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- Letter to Mr. Lewis Preston, The World Bank from the Rt. Rev. Paul Moore Jr. (10.12.1992)
- Fax message for Hilary Coulby, Asia Desk from Arnold Kohen (10.12.1992)
- Letter to Arnold Kohen from Stephen Solarz, Member of Congress (10.08.1992)
- Draft Letter was written by John Nides (10.08.1992) | 12 pp.

20 August 1992

Dear Arnold,

Now it is all your fault, of course. You're the one who poisoned my mind against Healey. You're the one who told me stories of wrong doings and chicanery. So now that I have been forced to come out openly against Healey, you have to become an active participant.

We now have a chance of getting rid of Healey; maybe even a good chance. Not because we are a bunch of brilliant strategists or plotters, but because of Healey's own major weaknesses--his reaction to public criticism (almost going into depression), his need for adoration and the foolishness of his mistakes that are recorded in print or memory.

Some people think Healey wants to step down soon, now that AIUSA's revenues are going down. He certainly got upset over the New Republic articles. He was so outraged that my resolution passed that he threatened to resign. He even issued a statement about a year ago that he was going to get more involved in things like fundraising and special events (concerts) and leave more of the day-to-day running of things to Curt.

Arnold, you know a lot and you know a lot of people. I need your help. No guarantees of victory but we do have a good shot at it. If nothing else, it will be interesting theater.

First I need a list of people who dislike Healey and might support our effort actively or provide us with useful information.

Do you have a phone number and address for David Hinkly? Do you think he would become actively involved? He has a lot of friends in AI and we may need his help in getting votes for board candidates and AGM resolutions one day. Someone told me that David had had a cocaine problem when he was director of the Western region. Can we assume that is all behind him (if it was true)? David was brilliant in coming up with ideas on strategies and tactics. He also could be great at actually implementing reforms if he worked for a different executive director.

Also Arnold, you are an investigative journalist. How do we go about digging into the many tales of Healey's failings and wrongdoings which you know so well? Of course, it is useful to just to know which unsubstantiated rumors are floating around. Spreading rumors might advance our agenda. Healey gets upset at the thought that people are ridiculing him or suspecting him of fiscal irresponsibility.

Anything that makes his job more unpleasant might encourage him to retire.

What tales of Jack's fiscal irresponsibility do you know? You mentioned that Hinkly was outraged at Healey's spending during a European trip. What are the details of this? Where? When? Can anyone confirm this story? What kind of evidence could we get to corroborate it? Why didn't Hinkly do anything about it? How do we find out these things? Which witnesses would be willing to let this story get repeated? Which witnesses would not want Jack to know they told us anything and worry that he would suspect them as sources?

What stories do you know about Healey's anti-semitism and anti-Israel sentiments?

A friend and longtime AIUSA member recently told me that the results of the board election had made him start questioning the veracity of the announced results. The person asked me if I thought the he was becoming paranoid. You have told me that you wouldn't put it pass Jack to rig the elections. Are there any grounds for your suspicions and how do we check it out? If there are good grounds for distrust, we could always ask the board to put the vote-tabulating contract out for bid. Ostensibly, this would be done for fiscal reasons, but our real motive would be to worry Jack--make him think that the membership and the board don't trust him.

A major task for us is put together a slate of 12 strong candidates for the next board election. It is no good just getting one or two good people on the board. Whom do you suggest as possible candidates?

Are you still interested in being a candidate? If you are, we need to get you better known inside the membership. Have you joined the cogroup officially? Are you working closely with Sid and Anita and Chris Coburn? Maybe you should volunteer to give a couple short talks at the DC reps meeting (Anita is the DC rep for Philippines/Indonesia). Teach them about doing press work or how to work Congress. Let them know the depth of your expertise. You should do workshops at regional meetings, too. And use your computer and modem to get on Peacenet and contribute topics on some AI's electronic conferences.

I am enclosing copies of some letters I have sent to allies in the effort to depose Chairman Jack and a few other items you might find of interest.

Needless to say, all this is confidential. You never know who is sitting nearby in a Washington bar or health club.

I will be out of town for two weeks--going hiking in Utah.  
I'll talk to you when I get back.

Take care.

A handwritten signature in black ink, consisting of several loops and a long horizontal stroke extending to the right. The signature is positioned above the printed name "John Nides".

John Nides

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

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Sept. 15, 1992

for Sidney Jones

② PAGES

Dear Sidney,

Attached is the re-draft of the Senate letter, with your suggestions fully incorporated. Please take a quick look at it. Anything else? I'll call later.

Best,



Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

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Sept. 16, 1992

for John Leslie  
MOMA

Dear John,

Thanks very much for the good news about the exhibition -  
- and for all your efforts. You deserve a great deal of credit for  
pursuing this.

I should be able to write something as you requested, and  
make it over for the Oct. 31 event, although help with the fare  
would make things more certain. The immediate issue involves Noam  
Chomsky. He will be in Oxford on Tuesday Nov. 17 and, thus far,  
only has a 5 PM speaking engagement that day. His secretary informs  
me that his schedule is expected to fill up soon, however, so if  
we want to do something, we had better make a booking now -- within  
the next day or so, in fact. Noam has told me that he is not keen  
on the Oxford Union debate format, from past experience, but a talk  
in the hall there would be all right. So would something at MOMA,  
I believe. I suggest that you figure out a couple of possible times  
for Nov. 17, fax them to me today (no earlier than 12:30 PM your  
time, if possible), and I will phone Chomsky to try to firm things  
up. If we wait much longer his schedule will be booked up.

There is no absolute guarantee that this will come off,  
of course, but I think I can convince him. But the sooner I hear  
from you, the better. You can always set up a tentative time for  
an event at MOMA and then shift the venue if you decide a larger  
hall would be better.

I'll look forward to hearing from you.







The Right Reverend  
Paul Moore Jr.  
September 16, 1992

The Hon. Malcolm Wallop  
237 Russell  
United States Senate  
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Malcolm,

First, let me take this opportunity to thank you once again for everything you have done on the East Timor situation over the past two years. While such actions may often seem to be falling on deaf ears, longterm experts on the Indonesian region firmly believe that Congressional efforts are having their impact on the government in Jakarta.

I understand that, together with Sen. Pell, you are currently considering circulating another letter on East Timor amongst your Senate colleagues. If you could do this, it would be excellent. The anniversary of the massacre that took place around Santa Cruz Cemetery will be commemorated on November 12, and experts believe a reiteration of Senate concern in this way could help to lend momentum to the idea of peace talks and increased American efforts on human rights. I hope you will want to circulate such a letter at this important time.

Only recently I heard from reliable sources I met when I visited East Timor in 1989, saying that torture continues. At the same time, elements within the Indonesian government would like to see a negotiated solution to the Timor problem. Thus, the timing of the proposed letter would be propitious.

I know that the Senate will soon consider the issue of American military training (IMET) for Indonesia, and I hope that the Senate will concur with the House decision to suspend it.

I should be visiting Washington over the next few months and would hope to see you then.

With warm regards,

*AK from PM*

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September 22, 1992

Ms. Susanna Rodell----2 pages  
Editorial Page  
The New York Times

Dear Ms. Rodell,

I just received some new information on the status of the battle over the landmine legislation in Congress.

There is more time to respond to this situation than I had said. Sen. Leahy has attached his amendment to the Foreign Aid bill (in addition to the Defense Authorization bill where it had already been) and none of this will be acted upon before Thursday Sept. 28.

Tim Rieser of Sen. Leahy's staff (202-224-7284) is the resident expert on the issue and has up-to-the-minute information on the status of the mine legislation, plus fresh details.

In any case, I felt I had an obligation to correct the information I had previously given you about time schedules on all of this.

Thanks again for your attention.

Arnold Kohen

Arnold S. Kohen

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September 6, 1992

Peter Gordon  
Yorkshire Television

(4) Pages

Dear Peter,

Attached, belatedly, is the list of expenses and fees for our work on the Timor project. Let me know how this looks to you. Corrections can be made as you see fit.

All the best,

Arnold

September 6, 1992

Mr. Peter Gordon  
Producer/Director  
Documentaries Department  
Yorkshire Television  
The Television Centre  
Leeds LS3 1JS UK

Dear Peter,

At long last I've finally found the time to submit a list of expenses and fees for the work on the East Timor Project.

Fees and estimated expenses in connection with the Timor Project:

1) Fees -- The fees involve three areas of work: A) arrangements, correspondence and other contacts made with East Timorese and other sources from my Washington base in the months leading up to Yorkshire's visit there; B) Extensive discussions with East Timorese sources in Macau and related efforts during the course of a visit my wife (Korinna Horta, who lived in East Timor for three years before the 1975 invasion, has been a professional translator and is a key intermediary with people there) and I made to Macau in June-July 1991 specifically for the purpose of facilitating the Yorkshire project; C) Providing up-to-date information in the wake of the Nov. 12 massacre and reviewing closely the fine details of the script.

I have set my fee at 650 pounds sterling. This essentially involves a basic fee of 500 pounds for the consultative services I provided over a period of nearly a year plus an additional 200 pounds for reviewing the script with a number of experts in the period around the Christmas holidays, during which time I put in a lot of extra work on the project.

My wife's fee for translation has been set at 400 pounds, mainly to cover the 10 day period required to travel to Macau to facilitate the project. As she had to take off 8 work days from her job for this purpose, and as she was a key contact with the Timorese throughout this effort, I believe that she should be

compensated to make up for work time lost -- this was clearly no holiday, although the time was deducted from the limited holiday time one receives in America. As suggested here, she provided translation services throughout this project that were crucial in facilitating communications.

Estimated Telephone, February 1991--January 1992: There is no way I can trace each and every call at this point, but numerous calls were made between Washington and the UK, Macau and East Timor over a year-long period. Calls and faxes were for the purpose of arranging contacts with Timorese clergy and others in East Timor and Macau and for research to facilitate the Yorkshire project. estimated cost: Two Hundred and Fifty Pounds Sterling.

2. Estimated telefax, same period: Two Hundred Pounds Sterling. Similarly, numerous faxes were sent to Macau and Yorkshire; the fax correspondence with Yorkshire and elsewhere was especially heavy in the weeks leading up to the Jan. 7 airing of the program.

Total, expenses and fees: 1,550 pounds sterling

Thank you for your attention.

*Arnold Kohen*  
Arnold Kohen

The following information was received on July 28, 1992 from authoritative church sources in East Timor

The net is tight and spreading all over the island. Prisoners are in isolation. The torture and sophisticated interrogation of prisoners are having results and bring more people to secret prisons. Under terrible torture, some of the young prisoners give up and reveal what they know.

Families have no access to the prisoners, neither do lawyers nor anyone else. Isolation and alienation are two of the main weapons used by the Indonesian military to scare everybody.

One hopeful note is that the Indonesian military has not interrogated Father Alberto Ricardo since early January, thanks to international pressure on Indonesia that followed reports of harsh interrogation of Father Ricardo in late December 1991.

The Timorese sources are aware of the action of the US House of Representatives, which on June 25 voted to cut off US military training for Indonesia. The Timorese sources ask anxiously if the "other body" (that is, the Senate) will follow suit. Generally, the Timorese are concerned that recent and current Indonesian actions and behavior in East Timor appear to be receiving relatively little attention in the outside world.

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Sept. 10, 1992

for Sidney Jones

Dear Sidney,

Attached once again (for your convenience) is the draft Senate letter. Please look it over and think about it over the next few days. It appears that that Alatas talks with the Portuguese are absolutely routine; no one seems to think any special statement exists.

I'll call later to touch base briefly.

Hope you're well.

*Arnold*

Arnold S. Kohen

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September 14, 1992

The Rt. Rev. Mellick Belshaw  
Trenton, New Jersey

Dear Bishop Belshaw,

At the request of Bishop Paul Moore, I am sending the following briefing on the forthcoming vote on US military training to Indonesia, known as IMET (International Military Education Training), as it relates to East Timor, which was invaded and illegally occupied by Indonesia in 1975.

In late June, the US House Representatives voted unanimously to cut off the IMET aid to Indonesia, which amounts to \$2.3 million annually, because of the situation in East Timor, where dozens of people were massacred by Indonesian troops in and around a church cemetery last November. Severe human rights violations have continued since then, several Timorese have received long prison sentences for non-violent activity, and despite rhetoric to the contrary, the Indonesian perpetrators of the November massacre have received very light punishment, if any at all. Reliable church sources say an atmosphere of terror prevails in East Timor at this moment.

Having lost the vote in the House, the Indonesians and their American friends have waged an unprecedented lobbying effort in the US Senate carried out largely by high-powered corporate interests like A T & T, General Electric, McDonnell Douglas and others. Without offering any proof whatsoever, these interests argue that the suspension of US military training to Indonesia will somehow result in the cancellation of totally unrelated contracts and, in turn, American jobs. (Specialists on Indonesia strongly dispute this contention, saying that the corporate arguments are simply scare tactics without any factual basis.) Human rights experts stress that restoration of IMET by the Senate would send absolutely the wrong signal to the Indonesians -- namely that despite the massacre and almost unrelenting human rights violations, none of this is deemed serious enough by the Senate to warrant a cutoff of military aid. Such a result would be a bad defeat for efforts to advocate the protection of human rights.

Senator Lautenberg is an important vote on the Senate Appropriations Subcommittee on Foreign Operations, which will take up the issue quite soon, perhaps as early as tomorrow, Sept. 15. Should you have any questions, please contact me.

