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have fizzled out after a week or two, analysts said. There is a clear sign of improving confidence in the Jakarta market among both local and foreign investors, they said. "This greater confidence will further boost trading activities in coming months," said Sani Permana, director of PT Aperdi brokerage house. He noted many listed firms also promised better business prospects which would increase interest in their shares. A Jakarta-based foreign analyst said there was growing interest in the local exchange and active trading could go on for a little while. "The index will go up higher for the rest of the year although its not necessarily going to be smooth," he said. The composite index has over the past month jumped to 341.85 on May 31 from 314.10 on April 30. Analysts said plans to increase the proportion of foreign ownership, rumors on dividend payments and developments in other markets, such as Hong Kong and Singapore, were the main driving forces behind the market. The government is preparing a new policy allowing bigger ownership by foreign investors from the present 49 pct. Last Saturday, the government also unveiled reforms in the banking industry to encourage banks to be more active in awarding new loans to spur business activities. Besides this plan, there are also a number of economic reforms expected to be announced soon. Permana said banking and other planned reforms would give a positive tone to the market. "These reforms will trigger improvements in the real sectors which will facilitate more active trading at the exchange," he said. But a research manager in a major securities firm was skeptical about market prospects. "So far only a handful of companies are driving the market. Investors chased their shares because they had good prospects and were very liquid regardless of other external factors. These firms boosted the index," he said. "Other shares were mainly dormant and played a very insignificant role in the latest market activities," he said. He called on exchange authorities to increase the liquidity of the market. Permana also encouraged the authorities to be very selective in licensing new listings to prevent minority investors from being cheated by irresponsible firms. "There also should be a more transparent policy and fairness to protect investors," he added. (RT, Jakarta, Hendro Suwito, June 2)

Jakarta share prices ended higher in active trade despite profit taking, brokers said. "Solid buying interest from foreigners overwhelmed profit taking from local players," said Dandossi Matram, spokesman of the Jakarta Stockbrokers' Club. Active counters were Panin Bank, Japfa and Gajah Tunggal which were driven by foreign buying. Among gainers were Prodentia, up 1,000 rupiah to 7,500 on thin volume, Modern Photo 500 rupiah to 14,800. Losers included Modern Land, down 150 rupiah to 5,000, Indocement local 100 rupiah to 11,500. (RT, Jakarta, June 2)

PT Kalbe Farma, one of the largest pharmaceutical companies in Indonesia, finally received approval from independent shareholders to acquire PT Bukit Manikam Sakti (BMS), a biscuit and baby food maker. "The acquisition plan was agreed by the independent shareholders who were present and represented 22,365,200 shares or 61 pct of the 36,462,028 independent shareholders," said Saka Abadi, corporate secretary of Kalbe Farma. This was the second extraordinary general meeting on the purchase of BMS, an affiliate. The first in April failed to get a quorum. Kalbe Farma also announced a final dividend payment of 70 rupiah with the registration date July 8 and payment date on August 6, 1993. Kalbe closed today at 13,000 rupiah, up from 12,750. (RT, Jakarta, June 2)

Indonesia's trade surplus fell to \$807.5 million in March from \$1.08 billion in February, Information Minister Harmoko said. (RT, Jakarta, June 2)

Indonesia's consumer price index rose 0.14 pct in May, compared with a rise of 0.15 pct in April and 0.11 pct in May 1992, Information Minister Harmoko said. Year-on-year inflation in May was 9.29 pct, compared with 9.26 pct in April and 8.74 pct in May 1992. The government calculated inflation using 200 to 224 commodities from 27 cities. The base year for the CPI is April 1988 to March 1989. Harmoko said increases in the prices of housing, textile and services were behind

the rise. (RT, Jakarta, June 2)

Indonesia's leading timber company <PT Barito Pacific> will go public this year, an official at the underwriting firm PT Makindo said. She confirmed the company would underwrite Barito in its plans to sell 15 to 20 pct of its shares on the Jakarta Stock Exchange. "We're still working on the pricing and other administration procedures. Barito will announce the details soon," she said. Market sources said the share issue would be worth about 600 billion rupiah. The company's chairman Prayogo Pangestu recently said the company would use the fresh funds for expansion. Barito is an integrated timber firm, including plywood production, with a total output of 1.8 million cubic meters per year. Two years ago the company postponed the flotation of 100 million shares after tight monetary policy by the government depressed the Jakarta bourse. (RT, Jakarta, June 2)

Amnesty International said Tuesday that a world human rights conference this month is shaping up as a "slap in the face for humanity" with a draft communique acceptable even to repressive regimes. Secretary-General Pierre Sane of Senegal called the 48-page draft "long on rhetoric, short on specifics." He described it as a "pathetic little compilation of disputed paragraphs" -- after two years of preparations. Amnesty accused Asian manufacturing nations of obstructing any focus on workers' rights, while Western nations made late and uncoordinated contributions. The two-week conference was organized by the 181-member United Nations and opens in Vienna on June 14, the first meeting of government ministers on human rights in 25 years. Among other things, Amnesty, an international human rights organization with headquarters in London, wants the Vienna conference to establish a U.N. Commissioner for Human Rights who has an important status within the world body, and to establish funds to monitor an international standard of human rights. Sane said of the draft, "If this is to be the result of Vienna, it will be a slap in the face for humanity. It will be worse than a disappointment, it will be a betrayal of the hopes and the rights of people of every race, color and creed." His remarks at a news conference were the strongest criticism yet of preparations for the conference. He underlined fears that the meeting will be little more than a sterile rehearsal of old arguments: Western nations calling for an end to torture or persecution of political opponents, while developing nations argue that their priorities are food and jobs. Sane said communist China and capitalist Malaysia are among Asian countries that argue that international monitoring of human rights would infringe their national sovereignty. South Korea, Singapore, Taiwan and other manufacturers in Asia with relatively cheap labor also fear their competitiveness is being undermined, Sane said. He cited Syria, Mexico, Colombia, Indonesia and Cuba as among nations with the most "inflexible attitude." The draft communique is mainly the result of meetings of regional groups. Amnesty chiefs say this format has meant nations pressing for human rights tended to be sidelined in group communiqués. The United States and others Western nations did not meet as a group. Amnesty's U.N. specialist, Helena Cook, complained that the U.S. proposal -- anti-torture measures and better rights for women and children -- was advanced only a few weeks ago. She said the 12-nation European Community was also tardy. Sane remarked, "You have some governments more prone to protect human rights than others. Because you have to arrive at consensus, we are concerned that consensus will be based on the minimum acceptable to all -- and the minimum acceptable to all is not acceptable at all to human rights organizations." (AP, London, Maureen Johnson, June 2)

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Standard Key: AFP - Agence France Presse, AN - Antara, AP - Associated Press, BN - Bernama, BW - Business Wire, DPA - Deutsche Presse Agentur, IPS - InterPress Service, KR - Knight-Ridder, KY - Kyodo, NST - New Straits Times, PRN - Public Relations Newswire, RA - Radio Australia, RRI - Radio Republik Indonesia, RT - Reuter, UPI - United Press International, XH - Xinhua

Foreign Minister Ali Alatas expressed concern Wednesday over a threat by the Phnom Penh government to reject the result of the U.N.-supervised election and called on all parties to accept the outcome of the polls. "This is a quite concerning development," Alatas told reporters. "But I believe UNTAC (the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia) would be able to overcome the problem." The Phnom Penh government's Cambodian People's Party threatened to reject the results of the election unless the United Nations conducted a new poll in the capital and three provinces on the ground of unspecified "irregularities." UNTAC has rejected the accusation. The latest results showed that the opposition party FUNCINPEC, headed by Prince Norodom Ranaridh, remained ahead of the CPP. Alatas called on all parties in Cambodia to accept the polls results, especially since the election had been internationally supervised, and had been "free and fair." He said acceptance of the election results is needed to end the suffering of the people as a consequence of 13 years of civil war. (UPI, Jakarta, June 2)

Indonesia called on the Phnom Penh government Wednesday to accept the results of last week's general election in Cambodia, the first multiparty election in that country in decades. "I appeal to all election participants to accept whatever results, for the sake of the Cambodian people's aspiration for peace." He said protests about alleged irregularities in the election by the Cambodian People's Party (CPP) of the Phnom Penh government are a "troublesome development," but added he believes the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) will be able to solve the issue. The CPP, citing "irregularities in vote tallying in five electoral areas" where early returns shows the Phnom Penh government's party is suffering heavy losses, has asked U.N. Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali to rerun the elections in those areas. (KY, Jakarta, June 2)

The Clinton administration said on Wednesday it would push for a more activist United Nations role in promoting human rights, terming the quest for individual liberties "a mighty and universal force." State Department Counsellor Tim Wirth outlined the draft U.S. human right action plan ahead of the first global conference on the issue in 25 years, set to begin on June 14 in Vienna. "The Clinton administration views the World Conference as a major opportunity to show U.S. support for the popular movements for freedom and democracy that are emerging all over the world," he said in a meeting with reporters. Such movements have played a central role in ending the Cold War, Wirth said, adding that advocates of human rights were helping to build a "freer, safer, more peaceful world." Wirth, who is to become undersecretary of state for global

affairs, a newly created job, said the United States would push at the Vienna conference for a reaffirmation of the bedrock principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights "regardless of cultural differences." The Universal Declaration calls on member states to actively promote respect for human rights. It was approved by the U.N. General Assembly in 1948, 48-0, with 8 abstentions. A number of developing countries, including Iran, China, Indonesia, Syria and Cuba, have been highly critical of successive U.S. administrations' human-right agendas, often regarding them as backdoor involvement in their internal affairs. Wirth said the draft U.S. action plan, if adopted in coming months, would "go far to improve the United Nations' effectiveness in addressing and resolving human rights problems before they escalate." The U.S. plan urges the creation of a U.N. high commissioner for human rights to "energize" related U.N. programs and "ensure human rights takes its proper place as one of the key pillars of the United Nations system." The United States is also urging targeting U.N. assistance to help nations establish the rule of law, eliminate torture and resolve ethnic, religious and racial conflict; helping integrate the rights of women and children into U.N. programs and supporting the appointment of a special rapporteur on violence against women; boosting the U.N.'s ability to promote democracy by aiding in the conduct of elections and improving the administration of justice; and integrating human rights considerations into U.N. activities such as peacekeeping, refugee protection, conflict resolution and development and humanitarian programs. Wirth said that the United States had been trying to put together support ahead of the conference for a reaffirmation of human rights principles. "In marshalling support for these principles, we know that the desire to enjoy human rights is a mighty and universal force," he said. The Vienna conference, June 14-25, is to bring together U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher and delegates from more than 180 nations. Former U.S. President Jimmy Carter has accepted an invitation to attend as the guest of Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali. The last such United Nations-sponsored international conference on human rights took place in Tehran in 1968, with 84 delegations attending. (RT, Washington, Jim Wolf, June 2)

The World Bank, chief source of aid for heavily-indebted Indonesia, has criticized Indonesia's attempt to bring in high-tech industries, saying the priority for economic policy should be generating jobs. The criticism, in a confidential report made available to Reuters, is bound to be taken as a direct attack on the country's Research and Technology Minister Jusuf Habibie whose star has been increasingly on the rise under President Suharto. Diplomats note that the World Bank report is issued only after consultation with the country's financial ministers who are widely seen as being at loggerheads with Habibie. "Policies centered on 'technological leap-frogging' strategy, involving the development of high-tech industries supported by direct public investment or subsidies and high levels of protection, are ill-advised," the report's summary said. Habibie has long been a proponent of grand schemes, such as plane manufacture or electronics, arguing that they allow Indonesia to move directly into high-technology and so rely less on the West which is the lot of most of the developing world. Habibie says his plane factory, which assembles planes and helicopters under license from major Western companies, makes a profit. But other officials say it has always made a loss and has to be subsidized with government money better used elsewhere. The World Bank urged Indonesia to stick to broad-based economic growth which would create jobs for a workforce of some 70 million people which increases at a rate of more than two million a year. It said the high-tech approach had proved costly and ineffective in other countries. "The main tasks are to increase the supply of better educated and more skilled workers and to avoid actions that undermine the flexibility of the market, such as barriers to the use of expatriate skilled workers," the report said. (RT, Jakarta, June 2)

Indonesia is losing its forests faster than it is replacing them, the air in its cities is becoming

increasingly toxic and most of the capital's water supplies contain human waste. These were some of the conclusions of a confidential World Bank report on Indonesia, an executive summary of which was made available to Reuters on Wednesday. "Harvests from tropical forests are running 50 per cent higher than the estimated sustainable cut," the Bank said. Indonesia's thousands of islands are home to the world's largest tropical rain forests outside Brazil. Like Brazil, Indonesia has long been accused of wilful neglect of its jungles. The World Bank has previously estimated that Indonesia's forests are being destroyed at a rate of one million hectares (2.2 million acres) per year. Jakarta maintains it is hypocritical for the West, which has already wiped out most of its forests, to complain and the pressing needs of a population of 180 million people and a fast-growing economy means it must be given financial help to protect its forests. Analysts say slash and burn farming and poor implementation of mostly laudable regulations are largely responsible for the destruction. Growing cities and the increase in industry were also taking their toll on the environment. The urban population has been growing at a rate of five per cent per year. Now nearly a third of the 180 million Indonesians live in cities, about double the number some 20 years ago. Cities in the densely populated island of Java alone will have to find homes for 1.5 million new residents each year. Industrial pollution, already serious in many areas, could rise tenfold in the next 25 years. The report noted a recent survey of the capital Jakarta, one of the world's most crowded cities, showed that 93 per cent of shallow wells were contaminated with human waste. Most Jakartans get their water from wells and 21 per cent of tap water is also contaminated. "Also in Jakarta, particulates, lead and other airborne pollutants have already reached levels that harm health," the report added. (RT, Jakarta, Jonathan Thatcher, June 2)

The World Bank urged Indonesia to open up its economy to make it more efficient and fair at home and more competitive abroad. It also deplored the grip on the economy held by the country's giant business groups, most of them closely connected to President Suharto and other members of the ruling elite. The comments were in an executive summary, made available to Reuters, of the bank's annual economic report on Indonesia due to be distributed to aid donors later this week. Donors, representing most industrial countries and international aid agencies, first meet at ambassador level in Jakarta next Tuesday and then in Paris at the end of the month. The World Bank repeated its recommendation that donors pledge around the same as last year's \$4.9 billion in aid. The report urged equitable economic growth that was both robust and environmentally sound, noting for example that with the right policies abject poverty could drop to 10 per cent of the population from around 15 per cent or 30 million people now. It estimated Indonesia needed economic growth of up to seven per cent a year, excluding the oil sector. That level was essential if Indonesia was to find jobs for the approximately 2.3 million people joining the work force every year, to improve productivity and bring better living standards. But Indonesia cannot rely on cheap labour, it warned. "In increasingly competitive international markets, raising efficiency and productivity will be the key to sustaining the dynamism of non-oil exports, which will remain a major driving force of Indonesia's growth and diversification." Though OPEC's only Asian member, Indonesia's revenue from oil will continue to drop and could plunge to only five per cent of gross domestic product within 20 years, from 18 per cent in 1990. The Bank was notably critical of the way business conglomerates had taken over much of the economy. The issue has been a major source of political friction, linked to charges of cronyism against Suharto. Many analysts say too it has heightened racial tension because most of the leaders of the large companies are from the ethnic-Chinese minority. "The dominance of conglomerates raises issues of both equal access to markets and removal of barriers to competition," the bank said. The government needs to introduce reforms that will open up the domestic market to competition as well as boost trade. The environment was another worry, it

said, noting the primary sector provided 60 per cent of exports and 50 per cent of employment. Harvesting of Indonesia's vast rain forests was currently 50 per cent above sustainable levels, it said, while pollution, especially in urban areas, was already a danger to health. The World Bank urged Jakarta to continue prudent economic management and focus public investment on infrastructure, health, education and reduction of poverty. "In other sectors the primary role of the government should be in providing a competitive environment for private investment," it added. The World Bank also called for a leaner and more skilled civil service and better training for lawyers, accountants and auditors. The bank warned that private capital inflows would rise to account for about half of the country's financing needs this decade from negligible amounts in the 1980s. Foreign debt is already equal to 30 per cent of export revenue. (RT, Jakarta, Jonathan Thatcher, June 2)

The World Bank said it expected the Indonesia current account deficit, early last year a major source of concern, to be slightly lower by the end of the current fiscal year ending next March. "The current account deficit will be contained to \$2.9 billion, slightly lower than in 1992/93," the World Bank said in a confidential report, the executive summary of which was made available to Reuters. The current account early last year was thought to be ballooning towards a \$5 billion deficit, which on top of a debt service ratio of 30 pct, was widely considered unsustainable. The World Bank forecast that the deficit would fall to 2.2 pct of gross national product in the current fiscal year from 2.6 pct in 1992/93. Amortisation payments on the foreign debt of around \$80 billion would, however, rise to \$8.4 billion from \$7.4 billion last year. In making a case for continued high levels of aid at around last year's \$4.9 billion, the Bank said that the high yen was an additional burden. If the yen's current strength continued it would add \$300 million to Indonesia's debt service payments this year. (RT, Jakarta, June 2)

The threat of war among nations claiming the Spratly Islands in the South China Sea is receding after a series of informal discussions in Indonesia and the Philippines, senior diplomats said on Wednesday. "We are trying to do two things here. One is to manage potential conflicts in a peaceful manner and the other is to make the South China Sea an area of co-operation," Philippine foreign undersecretary Rodolfo Severino told reporters. "We have moved quite a lot in terms of our effort to build up peace, stability and co-operation to avoid conflicts. I'm very happy with the progress," said Hashim Djalal, an Indonesian diplomat attending the conference. "We believe the workshops in Indonesia and this meeting have advanced our attainment of these objectives in a substantial manner," Severino said at the end of a three-day meeting of scientists and officials to discuss the issue. The six nations claiming the potentially oil-rich archipelago -- China, Vietnam, Brunei, Malaysia, Taiwan and the Philippines -- took part in unofficial talks with Indonesia, Thailand and Singapore to discuss joint scientific projects in the Spratlys. A statement issued by the nine nations said they are considering a joint expedition to the Spratlys by marine scientists of countries claiming the isolated cluster of coral reefs and atolls. The meeting is the third in a series initiated by Jakarta to encourage formal talks on resolving the rival claims. Djalal said countries in the area have not come around to the idea of a formal conference and would prefer a step-by-step process to build up an atmosphere of confidence in the region. "By increasing the atmosphere of co-operation we will also induce the possibility of not creating tension out of a potential conflict," he said. A formal conference to resolve the territorial dispute may still be years away because of sharp differences among the nations disputing ownership of the Spratlys, diplomats said. China also opposes formal talks because it would lead to an internationalization of the Spratlys issue, a Chinese foreign ministry spokesman said last week in Beijing. The issue of oil and gas reserves in the Spratlys may possibly be taken up in another meeting in Indonesia later this year, officials said. Vietnam angrily protested last year when China signed a deal with U.S.-based Crestone Corp to explore for oil in a section of the area Hanoi

says belongs to its continental shelf. All the claimants, except for Brunei, have deployed troops in the Spratlys. Three Vietnamese gun boats were sunk and 72 Vietnamese killed in a clash with China in 1988. ASEAN wants a freeze in the number of troops in the Spratlys to reduce the chances of war. (Reuter, Manila, Rene Pastor, June 2)

An international human rights group accused the United Nations Wednesday of putting politics above human rights in its rush to carry out peacekeeping and humanitarian missions. The New York-based Human Rights Watch, in a 173-page report entitled "The Lost Agenda: Human Rights and U.N. Field Operations," said it studied a number of U.N. missions around the globe and its findings raised serious questions about the world body's lofty principles on human rights. The charges by the group, which is an umbrella organization for Asia Watch, Africa Watch, Helsinki Watch and Middle East Watch, came as U.N. officials prepared to lead a two-week international conference in Vienna beginning June 15 to promote human rights around the world. Human Rights Watch said its 173-page report found "that while severe human rights abuses often play a critical part in fueling armed conflict and aggravating humanitarian crises, they have been given a low priority by the officials who oversee U.N. field operations." "Despite a rhetorical commitment to human rights in the documents authorizing major U.N. field operations, human rights have been treated as a dispensable luxury, not as a central element in the success of U.N. peacekeeping and humanitarian operations," said Kenneth Roth, the acting director of Human Rights Watch, at a news conference to release the report. "This lost agenda handicaps the United Nations in its new and ambitious undertakings, as it sells short one of the central ideals on which the United Nations was founded," Roth said. There was no immediate comment from U.N. officials on the report. The report examined U.N. operations on Cambodia, El Salvador, Iraq, Somalia and the former Yugoslavia and studied in depth how the United Nations implements human rights conventions while carrying out its missions in the fields. The report said the U.N. peacekeeping operation in El Salvador is perhaps the only successful one because it showed "both the feasibility and the importance of a more energetic human rights agenda." But the document strongly condemned the United Nations in Cambodia and the former Yugoslavia for neglecting its goals. In Cambodia, Human Rights Watch said the United Nations "subordinated most of the human rights agenda in a rush to the ballot box." "Fearful of jeopardizing the elections, the United Nations responded belatedly and ineffectually as political violence accelerated," it said. In the former Yugoslavia, the United Nations' "endless peace negotiations conferred legitimacy on Serbian forces -- the main perpetrators of 'ethnic cleansing' -- helping them to stave off more forceful international intervention." "Rather than insist on respect of human rights as a condition for participating in the peace talks, the U.N. allows negotiations to become a cover for further killing," the report said. In Somalia, Human Rights Watch said the Security Council, which authorized the U.S.-led multinational force to land first in the country, never called for an investigation of human rights abuses. In Iraq, the issue of security has taken precedence over human rights and the Security Council has ceded the conduct of its policy to the U.S.-led allied forces. Human Rights Watch said the United Nations' failures in upholding human rights around the world were the result of several causes, including "misguided neutrality" in which U.N. officials usually acted as "passive arbitrators" in a conflict. Other causes are excessive diplomatic caution, "operational blackmail" in which the United Nations prefers to remain silent in order to gain the cooperation of abusive governments so humanitarian relief work can be carried out, the report said. The high cost of peacekeeping and humanitarian missions have compelled the United Nations to try to complete them quickly. "In its eagerness to move forward, the United Nations tended to ignore these atrocities, leaving an unbroken pattern of impunity for serious human rights violations," Human Rights Watch said. Human Rights Watch is the world's second largest human rights monitoring body after Amnesty International, with

chapters in some 70 countries. (UPI, United Nations, June 2)

Indonesian President Soeharto here today suggested to Indonesian Muslims that it is enough for a Muslim to go on pilgrimage to Mecca once in his or her lifetime. He asked the Religious Affairs Minister, the Indonesian Muslim Scholars Association (MUI) and other Muslim organizations to coordinate arrangements for the pilgrimage. Minister of Religious Affairs Tarmizi Taher told the press about the president's instructions after his meeting with the head of state here today. The number of pilgrims this year has reached 122,882, the highest record in Indonesia's history. Five percent of the number had gone on the pilgrimage to Mecca before. The minister said in view of limited quota for pilgrims, those who had been to Mecca before are suggested to leave the opportunity for others. (XH, Jakarta, June 2)

Indonesian President Soeharto instructed ministers in charge of economic affairs and other senior officials here today to continue efforts in curbing inflation in the country. President Soeharto issued the instruction at today's limited cabinet meeting on financial and economic work. After the cabinet meeting, Information Minister Harmoko told the press that although the inflation rate had been reduced to 1.4 percent in May as against 1.5 in April, the president considered that the government should continue to control the inflation rate which stood at 6.76 percent over the first five months of this year. The inflation rate in the first quarter of this year reached as high as 6.44 percent due to hikes in prices of fuel, electricity and transportation. The Indonesian government has set the target to contain yearly inflation rate within 10 percent. (sic) The cabinet meeting today also discussed import and export trade. (XH, Jakarta, June 2)

The Indonesian government will send more Javanese settlers to Irian Jaya in an effort to tap the natural resources of the easternmost province. Irian Jaya's population of 1.7 million on 414,800 square kilometers, or four people per square kilometer, means it is not enough to develop the province as it is now, according to Minister of Transmigration Siswono Yudohusodo who recently visited Irian Jaya province. Irian Jaya has abundant natural resources suitable for the development of large scale commercial farms, exportation of fish and shrimp, as well as growth of largest area of sago palm forests in the country. Irian Jaya Governor Jacob Patippi revealed to the local press that in the next five years the province would receive 52,000 families of transmigrants. Until last year the province's seven regencies had received a total of 42,611 transmigrant families or 176,925 people. This fiscal year, 4,890 families are planned to be sent to this province. (XH, Jakarta, June 2)

The Baltic and International Maritime Council (BIMCO) appealed on Tuesday for greater multilateral cooperation in the shipping industry's fight against marine pollution, piracy and stowaways. "The development of uniform standards for safety and cleaner oceans, under the auspices of the International Maritime Organisation, is of paramount importance both to the free movement of world seaborne trade and to the environment," said Ian Denholm, outgoing BIMCO president. Denholm said that the adverse publicity generated by pollution accidents, especially oil spills, had resulted in "the introduction of hasty, ill-conceived unilateral legislation," which failed to solve the problem of pollution. Citing a BIMCO report by marine biologists and industry experts, he said that the effects of oil pollution were short-term as "natural organisms acted quickly to break up and reduce the damage from oil spills." Denholm, who was speaking at the biennial general meeting of the Denmark-based organisation of shipowners and brokers, said that the shipping industry had "a long way to go before piracy was brought under control." He said that while the number of pirate attacks in the South China Sea had increased, cooperation between the governments of Indonesia, Malaysia and Singapore had seen "a sharp decline" in the incidence of piracy in the Straits of Malacca. Stowaways represented a fast growing problem with illegal immigrants dodging port and terminal security to sneak on board ships. (AFP, Singapore, June 2)

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

Tel: 202 363 1649
Fax: 202 363 3658

March 18, 1993

for Mr. Jess Agustin
c/o APHD meeting
Redemptorist Center

⑬ Pages

Dear Jess,

Here are some up-to-date materials on East Timor that will be of interest to you and your colleagues. Please share with Steve et al. The report on the Project will be ready about the time that you return to Montreal.

