machine. Having recently played the role of chief concierge for the SSRC East Timor conference, I am reluctant to pass on too many tasks to any one person (And having played the role of concierge here, I appreciate all the more the work that went into the conference at St. Antony's last December). At any rate, friends had assured me that they would be able to find me accommodation for my upcoming visit, but it turned out that some signals were crossed. It now turns out that I do have a room for the 21st through the 23rd, but need one for the 24th.

As of now, I plan to return for meetings on the 28th and 29th (which means that I will also be available to take part in any follow-up meetings that may be needed regarding the photographic exhibition or anything else). If there is a room available at Trinity for the nights of the 27th through the 29th, that would be great. I am able to pay any fee that might be required. If this is a problem, I will look elsewhere, so don't worry about it. The last thing I want is for you to play concierge as well. If you could let me know how things stand by return fax, I would greatly appreciate it.

Thanks very much for your assistance.

All the best,



PS Did my May 9 fax re: the exhibition arrive in good shape?

East Timor Research Project P. O. Box 32307 • Washington, D.C. 20007

Tel: 202 363 1649
Fax: 202 363 3658

May 11, 1991

Message for Sergio Regazzoni, CCFD
Fax: 011-33-1-40261123

Dear Sergio,

I hope that you and Rene Bareau will be able to meet me on Monday, May 27, which would be best. If this is impossible, the 28th would be an alternative. Could you confirm this arrangement via fax? I will be reachable by fax here until May 19. The week of May 20 I can be reached by fax through CIIR, 44-71-359-0017.

Looking forward to meeting with you and Rene.

With best wishes,



Arnold Kohen
Project Director

East Timor Research Project P. O. Box 32307 • Washington, D.C. 20007

Tel: 202 363 1649
Fax: 202 363 3658

Message for Steve Alston, CAFOD
May 9, 1991

Dear Steve,

Please note that the information being requested here will ultimately be used by a group of highly influential US Senators who are friends of Bishop Moore's. They have requested a specific humanitarian agenda push ahead with, and their pushing will be at high levels of the Bush administration, unpublicized unless there is a very specific request to do otherwise.

This is obviously quite a good opportunity to make some continuing progress.

Is childhood immunization being done? What more needs to be done in this regard? What needs to be done to reduce what are reportedly inordinate rates of infant mortality? What is the status of primary health care in general? What needs to be pushed? What about child nutrition and nutrition in general? The more specifics we have, the better.

You had mentioned the need for tuberculosis drugs after your visit last summer. Is this problem being addressed? What more needs to be done? How can outsiders be helpful? What about treatment for malaria?

Any other concerns that people currently have are of interest to us. The more we know about such things, the better. If Belo or other church people are being harassed, we need to know that, too.

We are working with a wide variety of sources on all this, of course, but are especially interested in your impressions on the humanitarian and development fronts, and on any other concrete things that need to be addressed on whatever.

Picture yourself as a powerful Senator in Rome at the height of its powers, or at least after the sacking of Carthage, laying down an agenda for one of the far-flung provinces (Britainia?), and you get the idea.

Godspeed. See you on the 30th in your bleary, weary state.

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

3812 Windom Place, NW
Washington, D.C. 20016
Tel. 202-363-1649
Fax 202-363-3658

May 9, 1991

Message for Dr. Peter Carey
Trinity College

Dear Peter,

I can bring the photographs, captions, etc, when we meet on the 24th, if they are needed then. I had not realized that it would be so soon, but it makes no difference, as there are no planned exhibits over the summer. I believe that the Traganza Museum of the Dept. of Anthropology at San Francisco State University will want the exhibit by the mid-September. If that is a problem for the Friends Meeting House, let me know by return fax.

Does a showing at the Friends Meeting House rule out a later (even a much later) showing at the Museum of Modern Art? The more that it is exposed, the better, of course-- and additional photos could be made available if we had more time.

I am still unclear as to accommodation requirements, but will know in a few days where things stand.

I am attaching another copy of my May 2 letter.