Thank you for your attention.

*A. Kohen*



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Sept. 4, 1992

for Catherine Scott  
CIIR

Dear Catherine,

In trying to complete the article for Link, it seems I need one more thing: the original Indonesian version of the statement on the resumption of talks with Portugal that was issued last week; and Boutros Ghali's statement on the same question. Do you have these -- or if not, can you hunt them down and fax them to me? (Actually, if you could fax the original Indonesian statement to Sidney at 212 972-0905, that would be great)

You have the advantage of A) several hours in the time difference and B) the fact that Monday is a bank holiday here, as you Essex folks (and others) call it.

Thanks much in advance.

All the best.

*Arnold*

Arnold S. Kohen

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Sept. 6, 1992

Fax message for Ms. Kiyoko Furusawa

Dear Kiyo,

Marty Rendon asked me to contact you regarding the progress of the Diet-Congress letter on East Timor.

As of Sept. 4, 116 members of the US House of Representatives had signed the letter. We are trying to get more. What number do you have? Have any Liberal Democratic members signed since we were last in contact?

We have heard that Suharto will address the United Nations General Assembly in late September. We are trying to confirm the exact date. It may be a good idea to plan on releasing the Diet-Congress letter a few days before Suharto's appearance -- not in a confrontational way, because that might be counter-productive, but in a dignified manner aimed at getting press attention and commentary from some of the major papers here and hopefully in Japan and elsewhere. Is this an acceptable idea?

Also, as you will have heard, Indonesia issued a statement last week indicating that talks with Portugal will resume, and Boutros Ghali apparently issued one as well. This may necessitate some small changes in the text of the Diet-Congress letter.

I hope to hear from you soon.

Many thanks.



Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

Sept. 30, 1992

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Mr. Frank Monahan  
Office of Government Liaison  
U.S. Catholic Conference

Dear Frank,

As you requested, I am providing a couple of paragraphs here on the reasons why the current legislation under consideration by Rep. Obey and the House-Senate Conference Committee on East Timor is important. Should you need further information or any clarifications, I will be happy to provide it. In any case, I will give you a call later today to check a couple of things. Also attached is an editorial from the NY Times last week. An ABC News piece of Sept. 21 will be sent by courier.

\*\*\*\*\*

The original legislation by Rep. Tony Hall (D-Ohio) that went through the Obey subcommittee that passed the House in late June eliminating US military training (known as IMET) to Indonesia sent a powerful message to the Indonesian government. This was the first time in the nearly 17 years since Indonesia invaded and occupied East Timor that the US Congress imposed any concrete sanctions on the Indonesian government. It sent a signal that continuing Indonesian repression in East Timor after the Nov. 12, 1991 massacre at the Santa Cruz cemetery was unacceptable to the United States Congress. The discussion in the House of Representatives and other legislation proposed by Rep. Hall that was much tougher than the legislation passed in June (the tougher legislation called for a total cut-off of US aid to Indonesia until Indonesia ceases all human rights violations in East Timor and abides by UN Security Council resolutions calling for self-determination) also sent the message that it would be in Indonesia's interest to conduct negotiations on the Timor matter. This would be a real breakthrough that could end this tragedy.

For Obey and his colleagues to hang tough in the conference with the Senate would stress that Indonesia's behavior is unacceptable and must be changed. While attention has shifted elsewhere, tough Indonesian repression has resulted in a virtual nervous breakdown for a popular Timorese priest, Father Alberto Ricardo and many other human rights violations since last November's massacre, including long prison sentences for non-violent Timorese connected with the November events, while the Indonesian military that did the shooting got off with a comparative slap on the wrist. Experts believe a strong stand by Obey and company can only have a positive effect at this stage, and could help stimulate negotiations to bring this tragedy to an end.

With best regards,

*Arnold*

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

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Sept. 22, 1992

Mr. Karl E. Meyer  
Editorial Dept.  
The New York Times

8 Pages

Dear Mr. Meyer,

Attached is the Asia Watch document I mentioned. The citation regarding "savage" prison terms for the East Timorese is on page 1.

Also attached is an L.A. Times Op-ed by Joanna Weschler Human Rights Watch, based on her visit to East Timor. It makes some very interesting observations.

I will forward additional material as it becomes available.

Thank you for your courtesy.

A Kohen



# DIOCESE OF OAKLAND

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510 / 893-4711 • FAX: 510 / 893-0945

September 29, 1992

Mr. Arnold S. Kohen  
3812 Windom Place, NW  
Washington, D.C. 20016

Dear Arnold:

I read the editorial this week in the New York Times. I am sure you have some responsibility for it. Congratulations! It is wonderful that the issue is still kept alive.

I have written both to the Bishop and to the Salesian Provincial. I did not hear from them. I hope that my letters are not being consigned to a dead letter file.

I hope you are well. All the best.

Sincerely,

John S. Cummins  
Bishop of Oakland

jf

Arnold S. Kohen

---

Writer/Journalist

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Nov. 13, 1992

for Hillary Coulby--2 pages  
Oxfam  
Asia Desk

Dear Hillary,

Please remember the event at the Museum of Modern  
Art on Monday, Nov. 16, 7:30 PM. I'll call to remind you.

*Warm regards,*

*Arnold*

# The Timor Project

July 23, 1993

## PROJECT PROPOSAL FOR TROCAIRE

CONFIDENTIAL---FOR INTERNAL USE ONLY

**Project Director:**  
Arnold S. Kohen

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*former Director, Office of Justice and  
Peace, Maryknoll Fathers and Brothers\**

Rev. William M. Lewers  
*Professor of Law and Director,  
Center for Civil and Human Rights,  
Notre Dame Law School; former Director,  
Office of International Justice and  
Peace, U.S. Catholic Conference\**

Sally Lilienthal  
*President, The Ploughshares Fund,  
San Francisco, CA.\**

Brenda Hughes Moore  
*Fine and Decorative Arts Consultant,  
New York*

Veronica Pritchard Parke  
*Executive Vice President,  
Martha's Table, Washington, D.C.\**

John P. Salzberg  
*former Staff Consultant,  
U.S. House of Representatives  
Subcommittee on Human Rights and  
International Organizations\**

Rev. William Wipfler  
*former Director, Human Rights Office,  
National Council of Churches; former  
Asia Officer, Episcopal Church\**

\* Organizations listed for  
identification purposes only.

As the Clinton Administration has taken power in Washington, longstanding American policy on East Timor has gradually been changed, and is still evolving. Congressional pressure that has built up since the 1970s has played a decisive role in this shift: even the dramatic events at Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili in Nov. 1991 would not, by themselves, have been sufficient to turn the tide. A well-developed bi-partisan network in Congress, with support from major American newspapers (see attached dossiers of articles and editorials), has been instrumental in creating this shift. The Timor Project, in its requests to TROCAIRE and associated agencies since the early 1980s, has argued that such a Congressional-press strategy must be consistently pursued. Now that it has begun to show some high-profile results (the strategy showed low-key but significant results from the late 1970s on, in terms of humanitarian relief, prisoner releases, and other concrete gains), it is vital that activities be expanded over the next three years to maximize the pressure and chances for protection of human rights and a comprehensive settlement of the East Timor tragedy.

The need for expansion of activities is clear. Indonesian military authorities have tightened repression in East Timor in the wake of the Nov. 1991 massacre at Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili. Bishop Carlos Ximenes Belo, in a April 24 interview in The New York Times, stated that political prisoners are tortured by Indonesian troops "just like two plus two is four." In private discussions since then, Bishop Belo has stated that targets for torture by Indonesian forces include catechists and others connected to the church. These Indonesian moves, Bishop Belo said, are designed in part to intimidate and coerce higher church authorities in East Timor, with the aim of forcing the East Timorese church to stop speaking out in favor of justice for the people of the territory. At the same time, the Indonesian government has spent more than US \$5 million to hire US-based public relations firms to push its line on the East Timor tragedy. And this only tells part of the story: Jakarta has also enlisted US corporations and business associations to lobby on its behalf on the Timor issue. At an invitation-only Washington gathering in May 1993, a well-placed advocate for business

all this talk about East Timor should be kept in perspective: US businesses stand to gain US \$55 billion in contracts from Indonesia over the next ten years.

Nonetheless, a well-developed effort that has taken shape over the past 15 years in Washington, in good measure through the East Timor Research Project, has managed to fend off these high-powered Indonesian moves and help keep the East Timor situation in public focus. But mounting pressure on the Project has made it necessary for the Project to both increase and stabilize its funding, which in any case is only a tiny fraction of the amount being spent by the other side.

The stakes are enormous for East Timor. Should the aforementioned high-priced Indonesian public relations campaign make progress, it will be a sign to Jakarta that international opinion can be flouted with relative impunity. On the other hand, if the campaign has no effect or, better still, the effort on behalf of East Timor gathers strength, experts say this will encourage Indonesia to make real concessions over time.

The East Timor Research Project plans to address this situation in the following ways over the next three years:

1. Re-doubled efforts to alert the international news media: working closely with Amnesty International and church organizations in the US and abroad, the Project is working to distribute pertinent information to reporters, editorial writers and other key people in the print and electronic media. Project Director Arnold Kohen is a former reporter with NBC News (TV) in Washington, and will utilize these professional skills as well as his 18 years of experience in gathering information on East Timor to inform the news media of unfolding developments in a systematic way. Special attention will be paid to television coverage, utilizing the Yorkshire Television footage of the Nov. 1991 Santa Cruz massacre. The Project will assist television producers and others working on film projects.
2. The Project will work closely with responsible, authoritative church authorities in East Timor and elsewhere to help ensure that current information reaches the world efficiently and effectively. The Project will pay special attention to unfolding human rights and humanitarian problems and work to ensure that authorities in Washington are alerted to these problems, with an eye toward achieving concrete progress in the short-run as well as the longterm. The Project will assist these church institutions in developing responses to unfolding developments.

To help meet these urgent needs, the Project requests a grant from TROCAIRE of 15,000 Irish pounds per year over the next three years. Such a grant would match similar three year commitments recently made by CAFOD and Christian Aid.



Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

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

July 13, 1992

For Mr. Charles Glass --25 pages  
Guest at Hotel Mandarin Oriental

Dear Charlie,

Attached is a document issued today that I thought you  
should see.

Hope all is well. I will look forward to hearing  
from you.

Best,

Arnold

July 24, 1991

Message for Mr. Jef Felix, Broederlijk Delen

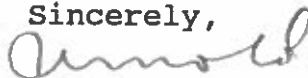
Dear Mr. Felix,

I will be making a visit to my parents-in-law near Cologne in the next week. Would you be available to meet on the afternoon of 31 July or 1 August? I recognize this may be a bad time to visit but I did want to make the suggestion. I would have done so before but my schedule was unclear, because of family commitments.

I will be leaving Washington the evening of 25 July and so can be reached here over your next two business days. If I do not hear from you by then I will try to phone you early next week.

Thank you very much for your recent kind letter, best wishes to you and your colleagues, and many thanks for Broederlijk Delen's continuing interest in the Timor case.

Sincerely,



Arnold Kohen  
Project Director

July 13, 1992

Sally O'Neil  
TROCAIRE

Dear Sally,

I was sorry to have missed you on my stop in Dublin in recent weeks, but I will return in October and hope to see you then.

Attached is a summary-press release on an important recent development here. Without the groundwork laid over more than a decade, this kind of action would have been impossible.

Speaking of groundwork, during my recent visit to Dublin I was extremely impressed by Tom Hyland's work on East Timor. I have met a good many people doing this sort of work, a number who, like Tom, have come forward since the Nov. 12 massacre. Few, if any, can match his spirit, drive, intelligence or creativity. Something tells me that his work will ultimately have a significant international impact, and I hope that support can be located to sustain it.

Many thanks for your continuing assistance for the East Timor Research Project.

With best wishes,



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

July 24, 1992

for Hilary Coulby---3 pages follow  
Asia Desk  
Oxfam

Dear Hilary,

It was very good to talk with you in June. Things have been somewhat frantic around here since my return late last month, as you can see from the attached items. They aren't slowing down much, either, what with further moves pending here and the UN session coming up in New York next week.

I'm a week behind in finishing the material I was supposed to have to you by the 27th of July: it will be there shortly, via post, with further news.

Hope your trip went well.

Warm regards,

*Arnold*

July 5, 1992

for Victoria Forbes Adam  
Amnesty International

Dear Victoria,

Belatedly, here are the Congressional items I  
promised.

There will be a staff meeting in the Senate the week  
of the 13th. Any news reports on the Saldanha sentence, etc, would  
be much appreciated.

Hope all is well.

Arnold S. Kohen

---

Writer/Journalist

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

July 9, 1992

To: Catarina

RE: Urgent message for Jose Ramos Horta (3 pages follow)

Attached is the joint US-Japanese parliamentary letter to the UN SG. Please advise regarding Euro Inter-group endorsement.

With best regards to RH, CDPM, et al, especially Luisa and Billy.

Telephone  
Lodge: (0865) 279900  
Direct: (0865) 279.867.  
Fax: (0865) 279911

TRINITY COLLEGE  
OXFORD  
OX1 3BH

19 July 1992.

The Rt. Hon. John Patten, MP,  
House of Commons,  
Westminster,  
LONDON SW1A 2LA.