With best wishes,

to all

G.

DRAFT LETTER, Paul Moore to NYT

March 22, 1993

Letters to the Editor
The New York Times

via telefax

To the Editor:

I was pleased to see your excellent comment regarding the Clinton Administration's positive policy change on the tragic situation in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor, which is occupied by Indonesia (March 17), referring to recent U.S. support of a resolution at the U.N. Human Rights Commission in Geneva.

In your comment, you note that the resolution "asks Indonesia to cooperate (which Jakarta says it will) with a U.N. inquiry into charges of torture and secret executions on the island." Such cooperation could not be more timely, but much more is needed. I have just received information from authoritative sources with whom I made acquaintance when I visited the region in late 1989, that indicate severe abuse of East Timor's resistance leader, Xanana Gusmao, who was captured by Indonesian forces in November and is currently on trial for political offenses.

Already there have been charges of torture and coercion with the Indonesians having many of Gusmao's family at their mercy. Now, there has been further information, that "the Indonesians are trying to break down Gusmao, to the point of him losing his mind."

Last month, the Roman Catholic Bishop of East Timor, Carlos Ximenes Belo, stated that people arrested in the wake of Gusmao's capture were being subjected to "all types of torture." This state of affairs, and the current situation of Mr. Gusmao, should be high on the agenda of the Clinton Administration and the United Nations as they pursue the East Timor matter.

*of Mr
Gusmao
from authoritative sources
who
say
that*

HEARING OF THE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE RE: CONFIRMATION HEARING
FOR WARREN CHRISTOPHER AS SECRETARY OF STATE / CHAIRED BY: SEN. CLAYBORNE
PELL (D-RI) WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 13, 1993

SEN. PELL: Thank you. Turning to a more human rights situation, and refer to East Timor. Last summer, I tried to visit East Timor with Senator Boren. We were turned down because of the concern about their human rights situation. I was curious what you thought could be done to be of help there, if anything?

MR. CHRISTOPHER: That's one of the longstanding human rights problems. I think that the most we can do is to continue to exert diplomatic pressure in that area to finally try to gain some recognition of the severe human rights problems that are there and have been there for a long time and have been recognized in human rights reports extending back at least to the time when I was in government between 1977 and 1981. But I don't have any magic solution for that problem except to continue to put diplomatic pressure on the parties there who might have the capacity to improve the conditions of people in that very troubled area.

SEN. PELL: I know that I directly asked President Suharto of Indonesia whether Senator Boren and I could go, and he very politely but very firmly said no. I would hope that might change.

From access.digex.com:eaattimor-request Tue Apr 27 08:11:14 1993

Date: Tue, 27 Apr 93 04:09:31 PDT

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

Message-Id: <9304271109.AA18445@igc.apc.org>

To: eaattimor@access.digex.net

Subject: ET: Remarks on Oz Betrayal

/* Written 6:34 pm Apr 27, 1993 by greenleft@peg.UWPC in igc:greenleft.news */

/* ----- "Green Left #97, April 28, 1993" ----- */

Australia's role in Timor's tragedy

MADELINE BLACRWELL, the director of Matebian Nia Lian (Voices of Souls), a play by the East Timorese Cultural Group currently being performed in Melbourne's Theatreworks, believes that the story of East Timor reveals ugly truths about the nature of Australian society. In this article, she backgrounds the ongoing show trial of Timorese resistance leader Xanana Gusmao, who was arrested by the Indonesian military last year, and the long struggle for that country's independence.

Indonesia's brutal invasion and occupation have resulted in the death of a third of Timor's population. There is not one family, one fibre of society or culture that remains intact, unscorn. Those still alive form a terrorised population of around 400,000.

In 1989 the Catholic bishop of Dili, Monsignor Belo, wrote UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar urging the UN to organise a referendum so the world could hear the view of the Timorese people. His anguished appeal, 'We are dying as a people and as a nation', found no reply.

For most of the 17 years since the invasion, Indonesia had virtually sealed off East Timor from the rest of the world while it conducted its military operations. Then on November 12, 1991, Indonesian troops fired on hundreds of unarmed Timorese demonstrators as they gathered at Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili for a memorial mass in honour of Sebastiao Gomes, a youth who had been shot by troops some days before.

This was by no means the first massacre the Indonesians had carried out in East Timor, but it was the first 'televised', one. Foreign journalists also bore witness to the horrors of occupied Timor and lived to tell their stories and show incriminating footage.

The indifference of most of the world's leaders to East Timor's plight is not innocent. Resistance leader Xanana Gusmao pointed to the implications of the lack of international concern.

'It is because of this that our action is indispensable', he said in November 1991. 'We need to show the world that, backed by international complicity, a people are being wiped out. Backed by the political cynicism of many 'democratic' governments, the universal principles and the resolutions of the UN continue to be intolerably and abusively disrespected. We will fight for Timorese participation in the dialogue under the auspices of the UN.'

This 'indispensable action' of which he speaks has taken form over the last 17 years of struggle. The courage of the East Timorese people's resistance, their untiring commitment to their fight for freedom, finds its symbol in Xanana Gusmao. The dialogue he speaks of here is a plea to be listened to and to participate in negotiations for a peaceful resolution of East

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page 1 Timor's future.

Ironically, as this struggle has moved more and more towards a political solution, Xanana Gusmao has been captured and put on trial by the Indonesian military, who do not seem prepared for any diplomatic and peaceful solution at all. Their newly appointed commander, General Syafei, states: 'The enemy is everywhere, in the towns which we control as well as in the bush. Xanana is just a symbol.'

It is this symbol that Indonesia has put on trial. In doing so, it relies on the established support of its allies.

The United Nations has never recognised Indonesia's annexation of East Timor and regards Portugal as the legal administrative authority. In spite of having adopted at least 10 resolutions defending Timor's right to self-determination and calling for the immediate withdrawal of Indonesian troops, it has failed to stir the world into action.

After the 1975 invasion, the United States ambassador to the United Nations, Daniel P. Moynihan, was instructed to block UN resolutions that were in favour of East Timor's right to self-determination. He actually boasts in his memoirs, 'The US wished things to turn out as they did and worked to bring this about. The State Department desired that the UN prove wholly ineffective in whatever measures it undertook. This task was given to me and I carried it out with no inconsiderable success.'

By contrast, within four months of the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, the UN Security Council adopted a dozen resolutions. Pressure on the Security Council to adopt these resolutions took place as the US moved more than 250,000 troops into the Middle East, making the launching of a devastating war in the name of the UN inevitable.

'Big countries cannot invade little countries and get away with it', said Bob Hawke, referring to Kuwait.

During the rehearsal of Matebian Nia Lian, co-director James McCaughey wrote to foreign affairs minister Gareth Evans for an explanation of Australia's position on East Timor. The reply came:

'The Australian government recognises the sovereign authority of Indonesia over East Timor. De jure recognition by the then Coalition government first took effect in February 1979.

'That recognition was maintained by the Labor government which came to office in 1983 and was explicitly confirmed in a statement to parliament on August 22, 1985 by former Prime Minister Hawke.'

Australia's betrayal goes back quite a long way. Prime Minister Gough Whitlam informed President Suharto of Australia's acceptance for the integration of Timor in September 1974, claiming that an independent East Timor was unviable and a threat to regional security but that it should decide its own future.

At Balibo five Australian journalists were killed by Indonesian soldiers in October 1975 while witnessing military incursions into East Timor. Their deaths provoked no official inquiry or protest. The following month, Fretilin declared independence. A

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page 2 week later Ir

US President Ford and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger left Jakarta less than 24 hours prior to that invasion, leaving their embassy instructions not to involve itself in the matter and to cut down its reporting on Timor. The US ambassador's view was that if Indonesia was to invade it should do so 'effectively, quickly and not use our equipment'. Yet at the time 90% of Indonesian military equipment came from the US.

This was 1975. The US intervention in Indochina had collapsed, and Washington enjoyed close accord with the staunchly anti-communist Suharto government.

In July 1976 Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser was told during discussions with the Ford administration and Pentagon officials that 'if Australia's relations with Indonesia worsened it could hinder US strategy for the region'.

But the end of the Cold War has changed international relations. Neither the US nor Australia can use the 'Soviet threat' as an excuse for overlooking human rights violations committed by US allies.

Nevertheless for the Hawke and Keating governments the rights of the Timorese - in fact the very lives of the Timorese - have been overshadowed by the enticing prospects of closer political and economic ties with Indonesia.

Australian business has about \$1 billion invested there, mostly in resource projects like gold, oil and uranium mining. In 1991-92 Australia gave \$113 million in aid to Indonesia, and there is an ongoing program of 'defence cooperation' which includes joint military exercises, exchange of officers, exchange of intelligence and regular consultation.

On December 11, 1989, flying in an official plane above the Timor Gap that divides Australia from Timor, Gareth Evans and Indonesian foreign minister Ali Alibas drank champagne with their encourages to celebrate the signing of the Timor Gap oil agreement.

Evans had argued in Parliament that there is no obligation in international law not to recognise territorial acquisition by force. Especially when oil is involved.

From access.digex.com:easttimor-request Fri Apr 23 16:22:00 1993
Date: Fri, 23 Apr 93 11:32:25 PPT
From: Indonesia Publications/Task Force <apakabar@igc.apc.org>
Message-ID: <9304231832.AA01494@igc.apc.org>
To: easttimor@access.digex.net
Subject: ET: Assessing Indonesia's Strategy

/* Written 4:59 pm Apr 23, 1993 by cdp@agn.apc.org in igc:reg-easttimor */
/* ----- "ET: The Strategy" ----- */
Source : Expreso
Date : 17 April 1993
Dateline : Lisbon
Byline : Luisa Teotonio Pereira
Original Lang.: Portuguese
Scope : Unbridged
Headline : East Timor: The Strategy

Behind Indonesia's persistent refusal to modify its position in the slightest way, which has justified the pessimism expressed by the Portuguese authorities and by sectors of international diplomacy with regards short-term progress, the theatre of shadows on the stages of Dili and Jakarta has already begun.

Some of the artists have been around for a long time, others joined the company more recently. In the past, the former made several mistakes but always carried on. They planned to occupy East Timor in six days, and that was 17 years ago. They were convinced of the "conquest of minds and hearts" after having carried out the cruelest war, and found out that dominating a people that wants to be free is impossible. They invested in the new generations, while these trained to continue the Resistance. They believed that the international community is blind, deaf and dumb, but it sees, hears and, from time to time, speaks.

Meanwhile, East Timor is, as Ali Alatas said last year, a small but uncomfortable stone in Indonesia's shoe. There are those who are now trying to remove it, without damaging the sock or hurting the foot. But there are also those who still do not feel the little stone in the boot and march on at the same pace.

The brutality of the invasion and the colonial occupation undertaken by the military regime - with its systematic repression and social and economic exclusion of the Timorese - gave rise to practically unanimous rejection. It is just not possible to change the nature of Indonesia's presence in East Timor, no matter how many alterations are made in the military, police and security structures, or no matter how many material benefits are announced. The resistance is a fact acquired independently from the forms the occupation takes on.

Indonesia wants to secure regional supremacy, it wants to be the industrialised countries' privileged interlocutor, and managed to get into the Chair of the Non-Aligned. But these ambitions are incompatible with the contempt shown towards the

question concepts such as the defence and promotion of human rights.

Opening up to the outside world exposes the Indonesian system's weaknesses. The transformations in other points on the globe make clearer the demands for democracy, removal of the military from power, greater access to minimum standards of conditions for life, and question high-level corruption (namely by the President's family).

Because of the international echo it gets, East Timor is becoming more and more a national issue. For the regime it means undesirable focus on its human rights violations. For the liberal and democratic sectors, it constitutes an open window for the world, a ground for learning about new forms of struggle, a chance for growth and calling of attention. Timor is becoming a crystallisation pole of Indonesian society's internal contradictions.

Paths and Shortcuts

Recently, Ali Alatas said he was hopeful that some progress in the search for a solution for Timor would be made. And he added: "But two hands are needed for clapping. At the start of negotiations, the parties are aware that give and take on both sides is necessary" (Reuters, Jakarta, 2 April 1993). But no important figure of the administration is truly convinced that the time has come to go down another path. The movements which are seen are just attempts to respond to a situation of increasing unrest and the sensation of having no control over a tumor that does not stop growing, a new situation in the Indonesian political scene.

Each sector - political, military, religious - seeks a shortcut. Security bodies fight against military and paramilitary information bodies, sniffing out different civil and religious institutions and individuals. Information and counter-information are abused.

One of the priority targets of this campaign is Portuguese public opinion. After thinking that the Constitution was the main obstacle to Liebon's giving way, Jakarta is now convinced that the impossibility of reaching an agreement to its liking is rooted in the Portuguese people themselves. Proof of this has been the facilitation by the regime (especially since just before Xanana's arrest) of the transmission of TV footage, including the interviews of the former Resistance leader, and the unspeakable statements made by Governor Osorio and Adviser Lopes da Cruz. To confuse and disarm the Portuguese is an assiduously pursued aim.

But voices from the democratic sectors, especially those of the human rights organisations, are being heard increasingly clearly. Amos Wako, the UN Secretary General's Special Envoy, met with their representatives. Clinton Administration officials try

From access.digex.com:eaattimor-request Mon Apr 26 20:48:28 1993
 Date: Mon, 26 Apr 93 17:05:04 PPT
 From: Indonesia Publications/Taak Force <apakabar@igc.apc.org>
 Message-ID: <9304270005.AA24429@igc.apc.org>
 To: eaattimor@access.digex.net
 Subject: ET: Letter to Boutros-Ghali

/* Written 5:18 pm Apr 26, 1993 by cdp@egm.apc.org in igc:reg.eaattimor */
 /o ----- "Letter to Boutros-Ghali" ----- /
 This letter, endorsed by several European politicians, was delivered to the Secretary-General of UN, Dr. Boutros-Ghali, at the day before his meeting with the Indonesian and Portuguese Foreign Ministers, at Rome, on 21 April.

 His Excellency, the Secretary General of the United Nations,
 Dr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali,
 Rome

Dear Secretary-General,

On April 3, Indonesian military forces captured the Timorese nationalist leader Mau Huno (Antsnio Josi da Costa) in the south of Dili, East Timor. The 42-year-old Mau Huno took over the leadership of the Resistance, as head of the National Council of Maubere Resistance and commander of Falintil (East Timorese guerrilla army), after November 20 1992, the day on which Xanana Gusmao was captured.

Except for a brief encounter on April 7 with your Special Envoy, Mr. Amos Wako (about which no details have been made public), Mau Huno has been held incommunicado and subject to interrogation. He is not allowed to have any visitors, including members of his family, or meet representatives of humanitarian organizations and he has been unable to make contact with a defence lawyer.

We wish to express our deep concern at the plight of Mau Huno. We would also like to draw your attention to the serious political implications of his imprisonment. At a time when the international community - as was clearly stated in the resolution adopted by this year's UN Human Rights Commission - and the East Timorese themselves are in favour of negotiations without preconditions to find a just and comprehensive solution to the conflict which respects the legitimate interests of all sides, Indonesia has clearly chosen a strategy of confrontation. This inevitably raises doubts about Indonesia's goodwill towards this process on the eve of a new round of negotiations between Portugal and Indonesia, under your auspices, to be held in Rome on April 21.

Secretary General, we respectfully request you to do all you can to guarantee the safety and well-

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page 1 being of Mau Huno and to convince Indonesia that

the international community would welcome genuine gestures from Indonesia to promote trust on all sides, not imprisonment and repression.

Lord Judd, Great Britain
 Lord Avebury, Great Britain
 Lord Rea, Great Britain
 Ann Clwyd, MP, Great Britain
 Senator David Norris, Ireland
 Senator Joe Sherlock, Ireland
 Prionsias De Rossa MP, Ireland
 Liz McManus MP, Ireland
 Eric Byrne MP, Ireland
 Pat Rabbit MP, Ireland
 Des Geraghty MEP, Ireland
 Gen. Ramalho Eanes, former President of Republic, Portugal
 Adriano Moreira, President of the Parliamentarian Commission on East Timor, Portugal

From access.digex.com@epakabar Mon Apr 26 11:41:47 1993
 From: "John A. MacDougall" <apakabar@access.digex.com>
 Message-Id: <199304261516.AA18769@access.digex.com>
 Subject: Wako on Nov 12 Deaths
 To: easttimor@access.digex.net
 Date: Mon, 26 Apr 1993 11:16:43 -0400 (EDT)
 X-Mailer: ELM [version 2.4 PL31]
 Mime-Version: 1.0
 Content-Type: text/plain; charset=US-ASCII
 Content-Transfer-Encoding: 7bit
 Content-Length: 3076

Forwarded message:
 From n58nn@java.n58nn.ampr.ORG@diva.berkeley.EDU Sun Apr 25 23:47:05 1993
 Date: Sun, 25 Apr 93 22:15:07 CST
 From: "P. Suryono Adisoemarta" <n58nn@java.n58nn.ampr.ORG>
 Subject: News: U.N. envoy gets new figures on Dili massacre toll
 To: all-indo@ausgw.pe.utexas.EDU
 Reply-To: n58nn@ausgw.ampr.ORG
 Message-Id: <86@java.n58nn.ampr.org>
 Lines: 70
 X-Mailer: PCElm 3.01

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 Agence France Presse
 April 8, 1993

SECTION: News
 LENGTH: 467 words
 HEADLINE: U.N. envoy gets new figures on Dili massacre toll
 DATELINE: JAKARTA

BODY:
 JAKARTA, April 8 (AFP) - The personal envoy of U.N. Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali said Thursday he has received new figures on the number of people still unaccounted for totalling 112 since the Dili massacre in 1991.

"The government (of Indonesia) has its list of 61 persons, as of today...but I have also obtained another list from a non-governmental organization (NGO), which puts the missing persons at 112," U.N. envoy and Kenyan Attorney General Amos Wako told reporters.
 He held a press conference to mark the end of his six-day visit and his return to the Indonesian capital Jakarta from the former Portuguese colony of East Timor.

Wako, who visited East Timor from Monday to Wednesday, said: "We have yet to really get the number of people missing...this is a matter that must be gone into a bit more."

He said he had made the list from the MCO, which he declined to identify, available to the Indonesian government.
 Indonesia's Foreign Minister Ali Alatas, who also attended the press conference, said the latest official tally stood at 23 dead and 61 missing.

The Indonesian Armed Forces said 19 people died and 66 were missing after troops fired into a crowd of demonstrators at a cemetery in Dili, East Timor, on November 12.

earlier put the number of missing at 115.

Wako said that during his stay here and in East Timor, he had met with about 40 people, including Indonesian President Suharto, various government officials, leaders of the church and military, civilians and detainees.

He said he had met in confidentiality with many East Timorese, including captured leaders of the East Timorese Fretilin pro-independence movement, Xanana Gusmao and Antonio Gomes da Costa.

"I feel I am now in a position to make conclusions and recommendations to the U.N. secretary general, including ways to improve the human rights situation in East Timor," Wako said, without elaborating.

Wako arrived here Saturday to gather first-hand information on East Timor, including details of human rights conditions there.

The United Nations does not recognize Indonesia's sovereignty over East Timor, over which Jakarta unilaterally declared its sovereignty in 1976.

--
 yono@ccwf.cc.utexas.edu (Internet)
 n58nn@n58nn.ampr.org (Internet & AMPAnet)

From access.digex.comieasttimor-request Fri Apr 23 21:09:11 1993

Date: Fri, 23 Apr 93 11:38:56 PDT
 From: Indonesia Publications/Task Force <apakabar@igc.apc.org>

Message-Id: <9304231838.AA02750@igc.apc.org>

To: easttimor@access.digex.net

Subject: Indonesia Splitting Resistance?

/ * Written 5:01 pm Apr 23, 1993 by cdm@gn.apc.org in igc:reg.easttimor * /

/ . ----- "PT: Dangerous negotiations" ----- * /

Source : Semanario
 Date : 8 April 1993
 Dateline : Lisbon
 Byline : Henrique Botequilha
 Original Lang.: Portuguese
 Scope : Unabridged
 Headline : Timor: Dangerous Negotiations

Indonesia wants to weaken the Portuguese position on East Timor, using the Timorese Resistance itself. Inside Timor, the military are picking off the guerrillas one by one. At the same time, they are inviting the leaders abroad to return to the territory, but without success. There is now parallel diplomacy. Portugal is going along with this.

Indonesia is trying to seduce the Timorese Resistance. It already wants to gather all the Resistance leaders around the same table - but out of Portugal's sight. Later, it is going to try to set up direct talks, side-stepping the Lisbon government. The first steps of this strategy have already begun to be taken. And although they do not appear to have been met with immediate success, they are already causing splits in the Resistance.