Best regards,

Arnold

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

3812 Windom Place, NW
Washington, D.C. 20016
Tel. 202-363-1649
Fax 202-363-3658

May 1, 1991

Message for Dr. Peter Carey
Trinity College
Fax # 011-44-865-279911

Dear Peter,

Thanks very much for your fax, which arrived just as the SSRC conference ended. I'm very glad that my earlier fax saved you the distasteful exercise of detailing Indonesian policy - especially as we ended up with the authentic version. I attach the bio of Col. Luhut Pandjaitan, just as the moderator read it to the audience. (The colonel informed us at the last session that he was in charge of security for the pope's visit to East Timor, but he insisted that he only followed the pope around and has nothing to do with any of the nasty stuff that transpired.)

It actually was quite good that he was there: it lent a new element to the discussion and stimulated speculation as to what his appearance meant (he did not sit as a panelist, but intervened a few times from the floor). A document I have in my possession and will show you on the 24th makes it fairly clear that Benny Murdani asked Pandjaitan to appear.

I'm sure John Taylor and Robert Archer will fill you in on their impressions of his performance. We were also joined by a retired US Air Force attache, Hal Maynard, who seems to have facilitated the Pandjaitan appearance. Over a Chinese dinner the second night, he regaled his table with accounts of bombing runs he designed in Vietnam, and the occasional mistake, i.e. school that were hit, all delivered with great aplomb. You get the idea. No reason for regret over your year in America spent protesting.

All told, however, the event set in motion something approaching a dialogue. Col. Pandjaitan even took Jose to a Japanese restaurant after the final session, then on to the railway station, this after Jose pointed his finger and raised his voice at the colonel the first day. The colonel also chatted with Donaciano, who knew him from Timor and felt certain that he either supervised torturers or was one himself. For a follow-up, perhaps I should propose a session including representatives of Saddam's armed forces and the Kurds.. but don't mind me, together with almost everyone else, I thought it was mostly quite valuable.

Professor Mubyarto's participation was very interesting. I will fax you his paper, and send on the others once they come back from the printer. (I'm sure that Pat Walsh of ACFOA will move

Dr. Peter Carey, Trinity College, Page 2

on the idea of publishing papers from the Oxford and SSRC conferences if no one else does.)

David Winder is interested in arranging a consultation in Indonesia, with mainly Indonesian invitees, to discuss the Gadjah Mada paper, which is all to the good. I have some additional ideas on follow-up, but I will save them for later.

It also appears that I was wrong about Ford providing funding for additional photo exhibit showings (aside from one in San Francisco, which will come out of the residual budget, and if anything is then left over, that too can be applied to other showings) -- apparently David feels that on the strength of Ford's initial funding, one can find resources elsewhere if they are actually needed. I am going to approach a good friend who has close ties with the Gulbenkian Foundation and see what that produces. In any case, I am sufficiently enthused over the prospect of the exhibit travelling that I will do everything I can to make it possible. And the main expense, that of converting the best slides into quality photos, has already been handled. One way or another, we will get it to Oxford, provided, of course, that it is wanted.

I understand your feelings about taking up Timor so soon after your trip to Cambodia. A good friend of mine, of some 15 years, is Steve Heder, and we have often limited our discussions of each other's work. It certainly had to be a profound experience for your son. My step-daughter, Maia, who was born in Timor and just turned 17, enjoyed having Donaciano with us. I will tell you about that on the 24th.

Before and after the conference, we had some excellent meetings with some of Bishop Moore's friends, including his old schoolmate, Senator Pell, the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee. There is much more to come. There were other interesting meetings. Again, I'm sure John or Robert will fill you in.

Thanks again for everything. Looking forward to seeing you on the 24th.

April 19, 1991

Ms. Toby Alice Volkman
Social Science Research Council
605 Third Avenue
New York, NY 10158

Dear Toby,

Attached you will find a comprehensive revised budget for the April event on East Timor and the photographic exhibition that will follow in San Francisco and perhaps in Seattle (I have tried to ring Carl Hutterer but have had no luck thus far. I will continue trying on Monday) and possibly elsewhere.