Dear Mr Patten,

BRITISH MILITARY ASSISTANCE FOR INDONESIA  
AND THE ISSUE OF EAST TIMOR

Through the post this morning, I have just received a copy of the US Congressional record of 25 June 1992 dealing with the 'Foreign Operations, Export Financing, and Related Programs Appropriations Bill, 1993', in which Congress unanimously agreed to insert an amendment cutting US \$ 2.3 million in International Military Education and Training (IMET) funds for Indonesia for fiscal 1993. The principal reason for this decision has been the gross and continuing violation of human rights in East Timor by the Indonesian military, violations which became internationally known on 12 November last when an incredibly brave cameraman from Yorkshire TV (Max Stahl) filmed the pitiless massacre of defenceless men, women and children by Indonesian troops acting under the direct orders of the regional commander.

As you well know, Indonesia is in illegal occupation of this former Portuguese territory, and continues to ignore no less than 10 General Assembly and Security Council resolutions call for her to withdraw and allow a legitimate (UN-supervised) act of free choice by the local inhabitants - some 200,000 (out of an original population of 684,000) of whom have perished at Indonesia's hands.

Given Jakarta's intransigence, as witnessed by the swingeing sentences (10-15 years and, in one case, life) for those East Timorese involved in the demonstration which preceded the massacre, and the derisory sentences (12-18 months) on local Indonesian officers, NCOs and privates guilty of mass murder, I believe the time has come for HMG to emulate Washington's policy and withdraw forthwith from any further military assistance to the Indonesian regime.

This must include the immediate cancellation of all scholarships issued under the FCO's Scholarship and Awards scheme and our Jakarta Embassy's 'UKMTAS' allocation, which, this coming October, are due to pay for the courses of Lt. Kustanto Widiatmoko, platoon leader of the First Armour Squadron of the elite Indonesian Presidential Security Command, who has been offered a place at the Royal Military College of Science at Cranfield to read for an MSc. in Information Technology and/or Defence Administration; Lt. Akhmad Buldan, signals/communication platoon leader of a regular Indonesian army infantry battalion, who is also due to come to the RMC Cranfield to read for an MSc in Military Electronics Systems Engineering; and Capt. Minulyo Suprpto, a weapons and vehicle base workshop officer in ARRI, who has likewise been offered a place at RMC this October to read for an MSc in Information Technology

or Materials Engineering. I also find it surprising that this last officer - whose unit has been directly involved in East Timor related operations - has been given the facilities to complete a 5-week general English course at the British Council's English Language Centre in Jakarta in October last year.

I would also urge the Government to withdraw export licences for future BAe contracts with the Indonesian Airforce for the development of an independent Indonesian avionics industry (whose ambit is principally military with a special focus on domestic counter-insurgency), and the supply of a further 40 BAe Hawk trainers (ground-attack fighters), whose conversion for bombing and reconnaissance missions in East Timor has been attested by eyewitnesses who have seen Hawk trainers previously supplied by BAe on the tarmac of East Timor's Baucau airport. See my enclosed letter on this BAe contract which was published in The Guardian newspaper last month.

The calvary of the people of East Timor has gone on too long - amidst the indifference of the industrialised powers. Now that the US has given a lead in moving to suspend further IMET allocations to Jakarta, I believe that the time has come for the British Government to follow suit and cancel all further assistance to the Indonesian military, whether it be in the form of prestigious scholarships for a select group of Indonesian officers, or sales of military equipment to Indonesian armaments manufacturers, the UK now being the second largest supplier of such equipment after the US.

I look forward to having a reply from you on this urgent and important matter.

Yours Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Peter Carey". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large, sweeping initial "P".

(Dr Peter Carey,  
Fellow & Tutor in Modern History)



Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

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

August 27, 1991

Fax message for Peter Gordon, Yorkshire Television  
# 011-44-532-439732

Dear Peter,

I have confirmed with Father Fernandes that you will be met at Hong Kong airport and that they will be carrying a sign bearing your name. They assure us that they will accompany you throughout your visit to Macau, etc. I take it you have a letter of introduction from Steve Alston, so have that for your Macau visit as well as for Timor.

We also spoke with Father Cunha this morning and received additional information regarding the Bali end of things. Cunha tells us that his original message to you as to the time you (or one of your team) should call Bali should have read 7 at night, not in the morning. This is important, because at 7 at night the recipient of the call will be there and free to talk, which is not the case in the morning....also regarding Bali, Rui, the Timorese student, is available to go to Timor and help with whatever it is you agreed on, provided his fare is paid.

With best wishes for a safe journey,

*Arnold*

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

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

Aug. 21, 1991


For Peter Gordon, Yorkshire TV

Dear Peter,

Received your fax, including the most recent one from Macau. For the record, we had no idea whatever (re: point 1, Aug. 21 fax) that your visit had been cancelled...perhaps there is a language gap somewhere here, referring to intent to inform us of the cancellation rather than actual action. If anything further is unclear, it may be better if we fax them in Portuguese so there is no chance of further misunderstanding.

Attached are six pages regarding the resolution passed by the US Senate on July 29.

Regards,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Arnold". Below the signature is a short horizontal line.

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

3812 Windom Place, NW

Washington, D.C. 20016

Tel. 202-363-1649

Fax 202-363-3658

August 26, 1991

Message for Peter Gordon, Yorkshire Television  
Fax # 011-44-532-439732

Dear Peter,

The following is a continuation of my previous message.

In essence, what should be tackled, if possible, is this: the longterm consequences of Indonesia's policies toward the rural people of East Timor -- in other words, policies adopted toward the victims of the catastrophe described in the 1979 piece I sent you in the other fax. You will certainly get plenty on urban resistance and repression, etc, and all of this is of great importance in its own context. But the treatment of the rural population has received relatively little attention (for good reason, given the restrictions). I don't want to get carried away with "Front Page" stuff, but Rod Nordland, now Rome bureau chief for Newsweek, won a George Polk Award in 1983 in part for his extensive reporting on the condition of people in the interior of Timor. O'Shaughnessy's (and other people's) mention of genocide gets weight not from the killing of tens or hundreds of young activists in Dili, but from the apparently systematic neglect of people in the countryside who survived a famine disaster that a top international relief official has affirmed was worse than that in Cambodia. If this neglect is as bad as accounts have it, what are the Indonesians about? Add to this the fact that apparently the most thoroughgoing Indonesian government program dealing with the human body is a birth control program -- this in a place that has lost 100,000 or 200,000 people and was underpopulated before the Indonesian invasion -- and questions do pile up. This makes investigation of the various health programs I mentioned in the other fax -- or their lack or inadequacy -- all the more crucial. In any case, let's discuss this.

Further information on kids with orange hair -- in Dili, for instance, to the east of the Hotel Turismo and near a small river near there, perpendicular to the ocean, shack-dwellers. But they are seen all over rural areas.

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

3812 Windom Place, NW

Washington, D.C. 20016

Tel. 202-363-1649

Fax 202-363-3658

Aug. 26, 1991

Message for Peter Gordon,

Yorkshire Television -

Peter -

I spoke with Macan - Father  
Francisco Fernandes, an old + dear Timorese  
friend of mine who is close to Fr. Cunha.

It will be more than worth your while  
to go there for a day. I told them you may  
arrive there Thursday or Friday. I am

sending this now so you have some warning.

I'm playing producer myself now + saying  
that, quite simply, it will make your story  
a lot better. We'll speak later -

Best,  
Arnold

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

3812 Windom Place, NW

Washington, D.C. 20016

Tel. 202-363-1649

Fax 202-363-3658

August 26, 1991

Fax message for Peter Gordon, Yorkshire Television  
fax # 011-44-532-439732

Dear Peter,

Herewith I am providing a list of things that people on this end have thought about and would like to see reported on, assuming that the evidence is available to your team.

1) In the O'Shaughnessy Observer piece, he states, "Indonesian torturers have, so to speak, carved a niche for themselves in refined use of the razor on human flesh." Several other reports from reliable sources insist that the Indonesians are regularly cutting the faces of Timorese with razor blades. Can you try to document reports of this kind as much as ( or, if at all) possible?

2) Issues regarding lack of medical care, endemic tuberculosis, malaria, malnutrition (i.e. kids with orange hair sighted in eastern areas), high infant mortality rate -- what can you get on any of this? A Congressional mission visiting East Timor in early 1980 talked of the need to deal with at least some of these problems -- yet they fester. There has been talk ad nauseum about development in the form of roads, buildings, etc -- but what of basic problems such as those mentioned here?

3) I asked a priest who lived in East Timor for more than a decade the question you asked me -- what to look at when you're there? It may not be possible, but he asks that you try to focus on the way in which the indigenous rural people have been moved into Indian-reservation or semi-strategic hamlet-type settings and how this has deadened their existence -- not to mention the human losses sustained. The priest asks you to try to "capture the soul" of the Timorese people on camera -- not an easy task, but one that Yorkshire has managed to do on other stories.

4) Is there information about "fence of legs" type operations -- that is, Indonesian military operations like those in the early 80s in which the Indonesians would force villagers to march in front of Indonesian troops as human bait or human shields in a effort to flush out guerillas? Thousands perished in such operations before, and they are very reliably reported to continue at least on some level. Whatever you can get on this would be very important.

I will try to think of other things overnight. Best,

Arnold

I attach a 1979 article for background,  
particularly on point 2 (in part, anyway). How have Indonesian  
efforts since 1979 dealt with the health problems following the famine?

**CAFOD**  
On the side of people in need

COPY.

The Catholic Fund for Overseas Development

2 Romero Close (formerly Garden Close)

Stockwell Road, London SW9 9TY

Facsimile: 071-274 9630 Telex: 893347 CAFOD G

Telephone: 071-733 7900

Our ref MC1 ETM

Your ref

Mr. G. W. Hewitt,  
SE Asia Department,  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office,  
London SW1 2AH.

5th August 1992

Dear Mr Hewitt,

**East Timor - recent news**

Channels of communication with East Timor have been severely restricted over recent months but in a recent telephone call with church sources in Dili we received the attached information. It is clear that secret places of detention are being used and no access allowed to the ICRC.

I understand that the Embassy in Jakarta does send diplomats to East Timor and it may be relevant for them to be informed.

It would be helpful to know in what way the European Community could initiate action under paragraph 5 in the Chairman's statement of the UN Human Rights Commission and to encourage Indonesia to allow Human Rights agencies access to East Timor. Is HMG making any attempt to pursue this matter?

With every good wish,

Yours sincerely,

Steve Alston  
ASIA DESK

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

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

August 27, 1992

for Marty Rendon

③ Pages

Dear Marty,

Attached is the news item I mentioned on the Indonesian Non-Aligned meeting, which will take place from Sept 1 thru 6. I would be very happy to help draft a press release for early next week, if you are interested.

the guilt continues to overwhelm...

All the best,

Arnold

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

3812 Windom Place, NW

Washington, D.C. 20016

Tel. 202-363-1649

Fax 202-363-3658

August 13, 1991

For Father Francisco Fernandes

Dear Father Chico,

Attached are the documents regarding the resolution.

Also attached is an extremely important message for Father Cunha. We need a reply from him, via fax, as soon as possible.

We will phone you on Thursday morning Macau time.

With the warmest greetings from Korinna,  
Maia and myself,

*Annie*



13 de Agosto de 1991

Caro Padre Cunha,

gostamos imenso do nosso reencontro em Macau. Voce sempre e uma fonte de inspiracao para nos e muita outra gente dedicada a uma solucao justa para a nossa querida terra de Timor. Esperamos que tenha tido uma boa visita a Portugal e que agora tenha tempo para descansar um pouco em Macau depois da sua viagem a Europa.

Escrevemos hoje para transmitir uma carta de tres paginas do Sr. Gordon da TV Britanica chamada "Yorkshire Television" que tem uma reputacao muito boa na Inglaterra. Nas paginas 2 e 3 da carta encontram-se uma serie de perguntas enumeradas de 1 a 14 sobre a planeada visita da Yorkshire TV a Timor.

Estamos em contacto com o Sr. Gordon e ele nos comunicou hoje que gostaria de visitar Timor daqui ha um mes em meados de Setembro. Ele perguntou tambem qual a data do regresso do Padre Cunha a Timor e tambem se seria possivel encontrar-se com voce em Macau antes da sua ida a Timor.

O Sr. Gordon sabe que talvez nao seja possivel fazer todas as coisas que ele descreve nos pontos 1 a 14. Mas ele nos informou que precisa do maximo de informacoes possivel sobre todos esses pontos para facilitar o planeamento da sua ida a Timor. O procedimento de fazer este tipo de perguntas e o costume de cadeias de televisao porque os reporteres tem de informar a gerencia das companhias de televisao sobre os seus projectos.

Nos telefonaremos dentro de breve. Mas o melhor seria se voce nos pudesse fornecer respostas as perguntas 1 a 14 e a outras questoes por escrito a essas perguntas e envia-las por fax o mais depressa possivel (o numero de fax e 202-363 3658). O Sr. Gordon necessita desta informacao para poder iniciar o seu projecto.

O Sr. Gordon diz que dois pontos extremamente importantes dos 14 pontos estao relacionados com a possibilidade de levar fitas video para Timor e de as poder fazer sair de Timor e de saber que ele tera contactos de confianca em Dili.

\*\*\*\*

Enviamos copias das fotografias tiradas em Macau por correio. Por hoje e tudo. Falaremos em breve por telefone. Um grande abraço para si e para o Padre Chico dos seus amigos Arnold, Maia e Korinna.

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

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

Aug. 7, 1992

for Tom Quigley  
USCC

Dear Tom,

I thought you would want to see the latest info we have received through our church sources in Timor.