Semanario has learned that Nuno Rocha (former director of Tempo) and Freilim leader Abilio Araujo are preparing for a meeting between the various Timorese political factions. The proposal came from the Indonesian authorities, said the Portuguese journalist, and aims to allow the leaders based abroad to visit their families living in the territory. Rocha and Araujo have been working intensely on this, and were trying to schedule the meeting for 20 April in Bangkok - the date set for the Rome meeting between (Portuguese Foreign Minister) Durao Barroso and the Indonesian Foreign Minister, Ali Alatas. But neither the date nor the venue now seems possible. "There just is not enough time", complains Nuno Rocha.

However, Tempo's former director has no doubt that the project will really go ahead, probably in Jakarta. He expects various pro-Indonesian Timorese to take part in the meeting, like e.g. former Governor Mario Carrascalao, his successor Abilio Osorio Soares, and Suharto's adviser on Timor, Lopes da Cruz. Also expected are some opponents to integration, represented by Resistance personalities from abroad.

The truth is, however, that the resisters are preparing to respond to the Rocha/Araujo invitation with a film. In fact, Jose Ramos Horta, special representative of the Maubere Resistance National

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page 1 Council

accept the invitation, nor anything else that stems from Nuno Rocha. "I refuse to talk to people of whom Indonesia takes no notice, like Abilio Osorio and other clowns", he added. But Ramos Horta is prepared to enter into direct talks with Jakarta, and challenges Ali Alatas to set up a meeting "wherever and whenever he likes". Mari Alkatiri, in charge of Fretilin's external relations, would also reject an invitation (although one has not yet been formalised): "I hope they do not invite me". This Timorese politician assured Semanario that Joao Carrascalao, UDT leader, also had not received any such proposal.

"To talk now would be to surrender to Indonesia", said Paulo Pires, former UDT Political Commission chairman invited to the Jakarta meeting by an unidentified leader of the Resistance abroad. Paulo Pires thinks that these negotiations - "which will not solve anything" - should have taken place in 1977/79, "when we could still talk". On the other hand, he believes that the Timorese Resistance abroad has no mandate to speak in the name of the people. In other words, of the names Nuno Rocha has indicated to take part in the meeting, only the pro-integrationists, sympathetic towards the Suharto regime, and Abilio Araujo, seem ready to sit down at the same table.

Portugal authorises parallel conversations:

The Portuguese Government is aware of these developments. According to diplomatic sources, the Government sees no major inconvenience in the Timorese talking directly to the Indonesians and, in this case, Lisbon just limits itself to stating the fact. "I just hope that these contacts do not weaken Portugal's position", said one of the sources contacted by Semanario, for whom the issue of the territory is not a problem between Portugal and Indonesia, but between Timor and the international community. "As Timor cannot speak for itself, Portugal has been its advocate", said the source, adding that if the Timorese believe they can do without their advocate and look out for themselves, then the Government does not mind. With regard to the Luso-Indonesian negotiations, scheduled for 20 April in Rome, Portuguese diplomatic sources indicated pessimism (which was, in fact, expressed by the Minister Durao Barroso himself) and expect an inconclusive final result. "It will be more an opportunity for unilateral statements than an actual dialogue", said one of Semanario's sources, who upholds that there can only be a political solution for Timor. But within that solution, there are "nuances". In fact, UN Resolution 1540, passed in 1960, establishes that the self-determination of a people may be achieved in various ways, including the possibility of integration within another territory. The Resolution does not explain how a people can be consulted.

Lack of results from the Portuguese Government's

Tue Apr 27 1993
 page 2 effort is be

(CNRH),

tpj3c5urmanafibotbugab6sddedplmacy. There are several

diplomats who think that the Portuguese Government does too much on Timor. That is, it "asking its high trumps" (like the blocking of the EC-ASEAN agreement) on account of its former territory, which could result in the Portuguese being restricted in their actions in other areas.

"There is no political way out for Timor"

The poor prospects for the negotiations only interest Ali Alatas, who is setting up his strategy of eliminating the guerrilla within Timor and showing that the Resistance abroad lacks confidence in the Portuguese Government. By so doing, Alatas can then accuse Portuguese diplomacy of neither speaking in the name of Timor, because the guerrilla is losing significance, nor in the name of the Resistance abroad since the latter no longer believes in Portugal and is seeking direct talks with Indonesia.

According to sources close to the Jakarta authorities, the Indonesian military have instructions to annihilate the guerrilla before the end of this year. The first steps to this end were taken, with the capture of the leaders Xanana and Ma'Huno - "a very grave occurrence for the Timor issue", according to a well-known MP. In his opinion, Portugal is running "too many risks" and, "any day, the Portuguese position will be left without argument, and the Timorese are going to realise that there is no political way out for Timor". He considers Ma'Huno's detention as being "the worst thing that could happen for Timor", and says that Indonesia's aim is to put an end to the problems in the territory. This MP from the majority party added that the weakening of the guerrilla is being accompanied by Indonesia's demilitarisation of the territory, to the applause of the international community: "The lesser the influence the guerrilla has there, the lesser military repression will be, and the lesser the repression gets, the less young people will mobilise to the Resistance".

Ramos Horta agrees with this opinion and says that "the Indonesians are trying all manner of means to invalidate the argument that the Resistance has to be heard. To exemplify this he refers to the statements made by Xanana and by Ximenes Belo, Bishop of Dili, who has altered his position favouring a referendum to now supporting the territory's autonomy within the Republic of Indonesia. Ramos Horta, however, still believes in diplomatic success on the Timor question, and is encouraged by the recent US administration's decision to instruct its embassy to look into future US policy and position on Indonesia.

Resistance also meeting in Rome

It is within this hardly optimistic framework that stirrings are to be seen at the heart of the Resistance

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to invite all the Timorese factions to sit around the same table, in Rome, on the same day as the Luso-

Indonesian negotiations, for what will be parallel negotiations. Mari Alkatiri and Abilio Araujo from Fretilin, Zacarias Costa from UDT, and Ramos Horta and, probably, Jose Amorrin from the CNRH will be present. "Maybe we differ on many issues, but there is one thing which we uphold together: the need for the people to be consulted", maintains the CNRH's special representative. Furthermore, "the mere physical representation of Timorese in the wings is a sign of the Resistance's visibility and activity", adds the same leader.

To begin with, Jose Ramos Horta is going

27 Apr 1993 10:11:16 AM

a judicious comment from these institutions, and Indonesian jurists defended Timorese in court with competence and solidarity.

Promises from the Pacific

The web around Timor, inside and out, becomes more complex, a sign that the actors are more numerous and have learned to move with more subtlety. A climate of pre-negotiations can finally be felt: the awareness that some commitment must be found exists among all parties involved.

The Timorese Resistance has long since made it known that a settlement will have to be political and negotiated. Even in July, in his message addressed to the UN Decolonisation Commission meeting in New York, Commander Xanana Gusmao was saying:

"The talks without pre-conditions are meant to safeguard the global mutual interests of the parties involved in the conflict. (...) We are not fighting against Indonesia, nor against the Indonesian people. In an independent East Timor, all our political efforts will be to privilege the relationship of cooperation and friendship between the people of East Timor and the Indonesian people, through the promotion of bilateral cooperation instruments, in the context of a politically and economically strengthened ASEAN, sparing no effort to make the region a peaceful and prosperous zone." Following his capture, the leader Ma'Huno reaffirmed these positions and repeated the appeal for the participation of Timorese in the negotiations and for the holding of a referendum.

Jakarta is searching for Timorese interlocutors who would sign a sham-agreement in order to convince the international community that everything is according to the law - thereby removing Portugal from the process. But when it publicly displays the need for such a show, it is because the weaknesses are being felt.

And what about Lisbon?! For so long counting on the oblivion which time would bring about, drifting without a course for a few more years, it now seems to have formulated a strategy. But the means at the strategy's disposal are not keeping up with the pace at which the situation is evolving. Credibility and efficiency are being put to the test. Principles should be maintained, and objectives reaffirmed: the referendum (the realisation of the act of self-determination), increase the number of allies, increase the pressure on the Jakarta regime, find ways to alleviate the suffering of the Timorese, press for the opening up of the territory and abide by the Human Rights Commission's resolution.

Some say the Pacific is the most dynamic area of the world. An explosive area, say others. The promises it holds are not the same for everyone. In rigid and authoritarian states, whose survival depends on

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rights, citizens organise themselves and publicly express their plans.

page 3 repression and the systematic violation of human

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In a recent meeting in Bangkok, over 110 NGOs from 26 countries approved their agenda for the nineties and coming years. They demanded from their governments real determination in the defence and promotion of human rights; they supported the creation of a UN Special Commission on Human Rights and a regional mechanism sharing the same objectives and conditions (guarantee of independence, authority, capacity to respond rapidly and effectively to serious and urgent situations). They criticised the powers for the obstacles they put in the way of civilian society's freedom of action, and they asked: "What about the peoples who, every day, suffer the brutality of the oppressive regimes? It is not only the loss of sovereignty which the people of East Timor have to face. In this process of struggle to gain respect for human rights, they also have to face the fact of Indonesia chairing the Non-Aligned countries. A government which was not held responsible for its crimes and massive violations of human rights will try its utmost to block this process."

From access.digex.com:indonesia-request Fri Apr 23 01:16:47 1993

Date: Thu, 22 Apr 93 10:29:34 PDT

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

Message-Id: <9304221729.AA01110@igc.apc.org>

To: indonesia@access.digex.net

Subject: IN: Asians Deserve Their Rights

/* Written 6:59 am Apr 22, 1993 by tapol@gn.apc.org in igc:reg.easattimor */

/* ----- "Asians deserve their rights" ----- */
Asians deserve their rights

Source: International Herald Tribune

Date: 21 April 1993

By: Sidney Jones, executive director of Asia Watch, who attend
the Bangkok meeting as an observer.

Unbridged

Comment: Positively the best and most encouraging thing we
have read about the Bangkok meeting. TAPOL

ASIANS DESERVE THEIR RIGHTS, LIKE EVERYONE ELSE

For the last year, a group of Asian governments led by Singapore, Indonesia and China have been promoting increasingly stridently an "Asian concept" of human rights in which political and civil liberties are subordinated to economic development. Now this attempt has been demolished.

The occasion was a meeting in Bangkok to prepare for a UN World Conference on Human Rights in June in Vienna. Delegates of some 40 Asian governments assembled from March 29 to April 2 to read out position papers and prepare a joint statement for the Vienna conference.

With Iran chairing the drafting committee and all the major human rights violators of the region present, the whole exercise would have been surreal had it not been for the presence of more than 240 men and women representing Asian non-governmental organisations.

There were human rights lawyers from Pakistan and Sri Lanka, representatives of indigenous peoples from Bangladesh and Nagaland along the Indian-Burmese border, women's rights activists from Indonesia and the Philippines, Japanese, Thai, Indian and Korean civil liberties groups, environmentalists from Malaysia, Buddhists and Bahais, a group working on behalf of refugees from Bhutan and another for human rights in China.

No-one had expected so many non-governmental organisations (NGOs) to be there; no one could have imagined that by precisely the democratic methods that their governments find "un-Asian", such a diverse group of people, most of whom had never met before, would organise into a single, well-coordinated lobby to hammer out a consensus declaration that refuted or contested every major premise of the "Asian concept" of human rights.

They effectively exposed the governments' line for what it is: a pretext of largely authoritarian governments to justify their unchecked power in the name of meeting economic and

The Apr 27 1993

page 1 social needs.

The head of the official Indonesian delegation asked rhetorically, "How can one express one's opinions freely if one is illiterate?" The NGOs retorted at a press conference that people did not have to know how to read and write that their bodies were being violated or their land taken away. The representatives of Sri Lankan organisations pointed out that high levels of literacy did not guarantee protection of human rights.

To the governments' claim that historical, cultural and economic differences must be taken into account, the organisations stressed the universality of human rights and stated that neither lack of resources nor cultural difference could justify abuses by governments.

To the official emphasis on the need for stability and security, the organisations responded that governments in the region too often used national security or the need to combat terrorism as a justification for political killings, arbitrary arrests and the stifling of free enterprise. The stress on law and order, the organisations said in their own Bangkok Declaration, "is a facade for authoritarianism and for the suppression of democratic aspirations".

Not all the government statements were self-serving. Japan, for example, rejected a theme common to many of those statements when its representative said: "My delegation does not accept the view that to express concern over grave violations of human rights in whatever country such abuses may occur is an interference in that country's affairs."

Nepal, South Korea and the Philippines were generally constructive. It is no coincidence that they are fledgling democracies where the human rights movement played an important role in the transition from authoritarian rule. Nor is it a coincidence that the countries more adamant about the primacy of economic development are those in which alternative voices are silenced or harassed.

The Bangkok meeting produced a joint governmental declaration that does little to promote human rights and much to undermine them. Was the whole exercise a meaningless UN extravaganza?

Absolutely not. Governments were forced to recognise that their definition of what is "Asian" is not necessarily shared by their own citizens, that economic growth is not the be-all and end-all for everyone in the region, and that Asians do not want their political and civil rights traded away in the name of development.

From the outset, Indonesia tried to set an Asia-versus-West tone, castigating the tendency by a group of countries to arrogate to themselves the role of judge and jury over other countries ... backed by the power of their biased media and single-minded NGOs". But as one after another of the Asian organisations spoke, it was clear that the real confrontation was Asia versus Asia, and that the Asian governments should take note.

Facsimile Transmittal Cover Sheet
Fax Number - 212-682-5354

DATE 5/24/93 FAX NO. 202 395 1199

TO ERIC Schwartz NO. OF PAGES 2
(INCLUDING COVER SHEET)

FROM Arnold Kohen RE E. Timor

MESSAGE

I was passing through here
+ thought you should see
this. a.

do pastoral work in his home country where Catholics have not been served by any priest since foreign missionaries left in the 1950s.

Ma Jiahua said he hopes to become a priest and devote himself to the Church in China, because that was an unfulfilled aspiration of his father, who left the seminary to take care of his ailing mother.

The Catholic Church in Yunnan looks forward to the return of the graduates of the first preparatory course, who are scheduled to finish formation and be ordained priests later this year.

END

ET7464/713 May 6, 1993 33 EM-lines (335 words)

EAST TIMOR JAKARTA TO BEGIN TROOP REDUCTION IN EAST TIMOR

JAKARTA (UCAN) -- Indonesian armed forces command announced it is dissolving its units of special combat troops in East Timor. They will be withdrawn over the next two years.

The 10 battalions of "Komando Pelaksana Operasi" (Kolakops, special military operation command) said to be operating in East Timor will be withdrawn, two every six months. They will be replaced by usual territorial battalions who will focus on security and development projects.

Maj. Gen. Theo Syafei, East Timor military commander and chief of the regional military command based in Bali, formally dissolved Kolakops in a 30-minute ceremony in Dili, April 30, attended by East Timor governor Abillo Jose Osorio Soares and other provincial leaders, including Salesian Bishop Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo, apostolic administrator of Dili.

Speaking at the ceremony Syafei noted that from now on, military operations in East Timor will emphasize socio-cultural approaches and called on the territorial troops to learn the way of life of local people.

"By taking local people's socio-cultural life as the basis of military operations, I believe the territorial formation programs would be fruitful," the Catholic-run Jakarta daily, Kompas, quoted him as saying.

MORE

"Please pay close attention to the patterns and system in East Timor society. Don't make policies which cause drastic changes in the system and structure of local society," the Jakarta Post quoted Syafei's advice to local military officers.

Governor Soares said he expects the territorial troops would help carry out development projects in remote areas of the province.

Kolakops was established in 1989 to battle the Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor (Fretilin) who have been fighting a guerrilla war since Indonesia declared the former Portuguese colony its 27th province in 1976.

As a fighting force, Fretilin has been severely curtailed recently. Its two top commanders have been arrested and, according to Indonesian military sources, it can field only about 200 troops now.

Indonesian troops here have been accused by the United Nations Human Rights Commission of political repression. Rights monitoring groups say 200,000 people have died in the territory since 1975 because of political violence.

END

IA7280/713 May 6, 1993 39 EM-lines (384 words)

INDIA UCAN FEATURE - INSTITUTE MAKES INDIAN BROTHERS PROUD OF VOCATION

BANGALORE, India (UCAN) -- A new image for India's religious brothers is emerging with the help of an institute in the southern city of Bangalore.

Bearing the name "Vidya Deep" (lamp of knowledge) with the motto "Tamasoma Jyotirgamaya" (from darkness lead me to light), the institute opened in 1969 to frame theology courses exclusively for the needs and formation of brothers.

It started a two-year theology course for non-clerical Religious in 1977 and has become not only a theologate, but a national center for theological reflection, animation and coordination.

Vidya Deep now has a three-year degree course in spirituality for brothers where the "format, duration, content and thrust" are different from similar courses in seminaries. The new course awards the bachelor's degree in religious sciences (BRS), equivalent to a bachelor's degree in theology.

The Vatican recognized the Institute in 1989 through Dharmaram Vidya Kshetram Pontifical Athenaeum, Bangalore. Five batches of more than 100 students from at least 19 congregations have completed the BRS program so far.

Vidya Deep gives brothers direct responsibility "to contribute to the renewal and resurgence of religious life and to the Indian Church," said Franciscan Missionary Brother Pious Kizhekkebhagam, institute director and principal.

He said brothers are "a distinctive community in the Church" and the institute strives to meet their "specific charism and requirements" through special courses in theology and philosophy.

In 1988, the institute's governing council decided to admit nuns, since "they too shared similar theological

An excerpt from:

From: "John A. MacDougall" <apakabar@access.digex.net>
Message-Id: <199306222352.AA15770@access.digex.net>
Subject: IN: Indonesian Headlines - June 22

The Japanese government has abandoned the idea of inviting Indonesian President Suharto to the summit meeting, sources said. Suharto had been pressing to visit Tokyo to explain at a collective meeting with G-7 leaders the views of the Non-Aligned Movement and regional issues. Indonesia expressed dissatisfaction with a proposal by Japan that Suharto have separate presummit bilateral meetings with Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa, President Clinton and other leaders.

Apparently John's source was the UPI story below. He may have had other sources though.

TOKYO (UPI) -- The Foreign Ministry and the Ministry of Finance are at odds over references to Japan's massive trade surplus in an economic declaration to be issued by the Group of Seven (G-7) industrial powers at their summit July 7-9, government sources said Monday.

With Japan likely to be urged to take new fiscal measures to boost domestic demand, the sources told the Kyodo News Service that Foreign Ministry officials maintain Tokyo should clarify its policy and open its markets wider.

Ministry of Finance officials see little need to refer to policy, the sources said, on the grounds that the impact of the latest pump-priming package adopted in April should be felt more clearly in the months ahead.

Japan's current account surplus, the broadest measure of trade in goods and services, reached a record dtrs 126 billion in fiscal 1992, sparking strong criticism from U.S. Treasury Secretary Lloyd Bentsen, who said the surplus is hurting global economic growth.

The sources said officials are concerned the government would have little choice but to issue deficit-financing bonds should it pledge to take new fiscal measures in response to requests from the other G-7 powers -- Britain, Canada, France, Germany, Italy and the United States.

A draft of the economic declaration appeals to Japan to expand domestic demand so as to achieve sustained global economic growth without inflation, government sources told Kyodo.

In assessing the global economy, it reportedly notes signs of recovery detected early this year in Japan and the United States but warns of unemployment in the United States and Europe.

The ministry's concern stems from a fall in tax revenues.

The draft says each nation should conduct fiscal and monetary policies adequately to keep the global economy on a steady recovery path and resolve the unemployment problem.

The sources told Kyodo Japan is encouraged to take additional stimulus measures such as slashing interest rates and Germany to bring down interest rates further.

Referring to the United States, the draft declaration calls for a cut in its budget deficit.

Uruguay It appeals for strong determination in wrapping up the stalled Round of world trade talks by the end of this year.

Included in the draft are the G-7 nations' support of a U.S.-proposed fund to help privatize Russian state enterprises and an appeal for a case-by-case approach toward aid to developing countries.

In a separate decision, the Japanese government has abandoned the idea of inviting Indonesian President Suharto to the summit meeting, sources said.

Suharto had been pressing to visit Tokyo to explain at a collective meeting with G-7 leader the views of the Non-Aligned Movement and regional issues. Indonesia expressed dissatisfaction with a proposal by Japan that Suharto have separate presummit bilateral meetings with Prime

JUN-25-1993 09:00 FROM QPC 908 949 7724

TO

*912023633658

P.03

Minister Kiichi Miyazawa, President Clinton and other leaders.

**REPORT ON
EAST TIMOR STUDENTS IN INDONESIA
(April 1993)**

CONFIDENTIAL

East Timorese nationalist students are a most important component of the Resistance struggle. Many have applied themselves with great dedication to the Resistance, despite the grave personal dangers they expose themselves to by doing so.

Among their main objective is to ensure communications between the resistance in the East Timor interior and the outside world.

1. Student hardship:

The November 1991 student protests in Java and Bali which followed the Dili massacre, led to strong crackdowns by Indonesian security authorities. Students were subject to harsh punitive measures. As a result, many have had to interrupt their studies and go into hiding.

In particular, many students who took part in the Dili demonstrations have sought to flee persecution by the East Timor security authorities by escaping from the island and hiding in Jakarta and other points in Java.

These people live under extreme hardship. Firstly they do not have any documentation, which in Indonesia is essential in order to work and carry out any normal daily life activities. Document checks in Indonesia are a highly frequent activity. Such students are thus constantly under the risk of being arrested by authorities.

Secondly, they are unable to find employment to meet their subsistence needs.

Young people in Indonesia generally experience difficulties to find employment. This is especially so for outsiders with no social links and in a precarious security position like the East Timor refugee students in Java and Bali. They thus depend on the meagre support fellow East Timorese students can provide them, leading a hopeless and harassed day to day clandestine existence, in great deprivation, with little prospects of improvement.

Given continuous security crack downs in East Timor, the number of students attempting to seek refuge in Java continues to be significant.

Given the sub-human conditions under which they live -in many cases in hovels- they are also under great health and moral risks. Their conditions of life are generally insalubrious and health care is not available.

Some of them are also exposed to the moral risks of living on the fringes of the lowest socio-economic levels of the poverty ridden Javanese society.

2. Funding needs:

So far students have been able to fund their communications work from their own extremely meagre resources. These are basically scholarships amounting to US\$30-50 per month. Some limited assistance has also come from some sources in Jakarta.

This is however far from sufficient. In order to function properly they would need about Rp 1,000,000 monthly (US\$500) for communications and transport. Such funds could be sent via Jakarta, who would disburse them locally. The recipients would account for the funds regularly.

3. Material requests:

Recently requests for one video camera, one photo camera and one digital short-wave radio (to listen to news) have been received. This material should be provided from abroad or the funds could be made available for local purchase.

Medicines for a wounded Commander are also needed.

4. Other requests:

The students in refuge could be greatly assisted if they were able to buy new identity documents with changed details. This can be done in Jakarta at a cost of about US\$100 per person.

People under greater security risk would prefer to leave the country. Passports may be obtained for about US\$150-200, again through a reliable contact in Jakarta.

5. Other East Timorese youth welfare needs:

In addition to students in Java, there are close to 100 young East Timorese workers brought to Java under false pretences by President Suharto's daughter Tutut over one year ago.

The work promises made to these people were not honoured, so that most of them are jobless and trying to seek a living in any way they can.

It usually means working at the roughest chores for minimal pay. A condition close to slave labour, in the words of an NGO worker trying to assist them. They mostly live in slums in Jakarta's port area, Bogor and West Java, under deplorable conditions.