We will need an infusion of cash soon because we have had to lay out a considerable amount for the photographic exhibition (more than \$3,000 thus far), travel (my earlier trip to Ithaca and Betsy Traube's ticket, which I had to purchase myself, because the fare was slated to jump \$150 overnight if I didn't), phone, postage, etc. What worries me now is that I must reimburse James Dunn and Ramos Horta for their Sydney apex tickets (\$2,670 for the two) and provide cash for incidental per diems (Mubyarto and Donaciano Gomes) and anyone else that wants reimbursement for ground transportation (estimated at a total of \$1,000). .

I am not pushing the panic button yet, but it would be very helpful if a check for these various items as well as the organizational fees (and Ungar's honorarium as well, if I am to do the disbursement on that) could be sent to me via federal express as soon as it can be issued. I have put far more charges on my credit cards than I normally do, and I want to make sure that this is handled before time gets too tight.

I have done a few things in the attached materials. First, I have given a breakdown of the hotel, travel and meal expenses that SSRC either has met or will meet directly, and deducted it from the overall amount.

I am also providing a bill for my organizational fee, Korinna's, and am making note of Ungar's (must he make up a separate bill or can I simply give him a check after the event is over and have him sign a receipt?

BUDGET SUMMARY, P.2

of this fax), plus publicity poster, program, hanging materials will come to about \$1950, which I must write a check for on Monday== Total, \$2,219, and we have \$681.

8. The last I checked, phone, fax and postage approximated \$850. There will surely be more to come. Estimated total: \$1,200. That gives us a deficit of \$519. Take away another \$42 as reflected in SSRC's travel costs (as outlined above), and that makes a deficit of \$561.

9. Miko Yamamoto submitted the attached budget for \$651 for the San Francisco event. It does not include shipping. Presumably a Seattle event would cost the same. It would be a pity to have spent all this time and money and not have the exhibit travel. Total for two additional exhibits: \$1,302.

10. There should be an additional budget item for shipping and insurance between Washington and other locales. The other photos in addition to Briere's add up to a considerable weight. Estimate: \$500.

11. It is likely that after San Francisco and possibly Seattle, the exhibit could travel to Oxford University. This would give it added exposure on an international level and St. Antony's College at Oxford would be happy to have it for a month. There is quite a lot of interest there and it can easily be adapted for a British audience. It might be worthwhile to ask Ford for an additional \$1,000 for this purpose, considering international shipping costs.

12. Together with the \$561 deficit and the San Francisco and Seattle exhibits and shipping (\$1,802 in total) and Oxford (\$1,000), that amounts to \$3,363 for the supplementary request to Ford, or \$3,500 to be safe. Any residual funds from the initial grant would, of course, be applied to this amount, but it doesn't look like there will be any at this point.

If you need additional information for Ford on the added items, I will be glad to provide it, but I may have to wait until after the event this week is over with.

Let me know what else you may need regarding any of the abovementioned matters.

Thank you for your attention.

Sincerely,

Arnold S. Kohen

Revised Estimated budget for SSRC Workshop on East Timor, April 1991, and related items.

1. Hotel rooms for panelists (as listed above): \$2,108.70

2. TRAVEL BUDGET (Please note that I will provide here a total figure for the travel budget, then will give separate totals for the tickets that have been paid directly by SSRC through Sharp Travel and other tickets that I have paid or am expected to pay through reimbursement):

1. James Dunn, Australia, based on Apex ticket from Sydney (\$1,330) plus estimated ground transport (henceforth: GT) == \$1,430

2. Jose Ramos Horta, Australia, same as James Dunn== \$1,430

3. Donaciano Gomes, Portugal, flight (\$895) plus \$100 GT plus per diem expenses for one week's stay under terms of his ticket (\$200)=== \$1,195