I will look forward to seeing you after I return to town on Aug. 16.

All the best,



Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

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

Aug. 7, 1992

for Marty Rendon

Dear Marty,

I thought you would want to see the info I mentioned that we have received through our church sources in Timor.

I will look forward to seeing you after I return to town on Aug. 16. ¡Viva Esteban!

All the best,



August 6, 1992

for Sergio Regazzoni -- 2 pages  
CCFD

Dear Sergio,

Attached is some important information we received from  
our church sources in East Timor, for your reference.

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

Aug. 7, 1992

for Paulette Geraud ~~XXXX~~ -- 2 pages

Dear Paulette,

I thought you would want to see the latest news we have received through our church sources in Timor.

More news soon. Should you have any questions, please contact me.

All the best,

Arnold

—

Aug. 7, 1992

for Jess Agustin -- 5 pages  
CCODP

Dear Jess,

I thought you would want to see the latest news we have received through our church sources in Timor. Also, some earlier news you may not have seen.

I will look forward to speaking with you after I return from a week's vacation.

Hope the family is well, especially you-know-who.

All the best,

  
\_\_\_\_\_

Aug. 7, 1992

for Moira Leen -- 2 pages  
Trocaire

Dear Moira,

I thought you would want to see the latest news we have received through our church sources in Timor. Tom Hyland may have already received this through Steve Alston.

It was good to meet you in Dublin, albeit briefly. But I should be back for a more civilized visit over the next few months.

More news soon. Should you have any questions, please contact me.

Arnold Kohen  
Project Director

All the best, *Arnold*

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

3812 Windom Place, NW

Washington, D.C. 20016

Tel. 202-363-1649

Sept. 27, 1992

Fax 202-363-3658

for Jose Ramos Horta  
c/o CDPM

(9) Pages

Dear Jose,

Attached are some items for your information. I will  
be in contact by phone one day this week.

Regards,

Arnold



Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

3812 Windom Place, NW

Washington, D.C. 20016

Tel. 202-363-1649

Sept. 27, 1992

Fax 202-363-3658

for Sergio Regazzoni  
CCFD

(7) Pages

Dear Sergio,

Attached are some important new items for your information. I will be in contact by phone either today or one day this week.

With best regards,

Arnold

Sept. 27, 1992

for Moira Leen  
TROCAIRE

⑦ Pages

Dear Moira,

Attached are some important new items for your information. I will be in contact by phone one day this week.

With best regards,

*Arnold*  
Arnold Kohen  
Project Director

Sept. 27, 1992

for Jess Agustin  
CCODP

*(7) Pages*

Dear Jess,

Attached are some important new items for your information. I will be in contact by phone one day this week.

With best regards,

*Arnold*

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

3812 Windom Place, NW

Washington, D.C. 20016

Tel. 202-363-1649

Sept. 27, 1992

Fax 202-363-3658

for Dr. Peter Carey  
Trinity College

7 Pages

Dear Peter,

Attached are some interesting items for your information. Sorry I have been out of touch -- things have been frightfully busy. I had a good talk with Ben Anderson in New York after Suharto's address to the UN General Assembly, which I attended. More soon.

With warm regards,

Arnold

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

3812 Windom Place, NW

Washington, D.C. 20016

Tel. 202-363-1648

Sept. 27, 1992

Fax 202-363-3658

for Michael Chamberlain

6 Pages

Dear Mike,

Attached are some items for your information.

Regards,

Arnold

Arnold S. Kohen

---

Writer/Journalist

3812 Windom Place, NW

Washington, D.C. 20016

Tel. 202-363-1648

Sept. 27, 1992

Fax 202-363-3658

for Marty Rendon

Dear Marty,

Attached are some interesting items for your information. I had a good talk with Ben Anderson in New York after Suharto's address to the UN General Assembly.

Best,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Arnold". The signature is written in a dark ink and is positioned below the typed name "Best,".

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

3812 Windom Place, NW

Washington, D.C. 20016

Tel. 202-363-1649

Sept. 27, 1992  
Fax 202-363-3658

for Hilary Coulby  
Asia Desk  
Oxfam

(7) Pages

Dear Hilary,

Attached are some important new items for your information. Things are moving again. More details soon. I will be in contact by phone one day this week.

With warm regards,

Arnold



Office of Government Liaison  
3211 4th Street N.E. Washington, DC 20017-1194 (202) 541-3140 FAX: (202) 541-3313 TELEX 7400424

October 1, 1992

The Honorable David Obey  
Chairman  
Subcommittee on Foreign Operations, Export Financing,  
& Related Programs  
H-307 Capitol Building  
Washington, D. C. 20515

Dear Mr. Chairman:

I am writing on behalf of the United States Catholic Conference, the public policy arm of the American Catholic bishops, to express our strong support for language on East Timor which you included in the House-passed version of H.R. 5368, the Foreign Assistance Appropriations Act for Fiscal Year 1993.

Enactment of this language, which would eliminate U. S. military training for Indonesia, would represent the first time in the nearly 17 years since Indonesia invaded and occupied East Timor that the U. S. government would have imposed any concrete sanctions on the Indonesian government.

It would send a much-needed signal that continuing Indonesian repression in East Timor is unacceptable to the United States, and that further and stronger sanctions may be forthcoming if the Jakarta government does not take concrete steps to end this tragedy.

I urge you to protect the House language on East Timor in the House-Senate conference on H.R. 5368, and thereby send a clear message to the Indonesian government that its brutality and disregard for fundamental human rights will no longer be tolerated by our government.

Thank you for your consideration of this matter.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Frank J. Menahan".

Frank J. Menahan  
Director

FJM:pal



Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

Sept. 30, 1992

3812 Windom Place, NW

Washington, D.C. 20016

Tel. 202-363-1649

Fax 202-363-3658

Mr. Frank Monahan  
Office of Government Liaison  
U.S. Catholic Conference

Dear Frank,

As you requested, I am providing a couple of paragraphs here on the reasons why the current legislation under consideration by Rep. Obey and the House-Senate Conference Committee on East Timor is important. Should you need further information or any clarifications, I will be happy to provide it. In any case, I will give you a call later today to check a couple of things. Also attached is an editorial from the NY Times last week. An ABC News piece of Sept. 21 will be sent by courier.

\*\*\*\*\*

The original legislation by Rep. Tony Hall (D-Ohio) that went through the Obey subcommittee that passed the House in late June eliminating US military training (known as IMET) to Indonesia sent a powerful message to the Indonesian government. This was the first time in the nearly 17 years since Indonesia invaded and occupied East Timor that the US Congress imposed any concrete sanctions on the Indonesian government. It sent a signal that continuing Indonesian repression in East Timor after the Nov. 12, 1991 massacre at the Santa Cruz cemetery was unacceptable to the United States Congress. The discussion in the House of Representatives and other legislation proposed by Rep. Hall that was much tougher than the legislation passed in June (the tougher legislation called for a total cut-off of US aid to Indonesia until Indonesia ceases all human rights violations in East Timor and abides by UN Security Council resolutions calling for self-determination) also sent the message that it would be in Indonesia's interest to conduct negotiations on the Timor matter. This would be a real breakthrough that could end this tragedy.

For Obey and his colleagues to hang tough in the conference with the Senate would stress that Indonesia's behavior is unacceptable and must be changed. While attention has shifted elsewhere, tough Indonesian repression has resulted in a virtual nervous breakdown for a popular Timorese priest, Father Alberto Ricardo and many other human rights violations since last November's massacre, including long prison sentences for non-violent Timorese connected with the November events, while the Indonesian military that did the shooting got off with a comparative slap on the wrist. Experts believe a strong stand by Obey and company can only have a positive effect at this stage, and could help stimulate negotiations to bring this tragedy to an end.

With best regards,

*Arnold*

&100

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

Tel: 202 363 1649  
Fax: 202 363 3658

Oct. 8, 1992

for Tom Johnston and Jack Panozzo  
CCODP

Dear Jack and Tom,

I thought you would like to see the attached.

I will be in touch soon.

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

Oct. 19, 1992

for John Leslie  
MOMA

Dear John,

Many thanks for the good review.

On Nov. 16, there will be a small group of friends of Noam/and/or people such as Amnesty International researchers/Catholic agency workers who would like to attend Noam's talk at MOMA. I am sure that the event will be over-subscribed, so I wanted to alert you to the need to set aside 10 or so places for people in the above-mentioned group. Is this all right?

Let me know.

  
—

&100 Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

3812 Windom Place, NW

Washington, D.C. 20016

Tel. 202-363-1649

Fax 202-363-3658

Oct. 14, 1992

for Clare Dixon  
CAFOD

Dear Clare,

It was great to have met you.

Attached is the material on Fernando's award,  
or some of it, at least.

This is also a brief reminder regarding television possibilities in the UK, concerning Jon Snow/4/ITN or BBC. As I noted, all of these would have cooperative relations with US networks. Reports around Nov. 12 would spread in both directions if any of these could be convinced to get out there and do an update. I will press this with Steve as well. Let me know if there is anything I can do.

I will look forward to seeing you at CAFOD in November. I hope the fruits of your trip to "Banana Republic" were appreciated.

Best regards,

Arnold

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

3812 Windom Place, NW

Washington, D.C. 20016

Tel. 202-363-1649

Fax 202-363-3658

Oct. 14, 1992

for Paulette Geraud

Dear Paulette,

From the material I sent you the other day (I will send some of it again here, for your easy referemce), you would have seen that there have been major developments, especially the news that the US Congress has cut off military training to Indonesia.

A summary of the rest:

1) Suharto addressed the UN General Assembly on Sept. 24. As you can see from the attached AP item, press notice of his speech included much mention of East Timor.

2) The Sept. 25 editorial in the New York Times was a big repudiation of Suharto's attempt in his UN speech to assert leadership of the Non-Aligned. Diplomatic sources of our say that Suharto himself was very annoyed over this and other press coverage he received during his New York visit.

3) The letter of 152 US Representatives and 142 members of the Japanese Diet to the UN Secretary General was delivered just before Suharto met with Boutros-Ghali. It had some impact, especially as Rep. Tony Hall has close relations with the United Nations on humanitarian matters.

4) Another piece of news is that Ferando Araujo, a young Timorese arrested and sentenced to nine years in prison after the Nov. 12 massacre, has received a human rights award from the Reebok Foundation. Information on this is attached.

If you have any questions on any of this or need further information, please contact me.

With very best wishes to all.

*Arnold*

PS I will be visiting Paris before long, and will inform you of this.

October 19, 1992

for Sergio Regazzoni (2) Pages  
CCFD

Dear Sergio,

Attached you will see that we have had some very good news recently, as Congress has for the first time in 17 years imposed sanctions on Indonesia, in the form of a cut-off of military training.

More news soon. I hope your trip to China went well. I will contact you shortly.

All the best.

*Arnold*  
Arnold S. Kohen  
Project Director

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

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

Oct. 18, 1992

for John Leslie

(6) Pages

MOMA

Dear John,

Attached is an adaptation of my February article in The Nation. Any necessary changes can be made. I've adapted it to both update it and suit it to a British audience.

I can be reached Monday regarding any changes you want made. On Tuesday, early, I go to New York for a few days.

With best wishes,

Arnold



The Right Reverend

Paul Moore Jr.

December 14, 1992

Mr. J. Brian Atwood  
Director, Transition Staff  
Department of State

Dear Mr. Atwood,

Thank you very much for taking the time to meet with Mrs. Moore, Mr. Kohen and I today. I very much appreciated your doing so.

I have asked Mr. Kohen to send you this note, a couple of printed items and, because you indicated you had not seen the TV reports on the East Timor events, videotapes from network television as well as Yorkshire TV (the latter has been shown on the Discovery Channel in recent weeks). The network TV tapes are very brief but give a graphic picture of the situation.

Thank you again for your time. I have asked Mr. Kohen to contact Mr. Chapman to provide further information on the Timor situation.

Sincerely,

GK for PM

The Rt. Rev. Paul Moore Jr.





Jakarta, Indonesia

November 25, 1992

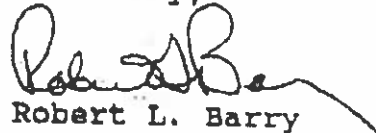
The Rt. Rev. Paul Moore, Jr.  
Member, Asia Watch Committee  
Asia Watch  
485 Fifth Ave.  
New York, N.Y. 10017

Dear Rev. Moore:

Thank you for your fax message of Nov. 23 regarding the arrest and treatment of Jose Xanana Gusmao. Please rest assured we are following this issue as closely as possible, not only as a humanitarian issue, but because of its obvious impact on the East Timor problem more generally. We agree with many of the points you raise, and I have already personally conveyed our views on the importance of prompt ICRC access and the need for defense counsel to the appropriate authorities.

As you may already have heard, Indonesian television Nov. 23 showed video footage of Mr. Gusmao apparently taken shortly after his arrest Nov. 20. As I recall, this is a step Asia Watch had urged the Government to take. In that footage, Mr. Gusmao appeared to be in good health. We have received assurances from various Indonesian officials that he will not be mistreated while in custody. Given the international attention his case has already generated, I believe the Indonesian Government is aware of the need to deal carefully with Mr. Gusmao.