Some are trying to learn some skills so as to be able to return to East Timor as soon as possible. Some funds are being provided through NGOs to assist them, but these are nowhere near what is needed to enable these people to finish some courses and return home.

C.N.R.M.

**REPORT ON EAST TIMORESE STUDENTS AND OTHER YOUTH
IN JAVA AND BALI**

by

**Juan Federer
(March 1993)**

Nature: NOT FOR PUBLICATION

C.N.R.M. REPORT ON EAST TIMOR STUDENTS IN INDONESIA

CONFIDENTIAL

East Timorese nationalist students are a most important component of the Resistance struggle. Many have applied themselves with great dedication to the Resistance, despite the grave personal dangers they expose themselves to by doing so.

1. Student hardship:

The November 1991 student protests in Java and Bali which followed the Dili massacre, led to strong crackdowns by Indonesian security authorities. Students were subject to harsh punitive measures. As a result, many have had to interrupt their studies and go into hiding.

In particular, many students who took part in the Dili demonstrations have sought to flee persecution by the East Timor security authorities by escaping from the island and hiding in Jakarta and other points in Java.

These people live under extreme hardship. Firstly they do not have any documentation, which in Indonesia is essential in order to work and carry out any normal daily life activities. Document checks in Indonesia are a highly frequent activity. Such students are thus constantly under the risk of being arrested by authorities.

Secondly, they are unable to find employment to meet their subsistence needs.

Young people in Indonesia generally experience difficulties to find employment. This is especially so for outsiders with no social links and in a precarious security position like the East Timor refugee students in Java and Bali. They thus depend on the meagre support fellow East Timorese students can provide them, leading a hopeless and harassed day to day clandestine existence, in great deprivation, with little prospects of improvement.

Given continuous security crack downs in East Timor, the number of students attempting to seek refuge in Java continues to be significant.

Given the sub-human conditions under which they live -in many cases in hovels- they are also under great health and moral risks. Their conditions of life are generally insalubrious and health care is not available.

Some of them are also exposed to the moral risks of living on the fringes of the lowest socio-economic levels of the poverty ridden Javanese society.

2. Student re-organisation:

After an the initial break down in organisational structures in late 1991, stemming from Indonesian security apparatus actions, the East Timorese students have succeeded in re organising their communications networks.

This time they are taking a more clandestine, security oriented approach.

Among their main objectives is to ensure communications between the resistance in the East Timor interior and the outside world.

They have in recent weeks been able to reconstruct communication channels. They are particularly conscious of the need to properly coordinate information transmission, so as to avoid several spokespersons abroad making uncoordinated or conflictive statements, as has been the case in the past. For this reason they prefer to work with CNRM's Darwin office, as the only destination point for the information they are transmitting for the benefit of the Special representative abroad.

They also request that the CNRM office gives no credence to statements received from sources outside the RENETIL networks, as there are occasional infiltration efforts by the enemy to pose as informants, and generate conflicting information aimed at creating confusion and reducing credibility. *FITUN* was an example of such infiltration.

So far students have been able to fund their communications work from their own extremely meagre resources. These are basically scholarships amounting to US\$30-50 per month. Some limited assistance has also come from some sources in Jakarta.

This is however far from sufficient. In order to function properly they would need at the very least about Rp 500,000 monthly (US\$250) for communications and transport. Such funds could be sent via Jakarta, who would disburse them locally. The recipients would account for the funds regularly.

They prefer if all funding soliciting and remitting is handled via Darwin.

3. Material requests:

Recently requests for one video camera, one photo camera and one digital short-wave radio (to listen to news) have been received. This material should be provided form abroad or the funds could be made available for local purchase.

Medicines for a wounded Commander are also needed.

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The students in refuge could be greatly assisted if they were able to buy new identity documents with changed details. This

can be done in Jakarta at a cost of about US\$100 per person.

People under greater security risk would prefer to leave the country. Passports may be obtained for about US\$150-200, again though a reliable contact in Jakarta.

5. News Bulletin:

All students have agreed on the convenience of publishing a bulletin with latest news on the struggle. This could be done either locally or abroad, based on articles written inside. They have also discussed such a project in Jakarta.

They also grasp the need for various articles to be received abroad on the conditions in East Timor, the difficulties experienced by its people, views on the Indonesian situation etc. from an East Timorese perspective.

Several students have indicated that they will try to provide such material for publication abroad, with the aim of keeping public opinion interested on the tragic realities being faced by the East Timorese people there.

6. Other East Timorese youth welfare needs:

In addition to students in Java, there are close to 100 young East Timorese workers brought to Java under false pretences by President Suharto's daughter Tutut over one year ago.

The work promises made to these people were not honoured, so that most of them are jobless and trying to seek a living in any way they can.

It usually means working at the roughest chores for minimal pay. A condition close to slave labour, in the words of an NGO worker trying to assist them.

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1 April 1993

**REPORT ON MEETINGS WITH EAST TIMOR STUDENTS
(March 1993)**

1. STUDENTS in Bali

A. Meeting with Tara (5 & 6/3/93)

a) Tara personal background:

Has been working closely since before 1991. Went to Dili to organise the November 91 events, working with Xanana. Worked with Constancio Pinto who could give references about him. Tara was the one who spoke to JRH in Lisbon to report the happenings that day. He then went into hiding until able to return safely to Bali in mid 1992. Is studying fourth year of civil construction at Udayana University, and has two or so more years to go. Explained his absence for the year as due to getting married. Feels not to be under suspicion now. Others are regularly called for questioning, not him.

Tara wishes to set up a close and disciplined communications network, under his supervision. Wants only one channel, so responsibility for failures can be clearly identified.

He and his friends prefer to work under Jose Ramos Horta as they notice that only he is actively working abroad and achieving results. They have noticed the opportunism of other East Timor leaders abroad, their lack of action, and their anxiousness to monopolise information which they subsequently misuse making inappropriate statements.

Tara worked with Rui but criticises him for letting Abilio Araujo take control as a result of funding him and demanding that all information be channelled through AA, excluding everyone else, including CNRM. Rui, who is related to Abilio Araujo through (?), leaked info from Xanana to JRH to Abilio and Mari Alkatiri, who then misused it. Thus Tara wishes to avoid Rui.

b) Student organisation:

Have 60-70 active ones in Bali. They are committed, but there is always some infiltration which results in plans and strategies being revealed to the Indonesians and counteracted by them. Other members are in Java.

After last year's experiences they have reorganised into small cells. No one knows about more than 5 people. Tara and another colleague who is in charge are the only ones to have a proper overview. The other one is presently in Dili to set up a link with the Commander.

Currently they use opportunities of trustworthy people travelling to carry mail. On occasion need a special trip. One way costs Rp 200,000 air, Rp 75,000 by ship. The latter is more secure as there are less checks. They cannot travel too

often however as would raise suspicions by university authorities.

About 40 members contribute Rp 5,000 to 10,000 per month for costs. This is a great sacrifice for people on scholarships amounting to Rp 60,000 - 100,000 monthly (US\$ 30-50). Yet they do the sacrifice promptly for the sake of the cause.

c) Resources and needs:

Greatest need is for renting a house with a phone line. Costs about Rp 2,000,000/year (US\$ 1,000) as a minimum (up to twice as much depending on location) .

At present spend about Rp 300,000-400,000 per month on communications (US\$ 150-200). Having cash to buy phone cards would increase their security. They want help for this. Was given A\$200, (approx RP 300,000).

They cant run up telephone subscriber bills as it would invite suspicion. Calls with Dili are often made collect to government employees. Safer and cheaper.

Computer in Bali and an Dili would be a great help. There is a final year student of English literature at Udayana with some computer skills: took a course in Word Star. Could be upgraded.

Tara will provide an expense budget and is aware of need for accountability.

d) Tara's plans:

To centralise communications via Denpasar to and from CNRM office in DRW. Could have also an alternative channel via Kupang: leave sendings with Victoria, then phone Tara, who would phone Dili and instruct them to collect from Victoria.

There is a supportive CV which could help installing a fax in Dili. Private possession would invite suspicion. For Bali house it is OK to have fax if used discreetly. We undertook to provide them these if computers don't eventuate.

Mail from Bali abroad is safe. Tara and friends will check out usage of DHL. Were unaware of this service.

Before they get computer modem or Pactok, mail news items. This is safe. Send by mail to

ALIT (Tara's Balinese name)
Jalan Pulau Seribu 37,
Denpasar Bali 80114

Can include ETRA mailings and from DRW. Will be valuable in English/Portuguese. They can translate into Bahasa Indonesia and Tetum.

e) In March Tara hopes to have material from Ma' Hunu to give us.

Conclusion:

Tara and friends seem highly motivated, young and active and possibly loyal to CNRM. However, they lack experience and maturity and perhaps sufficient judgement and even skills. Tara does not appear too intelligent, even if highly motivated. It would be best if they could get advice from some one older, prudent and intelligent like Rui.

B. Meeting with Rui (and Kim). (6/3)

Appears more mature and sophisticated than the previous people.

Rui is however not aware of latest efforts to reconstruct communication links, and has not been active to do so.

Expressed that it may be relatively easy to set up links Bali/Dili, but the problem is to get beyond Dili into the interior. He has lied low since November to avoid attracting attention. Feels confident of having escaped difficulties. Only three people (inclusive of Xanana) could have denounced him: it has not happened.

a) Views re Xanana comments and other propaganda:

His statements have had no negative impact among the people or students. Everyone knows what the conditions are, and that it is necessary to appear submissive to avoid exacerbating the mistreatment. They know if he were free he would respond otherwise.

It is thought that he may be trying to outwit them, for which he is more than skilled. He can deal with javanese, politely, softly and is a brilliant strategist (the new one is more 'bruto', not so subtle).

Xanana appears to be trying to protect others, so as to limit the damage to the resistance and destruction of networks. He has not implicated any students, while 75% of contacts with the outside had been done through students.

His acknowledgment of "Indonesian" nationality was never fully articulated. Even the media reported that he was stuttering.

The videos being circulated in villages about his "confessions" are primarily business enterprises of some officers.

The allegiance-swearing ceremonies are false. Faces of collaborators have been identified among the participants.

b) Sujono: a Police choice. Not fully independent. Not genuinely going all out to defend the accused. Couldn't possibly do so and not lose his career- he may be just trying to reduce the sentence.

c) The struggle continues. Everyone accepts the change of leadership and carries on. No divisions have taken place inside regarding this change.

X's mistakes have been pointed out, not to defame him or stimulate divisions, but to learn from the experience and avoid them in future.

d) Statements against Xanana by 'leaders' outside, particularly Abilio Araujo's, have deeply saddened many people.

Calling the leader a 'traitor' was felt to be out of place and has had a negative effect on insiders' respect and esteem for these outside 'leaders'. It has shown their lack of stature.

e) Renetil:

After Fernando de Araujo's capture the leadership is in Java. In Bali only do concientization and communications.

Now operations are more autonomous to give greater security.

No attempts have been made to contact new Chief, as Bali people have not dared to go to Dili, according to Rui. Letters have been sent to him, but no replies yet received.

f) Other problems:

Language problems exist. Few students speak English, even fewer Portuguese. Bahasa Indonesia and Tetum is the most widely used language. Need Portuguese lessons. How to get help for this?

g) Computer:

Luisa Teutonio had referred to this already. Suggested a modem. This in Rui's view needs authorisation from telephone authorities to use. Only Banks and large companies would have no problem in his view. He concedes things may have changed.

Feels that installing the computers would be a useless expense unless good communications with mountains are set up first. Yet past methods of communication are now known to the enemy. need to develop new methods.

h) The new governor Abilio Osorio recently came to see students in Bali. Appeared less blunt than before. Was this a result of his talk to Xanana? Could the latter have won him over?. The Governor spoke of reconciliation among Timorese, so as to be able to progress, with the aim to attract the student's sympathy.

The new approach could also be the result of training provided to him by the Javanese.

There is an effort to get all new graduates to return to Timor.

Conclusion:

It would be preferable if both Rui and Tara worked together. The younger ones seem to have currently more daring and drive to take on a new phase of work, but Rui is by far more mature, intelligent and experienced. Rui furthermore seemed to indicate disillusion with Abilio Araujo's incompetence.

C. Meeting with Tara and Samala Rua (31/3).

Samala Rua is the Renetil leader based in Java. He came especially for this meeting.

(a) Financial support:

This is the most urgent need for the student resistance network, so they can carry out their main task of acting as a communications link between the interior and the outside world.

At the very minimum a regular monthly funding of Rp 500,000 is required (\$250). They will provide monthly or quarterly expense reports.

The safest is to send money to Kirsty Sword in Jakarta, who will then disburse. Infight in Jakarta is another alternative. Receiving money directly from abroad is only safe in the form of sporadic small amounts, as 'assistance from relatives from abroad for students'. Not if regular larger amounts are sent.

(c) News Bulletin:

Both Samala Rua and Tara are of the opinion that a news bulletin is required. They would supply articles in Bahasa Indonesia, Portuguese, Tetum or English. It may be more viable to do the bulletin in Darwin. Their articles should cover East Timorese perceptions of the major difficulties being faced in Indonesia, and their assessments of the Indonesian situation.

They also wish to be provided more news by mail via Darwin. They will centralise their sendings of information via Darwin as well.

(d) CNRM:

They are fully confident in the leadership of Jose Ramos Horta abroad, as they have seen he is the only one that really works. They have little respect for the other 'leaders' who do little, except phone to Indonesia to speak badly about one-another. In the difficult circumstances being faced by the East Timorese people, threatened with obliteration as a people, there is no room for such pettiness.

A news item for publication:

East Timor students in Bali are constantly harassed by Indonesian and East Timorese Intel personnel. Whenever some event happens in East Timor, students are called in for questioning by Intel. Mostly just to intimidate them.

There are two notable East Timor Intel policemen in Bali. One is Martinus Alau, who was given a jail sentence to be served in Bali for his shooting of students on November 12. This was much hailed as an example of Indonesian justice, punishing members of the Armed Forces which 'acted without instructions'.

The truth, however, is that Martinus Alau is nominally in jail but free in practice. He receives his salary and has no duties. He has rented a room in Denpasar and lives like a tourist. He spends his nights at the *Karaoke Discotheque*, Jalan Teuku Umar, Simpang Enam, on the city outskirts, drinking with East Indonesian friends, as rough an brutal as he is. He spends his days sleeping, and avoids getting involved with East Timor students. Students have promised they will attempt to take photographs so as to publicise this internationally.

The other is Alberto da Fátima, a Police Intelligence BRIMOB member who worked under Alau. AdF was but was transferred to Bali to avoid further tensions, given that he had killed a number of students on November 12. AdF works in Denpasar as the driver of Police Lieutenant Colonel Yudo, married to an East Timorese relative of AdF.

AdF spies on students, harasses them and provokes them with insults. On Saturday 20 march 1993 there was a end of exams party for East Timorese students in Denpasar. AdF crashed the party- as he often does- to hear what students are discussing. To provoke a fight, he said he had killed many students in Dili, adding, "students in Bali know nothing, do no good, and only get involved in politics", adding that if any one dared to challenge him he would go and get his BRIMOB police comrades and "clean up all the students". As several students are from Los Palos, he then proceeded to insult Los Palos people, saying "before they used to live in huts, and here they are vane and pretentious- they are the worst in East Timor".

Most of the members of the 741 Battalion stationed in Bali for local security work are from Los Palos. Several of them are related to students and tend to protect them and give them advance warning of military measures that may be dangerous to students. Many who were former Resistance fighters, retain East Timor nationalist feelings, but serve in the Indonesian military as they have no other choice and need the protection this gives them.

Tired of AdF's insults, 741 members decided to kill him. On 27 March a number of them in disguise went to get him from a

party for air hostesses at Bali Hotel in the centre of Denpasar. They cracked "the hero of Santa Cruz's" skull in the gardens of the hotel, in sight of foreign tourists. BRIMOB police went to rescue him, but did not discover the identity of the attackers.

This may be published, but the fact that 741 members did the attack should not be revealed. AdF and friends would probably seek vengeance, and not daring to attack 741 members, could retaliate against defenceless students instead. The only real (and undisclosed) protection students have are their 741 friends. Sometimes some protection comes from the Bali Regional Commander, as Governor Carrascalão set up a protection organisation -IMPETTU- which is not very effective, however.

[Please circulate this item, subject to the restrictions mentioned above].

2. STUDENTS in JAKARTA.

A. Frater Rui L. Costa SJ. (Several meetings in March 93).

(a) Personal background:

Frater Rui (aged about 23) is by far the most promising future leader. As a Jesuit Seminarian he is intellectually brilliant and privileged to have access to one of the best education institutions available in Indonesia. He is one of the very few non-Javanese in it. He deeply feels for East Timor and the tragedy of its people. He makes great sacrifices to assist the welfare of student leaders in high security jails (LP Cipinang). He can best be trusted with funds to distribute justly and effectively.

Frater Rui is however under great pressure from his highly ethnocentric Javanese community, who demands that he does not concern himself with East Timor, but acculturates into Java instead. This is a source of great anguish and loneliness for him, which may lead to a psychological break down or withdrawal from the order. He is still very young and sensitive. It would be best for Rui if he could continue his studies at another more culturally hospitable Jesuit Seminary elsewhere.

(b) Prison visits:

As a religious, Rui has easier access to Fernando de Araujo and Joao Freitas da Camara. Access is however limited and is seen more as a 'favour' granted by prison authorities (requiring 'good relations', to be nurtured by bribes).

(c) Student networks:

Rui regrets the divisions and suspicions among students, as well as the rapidly dropping educational and behavioural

standards. Reflecting the poor standards of Indonesian educational institutions, East Timorese students are more and more loosing the past levels of Portuguese instilled discipline and dedication. Students are less and less critical, have less intellectual curiosity, read less, and in general are less prepared professionally. The Portuguese language is furthermore rapidly being lost.

Another serious problem concerns student marriages to javanese in Jakarta. Coming from a sexually restrictive society, some students get seduced by the greater sexual liberty in Java, especially with women of low socio-economic status. Thus many East Timorese males get involved and eventually marry Javanese, generally of lower socio-economic and cultural level than themselves. They thus enter and link themselves to javanese society at low levels.

(d) Students in hiding in Java:

Many of those involved in Dili demonstrations or other resistance work who fear security forces have fled from East Timor.

Attempting to live in Java without documentation is very difficult, they are constantly in fear of authorities and frequent checks. They find it impossible to integrate in any community, and stand out as aliens. Without connections and sufficient skills, finding work is furthermore virtually impossible. Such people thus live totally marginalised, in many cases in hovels, in constant hiding, and destitution. Their only supports tend to be fellow students, also struggling under the meagre incomes they receive.

It is imperative to at least materially assist these young people, victims of their nationalist activities. Not only do they face physical dangers, but eventually grave moral dangers as well.

Support should be given to those most in need to buy false identity papers: \$100 per person would suffice. The most extreme cases may even be helped to leave the country. A passport could be bought for about \$200. Rui can arrange this.

Another group of young East Timorese facing great hardship in Java are the workers brought there by Suharto's daughter Tutut with promises which were not kept. These people are experiencing great hardship and some are also beginning to integrate at the very lowest socio-economic level of Javanese society. They are being assisted by ACFOA through Inflight. (Transcripts of meeting with the person in charge of this work are part of a separate report).

B. Domingos' Sarmiento and his brother Hermanio(?):

Two meetings were held with this, in the past, supposedly active student leader. During the first meeting he agreed with the need for a news bulletin to be published with articles relating to the plight of East Timorese, perceptions and analysis of Indonesia, and the thinking of East Timorese exiles. The second time his commitment to it seemed less.

It is noticeable how the different East Timorese communities are drifting apart. In Indonesia, the concerns are about the genocide of a people, protection from its disappearance, and the hardships which have to be borne. In Portugal, it appears that concerns are different, more distant to the harsh immediate realities faced in Indonesia. Matters such as Lusophone culture and history in relation to East Timor seem to dominate. Also petty politicking among discredited 'political leaders' who only contact students inside when they wish to manipulate them to damage rivals' interests. So, students wish news about the communities abroad, but have no interest in the petty squabbles which are so common.

Again, these students expressed their confidence in CNRM and its Special Representative abroad, who they see as the only leader actually doing something positive abroad, and showing competence at it. They welcome the setting up of a communications channel through Darwin.

Domingos referred to the visit to Jakarta by an East Timorese leader from Australia some four years ago (apparently Agio Pereira), and the disillusion experienced by students that no follow up on the various matters promised took place. There is also resentment of the fact that the Fretilin radio transmitter had to cease because no replacements for a knob for the 1985 radio were provided despite several requests, promises and lengthy waits. The needed part was merely a minor knob, damaged during an attack. This, it was alleged, caused the cessation of radio communications.

It is felt that a new radio link between Darwin and the interior would be of great value. Could the equipment be made available?

It was pointed out to them that abroad the media is keen on news on Timor. Reporting needs to go beyond lists of people killed or imprisoned, however. Human Rights violations are the whole gamut of injustices the East Timorese have to bear under Indonesia. Assessments of several aspects of the situation in Indonesia and East Timor by East Timorese students would be of great interest. This, however, must be supplied by those inside, at least in draft form. It can then be edited abroad and polished.

Domingos' brother Hernanio(?), is an Agricultural Scientist, working as reporter for an Agricultural Magazine in Jakarta, which he intends to leave soon to seek agricultural work in Timor. He knows the journalistic scene well in Jakarta.

On the second meeting, Domingos conveyed a less resolute and more procrastinating impression. Matters had to be 'structured', 'organised' etc, before articles could be produced.

It was pointed out to them the need to develop closer links with Indonesian pro-democracy sectors. It appears that they need to be put in contact, as they are not able to reach to the more important figures due to their general marginalisation from Indonesian society. Similarly, their assessment and contacts with Jakarta-based foreigners seem weak. They need guidance and introductions.

In Conclusion:

1. Students are reorganising and intend to ensure CNRM information flows between abroad and the interior.
2. Having a base in Darwin is seen as very useful, and simplifies the past situation.
3. It is imperative to fund regularly. At a very minimum Rp 500,000 per month is needed (US\$ 250).
4. Bali would benefit from having a house with telephone, rentable at about US\$ 1,000 per year.
5. A news bulletin should be published. They would contribute.
6. The students in hiding in Java need urgent assistance. They need money to live and to buy identity papers.