4. Mubyarto (ticket met separately by SSRC out of different budget), per diem expenses plus GT== \$200

5. John Taylor, London, flight (\$1,268) plus GT (\$100)== \$1,368

6. Robert Archer, London, flight (\$830) plus GT (\$100)== \$930.

7. Elizabeth Traube (Hartford, CT), flight (\$258) plus GT (\$100)== \$358

8. Benedict Anderson (Ithaca, NY), flight (\$328) plus GT (\$100)== \$428

9. Allan Nairn (New York), Amtrak Metroliner (\$160) plus GT (\$100)== \$260

10. Sidney Jones (New York), flight (\$284) plus GT (\$100)== \$384

11. Bishop Paul Moore (New York), Metroliner club car (\$248) plus GT (\$100)== \$348

12. Arnold Kohen's February trip to Ithaca, NY, to consult with Benedict Anderson of Cornell University's Southeast Asia Program: flight (via Syracuse, \$428) plus rental car (\$99) plus Washington area taxis (\$30) == \$557

REVISED BUDGET, PAGE 2

Meals and Receptions

1. April 24 dinner at Tabard Inn, 1739 N Street, NW, Washington, DC 20036, food (\$30), wine, tip and tax at \$50 per person for 25 guests== \$1,125 plus \$125 fee for banquet room: \$1,375
2. April 25 dinner at China Inn, 609 H Street, NW, Washington, DC food, wine, tax and tip at \$28 per person for 25 guests: \$700
3. Two buffet luncheons at American University for conferees at \$9.50 per person for both days for 30 guests== \$285
4. Two continental breakfasts at American University at \$3 per person for both days for 30 guests== \$90 plus one afternoon coffee break for 30 people (\$45)==\$135
5. Wine and cheese reception for opening of photographic exhibit on April 25== \$250

TOTAL ESTIMATED COST FOR MEALS AND RECEPTION: \$2770.00

PHOTOGRAPHIC EXHIBITION

1. Elaine Briere, shipping and insurance for 15 mounted photos, plus honorarium: \$750
2. Processing of slides of 26 photos of Shepard Forman, Elizabeth Traube and others == \$1,226
3. Conversion of newspaper photos into mounted display: \$269
4. Typsetting, layout, printing and mounting of photo captions, display items (newspaper editorials, letters), map of region, publicity poster (to be used in San Francisco and elsewhere in addition to Washington), printing of program, plus materials to install exhibition == \$1,950
5. Telephone, Telefax, Postage and Shipping: \$1200

HONORARIA AND ORGANIZATIONAL FEES

1. Sanford Ungar, Moderator, \$1,400

REVISED BUDGET, PAGE 3

2. Arnold Kohen, Conference Facilitator, \$5,000
3. Korinna Horta, Photographic Exhibition Facilitator, \$1,000

ADDITIONAL COSTS

1. Estimated costs of photographic exhibition at San Francisco State University, as per budget submitted by Miko Yamamoto: \$631
2. Same, University of Washington: \$631
3. Shipping and insurance to send exhibition from Washington to San Francisco, San Francisco to Seattle, return to Washington: \$750
4. Exhibition at Oxford University: \$1,000

BUDGET SUMMARY

1. SSRC has spent or will spend an estimated \$8, 642 for hotel costs for participants (\$2,108.70), meals (an estimated \$2,520, not including the \$250 earmarked for the reception, which I am handling, because wine must be brought in from outside), and air or train transport for participants: Gomes, Taylor, Archer, Anderson, Jones, Nairn and Moore: 4,013.

2. Approximately \$17,500 will be left in the original Ford budget for the conference after one deducts \$8,600 that SSRC will spend directly. If you want to simplify matters, SSRC can simply send me a check for \$17,000 and I will handle things from there, providing a comprehensive report later.

3. Of the \$17,500 that is left, \$7,400 must meet the fees of Korinna, Ungar and myself. That leaves \$10,100 in the Ford budget.

4. I must reimburse Dunn and Ramos Horta \$2,670 for Australia tickets and myself for the Traube ticket (\$258) and for my own trip to Ithaca (\$557, as detailed below), for a total of \$3,485. That leaves \$6,615.