Sincerely,

  
Robert L. Barry  
Ambassador

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

3812 Windom Place, NW

Washington, D.C. 20016

Tel. 202-363-1649

Fax 202-363-3658

Dec. 6, 1992

Dear Kiyo,

What I meant in my book was "military grant aid," not aid in general. It was an amendment introduced in March 1976 and was defeated. It was during the so-called six month ban. In fact, in 1977, the State Department cited the defeat of the Harkin Amendment as a reason why the US could continue military aid to Indonesia. It was 46 million, not 146, and that did not include sales.

All the best,

*Arnold*

PS Attached is an editorial from the Boston Globe. Is it possible to get editorials like this one or the one in the Washington Post into the Japanese press?

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

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

Dec. 6, 1992

for Dr. Peter Gordon--4 pages  
Yorkshire TV

Dear Peter,

Attached is a new Washington Post editorial.  
Did you see the Sunday Observer? Look for it, if you haven't.

Speaking of the news media, I have an idea. Toss it in the wastebasket if I am talking out of turn.

Is it possible to get someone from BBC TV to quietly go out to Timor, or, barring that, do an update using the various kinds of existing footage. I know that Channel 4 did an excellent piece last week, so I am talking about something further.

The other day my Anglican friend, Bishop Moore, and I met with the chief presenter for NBC News in New York, one of the three national networks, and the only one of the three that has not yet done a Timor piece. They are keen to do something and I am sure they will use Yorkshire material. But they need more, and given the way they operate (I worked there for a few years, remember), it is most unlikely that they would invest in a trip to Timor themselves.

However, NBC has a cooperative relation with the BBC (which in practice means NBC pays and the BBC supplies the footage, info, programs, etc). It appears NBC might do something -- maybe several things -- if they can get material from the BBC.

Yes, I know you are buried in work. You will know what is best. But think about the possibilities. The situation is desperate, otherwise asking you about this. Is there anyone you might know (or someone who might know someone) at BBC TV who might consider doing any of this? The more we can get on TV, and in America as well, the better, at this crucial hour.

With best wishes,

Arnold



# TRANSMITTAL FORM

DATE: Oct 14, 1992

FAX NO.: 226 0034

FROM: ARNOLD Rendon

TO: Marty Rendon

NO. OF PAGES BEING SENT: 2 + cover

Marty - Read it and weep! The sideshow goes on! Come one, come all! Win a prize! All can play! Hold your nose!

Best,

a.



4000 WISCONSIN AVENUE, N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20016  
TEL: (202) 362-8399 • FAX: (202) 363-2128



**TROCAIRE** The Catholic Agency for World Development

169 Booterstown Avenue,  
Co. Dublin, Ireland.  
Tel: (01) 288 5385  
Telex: 31614 CAPO EI  
Fax: Dublin 288 3577

BMK/ML/OF

30th October, 1992

East Timor Research Project  
Washington DC 20007  
U S A

Re: information on East Timor

Our Ref: TIM91001 - A0112

Dear Mr Kohen,

We are pleased to inform you that the Trustees of Trocaire have approved a grant of IR£10,000 (Irish Pounds) to be used towards the development of awareness about East Timor in the United States. This amount represents Trocaire's total contribution to the project as outlined in your project application.

Following your instructions we are now authorising our bank to transfer the sum of IR£10,000 (Irish Pounds) to the account which you indicated at: National Capital Bank, 316 Pennsylvania Avenue SE, Washington DC 20003, U S A; Account No. 17004419; in the name of: East Timor Research Project. We would be grateful if you would sign and return the enclosed form as soon as you have been advised of the safe arrival of the funds.

Trocaire will require regular reports on the progress of the project and perhaps we could have the first of these in about six months time. We will also require a financial statement indicating how Trocaire's grant was used.

Yours sincerely,

  
\_\_\_\_\_  
Brian McKeown  
Director

Enc.

**PLEASE QUOTE OUR REFERENCE NO. IN ALL CORRESPONDENCE.**



**TROCAIRE** The Catholic Agency for World Development

169 Booterstown Avenue,  
Co. Dublin, Ireland.  
Tel: (01) 288 5385  
Telex: 31614 CAPO EI  
Fax: Dublin 288 3577

East Timor Research Project  
Washington DC 20007  
U S A

**RECEIVED FROM TROCAIRE**

a grant in the sum of: \_\_\_\_\_

being the proceeds from the transfer of: IR£10,000 (Irish Pounds)

for: Information on East Timor

Reference No. TIM91001 - A0112

SIGNATURE:.....

Date: .....

**PLEASE RETURN TO TROCAIRE UPON RECEIPT OF FUNDS**

**MEMO TO:** Bishop John S. Cummins                      **FAX:** (415) 893-0945  
**FROM:** Tom Quigley *TQ*  
**DATE:** December 21, 1992  
**SUBJ:** East Timor

Attached are copies of recent USCC statements regarding East Timor. These have been circulated widely, including to church-related groups in Australia, Japan, and England.

I am enclosing also the reply of the Indonesian ambassador to the December 1 letter concerning Xanana Gusmao. A similar letter from the embassy appears in today's Washington Post. If you are interested in receiving such, I'll be glad to send other materials on the issue of East Timor.

All best wishes for a joyous Christmas.

December 30, 1992

Most Reverend John S. Cummins  
Bishop of Oakland  
2900 Lakeshore Avenue  
Oakland, CA 94610

Dear Bishop,

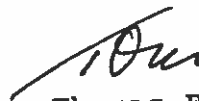
It was good talking with you the other day. Our friend Arnold Kohen came by yesterday with Msgr. Ricardo, the Vicar General of Dili, a very impressive man. He has recently gone to Rome for two years at the Gregorian, and will apparently look further into the matter of having a new diocese created.

He came also with a Fr. Cardozo, a Portuguese diocesan incardinated in Providence and, I gather, a key link in the church information chain regarding East Timor. Both he and Msgr. Ricardo stressed the importance they put on visits from church leaders from abroad. I see little chance of a visit developing from here any time soon, but it's certainly something to keep in mind.

I'm enclosing some other items that may be of interest, and will continue to send things out from time to time. No acknowledgement is necessary; it's just good to know of your abiding interest in the area.

All the best for a fruitful and peaceful year.

Sincerely,



Thomas E. Quigley

Enclosures



# J. Roderick MacArthur Foundation

9333 Milwaukee Avenue Niles, Illinois 60648 (708) 966-0143

Founder  
J. Roderick MacArthur

Directors  
Solange MacArthur  
Gregoire C. MacArthur  
John R. MacArthur

President  
Lance E. Lindblom

October 30, 1992

Mr. Aryeh Neier, Vice-Chairman  
Fund for Free Expression, Inc.  
485 Fifth Avenue, Third Floor  
New York, NY 10017-6104

Dear Aryeh:

I am delighted to inform you that the J. Roderick MacArthur Foundation has awarded a grant of \$20,000 to Fund for Free Expression, Inc. These funds are to be used to support your East Timor Research Project's fact-finding, documentation and dissemination of information on the human rights situation in East Timor.

I am certain that Fund for Free Expression, Inc. is familiar with and will adhere to the guidelines and restrictions of the relevant parts of the Internal Revenue Code as amended, which deal with the use of such grants. As you know, this grant must be conditioned on Fund for Free Expression, Inc. following all these requirements. J. Roderick MacArthur Foundation grant funds and any income therefrom can be expended only for charitable, religious, scientific, literary, or educational purposes. The Foundation grant funds cannot be used by Fund for Free Expression, Inc.:

(a) to carry on propaganda, or otherwise attempt to influence any legislation (within the meaning of Section 4945(d)(1) of the Internal Revenue Code);

(b) to influence the outcome of any specific public election or to carry on, directly or indirectly, any voter registration drive (within the meaning of Section 4945(d)(2) of the Internal Revenue Code);

(c) to make any grant which does not comply with the requirements of Section 4945(d)(3) or (4) of the Internal Revenue Code; or

(d) to undertake any activity for any purpose other than one specified in Section 170(c)(2)(B) of the Internal Revenue Code.

These grant funds are to be expended only for the stated purposes in the first paragraph of this letter as outlined in your grant request of March 18, 1992, and all related correspondence. If there are any inconsistencies between your grant request with

Mr. Aryeh Neier  
Page Two  
October 30, 1992

conditions (a) through (d) above, or with pertinent requirements of the IRS Code, conditions (a) through (d) and requirements of the IRS Code shall prevail.

In addition, this grant is conditioned on your representation that you are a 501(c)(3) organization under the Internal Revenue Code and are not a private foundation under Sections 509(a)(1) and 170(b)(1)(A)(vi) as was stated in your IRS determination letter dated June 1, 1982; and that the effect of this grant will not result in the loss of any of these classifications.

Please keep us informed of your progress. Once this grant money is expended, you are required to submit a detailed narrative report on your efforts and their results and a detailed financial accounting for the expenditure of grant funds signed by an appropriate officer of your organization. In addition, you are required to submit to the Foundation four copies of any reports, with appropriate credits to the J. Roderick MacArthur Foundation, that are prepared as a result of this grant.

If you have any questions or problems with the conditions of this grant, or if I can be of further assistance, please do not hesitate to contact me. Otherwise, if this letter correctly sets forth your understanding of the terms of this grant, will you please indicate your organization's agreement to such terms by having the attached copy of this letter countersigned by an appropriate officer of your organization and returned to the Foundation. We will arrange for payment of your \$20,000 grant after you return a countersigned copy of this agreement to us.

Again, let me extend our congratulations and good wishes for this project.

Warmest regards,

Lance E. Lindblom  
President

LEL/jb/09/7147  
Enclosure

AGREED TO AND ACCEPTED:  
cc: Arnold S. Kohen

Fund for Free Expression, Inc.

By \_\_\_\_\_  
(Signature of Appropriate Officer)

Title \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

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

October 5, 1992

for Ms. Lee Arrowood  
c/o Sen. Wallop

③ PAGES

Dear Lee,

I received your message on Friday, but it was too late to return your call. Thanks for the good news.

Because three or four weeks have elapsed since the original draft letter was sent to you, a few changes were necessary. The last paragraph was out of date or needed to be re-phrased. Aside from that, a minor change was made in paragraph two, in consultation with Asia Watch. That organization and other responsible experts were contacted in connection with the changes, in general.

Let me know what you think of this. I know that Rick Kessler is awaiting your draft, once you have gone through it.

If I don't hear from you first, I will be in touch on Tuesday to consult with you.

Thanks again for your efforts.

Arnold

DRAFT PRESS RELEASE-----IMET CUT-----  
For Immediate Release  
October \_\_\_\_ 1992

CONGRESS CUTS AID TO INDONESIA  
\*\*\*\*\*  
ADOPTS HALL-MACHTLEY AMENDMENT TO FOREIGN AID BILL

Congress today gave final approval to an amendment co-authored by Rep. Tony P. Hall (D-Ohio) which cut \$2.3 million from the Foreign Aid Bill in military aid to Indonesia, citing that country's pattern of abuses against the people of East Timor. This marks the first time that the Congress has cut aid to Indonesia over the East Timor situation.

The amendment was co-authored by Rep. Ron Machtley (R-RI). It specifically cuts \$2.3 million in International Military Education and Training (IMET) funds for Indonesia for Fiscal Year 1993.

Indonesia invaded East Timor, a former Portuguese colony, in December 1975, and has ruled it by force since that time, in defiance of United Nations resolutions. International human rights groups have continued to report widespread abuses by Indonesian military forces against the Timorese.

"This was a much-needed signal that continuing Indonesian repression in East Timor is unacceptable to the United States Congress, and that further and stronger sanctions may be forthcoming if the Jakarta government does not take concrete steps to end this tragedy," Hall said.

More than 100,000 East Timorese of a population of less than 700,000 have died in the fighting, famine, disease and executions that followed the Indonesian invasion. This longtime pattern of brutality was brought to world attention on Nov. 12, 1991, when Indonesian military forces opened fire on unarmed Timorese civilians at Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili, the capital of East Timor, killing at least 75 to 100 people and injuring many more. The incident was captured on film by a British cameraman from Yorkshire Television. Two visiting American journalists were badly beaten by Indonesian troops during the Nov. 12 events.

Hall has been the leading Congressional proponent for the cause of East Timor since coming to Congress in 1979.

"This amendment shows the Indonesian government that we are serious about respect for human rights and self-determination in East Timor," Hall continued. "I applaud my Congressional colleagues for sending this message."

Arnold S. Kohen

---

Writer/Journalist

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

Dec. 21, 1992

for Karl E. Meyer  
Editorial Page  
The New York Times

Dear Karl,

While the Indonesian Foreign Minister was visiting New York, the attached article was going to press. There were a handful of historical/linguistic errors, but in the main, a good deal of material of interest. More soon.

With best regards.

*Arnold*

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

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

Dec. 6, 1992

for Dr. Peter Carey--2 pages  
Trinity College

Dear Peter,

Attached is the new Washington Post editorial, in case you haven't seen it.

Speaking of the news media, I have a proposal. Is it possible to get someone from BBC TV to quietly go out to Timor, or, barring that, do an update using the various kinds of existing footage.

The other day Bishop Moore and I met with the chief presenter for NBC News in New York, one of our largest national networks, which has a cooperative relation with the BBC (which in practice means NBC pays and the BBC supplies the footage, info, programs, etc). It appears NBC will do something -- maybe several things -- if they can get material from the BBC.

Yes, I know you are buried in work. You will know what is best. Think about the possibilities. The situation is desperate, otherwise I wouldn't be saddling you with another task. The more we can get on TV, the better, at this crucial hour.