No. _____
Data: _____

02/12/93

Relação do centro Juventudes 9 Form

	Sistemado p/interior de território do Timor Leste.
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		Hela Patin
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2.	Eduardo da Costa M	Kulu hun
3.	Satornino de Rego Alves	Comoro
4.	Rosalino Fatima Ribeiro	Quintal Bo'ot
5.	Joaquim Lusik P. Ximenes	Bemori
6.	Antonio de Araujo M.C.	Bairo Pite
7.	Tomas Vareira Martins	Kulu hun Baico
8.	Jose Alves	Santa Cruz
9.	Armando Gusmao	Bairo Pite
10.	Emilio George	Bairo Pite
11.	Viter Cotonho Sarmento	Kulu Hun
12.	Juliao Soares	Quintal Bo'ot
13.	Duarte Fatima Simoes	Hudi Laran
14.	Agostinho Fernandes	Akadiru Hun
15.	Jansani Domingos X	Bidau
16.	Domingos da Costa	Kulu Hun Baico
17.	Florival Moises Borges	Aituri Laran
18.	Jose Martins	Mascarinhas
19.	Xesto da Costa	Mascarinhas
20.	Domingos de Jesus	Kulu hun
21.	Aleixo Soares	Quintal Bo'ot
22.	Gaudencio de Jesus	Mascarinhas
23.	Viriato Alves C.S.	Matadoro
24.	Domingos Pereira	"
25.	Melino Germano	"
26.	Lucas Bere O.B.V.	Santa Cruz
27.	Domingos da Conceicao S	Ailok Laran
28.	Arnaldo du Carmo H	Vila Verde
29.	Anjo Saldanha Alberto	Bairo Pite
30.	Sergio Dos Santos	Taibessi
31.	Adao Rodrigues Pereira	Mascarinhas
32.	Alex Gira da Timor	Becora
33.	Antonio Batista Alves	Vila Verde
34.	Honorio Gomes	"
35.	Jose Soares Sarmento	Bairo Pite
36.	Paulo de Almeida	Akadiru Hun
37.	Honorio Ximenes	Mascarinhas
38.	Fernando	Vila Verde
39.	Xanco da Costa Guterres	Bemori
40.	Faustinho Goncalves	Bairo Pite
41.	Deonigio M.G.R. Martins	"
42.	Tobias Borges da Cruz	"
43.	Americo de Jesus	"
44.	Luis de Jesus Pereira	"
45.	Marcelio de Almeida	"
46.	Luis Antonio de Almeida	Bidau L
47.	Estevao de Carvalho	Vila Verde
48.	Joanico Pereira	"
49.	Jaime da Silva	Quintal Bo'ot
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51.	Valdamar Conceicao Lopez	Bairo Pite
52.	Jose Lemos	Bemori
53.	Manuel Benevides	"
54.	Carmo Soares	Bairo pite

- 55. ^Martinho Maia Goncalves
- 56. Eduardo Martins
- 57. Aleixo Soares
- 58. Andre Naldo Soares
- 59. Duarte ^ua Silva Belo
- 60. Benigna S da Silva
- 61. Abilio ^Xavier de Araujo
- 62. ^Mario Sarmiento
- 63. Muses Araujo
- 64. Amancio Romalda A
- 65. Joao Teodosio
- 66. Eduardo Santana
- 67. Adino Manuel ^Nunes
- 68. ario F.S Barreto

Bairo Pite

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Muita sono ainda não apresentada
em lista.

Select Committee on Hunger
U.S. House of Representatives
H2-505 House Office Building Annex 2
Washington, D.C. 20515

news release

For Immediate Release
February 9, 1993

Contact: John Morrill
202-226-5470

HUNGER COMMITTEE TO CONVENE ROUND TABLE ON HUMANITARIAN CRISIS IN ARMENIA

House Select Committee on Hunger Chairman Tony P. Hall (D-OH) announced today that he is convening a special round table concerning humanitarian repercussions associated with the blockade imposed upon Armenia.

**The round table will take place on Thursday, March 11 at 9:30 a.m.
Room 345 Cannon House Office Building**

Humanitarian conditions in Armenia have worsened considerably this winter as a result of the military conflict with Azerbaijan.

"This war is not being waged with just bullets and bombs", said Chairman Hall.

A blockade imposed against Armenia has severely disrupted the availability of food, medical supplies, and fuel. Women, children, and the elderly are suffering extensively from the conflict. The infant mortality rate is climbing and signs of malnutrition are evident throughout the population.

Hall has gathered some of the world's leading authorities on the widening crisis in Armenia, including human rights activist Dr. Yelena Bonner, spouse of Nobel Peace Prize winner Andrei Sakharov. Hall is also very pleased to have Great Britain's Deputy Speaker, Baroness Caroline Cox, who has just concluded another humanitarian trip to Armenia, participate in the special roundtable session. American Red Cross Armenia Relief Coordinator, Maria Princi, returned this week from Armenia.

List of Speakers

DR. YELENA BONNER

Renowned Human Rights Activist

BARONESS CAROLINE COX

House of Lords, Great Britain

FREDERIC HOF

Executive Assistant to the Coordinator for U.S. Assistance
to the New Independent States U.S. Department of State

MARIA PRINCI

Armenia Relief Coordinator
Office of International Relief & Development, American Red Cross

**Select Committee on Hunger
U.S. House of Representatives
H2-505 House Office Building Annex 2
Washington, D.C. 20515**

news release

For further information: Neal Flieger
(202) 226-5470

OPENING STATEMENT

OF TONY P. HALL, CHAIRMAN,

HOUSE SELECT COMMITTEE ON HUNGER

ROUND TABLE ON HUMANITARIAN CRISIS IN ARMENIA

MARCH 11, 1993

Good morning. I have called this meeting to examine the deteriorating state of humanitarian conditions in the Republic of Armenia and to determine what specific actions should be taken to address these conditions.

Reports from Armenia, like those from Bosnia, describe a developed country taking on an appearance similar to Somalia. Hunger, malnutrition and disease among the civilian population are widespread and increasing. Hospitals are without necessary supplies and forced to operate by candlelight without anesthesia. The infant mortality rate is increasing and women and children are forced to subsist on bread without heat in the subzero weather.

These humanitarian conditions are not a result of natural disaster. They are man-made. They are a direct result of armed conflict. They result from a blockade of Armenia; a blockade which has restricted the delivery of food, medicine and other humanitarian assistance.

A blockade of food, medical supplies, and other humanitarian assistance to a civilian population is contrary to international law and accepted standards of civilized conduct. Food and humanitarian assistance must not be used as a weapon.

International law is unambiguous. In December, over 150 nations met at a United Nations conference and specifically stated:

"We reaffirm our obligations as nations and as an international community to protect and respect the need for...adequate food and medical supplies for civilian populations situated in zones of conflict...and reaffirm that food must not be used as a tool for political pressure. Food aid must not be denied because of political affiliation, geographic location, gender, age, tribal or religious identity."

As we try to define the standards of the post Cold War world, we must make certain that women and children are not the faceless and forgotten casualties of conflict. We, as an international community, as nations, and people must devise specific mechanisms and set clear standards concerning civilians' unhindered access to humanitarian assistance.

The conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan is complex. My purpose for calling this meeting is not to choose sides or decide who is right or wrong. Our focus is upon resolving the current humanitarian crisis. The Select Committee on Hunger looks forward to working with all of the parties to design and push for implementation of a specific action plan to halt the disease and hunger which the women, children and elderly of Armenia now suffer.

We are very fortunate to have a remarkable panel to discuss this issue with us. First, I am especially honored to welcome Dr. Yelena Bonner. She really needs no introduction. She has fought for human rights - always putting her own life on the line. She has given hope to all people faced with adversity and has, through her actions, proven the strength of the human spirit.

Second, we are very fortunate to have Baroness Caroline Cox, deputy speaker of the House of Lords. Lady Cox has been one of Great Britain's most outspoken proponents for human rights. She has been very involved in bringing humanitarian relief into Nagorno Karabakh and Armenia and has just returned from the region.

Third, we have Fred Hof. Mr. Hof has worked with the Coordinator for U.S. assistance to the New Independent States of the former Soviet Union at the U.S. Department of State. He has been the State Department's point man on Armenia and Nagorno Karabakh.

Finally, we have Maria Princi, who works with the Office of International Relief and Development at the American Red Cross. She has worked in Armenia since 1988 helping to coordinate emergency food distribution and medical relief. She also has just recently returned from Armenia.

Before asking my colleagues and our distinguished panelists to deliver their opening statements, I want to briefly describe the format of today's meeting. First, all participants will deliver a short opening statement. This will be followed by questions and discussion amongst the participants. Following this discussion, the panels will respond to questions from members of the press.

East Timor Research Project

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Fax: 301-585-3288

PROJECT REPORT AND STATEMENT FOR CAFOD, DECEMBER 1993

BACKGROUND: The East Timor Research Project (ETRP) was founded in early 1976 as a documentation service by US-based students and scholars of the Indonesian and South East Asia region. Its principal aims are to work towards an improvement in humanitarian conditions in East Timor, and to make available objective news and analysis on the situation in this former Portuguese colony. Authoritative church sources in East Timor have emphasised repeatedly that actions taken in the United States are of the utmost importance to the outcome of the situation in both the short- and long-term. In June 1993 Bishop Carlos Ximenes Belo provided separate written endorsements of ETRP and its director, Arnold Kohen.

PROGRESS:

Here is a summary report on activities of ETRP, December 1992--November 1993. This period coincided with the first year of the new Clinton Administration in Washington, which, in turn, followed the crisis surrounding the massacre of unarmed civilians at Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili and subsequent repression. ETRP responded to the challenge of these events with a wide range of activity amongst the United States Congress, the international news media and human rights, humanitarian and church organizations. With the changeover in American government that began a year ago, the challenge also became one of helping to facilitate policy changes that might set in motion long-term changes in the East Timor situation.

The following is a brief summary of the activities carried out or facilitated by ETRP over the past year:

U.S. Congress and Clinton Administration

* December 1992 --- Coordination of informational effort to bring about a re-evaluation of past US policies on the East Timor situation. In Dec. 1992, with Bishop Paul Moore, former Anglican Bishop of New York, held meetings with top officials of Clinton transition team to call for a review of American policies. Worked closely with Congress and church organizations to draw attention of new Administration to East Timor situation. Congressional publicity effort to ensure safety of captured East Timorese resistance leader Xanana Gusmao.

* January 1993 ---- Coordinated effort of Senators to pose questions on East Timor to Secretary of State Christopher at his confirmation hearing before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Worked closely with Clinton Administration to help formulate responses that would be feasible for the new Administration to articulate in short-term.

* February---March 1993 ---- Drafted policy papers for Senators that later became the core of a letter of 43 US Senators to President Clinton. Worked closely with Congress and Clinton Administration, in coordination with church and human rights organizations (and news media), to help bring about shift in United States policy on East Timor at United Nations Human Rights Commission in Geneva. For the first time, in March 1993 the United States co-sponsored a strong resolution on the East Timor situation in Geneva.

* March 1993 --- Coordinated effort of Senators to pose tough questions on East Timor to Assistant Secretary of State Winston Lord at his confirmation hearing before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

Arranged and directed numerous meetings in Congress by visiting group of East Timorese young people.

* April-- May 1993 --- Series of meetings with senior Clinton Administration officials and Congress to discuss activities at United Nations and other diplomatic efforts to follow up March 1993 Geneva result. Informal Congressional working group meets to formulate plans for President Clinton's July 1993 meeting with Indonesian President Suharto at G-7 meeting in Tokyo.

* June--July 1993 ---- Letter circulates in United States Senate addressed to President Clinton regarding his meeting with Indonesian President Suharto at G-7 in Tokyo. Meetings arranged for East Timor's Bishop Carlos Ximenes Belo and top US policymakers. President Clinton raises issue of East Timor with Suharto in Tokyo, as reported by The Financial Times and others.

* June-July 1993 --- Congressional media effort led by ETRP aimed at editorial writers on occasion of G-7 meeting in Tokyo.

* July--August 1993 ---- Extensive briefings held in coordination with major human rights organizations for Senate and House aides who visit East Timor in two separate delegations in September. Meetings are arranged for them with Bishop Belo to assure that they receive an accurate picture of the situation and do not endanger anyone.

* May--September 1993--- Consultations with staff of Senator Feingold to help formulate alternatives regarding amendment to cut

Page 3, ETRP to CAFOD

off US military sales to Indonesia. Similar consultations with others on move to stop transfer of F-5 jets to Indonesia.

* September -- November 1993 --- Formulation and circulation of separate letters in Senate and House addressed to President Clinton on occasion of his brief meeting November 20, 1993 with Indonesian President Suharto in Seattle, Washington, USA at Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation forum. President Clinton again raises East Timor question with President Suharto.

* September --- December 1993 --- Additional consultations with senior Clinton Administration officials and Congressional leaders to discuss human rights and other concerns of Bishop Belo, plus matters related to U.N. negotiations on East Timor.

---- News Media

Placement of numerous editorials in North America and elsewhere, including editorials in The New York Times regarding the United Nations vote in Geneva in March; the trial verdict of Xanana Gusmao in May; and the Feingold Amendment and Seattle meeting in November; plus tough Washington Post editorials after the capture of Xanana Gusmao in December 1992 and the G-7 meeting in July 1993; and what Timorese diplomatic sources consider to be a crucial editorial in the Boston Globe in March 1993 regarding US policy at the United Nations Human Rights Commission in Geneva. The Project also played a key role in placing major articles in the Washington Post and elsewhere. Because of its longtime media expertise -- Project Director Arnold Kohen once worked for a leading US television network and has dealt with top editors for nearly 15 years -- ETRP also held meetings with reporters and editors of British newspapers in 1993, including The Times, The Financial Times, The Guardian and The Independent, in addition to representatives of TV companies both in Britain, the US and Germany. It is anticipated that these contacts will bear fruit in 1994, when President Clinton and other leaders travel to Indonesia for the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) meeting.

-----Information Distribution----- Even more than before, ETRP regularly distributes information from authoritative church sources to a wide variety of news media, members of Congress, human rights, humanitarian and church organizations. Since July 1993 ETRP has been entrusted on numerous occasions by Bishop Belo with dissemination of material on the present situation in East Timor to a broad range of contacts. In an effort to break down the isolation that has always been one of East Timor's worst enemies, ETRP has also been quietly assisting Bishop Belo in conveying information and views to the United Nations, The US Catholic Bishops Conference, the US Congress, the Clinton Administration and many others. By such means, ETRP utilizes its proven communications

skills to direct assist church leaders and lay people in East Timor. ETRP also advises other Timorese leaders on their activities with the news media internationally.

-----Belo Visit to USA -- ETRP also arranged Bishop Belo's invitation and visit to the US Catholic Bishops Conference meeting in New Orleans in June 1993, which was followed by brief visits in New York, Baltimore and Washington.

-----General Activities --- Owing to its nearly 20 years of experience and expertise and contacts within East Timor, ETRP is often asked to play an advisory role by a wide variety of major institutions. ETRP plays a major role in coordinating the efforts of major international human rights, humanitarian and church organizations.

The Year Ahead

The situation in East Timor remains extremely harrowing, as CAFOD is well aware. While Jakarta has not relaxed its harsh rule in the territory, there are nonetheless signs that international pressure, particularly from the USA, is having an effect. United Nations sources believe the Indonesian regime is moving in the direction of greater flexibility, despite outward appearances to the contrary. As these officials see it, there is the need for stepped up public efforts to bring about concrete gains in the short- and longer term future.

It has been the Project's considered position, based on contacts with longtime scholars of the region and diplomats as well as its own analyses, that the possibilities for a just solution to the Timor problem are greater than ever, given the continuing effects of the Santa Cruz massacre, but that these possibilities must be utilized to the maximum extent if real results are to be achieved. And a great opportunity lies ahead in 1994.

As ETRP emphasized in its report to CAFOD a year ago, the possibilities are heightened since the election of a new American president. Clinton's first year has seen vastly increased pressure on Jakarta. But the second year presents even greater opportunities. The APEC meeting that will take place in Jakarta in late 1994 will focus worldwide attention on Indonesia. If human rights in China was the big issue at APEC 1993, next year will be the year of Indonesia. The presence of Bill Clinton and other leaders in Indonesia will focus special attention on the area. Matters related to East Timor that are raised in this context will have a large international echo, if the past can serve as an indicator. As in past such instances, ETRP will play a key role in generating the kind of publicity and related ingredients that could be crucial in pushing the Timor issue ever higher onto the American

and international agendas. This in turn could serve as a catalyst for concrete gains. The fact that we have nearly a year's notice of this event gives ETRP the opportunity to do an unprecedented level and quality of preparation amongst the news media, Congress and others. Such preparation has already begun, and is being pursued in a rigorous, systematic manner.

Owing to the unusual level of activity that will be required in 1994 because of this opportunity, some additional personnel and administrative costs will be necessary, in addition to extra costs for special distributions of audiovisual and printed material to the international news media. One must view these modest costs alongside the \$5 million Indonesia is spending per year in Washington for only one of the public relations and lobbying firms it employs (See attached news item).

Coupled with this is the continuing but no less urgent need for international humanitarian aid for East Timor, and for ongoing human exchanges between outsiders of good will and the church and people of the territory. ETRP continues to work closely with international church and development agencies to help facilitate and assistance to East Timor, and its longstanding expertise and contacts play an important role in arranging such visits and assistance. The new and closer contacts with the East Timorese church that have developed over the past year will go a long way toward facilitating more fruitful exchanges of this sort.

It has been amply demonstrated that strong international pressure on questions of human rights, as well as the question of international access to the territory, remain issues of the utmost importance at this time and will remain so for the foreseeable future. ETRP continues to play a key role in generating such pressure.

In light of these circumstances, particularly the special opportunities (and added costs) presented by the APEC meeting in Indonesia, the ETRP request for 1994 is 20,000 pounds sterling.

April 25, 1993

Project Description

The East Timor Research Project was founded in 1976, shortly after Indonesia invaded East Timor, by a group of concerned scholars and students at Cornell University, site of a renowned Centre for Southeast Asian Studies. In response to the catastrophic famine in East Timor and the need to provide information and coordination services to an array of national and international organizations, the Project shifted its base to Washington in 1978-79 and has since remained there. The Project has built an excellent reputation amongst international and international agencies interested in East Timor, because of its realistic, pragmatic, unbiased and strongly humanitarian stance. This is backed up by an almost unparalleled understanding of the region gained through experience, research and association with a broad range of contacts both within East Timor and in the international community.

The November 12, 1991 massacre of peaceful demonstrators at Santa Cruz cemetery in East Timor -- filmed in part by a British cameraman and photographed by a British photographer -- drew worldwide attention notice. Since that time, the Project has devoted part of its efforts to creative approaches aimed at stimulating increased humanitarian assistance and protection of those most directly affected by the crisis, including those who have either disappeared or have been detained. The Project has also continued its longtime effort to generate humanitarian assistance to the people of East Timor at large.

New opportunities that have become apparent in recent months. The advent of the Clinton Administration has created increased interest in Washington in humanitarian approaches to international tragedies. There is new interest in soliciting the views of non-governmental organizations with special expertise and experience in selected areas, particularly NGOs that are personally familiar to people in positions of responsibility in the Clinton Administration, and this is the case with the Project. The Project has been formulating plans to re-orient American policy on East Timor in the humanitarian sphere as well as with regard to human rights. The positive turnaround of American policy on East Timor at the recent meeting of the United Nations Human Rights Commission in Geneva, at which the US gave unprecedented sponsorship to a wide-ranging resolution, is one result of these efforts.

But the Geneva action is only a preliminary move that needs a good deal of follow-through to ensure that maximum results are achieved. This is by no means automatic. Bill Clinton is still a new President trying to find his bearings, the pressures on him are enormous, and there is a great deal of confusion in policymaking circles as a result. Moreover, the queue of organizations and issues in need of attention is very long. Experts

to otherwise protect those most directly affected by the crisis, including those who have either disappeared or have been detained.

Drawing on its 16 years of experience and expertise, the East Timor Project has crafted a programme of information and analysis so that policymakers will be in a good position to take up the pertinent humanitarian issues and ultimately enable appropriate development assistance to reach the people of East Timor. The Project has been working in close coordination on this emergency information effort with British agencies such as CAFOD, CIIR and Christian Aid.

International humanitarian experts believe that the aforementioned emergency informational effort has had a concrete impact on a situation that would be far worse in its absence. These experts urge that this emergency effort continue with vigor.

A supplementary request is being made to Oxfam for 2,000 pounds sterling to meet the added costs of telephone, telefax and other forms of communication (including postage and shipping) so as to facilitate dissemination of information during this emergency period -- in this particular case, from March through June 1992.

March 15, 1992

Estimated Budget for 1993

1. Director's Research Consultancy: \$30,000.00
2. Domestic and International Travel for Research and Meetings:
\$10,000.00
3. Secretarial and Administrative Assistance: \$10,000
4. Office expenses: \$15,000

Total Estimated Budget: \$65,000

Fully itemized accounts will be presented as each expense arises. Estimated budget is subject to revision.

1993-94 FIN:

OXF., IN, 15 K-----NB Jan 94, 22.5 K
TROC, IN, 16 K-----NB Jan 94, 16.9 K

MERCK ask 25----for 2 years --Show proposal to Paul Moore by Feb. 1994

OVERBROOK ask 25----for 3 years --Submit in March 1994

JRMAC ask 20 (Unclear because of Lindblom's leaving; may be impossible for now)

NEIER ask 25 (After discussing with Sid, and other developments (Dec. 93 in London & Oxford, etc), it strikes me it may be wise to ask for much, much more than this)----see him Feb. 94

BIG MAC----Call Prexie Nesbitt----Feb. 94---

RUBIN ask 5; submit after Merck, CA
OTHERS THROUGH MOORES----Follow up on this!!!
CCFD: send eval., proposal, to Sergio; write Michel, Paulette after Merck, CA, BD, E&F
BD----4; submit after Merck, CA
EF----3; submit after Merck, CA

MCGEE-----see him

NOBEL---letter from Tony Hall DONE! 1/25/94 (possibly shorter note from Wolf, too; then material to Wipfler for past laureates
CORNELL---after SPRING materials finished, get outline to Ben, Herb.

SPRING----Met, Jan. 6, 1994; meet again, file c. March 1; ABSOLUTE PRIORITY

CA-----15-16.5 K; submit materials early Feb. 94
CAFOD-----IN--confirmed, Jan. 24, 1994---22.5 K

1. JRS--Inspired MEDIA and Advocacy Project: The Humanitarian Project. Speak with Mark Raper. Gameplan here: JRS endorsement of idea of a Project on Human Rights and the Media or Human Rights Communication Project?/Humanitarian Project. increase and solidify "Euro" funding to 150 K.

2. Merck, Overbrook, Rubin----combined, 50 K +

3. Neier, aim for 100 K

4. Prexie, aim for 100 K

5. Diamond, aim for 50-100 K

6. Check others like Edna McConnell Clark, Pew---100-200 K
In general, maximize funding, regularize as soon as possible.

ESTIMATED 1993 BUDGET

1. PERSONNEL:

Project Director, US \$45,000 per annum, salary and benefits.

Specialized Consultants: Research and media assistance,
translation, secretarial and administrative help, US \$50,000

US \$95,000

2. ADMINISTRATION:

Printing and copying: US \$ 7,000
Postage and shipping: US \$ 7,000
Office rent and utilities: US \$8,400
Telephone and telefax: US \$12,000
Office equipment and supplies: \$4,000
Domestic travel: \$6,000
Legal fees: \$2,000

US \$46,400

3. International Travel for Research and Meetings; Special
Projects

In addition to the international travel the Project has carried out in recent years for meetings and consultations with church and humanitarian agencies, Timorese clergy, human rights organizations and for research (US \$10,000 per annum), the Project plans at least one major journey to Asia with regard to East Timor (US \$15,000) as a follow-up to the Yorkshire Television documentary on East Timor.

4. Special distributions of Audiovisual and printed material:
US \$10,000

5. Shortfall/Deficit, 1991, US \$22,237

TOTAL, REVISED 1993 ESTIMATED BUDGET: US
\$198,637

ANTICIPATED SOURCES OF FUNDS for 1993

COMMITTED: CAFOD, US \$ 22,500
Christian Aid, US \$22,500
Broederlijk Delen, US \$4,000
Entraide et Fraternite, US \$3,000
Private agencies and US foundations: US \$25,000

ANTICIPATED BUT NOT YET COMMITTED: CCODP, CANADIAN \$15,000 (US \$12,000); Trocaire, US \$15,000; US Foundations, US \$25,000; To be raised from new (or old) sources: US \$45,000. Donated labor, US \$25,000.