5. I must keep aside an estimated \$100 each for 11 participants for ground transport, including to and from the conference. Even if this isn't entirely used up, presumably we will have to meet the cost of breakfast at the Dupont Plaza and other miscellaneous items that aren't included in the budget (\$1,100). Then there are per diems for Mubyarto (\$100) and Gomes (who, under the terms of his ticket, must stay 8 days -- \$200), for a total of \$1,400. That leaves \$5,215.

6. Then comes the photo exhibition. The original budget called for \$750 for Elaine Briere's portion (15 photos), slated for shipping and insurance. Her photos will travel to Miko's exhibit and possibly others. Whatever is left over after the direct shipping to and from Vancouver (\$250 or so) should go to Briere as an honorarium, because she is a professional photographer who lives largely through such work. This is especially true in light of the fact that her photos will also be used by us in San Francisco and possibly Seattle or even elsewhere if there is interest, and there is no honorarium in Miko's budget (which is attached here).

We have paid \$1,225.36 for the professional conversion of 24 slides (Forman, Traube, et al) into fullscale prints, plus mounting. Together with the \$750 Briere item, that amounts to \$1975, which leaves us with with \$3,240. Add \$250 for the photo exhibit reception and we have \$2,990.

7. Conversion of various newspaper photos into suitable mounted exhibits will cost \$269. Typesetting, etc of captions and printed material (that means editorials, etc: the five being used are part

April 20, 1991

Message for Toby Volkman

RE: TIMOR WORKSHOP FINANCE, ETC.

There is a lot of material here but I trust it will make sense. I have also attached the five editorials and letters that have been typeset in large form in conjunction with the photo exhibit. I discussed all of this very carefully with Ben Anderson before anything (captions included) went to the typesetter.

As you can see from the following pages, the main problem now is money. Another problem is that it is impossible to have receipts to give you now for some major expenditures that I must make this week (about \$6,000) and the ones that I do have will take some time to put together (phone, postage, etc) in the form that you need them, although attached here is a copy of a major one (\$1,225) for the slide conversions. The professional fees total \$7,400. If we add together these three amounts, we are only about \$2,500 shy of the amount left in the budget after SSRC's expenditures (as copiously detailed below) are taken into account. I strongly suggest that a check be sent to me via fedex in the amount suggested in the forthcoming pages, namely \$17,000, and I will provide a full financial accounting all at once. If the check must be for a lesser amount, so be it, but between now and next week I will not have time to go through my records to give a comprehensive accounting. I have already spent many hours on this and, frankly, at this point I have a conference to facilitate and that must take priority, as time is now extremely tight.

Thanks for your cooperation. I have been working very hard to help make the events a success and I hope you will be pleased with the result.

Arnold S. Kohen

↓R

Writer/Journalist

3812 Windom Place, NW
Washington, D.C. 20016
Tel. 202-363-1649
Fax 202-363-3658

April 20, 1991

Ms. Toby Alice Volkman
Social Science Research Council
605 Third Ave.
New York, NY 10158

Dear Ms. Volkman,

I would request compensation for my services as workshop facilitator for SSRC's East Timor conference of April 25-26, 1991. These services have been carried out from October 1989 until the present, and will continue through the coming weeks until all matters relating to the conference and the related photo exhibition have been carried out. Fee: \$5,000. My Social Security number, should you need it, is 051-42-2484.

I would also request that Korinna Horta be compensated for her work as facilitator of the photographic exhibition. Fee: \$1,000. Her Social Security number is 577-13-3207.

Sanford J. Ungar's professional fee as moderator of the workshop is \$1,400. His Social Security number is 180-34-1341.

The three abovementioned fees amount to \$7,400. In addition, I would request that SSRC provide me with \$9,600 to meet expenses that have been incurred to date or will be incurred in the immediate future in connection with the abovementioned event. Full documentation of expenditures will be provided in due course. The total amount, then, is \$17,000.00.

Thank you for your attention.

Sincerely,

Arnold S. Kohen