With best wishes,

*Arnold*

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

3812 Windom Place, NW

Washington, D.C. 20016

Tel. 202-363-1649

Fax 202-363-3658

Nov. 28, 1992

for Marty Rendon

Dear Marty,

By the time you get this, I will be enroute to a meeting with Karl Meyer at The New York Times. Expect a call from me Monday morning for marching orders re: the committee. I loved Colman's piece today.

Attached is the Globe editorial. I will be speaking to him on Monday regarding the committee, incidentally. Then on to Stevie (not Solarz!).

Any guilt at the Thanksgiving table  
this year?

all the best,





The Right Reverend  
Nov. 23, 1992  
Paul Moore Jr.

Mr. Samuel Berger  
4228 45th Street, NW  
Washington, DC 20016

Dear Mr. Berger,

Tony Lake (a friend of my wife, Brenda) and Bitsy Folger both suggested we get in touch with you about a specific concern of ours.

We visited East Timor three years ago and have been deeply involved in the issue of human rights there since then. Despite the relatively small size of East Timor, it is a crucial issue and could serve as a symbol of the new Administration's stance on human rights.

Enclosed is some material about East Timor -- we want to be sure it is part of the transitional agenda.

I will try to reach you by phone in the coming days in the hope of arranging a brief meeting.

Sincerely.

*AK for P.M.*

The Rt. Rev. Paul Moore Jr.

P.S. I have enclosed two short videos from network television that I thought would be edifying.

55 Bank Street, New York, New York 10014  
Phone (212) 675-3001 • Fax (212) 243-1432



# Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

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

Nov. 23, 1992

Mr. Stephen S. Rosenfeld  
Deputy Editorial Page Editor  
The Washington Post

Dear Mr. Rosenfeld,

Attached are two statements by Amnesty International and one from Asia Watch regarding the capture on Friday of the Timorese independence movement leader.

Only last Monday night, I gave a talk at the Museum of Modern Art in Oxford, England, in connection with an exhibit of photographs on East Timor being displayed at that institution. Someone asked me about the fate of some of the early Timorese leaders. It is not a pretty story, and I will not repeat it here. But it is worth stating that one hopes that the increased international awareness of the Timor situation will dissuade the Indonesians from any rough treatment of the man they have just captured. Our State Department should continue to convey that message to Jakarta, especially in light of the fact that the Indonesians have not yet allowed outsiders to see Gusmao. (The State Department has told some in Congress that American representations have in fact been made to Jakarta on this matter.) A Nov. 8 piece in the Post by Jim Hoagland listed Indonesia as one place where human rights could develop as a problem with the new Administration in Washington; Indonesia-watchers say the Indonesian press has been expressing anxiety over the possible emphasis on human rights.

Some experts say that the capture of Gusmao might make it easier for Jakarta to include him in talks currently underway between Indonesia and Portugal under the auspices of United Nations Secretary Boutros Ghali: because the military succeeded in seizing Gusmao, their pride won't be on the line the way it would have been had Gusmao continued to elude them (By the way, a reliable U.N. source on this matter, the Asia officer there, is Fransesc Vendrell, 212-963-5122).

In any event, this seems like a good time to make another comment on the Timor situation. I will be in contact with further information in the days to come.

Thanks for your courtesy.

# Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

Sept. 22, 1992

3812 Windom Place, NW

Washington, D.C. 20016

Mr. Stephen S. Rosenfeld---11 pages

Deputy Editorial Page Editor

The Washington Post

Tel. 202-363-1649

Fax 202-363-3658

Dear Mr. Rosenfeld,

Attached are a number of items of relevance to Indonesian President Suharto's visit to New York, where he will address the U.N. General Assembly on Thursday, Sept. 24 on behalf of the Non-Aligned Movement. He will remain in New York through the 28th, I believe.

First, the text of an important joint letter that will be sent to the UN Secretary General today by 150 US House members led by Tony Hall and 142 members of the Japanese Diet. The Hall press statement should reach you later today.

As noted on ABC News last night, the Senate Appropriations Committee will vote (tomorrow, Sept. 23) on the issue of US military training for Indonesia, which the House voted to suspend in late June. More information will be forwarded on this as it becomes available. The Wall Street Journal weighed in, in their way, today (attached), with plenty of factual errors, but what I find most significant about their editorial is that even they support a referendum for East Timor.

It is the considered view of thoughtful observers that the matter of US military training for Indonesia should not distract us from the main issue -- negotiations that can lead to an equitable solution to the Timor conflict. Some believe, I among them, that if the Senate restores the military training to Indonesia, it could well send a very bad signal to the Indonesians -- that after all the shouting, the US doesn't really care about what has transpired and continues to happen in East Timor.

Also attached are a few items from the Washington Post and the Economist regarding Indonesian leadership of the Non-Aligned Movement and Timor. The contention of diplomats cited in the latest Economist piece that human rights violations have been reduced has not been established. Investigators can't go there. The same church sources who have proven to be reliable over 13 years say the situation continues to be characterized by terror.

Phil Shenon had a generally good piece in the NY Times last week, attached here, but the headline writers were off, because the piece did not say that the Indonesians "seek to atone" for what has happened. No expert that I know of really believes that. Also, the one significant omission was the question of the extremely harsh sentences meted out to non-violent Timorese in recent months -- sentences that were termed "savage" by Asia Watch in their July testimony at the UN. I will fax this document separately, with a bit more information.

Thank you for your courtesy.



Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

Sept. 22, 1992

3812 Windom Place, NW

Washington, D.C. 20016

Tel. 202-363-1649

Fax 202-363-3658

Mr. Karl E. Meyer---11 pages  
Editorial Dept.  
The New York Times

Dear Mr. Meyer,

It was good to speak with you yesterday. Attached are a number of items of relevance to Indonesian President Suharto's visit to New York, where he will address the U.N. General Assembly on Thursday, Sept. 24 on behalf of the Non-Aligned Movement. He will remain in New York through the 28th, I believe.

Attached is the text of an important joint letter that will be sent to the UN Secretary General today by 150 US House members led by Tony Hall and 142 members of the Japanese Diet. The Hall press statement should reach you later today.

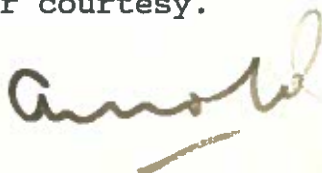
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Phil Shenon had a generally good piece in the Times last week, attached here, but the headline writers were off, because the piece did not say that the Indonesians "seek to atone" for what has happened. No expert that I know of really believes that. Also, the one significant omission (which may have simply been edited out, because I know that Phil knew about this) was the question of the extremely harsh sentences meted out to non-violent Timorese in recent months -- sentences that were termed "savage" by Asia Watch in their July testimony at the UN (I will fax this document separately).

Finally, I have attached Ramos Horta's op-ed piece that was sent separately to Mr. Levitas. The piece may have arrived too late for Suharto's Thursday appearance at the General Assembly, but in any event, it provides useful information for your reference.

Thank you for your courtesy.



Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

Sept. 23, 1992

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Washington, D.C. 20016

Tel. 202-363-1649

Fax 202-363-3658

Mr. Stephen S. Rosenfeld  
Deputy Editorial Page Editor  
The Washington Post

(11) Pages

Dear Mr. Rosenfeld,

Attached are a few more items, including the Asia Watch report I mentioned that talks about the "savage" prison sentences meted out to non-violent Timorese in the past few months. But a March L.A. Times op-ed is even more important, because of the background of the author. I urge you to read it. There is no indication that much has changed on the ground since then.

I have obtained a copy of Sen. Leahy's reply to yesterday's Wall Street Journal editorial, and I am taking the liberty of attaching it, for your information only, so that you have access to an authoritative summary reply to the errors of fact in that editorial. I believe the Appropriations Committee will vote today, but as I said before, I do not believe this is the main issue, although elements of both the left and the right will try to paint it as if it is.

I am attaching a July 28 summary of information I received from the same church sources that have proven to be reliable and balanced over many years. I am doing so to illustrate, very briefly, the tenor of the situation there, which has not changed in recent weeks. As I believe the ABC News report the other night stated, recent foreign visitors to Timor find that they are unable to speak with ordinary people for more than a few minutes at a time without being interrupted by the highly intimidating presence of security forces. (I know the ABC reporter who was there, and I also have spoken with two other independent sources who were there in recent weeks.) Even so, The New York Times reporter was not allowed to visit.

In the midst of all this (together with the continuing United Nations disapproval of the Indonesian occupation) President Suharto takes up the presidency of the Non-Aligned Nations and everyone is somehow expected to take Indonesia seriously in this role. Longtime experts on Indonesia say that Jakarta may in fact be prepared to change its position on Timor, in large part because of the hammering they have received internationally. Suharto's appearance at the United Nations tomorrow and in succeeding days provides an excellent chance to remind Suharto, while making it clear that there is no intention to insult, that people are still concerned about the fundamental issues, that it is time for a change.

Thank you for your courtesy,

Arnold

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

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Washington, D.C. 20016

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Fax 202-363-3658

Nov. 28, 1992

for Dr. Peter Carey---5 pages  
Trinity College

Dear Peter,

It was great to see you the week before last. Unfortunately, I was a bit overcome with jet lag while in Oxford.

At the photo exhibit at MOMA, someone asked me about the fate of some of the earlier FRETILIN leaders; all of which makes the most recent news all the more worrisome.

Attached is an editorial we managed to place in the Boston Globe a few days ago. The American holiday of Thanksgiving has intervened, thus making it impossible to do anything further until Monday. Our contact at the New York Times was away until a few days ago, and was too busy to talk the other day, but he has agreed to see me on Mon. Nov. 30. Hopefully the same will be possible at the Washington Post (the Post has been a bit standoffish as of the past couple of months; I may have to draw upon an old acquaintance to get to see the Post editorial people face-to-face).

Which brings me to what I ask of you. I have been in contact with various people in London regarding the possibility of editorial comment in various newspapers and magazines. Robert Archer knows someone at the Times; Clare Dixon of CAFOD may know someone at the Telegraph; John Taylor knows John Gittings at the Guardian; I know Hugh O'Shaughnessy at the Observer.

Would you know someone who would write editorials for The Independent? Also, there is The Economist. Their (attached) Sept. 19 piece was much better than before. And they may be interested in the view of the Wall Street Journal, which endorsed the idea of a referendum a couple of months ago.

I will be reachable by fax over the next few days at 212-682-3633 at UMOUN (United Methodist Office for the United Nations).

Sorry this is so rushed. Thanks again for your hospitality. I will look forward to seeing you again in February. (And corresponding with you on the idea we discussed, regarding a letter from people at Oxford to Clinton).

With warm regards,

Arnold

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

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Washington, D.C. 20016  
Tel. 202-363-1649  
Fax 202-363-3658

Nov. 30, 1992

Mr. Karl E. Meyer  
Editorial Page  
The New York Times

③ Pages

Dear Karl,

Thank you very much for taking the time to see me today, especially in light of all the things that are going on.

As things turned out, additional information just now became available regarding the Timor situation from the authoritative church sources who have proven so reliable in the past. In my experience with these sources over the past year, I have never heard them as frightened as they are now. The news is brief and follows this page.

The Indonesians have not yet produced the Timorese independence movement leader whom they captured on Nov. 20. His fate is an open question, but more generally, longtime experts on the region believe that less-well-known, "ordinary" people may be suffering a gruesome fate at present. They need as much protection as Washington, and the world, can offer them.

I have also attached Tony Hall's Oct. 7 press release -- the coda to the Sept. 21 ABC News piece I dropped off.

I will be in touch as more information becomes available.

Thanks again for your courtesy.



Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

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

Mr. Karl E. Meyer  
Editorial Page  
The New York Times

Nov. 23, 1992

⑩ Pages

Dear Mr. Meyer,

Attached are two statements by Amnesty International and one from Asia Watch regarding the capture on Friday of the Timorese independence movement leader.

Only last Monday night, I gave a talk at the Museum of Modern Art in Oxford, England, in connection with an exhibit of photographs on East Timor being displayed at that institution. Someone asked me about the fate of some of the early Timorese leaders. It is not a pretty story, and I will not repeat it here. But it is worth stating that one hopes that the increased international awareness of the Timor situation will dissuade the Indonesians from any rough treatment of the man they have just captured. Our State Department should continue to convey that message to Jakarta, especially in light of the fact that the Indonesians have not yet allowed outsiders to see Gusmao.

(The State Department has told some in Congress that American representations have in fact been made to Jakarta on this matter.) A Nov. 8 piece in the Washington Post by Jim Hoagland listed Indonesia as one place where human rights could develop as a problem with the new Administration in Washington; Indonesia-watchers say the Indonesian press has been expressing anxiety over the possible emphasis on human rights.

Some experts say that the capture of Gusmao might make it easier for Jakarta to include him in talks currently underway between Indonesia and Portugal under the auspices of United Nations Secretary Boutros Ghali: because the military succeeded in seizing Gusmao, their pride won't be on the line the way it would have been had Gusmao continued to elude them (By the way, a reliable U.N. source on this matter, the Asia officer there, is Fransesc Vendrell, 212-963-5122).

In any event, this might be a good time to make another comment on the Timor situation. I will be in contact with further information in the days to come.

Thanks for your courtesy.

Arnold

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

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

Nov. 30, 1992

Mr. Stephen S. Rosenfeld  
Deputy Editorial Page Editor  
The Washington Post

Dear Mr. Rosenfeld,

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Also attached are some items from the press, from Amnesty International and a letter to Suharto initiated by the Congressional Human Rights Caucus and Tony Hall before the Thanksgiving break.