MARYKNOLL FATHERS AND BROTHERS

PO Box 29132 • Washington DC 20017
(202)-832-1780 fax: (202)-832-5195

Justice and Peace Office

April 1, 1993

Arnold Kohen
East Timor Project
P.O. Box 32307
Washington DC 20007

Dear Arnold,

Greetings! The Maryknoll Missioners are happy to send you this check for \$400 to support the work of the East Timor Project during 1993.

All of us here at the Justice and Peace Office send you our prayers and best wishes for your ongoing efforts for justice in East Timor.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in blue ink that reads "Tom O'Brien". The signature is fluid and cursive.

Tom O'Brien M.M.
Director

East Timor Research Project

P. O. Box 32307 • Washington, D.C. 20007

Phone: 301-585-3229
Fax: 301-585-3288

Oct. 28, 1993

Ms. Maura Leen--- 12 pages
TROCAIRE

Dear Maura,

Attached are a number of items of interest:

1. A detailed letter now circulating in the House of Representatives regarding East Timor, timed to coincide with President Clinton's appearance at the Asia Pacific Economic Conference summit meeting in Seattle c. Nov. 19-20, where top Indonesian officials will be present.
2. A less detailed letter circulating in the Senate, same subject. Both letters are secretly dedicated to that devout Catholic, Paul Keating...
3. A collection of translated excerpts of letters from Bishop Belo (to me-- I can provide the originals) since July, which give a flavor of what has been happening. Excerpts of these will be published soon in CIIR's Timor Link and elsewhere; we have been careful with them until now, restricting them to diplomatic rather than public settings.

Is Trocaire (and Mr. Hyland) ready to receive me c. Dec. 12-14? Please let me know if that is all right. If not, would the latter part of the previous week do? I'm anxious to visit your lovely radio people, for starters...

I will forward additional information as it becomes available. Looking forward to hearing from you.

With best wishes,


Arnold Kohen
Project Director

PS Has your exec. committee met on the East Timor Research Project grant yet?

East Timor Research Project

P. O. Box 32307 • Washington, D.C. 20007

Phone: 301-585-3229
Fax: 301-585-3288

Oct. 28, 1993

Mr. Karl Wintgens--- 12 pages
Entraide et Fraternite

Dear Karl,

Attached are a number of items of interest:

1. A detailed letter now circulating in the House of Representatives regarding East Timor, timed to coincide with President Clinton's appearance at the Asia Pacific Economic Conference summit meeting in Seattle c. Nov. 19-20, where top Indonesian officials will be present.
2. A less detailed letter circulating in the Senate, same subject.
3. A collection of translated excerpts of letters from Bishop Belo (to me-- I can provide the originals) since July, which give a flavor of what has been happening. Excerpts of these will be published soon in CIIR's Timor Link and elsewhere; we have been careful with them until now, restricting them to diplomatic rather than public settings.

I will forward additional information as it becomes available.

With best wishes,

Arnold
Arnold Kohen
Project Director

PS How are you?? Looking forward to seeing you in Brussels early next year, hopefully.

East Timor Research Project

P. O. Box 32307 • Washington, D.C. 20007

Phone: 301-585-3229
Fax: 301-585-3288

Oct. 28, 1993

Mr. Jef Felix--- 12 pages
Asia Desk
Broederlijk Delen


Dear Jef,

Attached are a number of items of interest:

1. A detailed letter now circulating in the House of Representatives regarding East Timor, timed to coincide with President Clinton's appearance at the Asia Pacific Economic Conference summit meeting in Seattle c. Nov. 19-20, where top Indonesian officials will be present.
2. A less detailed letter circulating in the Senate, same subject.
3. A collection of translated excerpts of letters from Bishop Belo (to me-- I can provide the originals) since July, which give a flavor of what has been happening. Excerpts of these will be published soon in CIIR's Timor Link and elsewhere; we have been careful with them until now, restricting them to diplomatic rather than public settings.

I will forward additional information as it becomes available. Looking forward to hearing from you.

With best wishes,


Arnold Kohen
Project Director

PS Do you need any further information from the East Timor Research Project for next year, etc? Please let me know. I will look forward to seeing you in Brussels early next year, hopefully.

East Timor Research Project

P. O. Box 32307 • Washington, D.C. 20007

Phone: 301-585-3229

Fax: 301-585-3288

Oct. 28, 1993

Mr. Jess Agustin--- 12 pages
CCODP

Dear Jess,

Attached are a number of items of interest:

1. A detailed letter now circulating in the House of Representatives regarding East Timor, timed to coincide with President Clinton's appearance at the Asia Pacific Economic Conference summit meeting in Seattle c. Nov. 19-20, where top Indonesian officials will be present.
2. A less detailed letter circulating in the Senate, same subject.
3. A collection of translated excerpts of letters from Bishop Belo (to me-- I can provide the originals) since July, which give a flavor of what has been happening. Excerpts of these will be published soon in CIIR's Timor Link and elsewhere; we have been careful with them until now, restricting them to diplomatic rather than public settings. I will be contacting you on the Nobel matter very soon.

I will forward additional information as it becomes available.

With best wishes,

Arnold
Arnold Kohen
Project Director

East Timor Research Project

P. O. Box 32307 • Washington, D.C. 20007

Phone: 301-585-3229
Fax: 301-585-3288

Oct. 28, 1993

Mssrs. Tom Johnston and Jack Panozzo--- 12 pages
CCODP

Dear Jack and Tom,

Attached are a number of items of interest:

1. A detailed letter now circulating in the House of Representatives regarding East Timor, timed to coincide with President Clinton's appearance at the Asia Pacific Economic Conference summit meeting in Seattle c. Nov. 19-20, where top Indonesian officials will be present (Canadian officials, too!!).
2. A less detailed letter circulating in the Senate, same subject.
3. A collection of translated excerpts of letters from Bishop Belo (to me-- I can provide the originals) since July, which give a flavor of what has been happening. Excerpts of these will be published soon in CIIR's Timor Link and elsewhere; we have been careful with them until now, restricting them to diplomatic rather than public settings. I will be contacting you on the Nobel matter very soon.

I will forward additional information as it becomes available.

With best wishes,

Arnold
Arnold Kohen
Project Director

East Timor Research Project

P. O. Box 32307 • Washington, D.C. 20007

Phone: 301-585-3229
Fax: 301-585-3288

Oct. 28, 1993

M. Sergio Regazzoni--- 12 pages
CCFD

Dear Sergio,

Attached are a number of items of interest:


1. A detailed letter now circulating in the House of Representatives regarding East Timor, timed to coincide with President Clinton's appearance at the Asia Pacific Economic Conference summit meeting in Seattle c. Nov. 19-20, where top Indonesian officials will be present

2. A less detailed letter circulating in the Senate, same subject.

*****3. A collection of translated excerpts of letters from Bishop Belo (to me-- I can provide the originals) since July, which give a flavor of what has been happening. Excerpts of these will be published soon in CIIR's Timor Link and elsewhere; we have been careful with them until now, restricting them to diplomatic rather than public settings. Is there a possibility of some of this appearing in France in a Catholic newspaper??

I will forward additional information as it becomes available.

With best wishes,


Arnold Kohen
Project Director

East Timor Research Project

P. O. Box 32307 • Washington, D.C. 20007

Phone: 301-585-3229
Fax: 301-585-3288

Oct. 28, 1993

Ms. Margaret O'Grady--- 12 pages
Christian Aid

Dear Margaret,

I thought that you should see the attached in a timely fashion.

1. A detailed letter now circulating in the House of Representatives regarding East Timor, timed to coincide with President Clinton's appearance at the Asia Pacific Economic Conference summit meeting in Seattle c. Nov. 19-20, where top Indonesian officials will be present.

2. A less detailed letter circulating in the Senate, same subject.

*****3. A collection of translated excerpts of letters from Bishop Belo (to me-- I can provide the originals) since July, which give a flavor of what has been happening. Excerpts of these will be published soon in CIIR's Timor Link and elsewhere; we have been careful with them until now, restricting them to diplomatic rather than public settings. Is there a possibility of some of this appearing in The Tablet? Or any other church-related publication of whatever denomination?? We have consciously avoided super-solidarity (my coinage, unfortunate as it may be) publications, frankly, to avoid possible trouble for Belo.

I will forward additional information as it becomes available.

With best wishes,

Arnold Kohen *Arnold*
Project Director

PS I will be through London in December and will look forward to seeing you at that time.

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

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

071-620 0719

Feb 5, 1993

FOR Margaret O'Grady

4 Pages

Here is the information
I promised. I hope that it
will transmit legibly
enough.

If you have any
questions, I can be reached
at the numbers listed.

Thanks,

Annie

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

Tel: 202 363 1649
Fax: 202 363 3658

ESTIMATED 1993 BUDGET

1. PERSONNEL:

Project Director, US \$45,000 per annum, salary and benefits.

Specialized Consultants: Research and media assistance,
translation, secretarial and administrative help, US \$50,000

US \$95,000

2. ADMINISTRATION:

Printing and copying: US \$ 7,000
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Office rent and utilities: US \$8,400
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US \$46,400

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In addition to the international travel the Project has carried out in recent years for meetings and consultations with church and humanitarian agencies, Timorese clergy, human rights organizations and for research (US \$10,000 per annum), the Project plans at least one major journey to Asia with regard to East Timor (US \$15,000) as a follow-up to the Yorkshire Television documentary on East Timor.

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Broederlijk Delen, US \$4,000
Entraide et Fraternite, US \$3,000
Private agencies and US foundations: US \$25,000

ANTICIPATED BUT NOT YET COMMITTED: CCODP, CANADIAN \$15,000 (US \$12,000); Trocaire, US \$15,000; US Foundations, US \$25,000; To be raised from new (or old) sources: US \$45,000. Donated labor, US \$25,000.

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

April 30, 1993

for Jess Agustin----- 10 pages
CCODP

Tel: 202 363 1649
Fax: 202 363 3658

PLEASE DELIVER IMMEDIATELY

Dear Jess,

Attached are the relevant financial reports for 1991 and 1992, the 1993 budget and all other requested information. The revised evaluation should have reached you by now.

It appears that President Suharto will be attending the Summit of the Seven Industrialized Nations, the G-7, in Tokyo in July, and will be meeting Bill Clinton (and other leaders) there. This will be a tremendous opportunity to bring the question of East Timor before a world audience. The Project has many tasks before it: work with the US media, the US Congress, the international media and many others in G-7 nations.

The Project needs to be in a position to handle this challenge. And it is not the only one we are facing. Note the attached clipping from the Far Eastern Economic Review of April 22. The Indonesian government has hired an American public relations firm, to the tune of \$5 million, to represent it, and East Timor is mentioned. A friend of mine who is an editor at a top American newspaper told me today that as far as he is concerned, the Indonesian move is almost exclusively aimed at East Timor, because 90 percent of the reporting related to Indonesia here pertains to it.

People of good will must respond appropriately. The Project is asking CCODP for a three-year commitment at the current level of funding-- that is, Canadian \$15,000 per year. In light of CCODP's own fiscal problems as you have described them to me, the Project feels it would be unfair to ask for an increase. What we do request, however, is that people at CCODP, possibly in the Francophone area, do everything possible to convince responsible officials at CCFD to resume its assistance to the Project -- that is, match CCODP's grant -- and in general do more on East Timor. I am convinced from my personal experience with CCFD in Paris that a quiet diplomatic intervention by CCODP at the right levels at CCFD could have the desired result. And I don't mean hassling Sergio. Hopefully we can discuss at your convenience.

The East Timor problem is an international problem and the Project has been doing much more than any other non-Timorese to raise the issue internationally in an effective manner. But we need stronger help in light of the many challenges that we now face.

I am attaching an excellent profile of Bishop Belo from last Saturday's New York Times, and a better copy of the earlier Times piece. Thank you for your support. I hope you are well.

Arnold Kohen

Arnold Kohen, Project Director

late April--May 1993

1. Christian Aid, ask 10-15 K p.s. (\$15-22 K) NB \$22 K +
2. SCLF, ask 10 K p.s. (\$15 K) (NB Jan. 21---NO)
3. CCFD, ask \$12.5 -- \$15 K (NB Jan. 21---CCFD will meet end Feb.)
NB late April--doesn't look good.
4. Belg, \$6-7 K NB c. \$7 K

Gulb????? Send something, early May.

----thru PM (he asked Mrs. Diamond, (NO) Ms. Gund (NO WORD, PROBABLY NOT); any others?? check.

----thru Bill W????

----Merck, 20 (send May)

----Rubin, 5 (send May)

----Mknoll, 1

----get meeting with Overbrook board

Project Statement, December 1, 1993

The East Timor Research Project was founded in 1976, shortly after Indonesia invaded East Timor, by a group of concerned scholars, students and members of the community at Cornell University, in upstate New York, site of a renowned Center for Southeast Asia Studies. Almost from the beginning, because of its special expertise on the area, the Project felt it could make the best possible contribution by working primarily with the US Congress, other governmental bodies, major newspapers, international human rights organizations, humanitarian relief organizations and church institutions. Rather than publish a newsletter or do many of the things traditionally associated with groups of this sort, the Project decided early on that it could best make an effective contribution by influencing the abovementioned institutions and others to take up the East Timor issue and in providing a full range of services, information and expertise to enable them to do so. From 1979, the Project has had close relations with a variety of figures in the East Timorese Church, and has assisted church officials in a wide variety of tasks, including preparation and publication of articles in a number of languages in some of the world's leading newspapers and liaison with United States institutions. These relations have grown increasingly close over time, and the Project has received written endorsements of its work from the present Bishop of East Timor and his predecessor.

How to APHD and CCODP? Raper, etc. since 1980 move to Washington. Behind the scenes activity because of sensitive nature of project. Until 88 APHD. 89 on bilateral. necessary because of problems. Church counts on our efforts. Complex, sensitive problem requires great skill, not simply noise. Church suspicious of many outsiders. Project facilitates humanitarian aid (79-80), development agency aid, etc. The simple fact is that most of the Congressional activity and editorials in major papers over the years would not have appeared were it not for the work of the Project.

4. Special distributions of audiovisual and printed material: \$20,000

TOTAL ESTIMATED 1993 SPECIAL BUDGET: US \$256,000

Anticipated Sources of Income: International Catholic organizations, \$40,000; J. Roderick MacArthur Foundation, \$20,000; John Merck Fund, \$20,000; Overbrook Foundation, \$10,000; Samuel Rubin Foundation, \$5,000

1992 amount from foundations: \$10,000, Overbrook Foundation, New York; \$20,000, The John Merck Fund; \$5,000, Samuel Rubin Foundation; Request to J. Roderick MacArthur Foundation: \$20,000.

ESTIMATED 1993 SPECIAL BUDGET

Tax-exempt donations are payable to Women's Division, United Methodist Church, c/o Mia Adjali, UMOUN, 777 UN Plaza, New York 10017, earmarked for East Timor Fund

1. Personnel:

Project Director: \$60,000 per annum, salary and benefits.

Translation, research assistance, secretarial and administrative services: \$45,000 per annum.

\$105,000

2. Administration:

Printing and other reproduction expense:	\$ 8,000
Office space and utilities:	\$25,000
Office equipment:	\$10,000
Telephone and telefax:	\$25,000
Postage and shipping:	\$20,000
Domestic travel:	\$10,000
Office supplies:	\$ 3,000
Legal fees:	\$ 2,000
Videotape reproduction	\$20,000

\$123,000

3. International Consultations, Meetings and Research Abroad: \$30,000

* Consultations with news media, Parliamentarians, church and humanitarian agencies, and Timorese clergy; International meetings with human rights organizations; conferences; research and fact-finding visits.

TOTAL ESTIMATED 1993 SPECIAL BUDGET: US \$250,000

ESTIMATED BUDGET for Twelve Months, 1993-94, Partial Costs of
Special Humanitarian and Development Budget

1. Three visits to Europe of approximately two-and-a-half weeks duration each to consult with humanitarian and development agencies:

A) Three roundtrip flights, London-Washington, estimated cost \$800 each: \$2,400

B) On each of these three visits, there will be three flights to other cities within Europe. Partial estimated cost: \$500, or \$1,500 for three visits.

C) Accommodation and per diem expenses on each two and a half week visit: \$1,000. For three visits: \$3,000.

D) Partial cost of preparation time for each visit (two and a half weeks) and time spent on each visit, five weeks total, at \$400 per week, \$2,000. For three visits: \$6,000.

2. Two roundtrip flights to Asia to consult with experts on East Timor: \$6,000

Five weeks accommodation in Asia, same duration as above: \$2000

Preparation time for Asian visits and time spent there, 10 weeks total at \$400 per week: \$4,000.

TOTAL ESTIMATED BUDGET, US \$23,900, or
approx. 16,000 Pounds Sterling.

July 23, 1993

PROJECT PROPOSAL FOR TROCAIRE

CONFIDENTIAL---FOR INTERNAL USE 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

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 interests stated that
Page 2, East Timor Research Project to TROCAIRE

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.

ESTIMATED BUDGET, 1993-94

1. Personnel:

Project Director, US \$45,000 per annum, salary and benefits.

Special media and Congressional consultants, translation and research assistance: US \$35,000

Secretarial and Administrative services: US \$25,000

TOTAL: US \$105,000

2. Administration:

Printing and related expenses:	\$10,000
Office space:	\$10,000
Telephone and telefax:	\$12,000
Postage and shipping:	\$10,000
Domestic travel:	\$ 7,000
Office equipment:	\$ 5,000
Office supplies:	\$ 2,000
Legal fees:	\$ 2,000

TOTAL: US \$58,000

3. International Research and Consultations:

Consultations with Timorese clergy, fact-finding and information-gathering; consultations with church, humanitarian, human rights and development agencies; other international and conferences: US \$30,000

4. Production and Distribution of Audiovisual materials: US \$20,000

OVERALL TOTAL: US \$213,000

ANTICIPATED SOURCES OF SUPPORT THUS FAR: CAFOD, \$22,000; Christian Aid, \$22,000; TROCAIRE, \$21,000; CCOOP, \$13,000; Belgian agencies, \$7,000; Other humanitarian agencies, \$22,000; US private foundations, \$55,000-\$65,000.

The Timor Project

Project Director:
Arnold S. Kohen

ADVISORY BOARD

Chairman:
The Rt. Rev. Paul Moore, Jr.
Episcopal Bishop of New York (ret.)

Mia Adjali
*Executive Secretary, United Nations/
International Affairs, Women's Division,
General Board of Global Ministries,
United Methodist Church, New York**

Rev. Reinaldo Cardoso
*Pastor, St. Anthony's Church,
West Warwick, Rhode Island**

Michael A. Chamberlain
*Controller, Xerox Corporation,
Syracuse, New York**

Edward W. Doherty
*U.S. Foreign Service (ret.); Advisor on
Asian, European and Politico-Military
Affairs, U.S. Catholic Conference,
1975-86**

David Hinkley
*former Chairman of the Board,
Amnesty International, U.S.A.**

Rev. Edward R. Killackey
*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.

Financial Statement, 1993

1. Personnel

Project Director, Salary and benefits: US \$45,700

Part-time Administrative Assistance, Research, Media and Special
Project Consultants and Translation: US \$9,750

2. Administration

Office rent and utilities: US \$9,600

Printing and copying: US \$5,976

Postage, shipping, special delivery: US \$5,731

Telephone, telefax and electronic mail: US \$10,838

Office supplies and equipment: \$2,211

Domestic travel for staff and consultants: \$6,052

Legal fees: \$1,000

3. International Activities

International travel for research, consultations with international human
rights and church organizations: \$8,192

4. Visitors to the United States

Visit in June 1993 of East Timor's Roman Catholic Bishop, Carlos
Ximenes Belo, and associated costs: \$4,240

TOTAL EXPENDITURES: \$110,290

GRANTS RECEIVED:

J. Roderick MacArthur Foundation (\$20,000), Overbrook Foundation
(\$10,000), private donations (\$1,400): \$31,400

International Church Agencies: \$80,000

TOTAL RECEIPTS: \$111,400

Fin 93a

Financial Statement, October 1, 1992 ---- September 30, 1993

PERSONNEL:

Project Director, Salary and benefits: US \$45,000

Part-time Administrative Assistance, Research, Media and Special
Project Consultants and Translation: US \$16,750

- 3

ADMINISTRATION:

Office rent and utilities: US \$9,600

Printing and copying: US \$6,258

Postage, shipping,
special delivery: US \$5,883

Telephone, telefax and electronic mail: US \$11,232

Office supplies and equipment: \$2,345

Domestic travel for staff and consultants: \$6,052

Legal fees: \$1,000

INTERNATIONAL TRAVEL FOR RESEARCH AND MEETINGS

\$7,442

VISITORS TO THE UNITED STATES:

Visits in December 1992 and June 1993 of East Timorese clergy
and associated costs: \$6,458

TOTAL EXPENDITURES: US \$118,720

GRANTS RECEIVED:

JR Mac - 20K; Overbrook 10K private donations 2K
US Foundations, private agencies, and one-time donations:
US \$33,680

CCFD US \$8,358

TROCAIRE US \$15,752 (16,900)

Broederlijk Delen US \$4,000

Entraide et Fraternite US \$3,000

CCODP US \$11,419

CAFOD US 22,334

Christian Aid US 21,380

TOTAL: US \$ 119,923

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

Phone: 301-585-3229
Fax: 301-585-3288

Financial Statement, October 1, 1993 --- Sept. 30, 1994

1. Personnel

Project Director, Salary and benefits: US \$48,700
Part-time Administrative Assistance, Research, Media and Special
Project Consultants and Translation: US \$7,850
TOTAL: US \$56,550

2. Administration

Office rent and utilities: US \$9,600
Printing and copying: US \$5,655
Postage, shipping,
special delivery: US \$5,432
Telephone, telefax and electronic mail: US \$ 9,167
Office supplies and computer equipment: US \$4,706
Domestic travel for staff and consultants: US \$5,159
Legal Fees: \$5,300

3. Special Activities

A) International travel for research, consultations with
international human rights and church organizations: US \$8,234
B) Videotape duplication: \$2,260

TOTAL EXPENDITURES: US \$106.563

GRANTS RECEIVED:

US FOUNDATIONS AND PRIVATE AGENCIES: US \$32,000
CAFOD US \$22,000
Christian Aid US \$17,900
CCODP US \$11,892
Broederlijk Delen US \$3,000
Entraide et Fraternite US \$3,000
TROCAIRE US \$18,390
TOTAL GRANTS US \$108,180

The Timor Project

Project Director:
Arnold S. Kohen

ESTIMATED BUDGET, 1993-94

ADVISORY BOARD

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The Rt. Rev. Paul Moore, Jr.
Episcopal Bishop of New York (ret.)

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General Board of Global Ministries,
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Project Director, US \$45,000 per annum, salary and benefits.

Special media and Congressional consultants, translation and research assistance: US \$35,000

Secretarial and Administrative services: US \$25,000

TOTAL: US \$105,000

2. Administration:

Printing and related expenses:	\$10,000
Office space:	\$10,000
Telephone and telefax:	\$12,000
Postage and shipping:	\$10,000
Domestic travel:	\$ 7,000
Office equipment:	\$ 5,000
Office supplies:	\$ 2,000
Legal fees:	\$ 2,000

TOTAL: US \$58,000

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TO: MEMBERS OF THE PRESS, July 3, 1993
FROM: Estrellita Jones, Government Program Officer for Asia
RE: U.S. Senators call for President Clinton to raise human rights in East Timor with President Suharto of Indonesia in Tokyo.