I will be in touch as more information becomes available.

Thank you for your courtesy.





Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

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

Nov. 11, 1992

for Marty Rendon ---3 pages

Dear Marty,

Here is the draft release. I hope it is ok, more or less.

USCC was closed for Veteran's Day, so I will reach them on Thursday, for as long as it takes to get the answer we want.

I had a very good meeting with Michel Veuthey of ICRC the other day. More on this later.

Best,

Arnold

Dec. 6, 1992

for Mr. Jef Felix--5 pages  
Broederlijk Delen

Dear Mr. Felix,

Attached are several items of interest. More will follow. As you can see, the situation is more urgent than ever. Sorry I have been out of touch. Things have been extremely busy here.

I have had to cancel travel plans for the foreseeable future, but hope to see you in February in Brussels, at which time I can provide a full briefing to you and your colleagues.

With best wishes,



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

Dec. 13, 1992

for Steve Alston  
CAFOD

(4) Pages

Dear Steve,

Thanks for all the news. Things have been unusually mad around here. Re: BBC TV, I will phone you on this.

Your idea re:CIIR putting out the church info in press releases is great!

In haste,

Annie

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

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

Dec. 13, 1992

for Robert Archer-----6 pages  
Christian Aid

Dear Robert,

The attached items will be of interest. Anything in The Times per chance? In case you haven't noticed, CIIR put out the attached press release, utilizing the attached info we received from church sources.

In haste,

*Arnold*

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

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

Dec. 13, 1992

for Dr. Peter Carey-----6 pages  
Trinity College

Dear Peter,

The attached items will be of interest.

In case you haven't noticed, CIIR put out the attached press release, utilizing the attached info we received from church sources.

More soon,

In haste,

All the best,

*Arnold*

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

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

Dec. 13, 1992

for Hilary Coulby-----6 pages  
Asia Desk  
Oxfam

Dear Hilary,

The attached items will be of interest.

In case you haven't noticed, CIIR put out the attached press release, utilizing the attached info we received from church sources.

More soon,

In haste,

Love,



Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

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

Dec. 13, 1992

for Dr. J.G. Taylor-----6 pages

Dear John,

The attached items will be of interest.

In case you haven't noticed, CIIR put out the attached press release, utilizing the attached info we received from church sources.

More soon,

In haste,

All the best,

a



The Right Reverend  
Paul Moore Jr.

December 10, 1992

Mr. Lewis Preston  
The World Bank  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Preston,

I will be in Washington on Monday, Dec. 14 and Tuesday, Dec. 15 and would appreciate the opportunity to meet with you to discuss matters of mutual interest. I have dictated this note to my assistant, Mr. Arnold Kohen, who has been in contact with Mrs. Marianne Haug of the World Bank regarding a possible meeting between us.

I seem to be free between 1 and 4 PM on Dec. 14; as of now my schedule is open on Dec. 15.

Arrangements can be made by contacting me or Mr. Kohen at 202 353 1649 or (fax) 363 3658.

Thank you for your attention.

Sincerely,

The Rt. Rev. Paul Moore Jr.

55 Bank Street, New York, New York 10014  
Phone (212) 675-3001 • Fax (212) 243-1432



Arnold S. Konen

Writer/Journalist

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

Dec. 10, 1992

for Hilary Coulby  
Asia Desk \ Oxfam

Dear Hilary,

Thanks for your fax. We are working on getting more editorials placed. I'm drafting a press release for a friend on Capitol Hill now.

What does "IDS office is under scrutiny again" mean? And are you really going to be going off to Manila?

The Reebok thing was wild. I'll send you a copy of pages once they are in a transmittable form.

Love,





Solarz for Congress  
P.O. Box 2703  
Alexandria, VA  
22301-0703

# RE-ELECT CONGRESSMAN STEPHEN J. SOLARZ

August 10, 1992

Mr. Arnold Kohen  
3812 Windom Place  
Washington, D.C. 20016

Dear Arnold:

Your contribution could not have come at a better time!

I am writing to thank you for helping make my recent fundraising reception in Washington such a success. At this particularly difficult moment in my Congressional career, I can't tell you how much your generous expression of support means to me.

Having spent the last month campaigning on the streets of my new district, I can tell you that this is clearly going to be the fight of my political life. It's an uphill struggle -- but one that I am going to do everything that I can to win. There is too much left for me to do in Washington -- especially given my increasing seniority on the Foreign Affairs Committee -- for me to stop now.

That's why your recent contribution is so important. I am not about to give up the struggle for the causes and concerns that you and I share. And with the help of such dedicated friends as yourself, I am confident that I will overcome the steep odds against me and win reelection.

In the meantime, I only hope that I can continue to merit your confidence and support.

Sincerely,

STEPHEN SOLARZ  
Member of Congress

Paid for by  
Solarz for Congress,  
Daniel Ertel,  
Treasurer



10 August 1992

Dear XXXX,

Enclosed is the copy of the letter I sent to my friend who is an AC in Northern California. As I mentioned on the phone, discontent has been festering for some time in the San Francisco area with Healey's dictatorial and counterproductive ways. Maybe this time we can get enough people to start speaking out to bring about change. If Healey gets the message that there are a lot of AI members who don't love him, maybe he will step down.

I just saw the list of the winning board candidates. Maybe you could ask Hilary if she could get the details of the results. I would like to see how many votes each candidate got from each region. It seems peculiar that Jack's enemies on the board--Marcia and Boyle and potentially Gary Cadd--lost and all his allies won. You should also ask Hilary to look into who does the voter tabulation, how they got the contract, what the contract terms are and what kind of relationship these people have to Healey. Maybe it is time to put the contract out for bid again.

I might review some of the strategies we discussed, especially for XXXX's benefit (I am ccing her on this letter).

(1) Our biggest problem is isolation among people who feel we need a change. We got to get the word out that people are voicing complaints and that there are problems in the organization. When I talk to someone, she or he is always surprised to learn that others are concerned about AIUSA's drift into bias and political correctness, our failure to support groups and help them become more effective, the continuing concentration of power and resources, etc.

We need to get organized.

(2) The joint letter from the AC and cogroup steering committees is an important first step. The language needs to be direct. We cannot shy away from naming names and giving specific examples like Healey's statements on NPR calling for Aristide to be reinstated as president of Haiti. Not naming names is something Healey counts on. He and his lieutenants are quick to slander people behind their back, but they expect the volunteer leadership to behave according to a completely different standard.

The letter needs to go to all the board members. Like all statements, it should be posted on AI.IDEAS and AI. Students. A copy should be sent to Policy Forum and all cluster group newsletters like the Activator. ACs need to

distribute copies to the groups they service. Cogroups should send copies to the groups they are in contact with. People have to be made aware there is a problem.

(3) The more pointed the attack on Healey, the better. The only way we can beat him by abusing his ego. You know how he responds to criticism. Let us start a steady stream of criticism.

(4) The BAD committee should send a letter to board members, asking that Claudia King's proposal be accepted. Healey get particularly upset at any challenge to his plan for completely emasculating the board by "procedures." He wants the board to agree that he runs everything. He wants to control finances and thereby control everything, thus his attempt to make "micromanagement" the worst of all sins. We need to challenge him constantly on this. Make him fight to get something declared micromanagement. We need to change things so he will become hesitant to even use the word, micromanagement in the fear that people will think he is just using the label micromanagement to stifle dissent.

This letter also needs to be posted everywhere. It should refer to the resolution at the AGM calling for protection of the SF office. This will heighten Healey's rage because it will demonstrate that the passage of the resolution was not an anomaly and the issue is alive and well.

(5) We should start acting like it is a given that we will have a new executive director. We need articles on the nets and in newsletters that discuss what kind of qualities we should look for in the next executive director, should we go outside the organization, for example. If we get people talking this way--about a definite term limit--we may be able to create the illusion that it is a forgone conclusion that Healey will be leaving. This kind of tactic can be very successful.

(6) We need to put together a strong slate of 12 candidates for the next election. It is no good just putting one or two people on the board. We also need a platform--a reform ticket--to present. Then we need to do some serious politicking. AC and cogroups have to begin educating the membership. We also need to get former members who quit in disgust or annoyance to rejoin. We need to work cluster groups and regional meetings.

(7) I will write a resolution calling for a ten year term limit on the position of executive director. We will need to get it introduced at all the regionals. We will need people to speak in favor of it.

(8) We might need some other resolutions that address the things Healey likes to do most. For example, a resolution

calling for AIUSA's experts to appear as witnesses in Congressional hearings and be quoted in newspapers. And we should push for our experts to represent us on television.

(9) I will write to Jon Orchard in Texas and try to encourage him and later, perhaps, work more closely with us. I don't know him at all so I cannot take the chance of trusting him too much. I will ask him to post his AC newsletter article on the Nets and elsewhere. The next AGM is in Dallas so we will need help in the Southern region.

(10) We all need to be closely monitoring all AIUSA documents, letters, radio and TV broadcasts, etc. to collect more evidence of what has been happening. Healey may become more careful now in what he says so we should look back into older documents where the rhetoric was unrestrained.

(11) We need to encourage members to write their board representatives. Maybe even a joint steering committee letter to new board members advising them of key issues and imploring them not become another rubber stamp. And we should post copies of such a letter.

(12) We have to pick a person to be Board Chair and get lots of members to write board members and ask that they vote for our candidate. Otherwise we end up with Mary Gray or Rick Halperin. Who do you think would be best as Chair?

(13) Who else should we be making contact with as possible allies? Would XXXX join us? Who do we need to watch out for?

(14) (new) Maybe we should post the Cogroup Steering Committee letter everywhere that criticizes the AGM for running biased ads. Add a message that the reason this kind of thing happened was because the leadership was sending the wrong message. AIUSA is not a business. Though it should be run professionally, we are not in the business of increasing market share and making a profit.

(15) Post topics attacking Healey for trying to arrange for AI tables at Guns-n-Roses concerts because the band has a reputation for being homophobic and racists (I don't know the details about this group). Talk about a failure of leadership, wrong priorities.

Take care,

John Nides  
cc: XXX

## CONFIDENTIAL

August 4, 1992

Dear XXX,

I was so glad to hear the text of the draft letter objecting to bias that the AC Steering Committee is planning to send to the Board. I think we can bring about constructive change in AIUSA if we work together and look upon our effort to reform AIUSA as just another part of our human rights work. After all, we willingly take on the seemingly impossible task of ending abuses in countries like China, Guatemala and Burma. Why can't we tackle problems with the leadership in AIUSA?

I see a number of problems with AIUSA. We no longer are unbiased. We no longer attempt to be an organization that everyone, regardless of political affiliation, can join. We no longer accept the particular niche in international human rights work that AI has carved out for itself. We no longer try always to keep in mind that AIUSA is part of an international movement.

In other countries, sections do not try to get hundreds of thousands of new members. They are more concerned that new members understand and accept the limitations of working for AI. That does not mean that AI cannot change and evolve. We added death penalty work to our mandate; we took on the issue of people being punished because of their sexuality. But for the most part, we have made incremental changes that are the natural expansion of the work we do. We limit ourselves to working on abuses that are generally accepted as being prohibited by international law. We also try to avoid burdening the research staff with impossible increases in their workload.

AI is a rather stodgy human rights organization, but there are good reasons for this. The facts of terrible human rights abuses should be enough to shock and motivate people. We don't need to use strong, inflammatory language directed against governments and heads of state in order to convince people of the righteousness of our cause. And AI's approach is much more effective for getting governments to respond to our campaigns and appeals.

I think Jack wants to be head of a million-member organization. Jack wants constant adoration; he considers people who disagree with his ideas to be disloyal. He is paranoid about people wanting his job. He fears and detests ridicule. He wants to be surrounded by "yes" men and women.

I think that Jack decided he could attract new members more rapidly by shifting the focus of AIUSA to attacking the Bush administration as responsible for human rights violations in other countries. People like to feel self-righteous anger. They

also like issues, strategies and tactics to be simple. That is why conspiracy theories are so popular.

Students are more inclined to be more radical in their politics and world view than the older population. Young people often get angry and disturbed when they realize how screwed up the world is and when they realize that their leaders regularly act out of selfish and seemingly irresponsible motives that cause suffering and hardship to those least able to resist.

#### TACTICS THAT ARE EMPLOYED BECAUSE THEY HAVE POPULAR APPEAL VERSUS TACTICS THAT ARE EFFECTIVE

Young people want to get involved and help make this a better world. But they lack the experience and knowledge that sometimes comes with age. It is tough to sell young people on the idea of incremental change and the necessity of not always playing "hard ball" when dealing with human rights abusers. Giving in to the desire to engage in name-calling and demanding harsh economic sanctions often only results in human rights activists feeling good about themselves, rather than accomplishing the desired objective of getting prisoners released.

Most people who are concerned about human rights, for example, tend to think the US should impose harsh economic sanctions on China to force them to release political prisoners. Imposing draconian trade sanctions on China, however, are probably counterproductive if the goal is an improvement in China's human rights situation.

If someone was more interested in getting people to join a human rights organization than take effective steps to end abuses, such a person would make highly emotional speeches that played upon his audience's biases and sympathies. It is easier to stimulate people to join an organization if you make the U.S. government the villain rather than blame distant foreign officials. And you can get the best response if you impugn the integrity of the people you are blaming for the situation.

I think Jack Healey insists on violating the Mandate and attacking the Bush Administration as an incarnation of evil, in part, because he knows it will easily elicit a favorable response in students. Students (though not only students) will, in turn, support Healey in his efforts to change AIUSA into the more dramatic, visible kind of organization that he would prefer to head--an organization that would be praised by the editorial board at the Nation. And of course, Healey can then justify himself by saying he is just responding to the will of the membership.

#### REFORMING AIUSA

Educating new AIUSA members is not easy. It requires a lot of time and energy and resources. There are lots of innovative things we should be doing. We should give all ACs the kind of

detailed training that cogroup members get at the annual Cogroup Training in Washington. We should give an abbreviated version of that training to all group leaders, case coordinators and key members of the volunteer leadership. We should be teaching members about AI and getting them to think about difficult mandate issues at regional meetings, AGMs and in columns in Amnesty Action and other publications.

We also need to get groups to move beyond letter-writing activities and get more involved in strategic planning and employing a multitude of different tactics. Personally, I think cluster groups are the way to go. We should be devoting more resources to cluster groups so they eventually function more like regional offices. Cogroups need to work more closely with cluster groups so city officials, academics and others will raise human rights issues when foreign delegations and officials come to their cities for visits. Maybe there should be a press officer, a legislative coordinator, a women's group outreach person, a legal support network coordinator, etc. in each major cluster group or regional office.

I obviously think we should be decentralizing AIUSA. But we need to avoid the problems that are inherent in decentralization. We need to improve communication among clusters and between staff and membership.

Unfortunately, Healey does not agree with this view. When I was a staff person, I sometimes heard talk about how resources were wasted on groups because they were not "cost-effective." Healey prefers things like Freedom Writers because it brings in more revenues than it costs to run. Never mind that the utility of sending six to ten thousand letters to three addresses a few times a year is only going to impact the condition of a handful of prisoners.

Another problem with AIUSA is the relationship among the board, the executive director and the volunteer leadership. It is very difficult to get the right balance in power among these three groups. We need a strong board that is well versed in AI values and tactics and a board willing to stand up to an executive director who has confused his personal agenda with AIUSA's agenda. We also need a strong and innovative executive director who will provide leadership, but is not so paranoid as to treat every disagreement as an act of sedition. We need an executive director who is not vindictive and does not use his lieutenants to smear his "opponents" (calling people "disgruntled former staff members" is a favorite tactic) by telling lies.

#### THE HEALEY PROBLEM

Can we fix the problems in AIUSA as long as Healey is executive director? I don't think so. We can, however, force Healey to improve some things and alter some policies.



Can we get rid of Healey? This would be very difficult as he has a lot of support among uninformed members and his allies on the board. Though it will be tough for us to get rid of Healey, he might be persuaded to resign if he is subject to an increasing amount of criticism.

I think Healey has been deteriorating in recent years. Did you hear his speech at the AGM in Washington last year? It was incoherent and rambling at times. At one point he talked about "drinking the blood" of human rights violators. Nobody had a clue what he was talking about. His speech at the Midwest Regional this year was also rambling and unfocused.

His level of paranoia has gone up markedly. I think he is always worried that someone wants his job or that people are out to stick the knife in him like he is always trying to do people who either disagree with him, don't openly admire him or appear to be more popular with the membership. His conduct at the Los Angeles AGM when he threatened to resign over my emergency resolution was in keeping with his present state of mind. I understand he was extremely depressed last year when he was attacked in the New Republic.

A lot of people are unhappy with what has been happening in AIUSA over the last five years. Most people never say anything publicly because they feel the situation is hopeless or they worry that public criticism could hurt the movement. They just quietly resign and go on to other good causes.

We have to change this. Even at the AGM people told me they were really surprised to learn that others shared their concerns about what Healey was doing to AIUSA. We have initiated a little activity. We need to get more and more people talking and criticizing Healey. I don't think he can take the pressure. The more people talk, the more things will come out about what has been going on over the last five to ten years.

We could risk waiting until Jack decides to quit or we could try to get the Board to do damage control. But I don't think we can afford to wait. Jack wants to push Cosette out. He can make life fairly difficult for her. She might decide to quit before Healey finally leaves. He obviously is not losing any opportunity to strike back at the SF office. He rejected Claudia King's proposal and the San Jose concert out of spite.

#### WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

The letter from the AC Steering Committee is great, but I suggest you omit the part about how the Committee doesn't want to name names because that is divisive. This is the sort of gentlemanly behavior that Healey depends upon to stay in power. He fights dirty but expects others to act like conflicts are only over abstract policies.

We need to openly criticize Healey like Jon Orchard does in the AC newsletter. I am enclosing a copy of part of the NPR transcript of statements by Healey calling for Aristide to be reinstated as president of Haiti. Maybe you will want to put it in your letter.

#### HEALEY'S FEAR OF MEMBERSHIP ACTION

We also want to appeal to the Board to discipline the executive director. We won't say it so directly, but we need to drive a wedge between the board and Healey, if only in Healey's mind. He fears the membership going to the board to complain.

You know he called Jim Grossell a couple of years ago when Jim dared to write an article in Notes Under the Door that disagreed with the policy of unlimited growth. What disturbed Healey was that Jim was going public with criticism.

In Healey's draft vision paper, he twice says that criticisms of policies should not be raised as discussion topics for the membership:

The environment of tolerance is also undermined by complaint to third, fourth, and fifth parties about problems that should be discussed at their sources. In other words, if we take issue with a particular person's plans or actions, we should begin by talking directly with him or her. If the talking is done in a spirit of tolerance, tangles of trouble can be avoided.

...

Staff members are accountable to the Executive Director, who is accountable to the Board of Directors. Our organization is rooted in lines of accountability, and they should be respected. Membership must never be exploited in attempts to undermine established lines of accountability.

I think you should try to get a lot of ACs to sign the letter or else have it signed by the AC Steering Committee. Most important, you need to distribute the letter widely among the membership. You should post it on at least two AI peacenet conferences--ai.ideas and ai.students. These are both accessible to all AI members although very few people actually read them. You should also send a copy to Policy Forum and ask that it be published in the next issue. You should have the ACs try to get it published in as many local newsletters as possible.

The ACs have the best lines of communication to groups. You should ask ACs to distribute copies of the letter to group leaders who might be interested in the issues if they were to be

made aware of them. We need to have student groups involved as well.

Jon Orchard should be encouraged to post the article he wrote for the AC newsletter on ai.ideas and ai.students as well as try to get it published in Policy Forum and as many local newsletters as possible.

You also need to get some cogroup people to agree to ask the cogroup steering committee to send a similar letter.

#### HOW TO DEAL WITH JACK AND CURT

When you start criticizing him, Jack will go off his head. People who make criticisms will start getting calls from Curt Goering, maybe Hans, maybe Carol Nagengast and Mary Grey, maybe even Jack himself. Jack and Curt will try to frame the issues completely differently from what is really at stake. They will try to make ACs feel like they acted irresponsibly and unfairly. They will say in disappointed tones, "Why didn't you come to me first if you thought there was a problem?"

When this happens, just remember all the ugliness at the AGM. Remember that Healey wants to get rid of Cosette and destroy the San Francisco office. Remember that his way of doing this is to claim that the issues are really ones of membership trying to micro-manage the organization and the need to make budget cutbacks because of falling revenues. By remembering these things, you will be able to remain calm and focused and not fall into the trap of responding to what Jack and Curt are saying. What they say is irrelevant; it is a smokescreen to cover up the problem.

Forget about the issues when you and other ACs talk to Healey and his lieutenants. Instead, advise ACs to put Jack and Curt on the defensive. When Jim Grossell published his article in Notes Under the Door, someone sent a copy to Healey or Curt. Healey has his allies on the staff and among the membership. If Healey or Curt calls in response to one of your actions, ask them who gave them your name as someone to call about this.

The more they press you, the more you should respond by asking, "Curt, who have you been talking to? What have they been saying to you?" This implies that you know that Curt is trying to do damage control and that he has "spies" out there feeding him information. More importantly, it shows that you are not going to fall into the trap of talking about a false issue, or "side" issue. You will be letting him know that you know he has a hidden agenda--shutting down criticism and intimidating membership and staff. You will be implicitly telling him his tactics won't work. You will be letting him know that there is an important group within the volunteer leadership that does not consider him to be fair and honest and reasonable. You can accomplish all this without having to confront him.

Listen to what they have to say, take good notes, but don't argue or respond much. Instead suggest to them that they write a letter to the Steering Committee and post their response on Peacenet and in Policy Forum. This will probably get them mad. Just act like you are not personally involved in this. Treat them more like a bureaucrat telling an outraged citizen that they need to go to office X to make a complaint. The more they press you, the more you should play dumb or be noncommittal.

We win just by letting Healey know we disapprove of what he is doing. We doubly win by letting Healey know we mistrust him.

Next, you need to get all the details about Claudia King's proposal and the reasons given for rejecting it. If Claudia had a \$40,000 grant to work for the SF office for a year doing PR and press work, it was ridiculous to reject it. As you know, Claudia is very good. The PR and press work alone would have generated tens of thousands of dollars in donations or more. Once we have the details, I can draft a letter to the Board for the BAD committee to send, requesting that the proposal be accepted. The letter will refer to the emergency resolution we passed in LA that was supposed to protect the SF office. We can frame it as a policy and fiscal decision. Healey will go bonkers if he is challenged on this. And then we do the same thing with this Claudia letter. Post it on AI peacenet conferences, put it in Policy Forum, have the ACs distribute it.

We also have to ensure that all the board members see the letter. It doesn't matter if we lose on this. It is just more evidence that Healey is out to get the SF office and that the membership is upset.

Finally, some people from BAD have to talk to Glenn Church and bring him on board. He is a good fellow, but he has shied away from opposing Healey. Judy Patterson and Marcia O'Brien supported my resolution at the AGM. They need support on the Board. Hilary will be an ally, but we really need Glenn to start speaking up. He was elected to be a voice of the membership. Glenn's help is crucial.

You need to start organizing the ACs in other regions, too. This can be tricky as some may turn out to be supporters of Healey and will run to him with information. That doesn't matter. In the long run, it will just increase his paranoia and belief that not everybody loves him. When Curt or Jack calls to complain about some tactic they have got wind of, just turn the conversation around and keep asking them whom they were talking to and suggest they write a letter to the AC Steering Committee.

We also need to get as many people as possible recording Healey's speeches and monitoring mailings going out that violate the mandate or show bias.

For the long run, we need to come up with a list of strong board candidates. In the past, even when we elected some good candidates, they soon became disillusioned about changing things because they were such a small minority. We need to run a slate of 12 good candidates next year. We need to bring former AI members who quit out of disgust back into the movement.

Someone should be contacting David Hinkley. He would be a great board member.

We also need to write a platform and get endorsements from various elements of the volunteer leadership. And we need to get the ACs to get information distributed.

Another possibility is to introduce some resolutions at the regional meetings this year. One resolution would call for AIUSA to use its experts when the opportunity arises to get on television or be quoted in the New York Times. (When I was on staff, it was well-known that one must never get between Jack Healey and a television camera.) Another resolution would call for a term limit of ten years for executive directors. After all, the position should not be a lifetime appointment. Board members only can serve six uninterrupted years. The President of the United States can only serve eight years. We will need help in getting these resolutions introduced at all the regional meetings.

#### CONCLUSION

It will be neither easy nor pleasant to force Healey out, but we need to do it to protect the San Francisco office and to move forward with our human rights work. We need to be careful who we talk to and what we put in writing. But we have to start organizing and getting as many people involved as possible. We also need to start approaching more Board members to encourage them to stand up to Jack.

#### ENCLOSURES

I am enclosing a number of items you may find useful.

(1) A copy of the NPR transcript in which Healey calls for the reinstatement of Aristide.

(2) Further Comments on the Work on Own Country Rule. I posted this on ai.ideas, I think. It is useful because it documents Healey violating the rule and also illustrates how Healey attacks the Bush administration. I suggest you make copies of this for the AC Steering Committee and try to get it distributed widely. It is a good example of the kind of monitoring we need people to be doing. To start, people could look over papers sent out by AIUSA in past years.

(3) Questions for Candidates Running for the Board. I posted this on a conference earlier this year. This paper is useful for initiating discussions about why we have weak boards.

(4) Reforming the Resolution Process (I think Gary Cadd brought this to the attention of one of the Board's committees recently). The first half of this may be useful to people who want to talk about the need to educate new members and the problems that our past growth has caused.

(5) A letter to Mort Winston, dated 4 April 1992. Parts of this letter discuss some of the problems of bias and conflicts of interest on the part of Board members. You can quote from this if it is useful to you, but please leave out the beginning discussion about hate speech. I would rather not have people know I wrote this to Mort. There is probably no danger, but I don't want to mark Mort as guilty by association in Healey's eyes.

(6) My Reply to Hilary's Request for Discussion on AIUSA's Policy of AI Identification

(7) My letter to the Task Force on Revising the Own Country Rule. I think this frames a lot of the issues although some veteran AIUSA members disagree with my conclusions.

XXX, why don't you read over some of these enclosures and then call me at the end of the week so we can talk about how to best protect the SF office and clean up the mess in AIUSA. Feel free to discuss the content of this letter with people you trust and quote from it, but for now, it is better not to let others read it in its entirety. You can tell people what to expect from Jack and Curt, but just don't put anything in writing.

Take care,

John Nides  
313-663-9153