Next week President Clinton will be in Tokyo for a meeting of the G-7 nations. President Suharto of Indonesia will meet individually with G-7 leaders before the formal G-7 meetings get underway. Public reports indicate that President Clinton will meet with Suharto at the U.S. Embassy in Tokyo on the morning of July 7.

The upcoming meeting between Presidents Clinton and Suharto is the first opportunity for the United States, after the recently-concluded World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna, to demonstrate its commitment to including human rights on the agenda of important meetings between world leaders. Suharto is currently chairman of the Movement of Non-Aligned Nations.

Forty-three United States Senators have sent a letter to President Clinton, asking him to raise concerns about continuing human rights violations in East Timor, which was invaded and occupied by Indonesian forces in 1975, during his Tokyo meeting with President Suharto.

For many years Amnesty International has been deeply concerned over the human rights situation in East Timor. This concern has heightened in recent months. On Nov. 20, 1992, East Timor's resistance leader since 1979, Xanana Gusmao, was arrested and held incommunicado. Many others were detained at the same time and are believed to have been subjected to torture or other forms of abuse. After a blatantly unfair trial in which he was prevented by the judge from reading more than two pages of an outspoken defense statement, Gusmao was sentenced to life in prison on May 21, 1993. Subsequent reports indicate that he may have been severely beaten and subjected to other forms of abuse because he dared to criticize Indonesian authorities in his defense statement. Amnesty International fears for the well-being of Gusmao as well as other East Timorese prisoners held in East Timor and Indonesia proper who have had little or no access to independent observers.

Indonesia's human rights problems are by no means confined to East Timor. Similar patterns of repression have been documented in other regions of the Indonesian archipelago. For example, in Ache, where an armed secessionist movement has been active since early 1989, an estimated 2000 civilians, including children and the very elderly, have been unlawfully killed, sometimes in public executions. Torture, detention of prisoners of conscience and political prisoners, as well as unfair trials are routine throughout Indonesia.

Members of the news media might ask President Clinton if he plans to raise East Timor and other human rights issues with Suharto. As a follow-up, the news media might inquire after the Suharto meeting as to what was said.

Amnesty International is an independent worldwide movement working impartially for the release of all prisoners of conscience, fair and prompt trials for political prisoners and an end to torture and executions. It is funded by donations from its members and supporters throughout the world.

CHAIR, BOARD OF DIRECTORS
Rick Halperin

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
John G. Healey

DIRECTOR, WASHINGTON OFFICE
James O'Dea

DIRECTOR, CAMPAIGN UNIT
Jack Rendler

REPORT TO THE J. RODERICK MACARTHUR FOUNDATION

HIGHLIGHTS OF 1993-1994

Summary: The Timor Project continued to maintain close contact with editorial writers and reporters at major newspapers and broadcast media in the United States and abroad and continued to stimulate continuing concern within and research assistance to Congress. The Project significantly expanded its access to and dissemination of credible information on the current human rights situation in East Timor, providing significant assistance to a host of international human rights organizations and other major institutions. These combined efforts appear to have had a concrete impact on the situation in 1993-1994.

The Timor Project's first major challenge in 1993 came early in the year with the February-March meeting of the United Nations Human Rights Commission in Geneva, part of which Project Director Arnold Kohen attended to disseminate information and assess the situation there. (Prior to visiting Geneva, consultations were held with major human rights and humanitarian organizations in London.) Initially the United States planned to stick with the policy of the Bush Administration, which was to downplay human rights violations and oppose resolutions critical of the Indonesian government's record in East Timor. A variety of human rights and church groups combined to petition for a change in American policy in Geneva. For its part, the Project -- utilizing its well-developed skills and contacts with editorial writers at newspapers such as The New York Times, The Washington Post and The Boston Globe -- provided such media outlets and many others, through fax and phone, with credible and current information and analysis on the human rights situation in East Timor, sparking a number of editorials and feature articles. Well-placed sources in Geneva stated privately that this media effort helped reverse US policy to one of support for a strong United Nations Human Rights Commission resolution on the East Timor matter. A well-placed Clinton Administration official familiar with the work of the Project over the past decade confided that the overall work of the Project had

Page 2, Timor Project 1993-94 report to J. Roderick MacArthur Foundation

played a major role in creating a climate in which such a policy reversal could take place.

As 1993 progressed, an unprecedented opportunity arose to expand the Project's access to the kind of precise information that is difficult to obtain in the atmosphere of terror that East Timor continues to be. Through longstanding contacts, The Project arranged a private visit to the United States in June by Carlos Ximenes Belo, the Roman Catholic Bishop of East Timor, who has become an internationally-recognized symbol of the quest for human rights and freedom in East Timor, but who has been isolated from the outside world by the circumstances that have governed East Timor since he took up his post in 1983. (See attached New York Times profile.) Because of his position, he is able, as no one else, to raise human rights concerns consistently. (Bishop Belo has been nominated for the 1994 Nobel Peace Prize by Members of Parliament from Sweden, Japan and the US Congress.) Bishop Belo visited New York, where the Project arranged an extensive private session with officials from the United Nations, major church denominations, Asia Watch and The New York Times. Similar sessions were arranged in Washington, with meetings with top officials at the White House, State Department and Congress, some of which were designed to arrange protection for Bishop Belo and other human rights monitors in the event of later difficulties. Bishop Belo also visited San Francisco and other venues.

One result of the Belo visit was the creation of a system of information distribution from East Timor to the United States, translated and disseminated by the Project by fax and other means, that has had the effect of alerting well-placed institutions to abuses almost instantaneously. Thus, in October 1993, after receiving a number of alarming communications from Bishop Belo and others, Project Chairman Paul Moore Jr. arranged meetings with high-level State Department and Congressional officials to alert them to this disturbing turn of events. Some experts believe this new system, which has required a higher level of activity on the part of the Project, has had the effect of ameliorating abuses. It could have an appreciable impact on the situation in the period ahead.

Shortly after the Belo visit, President Clinton travelled to Tokyo for the G-7 summit in July 1993. Clinton met with Indonesian President Suharto, who attended the pre-summit meetings. After receiving an appeal in a letter from a bipartisan group of 43 United States Senators, Clinton raised the issue of human rights in East Timor with Suharto, as reported by the Financial Times of London and in a strong editorial in The Washington Post. The Project drafted the Senate letter and did extensive press work in preparation for this event, which drew worldwide attention and helped create an atmosphere in which human rights in East Timor was placed on the international agenda.

Page 3, Timor Project 1993-94 report to J. Roderick MacArthur Foundation

In August 1993, the Project helped coordinate extensive briefings and provided materials for two groups of Congressional aides who visited East Timor in early September. Because of the close ties forged with Bishop Belo, the Project was able to arrange sessions with Bishop Belo and the visiting Congressional staff, at which they received information on the human rights situations that otherwise would not have been available to them. This, in turn, helped create a degree of longer term concern based on first-hand experience that will add to the considerable existing Congressional pressure for human rights observance on East Timor.

In November 1993, President Clinton once again met with Indonesian President Suharto, this time in Seattle, Washington at the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation summit. The Project drafted Senate and House letters to Clinton on the East Timor matter signed by 37 US senators and 101 US representatives. Weeks before the Seattle meeting, The New York Times weighed in with a tough editorial -- its third one in 1993 -- on East Timor and called on the Clinton Administration to follow up on its earlier expressions of concern about human rights in East Timor. Once again, the Project carried out extensive distributions of printed and faxed material for Congress, the news media and others on this occasion.

In 1993-94 the Project also worked closely with filmmaker John Pilger, whose powerful "Death of a Nation: The Timor Conspiracy," appeared on national television in Great Britain on February 22, 1994. The Project worked to ensure that this film project -- which has stimulated international discussion on issues of human rights in East Timor -- would be completed with a minimum of factual problems.

A coda to this film project and to the year: word came just before the release of the new film in London that an outspoken Catholic priest and human rights monitor who had apparently spoken openly with the filmmakers, Father Domingos Soares, had been ordered by the Indonesian military to report for interrogation. The Project knew from the history of recent years that Father Soares was in grave danger, given the fact that another priest had had a nervous breakdown after rough interrogation in the wake of the 1991 massacre.

Therefore, the Project quickly activated the "early Warning" system it described in its 1992 proposal to the J. Roderick MacArthur Foundation, setting in motion inquiries into Father Soares' well-being on the part of a wide range of well-placed individuals from major institutions. Within days, the Project was informed by East Timorese dignitaries that Father Soares had been released unharmed. The East Timorese dignitaries said they had knowledge that it was protests generated by the

Page 4, Timor Project 1993-94 report to J. Roderick MacArthur Foundation

Project that had accomplished this. The release of Father Soares served as a much-needed symbol of the measure of protection the East Timorese have been able to muster at times in their long struggle for human rights in East Timor. And it has been demonstrated that providing timely information can make a difference.

The \$20,000 grant from the J. Roderick MacArthur Foundation was utilized in the following manner:

1. Partial 1993 Research consultancy for Project Director Arnold Kohen:
\$15,000
2. Partial costs of February 1993 visit of Project Director Arnold Kohen to United Nations Human Rights Commission in Geneva and to consult with human rights and humanitarian organizations in London:
\$1,000
3. Partial travel costs associated with the private human rights visit of Bishop Carlos Ximenes Belo to the United States in June 1993: \$1,000
4. Partial costs of telefax and telephone for dissemination of information on human rights in East Timor for activities associated with the United Nations Human Rights Commission meetings in Geneva in February and March 1993; the G-7 meeting in Tokyo, June-July 1993; the APEC meeting in Seattle, October-November 1993; distribution of information provided by Bishop Belo and other East Timorese sources:
\$1,500
5. Partial cost of printing, postage and shipping for costs associated with the events outlined in #3: \$1,500

TOTAL: \$20,000

↓R

March 16, 1994

for Sidney Jones-----5 pages
Asia Watch

Dear Sidney,

I feel guilty taking up your time with the attached at such a busy time for you but I really want your input before I finalize the report. Any suggestions for changes, modifications, etc, would be most welcome. I will plan on seeing you at the Washington office after 5 PM on Thursday.

Thanks very much,



TO: MEMBERS OF THE PRESS, July 3, 1993
FROM: Estrellita Jones, Government Program Officer for Asia
RE: U.S. Senators call for President Clinton to raise human rights in East Timor with President Suharto of Indonesia in Tokyo.

Next week President Clinton will be in Tokyo for a meeting of the G-7 nations. President Suharto of Indonesia will meet individually with G-7 leaders before the formal G-7 meetings get underway. Public reports indicate that President Clinton will meet with Suharto at the U.S. Embassy in Tokyo on the morning of July 7.

The upcoming meeting between Presidents Clinton and Suharto is the first opportunity for the United States, after the recently-concluded World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna, to demonstrate its commitment to including human rights on the agenda of important meetings between world leaders. Suharto is currently chairman of the Movement of Non-Aligned Nations.

Forty-three United States Senators have sent a letter to President Clinton, asking him to raise concerns about continuing human rights violations in East Timor, which was invaded and occupied by Indonesian forces in 1975, during his Tokyo meeting with President Suharto.

For many years Amnesty International has been deeply concerned over the human rights situation in East Timor. This concern has heightened in recent months. On Nov. 20, 1992, East Timor's resistance leader since 1979, Xanana Gusmao, was arrested and held incommunicado. Many others were detained at the same time and are believed to have been subjected to torture or other forms of abuse. After a blatantly unfair trial in which he was prevented by the judge from reading more than two pages of an outspoken defense statement, Gusmao was sentenced to life in prison on May 21, 1993. Subsequent reports indicate that he may have been severely beaten and subjected to other forms of abuse because he dared to criticize Indonesian authorities in his defense statement. Amnesty International fears for the well-being of Gusmao as well as other East Timorese prisoners held in East Timor and Indonesia proper who have had little or no access to independent observers.

Indonesia's human rights problems are by no means confined to East Timor. Similar patterns of repression have been documented in other regions of the Indonesian archipelago. For example, in Ache, where an armed secessionist movement has been active since early 1989, an estimated 2000 civilians, including children and the very elderly, have been unlawfully killed, sometimes in public executions. Torture, detention of prisoners of conscience and political prisoners, as well as unfair trials are routine throughout Indonesia.

Members of the news media might ask President Clinton if he plans to raise East Timor and other human rights issues with Suharto. As a follow-up, the news media might inquire after the Suharto meeting as to what was said.

Amnesty International is an independent worldwide movement working impartially for the release of all prisoners of conscience, fair and prompt trials for political prisoners and an end to torture and executions. It is funded by donations from its members and supporters throughout the world.

CHAIR, BOARD OF DIRECTORS
Rick Halperin

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
John G. Healey

DIRECTOR, WASHINGTON OFFICE
James O'Dea

DIRECTOR, CAMPAIGN UNIT
Jack Rendler

SUMMARY FINANCIAL REPORT ON OXFAM'S 1993-94 Grant

I. Grant in Nov. 1994 of US \$22,500

A. Partial Transport Costs, International Travel for Meetings and Research:

Roundtrip flight and ground transport, London--Washington, Project Director, for consultations with British development agencies and humanitarian organizations, April 1995, US \$775

Project share of Belo visit to Europe and the U.S., May-June-July 1995, \$6429-special investigative visit to East Timor, June--July 1994, US \$1,375

Partial cost of special meetings with senior East Timorese church officials to discuss practical means of providing development assistance to East Timor, July 1994 US \$973

Roundtrip flight and ground transport, June 1994 Project Director, London-- Washington, for meetings with British development and humanitarian agencies, US \$860; with additional flights and ground transport to Brussels, Belfast, Dublin and Strasbourg for consultations EuroParl, CIDSE, etc meetings at United Nations Human Rights Commission, plus development and humanitarian agencies: US \$1,152

TOTAL: US \$5,135

B. INTERNATIONAL MEETINGS, Partial lodging and per diem expenses. Dec. 1993, 8 days, US \$768; June 1994-- 19 days, US \$1,483.

TOTAL: US \$2,251

C. Partial cost of research and preparation time for each of two overseas visits by Project Director (three weeks each) at US \$500 per visit: US \$3,000. Four weeks research and preparation time to assist investigative visit to East Timor and liaison with Church figures there: US \$2,000. Six additional weeks of research and preparation time in connection with United Nations Human Rights Commission meeting in Geneva in February-March 1994 and dissemination of Timorese church information: US \$3,000. TOTAL: US \$8,000

D. Partial cost of actual time spent on two overseas visits by Project Director (total of four weeks): TOTAL: US \$2,000

E. Partial Cost of preparation and meeting time spent in connection with July--August 1994 meetings with senior Timorese church figure, four weeks: US \$2,000

G. Partial telephone and telefax in connection with preparation for overseas meetings, research regarding UN Human Rights Commission meeting, and "quality of aid" evaluations: US \$616

H. Partial research costs on "Quality of aid" evaluations, five weeks, US \$2,500



ACTION ACTION ALERT

USCC Department of Social Justice and World Peace
3211 Fourth Street N.E., Washington, DC 20017-1194
Tel: (202) 541-3180 Fax: (202) 541-3339

EAST TIMOR

BACKGROUND: Nearly two years after Indonesian soldiers opened fire on hundreds of peaceful marchers in Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili, East Timor, killing from 150 to 250 innocent people, harsh repression continues in this Indonesian-occupied territory. In a communication in September 1993, Bishop Carlos Ximenes Belo of Dili said dozens of young people who had tried to hold a demonstration (but had not actually done so) during the early September visit of a staff delegation from the US House of Representatives "were barbarously beaten and tortured." Bishop Belo concluded: "I ask you...to contact members of Congress so that they will continue to pressure Indonesia to withdraw its troops from East Timor and give more freedom to the people...As you can see, we are living in an environment of terror and pressure."

The Clinton Administration has taken some steps to address the situation in East Timor, the largely Catholic former Portuguese colony whose population has been decimated since the Indonesian invasion in 1975. In July, during the G-7 meeting in Tokyo, President Clinton raised the issue of human rights in East Timor with Indonesian President Suharto. In September, Secretary of State Christopher provided US encouragement for the UN-sponsored discussions between Indonesia and Portugal concerning the political status of East Timor.

USCC POSITION: On several occasions, the Conference has denounced Indonesian human rights violations in East Timor, supported a cut-off of US military training for Indonesia, and urged continuation of the UN discussions, which the Holy See has also encouraged.

ACTION REQUESTED: Around November 19-20, President Clinton and other high-level US officials will meet with Indonesian President Suharto during the Asia Pacific Economic Conference summit in Seattle, Washington. A Senate letter, initiated by Senators Pell, Feingold and Durenberger to President Clinton is presently circulating in the US Senate, urging him to press US concern over human rights abuses, an end to harassment of East Timor's Catholic Church, and the need for steps that might lead to reconciliation and a peaceful UN-sponsored settlement of the East Timor conflict. A similar letter, initiated by Representatives Hall, Machtley, Lantos and Porter, is also circulating in the House.

Please call or fax your Senators and Representatives, urging them to co-sign the letter. The deadline is Friday, November 12.

For further information, call Tom Quigley: (202) 541-3198

10/93

DRAFT REPORT FROM THE TIMOR PROJECT TO THE J. RODERICK MACARTHUR
FOUNDATION

HIGHLIGHTS OF 1993-1994

Summary: The Timor Project continued to maintain close contact with editorial writers and reporters at major newspapers and broadcast media in the United States and abroad and continued to stimulate continuing concern within and research assistance to Congress. The Project significantly expanded its access to and dissemination of credible information on the current human rights situation in East Timor, providing significant assistance to a host of international human rights organizations and other major institutions. These combined efforts appear to have had a concrete impact on the situation in 1993-1994.

The Timor Project's first major challenge in 1993 came early in the year with the February-March meeting of the United Nations Human Rights Commission in Geneva, part of which Project Director Arnold Kohen attended to disseminate information and assess the situation there. (Prior to visiting Geneva, consultations were held with major human rights and humanitarian organizations in London.) Initially the United States planned to stick with the policy of the Bush Administration, which was to downplay human rights violations and oppose resolutions critical of the Indonesian government's record in East Timor. A variety of human rights and church groups combined to petition for a change in American policy in Geneva. For its part, the Project -- utilizing its well-developed skills and contacts with editorial writers at newspapers such as The New York Times, The Washington Post and The Boston Globe -- provided such media outlets and many others, through fax and phone, with credible and current information and analysis on the human rights situation in East Timor, sparking a number of editorials and feature articles. Well-placed sources in Geneva stated privately that this media effort helped reverse US policy to one of support for a strong United Nations Human Rights Commission resolution on the East Timor matter. A well-placed Clinton Administration official familiar with the work of the Project over the past decade confided that the overall work of the Project had played a major role in creating a climate in which such a policy reversal could take place.

As 1993 progressed, an unprecedented opportunity arose to expand the Project's access to the kind of precise information that is difficult to obtain in the atmosphere of terror that East Timor continues to be. Through longstanding contacts, The Project arranged a private visit to the United States in June by Carlos Ximenes Belo, the Roman Catholic Bishop of East Timor, who has become an internationally-recognized symbol of the quest for human rights and freedom in East Timor, but who has been isolated

from the outside world by the circumstances that have governed East Timor since Belo took up his post in 1983. (See attached New York Times profile.) Because of his position, he is able, as no one else, to raise human rights concerns consistently. (Bishop Belo has been nominated for the 1994 Nobel Peace Prize by Members of Parliament from Sweden, Japan and the US Congress.) Bishop Belo visited New York, where the Project arranged an extensive private session with officials from the United Nations, major church denominations, Asia Watch and The New York Times. Similar sessions were arranged in Washington, with meetings with top officials at the White House, State Department and Congress, some of which were designed to arrange protection for Bishop Belo and other human rights monitors in the event of later difficulties. Bishop Belo also visited San Francisco and other venues.

One result of the Belo visit was the creation of a system of information distribution from East Timor to the United States, translated and disseminated by the Project by fax and other means, that has had the effect of alerting well-placed institutions to abuses almost instantaneously. Thus, in October 1993, after receiving a number of alarming communications from Bishop Belo and others, Project Chairman Paul Moore Jr. arranged meetings with high-level State Department and Congressional officials to alert them to this disturbing turn of events. Some experts believe this new system, which has required a higher level of activity on the part of the Project, has had the effect of ameliorating abuses. It could have an appreciable impact on the situation in the period ahead.

Shortly after the Belo visit, President Clinton travelled to Tokyo for the G-7 summit in July 1993. Clinton met with Indonesian President Suharto, who attended the pre-summit meetings. After receiving an appeal in a letter from a bipartisan group of 43 United States Senators, Clinton raised the issue of human rights in East Timor with Suharto, as reported by the Financial Times of London and in a strong editorial in The Washington Post. The Project drafted the Senate letter and did extensive press work in preparation for this event, which drew worldwide attention and helped create an atmosphere in which human rights in East Timor was placed on the international agenda.

In August 1993, the Project helped coordinate extensive briefings and provided materials for two groups of Congressional aides who visited East Timor in early September. Because of the close ties forged with Bishop Belo, the Project was able to arrange sessions with Bishop Belo and the visiting Congressional staff, at which they received information on the human rights situations that otherwise would not have been available to them. This, in turn, helped create a degree of longer term concern based on first-hand experience that will add to the considerable existing Congressional pressure for human rights observance on East Timor.

In November 1993, President Clinton once again met with Indonesian President Suharto, this time in Seattle, Washington at the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation summit. The Project drafted Senate and House letters to Clinton on the East Timor matter signed by 37 US senators and 101 US representatives. Weeks before the Seattle meeting, The New York Times weighed in with a tough editorial -- its third one in 1993 -- on East Timor and called on the Clinton Administration to follow up on its earlier expressions of concern about human rights in East Timor. Once again, the Project carried out extensive distributions of printed and faxed material for Congress, the news media and others on this occasion.

In 1993-94 the Project also worked closely with filmmaker John Pilger, whose powerful "Death of a Nation: The Timor Conspiracy," appeared on national television in Great Britain on February 22, 1994. The Project worked to ensure that this film project -- which has stimulated international discussion on issues of human rights in East Timor -- would be completed with a minimum of factual problems.

A coda to this film project and to the year: word came just before the release of the new film in London that an outspoken Catholic priest and human rights monitor who had apparently spoken openly with the filmmakers, Father Domingos Soares, had been ordered by the Indonesian military to report for interrogation. The Project knew from the history of recent years that Father Soares was in grave danger, given the fact that another priest had had a nervous breakdown after rough interrogation in the wake of the 1991 massacre.

Therefore, the Project quickly activated the "early Warning" system it described in its 1992 proposal to the J. Roderick MacArthur Foundation, setting in motion inquiries into Father Soares' well-being on the part of a wide range of well-placed individuals from major institutions. Within days, the Project was informed by East Timorese dignitaries that Father Soares had been released unharmed. The East Timorese dignitaries said they had knowledge that it was protests generated by the Project that had accomplished this. The release of Father Soares served as a much-needed symbol of the measure of protection the East Timorese have been able to muster at times in their long struggle for human rights in East Timor. And it has been demonstrated that providing timely information can make a difference.

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Page 2

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FOR Sidney Jones

The \$20,000 grant from the J. Roderick MacArthur Foundation was utilized in the following manner:

1. Partial 1993 Research consultancy for Project Director Arnold Kohen:

\$15,000

2. Partial costs of February 1993 visit of Project Director Arnold Kohen to United Nations Human Rights Commission in Geneva and to consult with human rights and humanitarian organizations in London: \$1,000

3. Partial travel costs associated with the private human rights visit of Bishop Carlos Ximenes Belo to the United States in June 1993: \$1,000

4. Partial costs of telefax and telephone for dissemination of information on human rights in East Timor for activities associated with the United Nations Human Rights Commission meetings in Geneva in February and March 1993; the G-7 meeting in Tokyo, June-July 1993; the APEC meeting in Seattle, October-November 1993; distribution of information provided by Bishop Belo and other East Timorese sources: \$1,500

5. Partial cost of printing, postage and shipping for costs associated with the events outlined in #3: \$1,500

TOTAL: \$20,000

November 13, 1992

1991-1992 REPORT AND 1992-93 PROPOSAL TO CAFOD
Summary Analysis/Proposal for 1993 Activities

The crisis in East Timor, dating from the Nov. 12, 1991 massacre of at least 100 unarmed civilians at the Santa Cruz Cemetery in Dili, and the subsequent repression, has created extraordinary challenges for the East Timor Research Project. The Project has responded with a wide range of activity amongst the United States Congress, the international news media, international human rights and humanitarian and church organizations. A year after the Nov. 12 massacre, the situation remains extremely tense. At the same time, the possibilities (according to authoritative diplomatic sources and recognized experts) for achieving a solution to the Timor tragedy are greater than at any time since Indonesia invaded the territory in 1975, especially in view of the election of a new American president. Since the election, the demands on the Project have increased: there is a growing need for reliable analyses and information to supply the incoming Administration has increased. (Only today, a prominent columnist for the New York Times who has been acquainted with the Project listed East Timor as one of three pressing foreign policy issues that the Clinton Administration should address).

Coupled with this is both the urgent need for international humanitarian aid for East Timor and human exchanges between outsiders of good will and the church and people of the territory. Strong international pressure on questions of human rights, as well as the question of international access to the territory, are issues of the utmost importance at this time and will remain so in the foreseeable future. The Project continues to play a key role in generating such pressure. Authoritative church sources in East Timor have emphasized time and again -- most recently within the past few days -- that actions taken in the United States are of the utmost importance to the outcome of the situation in both the short and longterm.

The East Timor Research Project, formed as a committee of experts more than 16 years ago, has played a crucial behind-the-scenes role in informing the US Congress, the news media, international human rights, humanitarian and church organizations during this period of crisis. Drawing upon its longtime expertise and experience and contacts within the East Timorese church and amongst a wide range of experts internationally, the Project has helped to coordinate the activities of a wide range of participants in an effort to bring pressure to bear to ameliorate the unfolding crisis. The next year

will be of even greater importance, especially given the new Administration in Washington and the shifting, uncertain spotlight of international attention. The Project will also be working closely with international church and development organizations to help facilitate visits and assistance to East Timor at this crucial hour. The Project's longtime expertise and contacts continue to play an important role in arranging such visits and assistance.

The continued support of CAFOD for the Project's activities is urgently needed. A grant in the amount of 15,000 Pounds Sterling for 1993 would be of enormous importance in assisting our activities at this crucial hour.

Summary of 1991-92 Activities

Here is a brief summary of the activities carried out or otherwise facilitated by the Project over the past year:

In the U.S. Congress: Nov. 1991, a letter to President Bush signed by a majority of US Senators calling for urgent action on human rights and self-determination for East Timor; separate resolutions in the US House and Senate on these matters. Nov. 1991 -- Jan. 1992, creation of informal working group to monitor continuing human rights violations in East Timor, which helped to generate early responses to official Indonesian report on Nov. 12 massacre and some measure of protection for East Timorese clergy and civilians under threat; Feb. 1992, extensive briefing for wide range of US Senators and Representatives in preparation for Washington visit of Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas: Indonesian Embassy sources and Alatas himself later let it be known that they were struck by the tough questioning and informed nature of Congressional comments during the Alatas visit in late February. January through April 1992, two separate hearings on East Timor in US Senate in February and March; activities of informal working group in US House of Representatives include meetings to draft legislation aimed at cutting off US military training to Indonesia as well as cutting off other forms of aid unless there is an authentic solution to the Timor problem in line with the principles of self-determination. May 1992, Introduction of Congressional amendment by Rep. Tony Hall, Democrat of Ohio, calling for a cut-off of all forms of US aid to Indonesia unless all human rights violation cease and an authentic act of self-determination under United Nations auspices takes place. June 25, 1992: The US House of Representatives votes unanimously to cut off US military training (known as IMET) to the Indonesian Armed Forces. July-August 1992, extensive work in US Senate to get that body to take similar action on IMET (the vote in the Senate will take place in September); June-July-August 1992: a joint US Congress-Japanese Diet letter is circulated in Washington and Tokyo; the letter was ultimately sent to the Secretary General of the United Nations in late September 1992, to coincide with the visit to the United

Nations of Indonesian President Suharto. In early October, a US Congressional conference committee agrees to stick with the decision taken by the US House of Representatives in late June, namely to cut off US military training for Indonesian forces. This marks the first time since 1975 that US aid to Indonesia was cut because of the Timor situation. July-October 1992, several bipartisan US Senate letters are sent to the US Secretary of State, Indonesian President Suharto, and others, dealing with current problems in East Timor. Congressional press campaign was carried out in conjunction with the Project to coincide with anniversary of Nov. 12 massacre. This campaign is aimed at editorial writers for major newspapers as well as television producers in an effort to stimulate anniversary stories marking the Nov. 12 massacre.

News media: placement of numerous editorials in major newspapers in North America and elsewhere, including editorials in New York Times and Boston Globe in period surrounding the visit of Indonesian President Suharto to the United Nations in September. Other editorials were placed in these newspapers and The Washington Post, The Economist and other papers during the course of the year. Facilitation of television coverage and follow-up investigations, such as a major report on ABC News, USA, which appeared in September 1992 in the US, Japan, Portugal, Malaysia and elsewhere; The Project participated in a report by German television that will soon appear. Several other TV investigations remain in progress, aimed at highlighting the need to change American policy in the wake of the November election results.

Information distribution: the Project regularly distributes news received from authoritative church sources in East Timor, to a wide variety of news media, members of Congress, human rights, humanitarian and church organizations.

General Activity: Because of its longtime experience and expertise and contacts within East Timor, the Project has also been asked to play an advisory role (In addition to the range of institutions cited above), to many other groups and individuals who have become concerned over the Timor situation in the wake of the Nov. 12 massacre. As noted, the Project plays a key role in coordinating the activities of major international human rights, humanitarian and church organizations.

Reebok Human Rights Award: Special mention should be made of this award, which will be presented on December 9, 1992 in Boston (in absentia) to Fernando de Araujo, a 26-year-old East Timorese student who was arrested after the Nov. 12 massacre and sentenced to 9 years in prison for wholly non-violent activities. In his personal capacity as a journalist, Project Director Arnold Kohen

Page 4, ETRP to CAFOD

nominated Fernando for this award, which carries with it a US \$25,000 prize for the recipient.

Post-election Policy Papers -- The Project has been coordinating informational efforts by church organizations and Congressional offices in an effort to brief the transition team of the new Clinton Administration.

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

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

Jan. 27, 1993

for Hilary Coulby
Asia Desk

Dear Hilary,

Thanks for your note. Just take extra special care of yourself at this time, etc. Hopefully I will see you on 4th Feb., but if this doesn't work out, it will be later on.

With warm regards,

Love,

Arnold

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

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

Jan. 19, 1993

for Sally J.
Oxfam
Asia Desk

Dear Sally,

Thanks for your message the other day. Please send my good wishes to Hilary.

I will probably be in Oxford for a day or so the week of Feb. 1. If Hilary is around I would love to see her for lunch. If not I will drop in anyway to say hello. If Tricia Feeney is there that week, would she be available for lunch, perhaps on Thursday Feb. 4?

With best wishes,

Arnold

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

Tel: 202 363 1649
Fax: 202 363 3658

Jan. 19, 1993

for Sergio Regazzoni
CCFD

Dear Sergio,

There is a good chance that I will be visiting Paris around February 10 or 11. (Because of the transition in Washington, my trip abroad will be all too brief.) Would you be available to meet with me at that time? At lunch, perhaps? I would like to bring you up to date on what has been happening.

If you could inform me about your availability as soon as possible, I would be most grateful.

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

Jan. 26, 1993

for Jose Ramos Horta

Dear Jose,

I am thinking of visiting Geneva for a few days, from Feb. 8--10 or 11. Will you be there at that time? I need to discuss a number of things with you at length and this seems like the best immediate opportunity.

Second, in your honest opinion, is the Gulbenkian idea you mentioned in December worth pursuing? I have a number of policy papers to do over the next few days before I leave but I can make time to do an informative draft proposal for your comments, to show you in Geneva, for the Gulbenkian for the project I mentioned, but would very much appreciate your view as to whether or not it is worth proceeding with this.

I hope you are well. I look forward to your reply. I leave Washington on 30 January.

Best,
Arnold



The Right Reverend
Paul Moore Jr.

September 26, 1993

The Hon. Walter F. Mondale
Unit 45004, Box 200
APO AP 96337-0001

Dear Fritz:

Congratulations, belatedly, on your appointment. I was delighted to hear about it and excited to know that you will be in such a significant spot.

Brenda and I have been deeply involved in the East Timor situation since we visited the island four years ago representing Asia Watch of Human Rights Watch.

We were shocked at the military occupation,,,soldiers everywhere...at the fear under which the people lived, at the lurid tales of torture, disappearances etc. We have been working with the State Dept, and also with Claiborne Pell, even my cousin Malcolm Wallop in the Senate, and with Tony Hall and others in the House. I have discussed the matter at some length with Peter Tarnoff and with Sate's Human Rights officer, John Shattuck.

As you undoubtedly know, the situation continued to deteriorate over the last few years until the massacre at Santa Cruz Cemetery two years ago. Since then, the situation has been extremely bad. The Indonesians are still arresting people without proper process, using torture, keeping prisoners hidden so that no one knows if they are dead or alive. A friend I came to know there and with whom I have had correspondence on a monthly basis was picked up in July and has not been heard of since.

I am sure you are aware of the historical background: we encouraged the invasion when Pres. Ford and Henry Kissinger were staying with Pre Suharto. American weapons were used. For this reason I feel we have a special responsibility to pressure the Indonesians toward a policy of full Human Rights for the Est Timorese and eventually a referendum regarding their governance.

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



The Right Reverend
Paul Moore Jr.

The reason I write you about this is that Japan has the greatest financial and commercial involvement with Indonesia. I understand the new administration in Tokyo is sympathetic. If Japan and the United States could pull together on this, I believe the situation could be turned around. I hope you will use your good offices to this end.

Brenda and I envy you and Joan this adventure. Good luck and God bless you,

Sincerely,

Paul Moore, Jr.

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

Jan. 4, 1993

for Frank Monahan (7) Pages

Dear Frank,

Here are a few items that have appeared in the press recently, including a paragraph in Mary McGrory's column yesterday.

I'll look forward to hearing from you and seeing you soon.

Best,

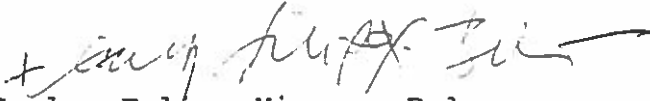
Arnold

MESSAGE TO CHURCH AND HUMANITARIAN AGENCIES
AND PERSONS OF GOOD WILL

I am well acquainted with the work of Mr. Arnold Kohen, who is based in the United States in Washington, D.C.

Arnold Kohen has done and continues to do essential work on behalf of the human rights of my suffering people. Utilizing a most responsible perspective firmly grounded in humanitarian concern and realism, Mr. Kohen has played a highly significant role in bringing pertinent information on East Timor's situation to the attention of major institutions and important individuals in the United States and elsewhere. He also works to stimulate appropriate aid to East Timor by humanitarian agencies and church organizations, seeking no financial benefit for himself. I firmly believe that Mr. Kohen's work has been and continues to be of benefit to the people of East Timor. I am also firm in my belief that Mr. Kohen merits the confidence of church and humanitarian agencies, international organizations, and other major institutions.

I am impressed by Mr. Kohen's knowledge, reliability and thoughtful perspectives. His reliability has been demonstrated over time, and believe that he is in an excellent position to render informational and analytical assistance to those who require it. I strongly recommend that those in need of such assistance consult regularly with Mr. Kohen.


Carlos Felipe Ximenes Belo
Bishop of East Timor

June 1993

USKUP ADMINISTRATOR APOSTOLIK KEUSKUPAN DILI-TIMOR
DIOCESE DE DILI-TIMOR ORIENTAL

Alamat Kediaman : Uskupan Lecidere (Bidau) — (P.O.Box) Kotak Pos 1.250 — Dili 88.012 — Tel 21 331
Alamat Kantor : CÂMARA ECLESIASTICA, Jl. Gov. Alves Aldeia, 25 DILI 88 001—Tel. 21665

CURRICULUM VITAE

Name : Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo, Mgr

Parents : Domingos Baptista Filipe (Father)
Ermelinda Baptista Filipe (Mother)

D.O.B. : Baucau - East Timor, February 3, 1948

Study Background : Elementary School in Baucau and Ossu
Junior and Senior High Seminary in Dare
(1963 - 1974)
Philosophy and Theology- Lisboa - Portugal
(1968 - 1974)
Pastoral Orientation Year in East Timor
(1975)
Licentiate on Theology - in Rome
(1979 - 1981)

Priesthood : Ordained as priest on July 26, 1981

Elected as Apostolic Administrator of Dili
Diocese in 1983

Consecrated as Bishop of Dili Diocese
on June 19, 1988

Address : (Home) Keuskupan Lecidere (Bidau)
P.O. Box 1250 - Dili 88012
Phone : 62-390-21331

(Office) Camara Ecclesiastica
Jl. Gov. Alves Aldeia 25
Dili 88001
Phone : 62-390-21331

I guarantee the above information is the truth.

Dili, June 5th, 1993

Sincerely yours,


(Mgr. Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo)

July 1993

PROPOSAL FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF NEW FACILITIES FOR THE
SEMINARY OF OUR LADY OF FATIMA DIOCESE OF DILI, EAST TIMOR

submitted by Bishop Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo.

(1) The Seminary of Our Lady of Fatima was bombed and destroyed during the invasion of East Timor by Indonesian troops in 1975. The students were dispersed. Only in 1978 the seminary reopened using the facilities of the Bishop Medeiros school in Lahane. In 1984 some of the former facilities were rebuilt and the seminary started to function regularly.

In 1985, 5 seminarians were sent to the major seminary in Malang, East Java. The number of candidates from the parishes and Catholic elementary schools increased greatly reaching 70 students by 1989. The number of new candidates in 1990 alone was 70. Due to the lack of space and facilities only 25 students were admitted. This has continued to be the maximum number of students the seminary can admit every year.

(2) The pressing need for new facilities is based on:

- a) The lack of Diocesan priests, despite the huge number of candidates;
- b) The Diocese of Dili has about 600,000 Catholics spread out over 28 parishes;
- c) The Diocese has a total of 72 priests. Of these 26 are Diocesan priests, including 22 natives of East Timor and 36 members of religious orders (S.J., S.B.B., S.V.D., O.F.M., C.M.F.);
- d) The number of parishioners per priest is about 15,000.

(3) In view of the political situation of East Timor, the Church is prevented from establishing institutions of higher education with the exception of a seminary. It is therefore of great importance that the new seminary provide educational opportunities for both priest candidates and lay people. Presently in East Timor, the economic power of Muslims and Protestants is providing these groups with easy access to higher education, while Catholics are suffering from marginalization.

(4) Cost estimate.

The proposed facilities will consist of two store buildings for 150 students:

a) classrooms and a laboratory	ca. \$ 500,000.00
b) dormitories and a library	ca. \$ 370,000.00
c) chapel	ca. \$ 80,000.00
d) gymnasium and conference facilities	ca. \$ 200,000.00
e) teachers' residence	ca. \$ 64,000.00
	<hr/>
Total	ca. \$1,114,000.00

The Diocese of Dili kindly requests assistance for this project

TONY P. HALL

THIRD DISTRICT OHIO

COMMITTEES

HOUSE COMMITTEE ON RULES

SUBCOMMITTEE ON RULES OF
THE HOUSE

2284 RAYBURN HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, DC 20515-3503
(202) 225-8485

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501 FEDERAL BUILDING
200 WEST SECOND STREET
DAYTON, OH 45402
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Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515-3503

July 27, 1993

Most Reverend Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo, S.D.B.
Apostolic Administrator of East Timor
Diocese of Dili
Jl. Gov. Alves Aldeia 26
Dili, East Timor

Dear Bishop Belo:

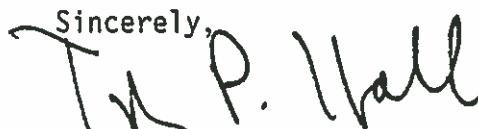
It was indeed an honor for me to meet with you when you were recently in Washington. For many years, I have followed your work for the people of East Timor. You have my ongoing admiration and support.

Please know that you and the Timorese people are not alone and abandoned by the rest of the world. We are in solidarity with you.

I hope that your visit to Washington helped to reveal to you how aware your friends outside of East Timor are about the reality of the situation in East Timor. We monitor what is occurring and continue to press for authentic peace and justice for the people of East Timor and for the resolution of the underlying causes of your suffering.

I look forward to maintaining contact with you, and I hope to visit you in East Timor in the future. Be assured of my prayers and best wishes for you personally and for your people.

Sincerely,



Tony P. Hall
Member of Congress

TPH:msr

Federal News Service

HEARING OF THE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE RE: CONFIRMATION HEARING FOR WARREN CHRISTOPHER AS SECRETARY OF STATE / CHAIRED BY: SEN. CLAYBORNE PELL (D-RI) WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 13, 1993

SEN. PELL: Thank you. Turning to a more human rights situation, and refer to East Timor. Last summer, I tried to visit East Timor with Senator Boren. We were turned down because of the concern about their human rights situation. I was curious what you thought could be done to be of help there, if anything?

MR. CHRISTOPHER: That's one of the longstanding human rights problems. I think that the most we can do is to continue to exert diplomatic pressure in that area to finally try to gain some recognition of the severe human rights problems that are there and have been there for a long time and have been recognized in human rights reports extending back at least to the time when I was in government between 1977 and 1981. But I don't have any magic solution for that problem except to continue to put diplomatic pressure on the parties there who might have the capacity to improve the conditions of people in that very troubled area.

SEN. PELL: I know that I directly asked President Suharto of Indonesia whether Senator Boren and I could go, and he very politely but very firmly said no. I would hope that might change.

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510

July 3, 1993

The attached letter signed by 43 United States Senators regarding the human rights situation in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor was transmitted to President Clinton yesterday, July 2, 1993.

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510

June 30, 1993

The Honorable William J. Clinton
The President
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear President Clinton:

For many years, many members of the United States Senate have been greatly concerned over the tragic situation in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor, which was invaded by Indonesia in 1975 and continues to be the scene of widespread human rights abuses. We hope that you will use the occasion of your meeting with Indonesian President Suharto at the time of the G-7 meeting in Tokyo on July 6, and other high level diplomatic exchanges, to stress American concern over these abuses and the pressing need to have greater access to East Timor for international humanitarian organizations. Additionally, we would urge you to seek the support of our G-7 allies for a lasting settlement under United Nations auspices of the East Timor conflict.

We appreciate the action taken by your Administration at the United Nations Human Rights Commission in Geneva in March, when the United States co-sponsored a resolution which strongly condemned the human rights abuses in East Timor and called for greater U.N. involvement. This resolution sent an appropriate signal to the Government of Indonesia regarding America's interest in this matter, which has received increased attention since Indonesian troops killed more than 100 unarmed people at Santa Cruz cemetery in East Timor in November 1991. The Indonesian action was condemned by the Bush Administration and other democratic nations throughout the world.

We believe that the United States should review its policy on East Timor with an eye toward facilitating serious negotiations at the United Nations that might alter the unacceptable status quo. These negotiations would be in pursuit of the right of self-determination of the East Timorese people, a course of action which the Senate supported in a resolution passed on November 21, 1991. These negotiations would also include East Timorese representatives as well as Indonesia and Portugal, the other diplomatic parties to the conflict. We believe that the United States should work with its allies in Asia and elsewhere to convince Jakarta by diplomatic means that it is not in Indonesia's long term interest to pursue the policies it has followed in East Timor since 1975.

USKUP ADMINISTRATOR APOSTOLIK KEUSKUPAN DILI-TIMOR
DIOCESE DE DILI-TIMOR ORIENTAL

Alamat Kediaman : Uskupan Lecidere (Bidau) — (P. O.Box) Kotak Pos 1.250 — Dili 88.012 — Tel 21 331

Alamat Kantor : CÂMARA ECLESIASTICA, Jl. Gov. Alves Aldeia, 25 DILI 88 001—Tel. 21665

No. 4.517 /UDD/ '93
Inre : Agradecimento
Perihal :
Your Ref. :

Dili, 10 de Julho de 1993

Ex.mo Senhor A.S. Kohen
Senhora Korina Horta
e Menina Maia Horta

Queridos Amigos:

Os meus sinceros e respeitosos cumprimentos.

Gracas a Deus estou de novo em Dili-Timor Oriental (eu não costumo chamar "Timor Leste", porque este termo é da preferência e criação da Fretilim. Como é que estão? A Senhor Korina já voltou do Brasil? Gostou do Barsil? E a menina Maia, como é que está?

Eu por cá estou bem. Cheguei bem a Jakarta. Em Singapore, passei a noite no Aeroporto. Quando apanhei o avião para vir a Dili, em Denpasar-Bali, fui acompanhado do Comandante Militar de Timor. O pior é que quando cheguei ao Aeroporto de Dili, não estava ninguém à minha espera e eu tive de vir no carro do Chefe da Intelgência, aquele comandante que chefiou a captura do Xanana, em Novembro do ano passado. No carro, ele vinha desculpando-se dizendo que ele e os seus homens não tinham interferência nos meus telefonemas. Enfim...

Desde que cheguei fui recebendo os sacerdotes das varias Paróquias. Um deles veio de propósito da parte leste a avisar que na zona de Lautem estão apanhando os jovens, para as interrogações...mas não só interrogações, os militares dão também pancadarias e outras formas de tortura. Dizem que ali vão apanhar mais 70, e em Baucau, 120. Portanto, como veem, a perseguição aos jovens de Timor, não para. Querem destruir a rede clandestina, usando meios de pressão física e psicológica. Outra informação de outro sacerdote, que em Liquiça, levam por diante a islamização, construindo mesquitas, sem o apoio das populações locais. Em Viqueque, distribuem os livros do Coração, obrigando as pessoas, a entrar no Islamismo.

Peco-lhes para alertarem as autoridades americanas sobre estes factos recentes.

Podem mandar-me cartas "inocentes" para a minha direcção de Dili. Agradecia que o Senhor A. Kohen mandasse dizer ao Sr. Jesse Agustin de COODP, de Montreal, para fazer uma assinatura para mim, da revista Católica, de Toronto, o "Catholic Reader".

Antes de terminar tomo a liberdade de agradecer de todo o coração o vosso apoio, durante a minha estadia no USA e Canada. O Senhor A. faria o favor de telefonar ao ABE Barreto, dizendo-lhe que ja me encontrei com os apís dele e com o Tio Padre. Eles mandam muitas saudades.

Rezo por vos, e muitos abraços do vosso amigo



Carlos Filipe X. Belo
Carlos Filipe X. Belo
Administrador Apostolico