

July 4, 1995

**DIOCES OF DILI,
BISHOP OF EAST TIMOR
CARLOS FILIPE XIMENES BELO
S.D.B.**

TEL. 62 390 21331

FAX. 62 390 23184

His Eminence Cardinal Jean Marie Lustiger

Archbishop of Paris

France

I thank Your Eminence for inviting me to concelebrate the Mass at Notre Dame Cathedral.

I am very preoccupied with the question of finding the means to complete the construction of my new seminary in Dili. I hope that Catholics in France can help us in educating new generations of clergy and laypeople in East Timor. This is my first priority.

I also hope that the organizations of solidarity of the Church in France can help the Church in East Timor in making the East Timor situation better known in France, in Europe and in other places.

May I avail myself of this opportunity to present my highest consideration,

+ Carlos F.X. Belo
Episcopal Sec. of Dili

VISIT OF BISHOP CARLOS FILIPE XIMENES BELO TO IRELAND

30th JUNE - 4th JULY 1995

Friday 30th June 1995

20.55 Bishop Belo and Arnie Kohen are met on arrival at Dublin Airport by Padraic Conway, Manager Trócaire and Tom Hyland, East Timor Solidarity Group

Overnight: Royal Marine Hotel

Saturday, 1st July 1995

11.00 Bishop Belo to meet with Bishop Kirby at Royal Marine Hotel

5.15pm Collected from Hotel by Justin Kilcullen, Director Trócaire

6.00pm Concelebrate mass in Pro-Cathedral with Arch-Bishop Connell
Followed by a meeting with the Arch-Bishop. Justin Kilcullen will also attend.
Arnie Kohen will also attend

Urgent: Please confirm that Bishop Belo do Homily.

Dinner with Bishop Belo, Arnie Kohen hosted by Justin Kilcullen
Venue: Royal Marine Hotel

Overnight: Royal Marine Hotel

Sunday, 2nd July 1995

Bishop Belo to meet with Tom Hyland, East Timor Solidarity Group
and possibly sightseeing in Co Wicklow

To be Confirmed

Overnight: Royal Marine Hotel, Dublin

Monday, 3rd July 1995

9.10am Bishop Belo to be collected from Hotel by Justin or Anne

9.30am Meeting with Trócaire Overseas Department - Eamonn Meehan, Acting Head of Department and Fionnuala Gilsonan, Asia Project Officer and Members of the Asia Working Group of Trócaire Projects Sub-Committee

11.00 Meeting with Selected Group i.e Politicians

Trócaire will attend - Eamonn
This needs to be confirmed

Lunch - Where, When and with whom to be confirmed

Depart for Aras

2.45pm Courtesy meeting with President Robinson
Accompanied by Mary Sutton, Head of Education and Organisation Development Department, Trócaire

3.15pm Depart for Belfast from Ashling Hotel with Tom Hyland

Bishop Belo to visit Mairead McGuire, Belfast
Frank McGuinness to liaise

- Visit to Belfast organised by Tom Hyland

Overnight: Belfast

Tuesday, 4th July 1995

Travel from Belfast to Dublin Airport accompanied by Tom Hyland

CARMELITES

GORT MUIRE, BALLINTEER, DUBLIN 16. IRELAND

FAX: (01) 2987221

47076866

NUMBER OF PAGES INCLUDING COVER: 6

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Dear Sergio,

Many thanks for all your

patience + intelligence. I have
no doubt that before long
you will receive recognition
of this!!

I will be in contact
on Monday -

All the best
Arnold

**DIOCES OF DILI,
BISHOP OF EAST TIMOR
CARLOS FILIPE XIMENES BELO
S.D.B.**

TEL. 62 390 21331
FAX. 62 390 23184

Dublin, July 2nd 1995

His Excellency
Mgr. Delaporta
Head of Justice and Peace Commission
Bishops' Conference - Paris - France

His Excellency:

With this I like to manifest my thanks
for receiving me in Paris. Thank you.

I hope that the organisations of solidarity
of Church in France can help the Church
in East Timor in making East Timor situation
better known in France and in Europe.

May I avail this opportunity to present my
high considerations.

In Domino

+ Carlos Filipe X. Belo
Apostolic Administrator of Dili

Arnold S. Kohen and Korinna Horta cordially invite you to an informal reception for

***Msgr. Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo, S.D.B.,
Bishop of East Timor***

***where he will discuss current educational efforts in East Timor,
at the***

***Iron Gate Restaurant
1734 N St., N.W.
Washington, D.C.***

***Friday, June 9, 1995
6.30 - 8.00 p.m.***

R.S.V.P. 301-585 3229

Arnold Kohen
+ Korinna Horta

Notes on a Visit to East Timor, September 1995

The visit coincided with widely reported demonstrations that resulted in a hundred or more arrests of young people in Dili alone.

A variety of independent sources stress that severe beating and torture of detainees is routine. For instance, in the police station next to the main marketplace in Dili, about 30 young people, both male and female, were held from Sept. 8-11, stripped naked, beaten and tortured. A young man who said he had been held there had black-and-blue marks and dried blood on his face.

Others seen by the visitors had head wounds. One observer said many of those detained had facial lacerations and broken teeth. Another said, "Every kind of torture is taking place now. There is no minimum standard of respect for human rights."

Parents of detainees anxious to find their children in prisons or hospitals were given no information about their children after several days of waiting.

Expert analysts in Dili stress that the current disturbances are even more serious than the widely-reported riots that took place at the time of the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation summit in Indonesia last November.

While some reports say the situation has calmed, Bishop Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo said on September 18 that he had fresh reports of after-midnight arrests of young people. Asked about claims by the regional military command that they are open to dialogue with East Timorese young people, as reported in the Jakarta Post of Sept. 16, Bishop Belo said he saw no evidence of this.

The security presence is pervasive. Visitors saw heavily armed elite mobile brigade police units moving in truck after truck in Dili from the night of Sept. 7 on. Numerous truckloads of police were seen on Sept. 8, when tear gas was used to disburse demonstrators in the Becora area. Teargas was also used extensively on Sept. 9.

In addition to police, plainclothes military units armed with machine guns were seen in the back of otherwise empty military trucks near sundown on Sept. 9, the day of the worst troubles when Comoro market was partially set ablaze and tires were burnt throughout the city. On Sept. 10, the town was virtually shut down, but truckloads of police were still in evidence; about an hour before dark, an army truck was observed by the waterfront loaded with uniformed troops, with several (in Dili's steamy heat) wearing ski masks.

Local observers say that military units are often disguised, wearing jogging outfits.

While many news reports have stressed religious and ethnic factors behind the current upheaval, it is clear that these factors are only the tip of the iceberg, as Bishop Belo and other authoritative observers have emphasized.

Observers with experience in East Timor note the overbearing economic dominance of traders and other migrants from Indonesia, coupled with the repressive military and police presence and the weight of the history of the Timor tragedy over the past 20 years. These combined factors, which have led to the social and economic marginalization of a majority of East Timorese in addition to physical repression, are seen as central to the current problems and must be taken into account. "The true perspective on the events of the past days," said one expert observer in Dili, "is that the East Timorese people do not accept the status quo" of the Indonesian occupation.

The issue of the Indonesian migrants was repeatedly underscored. One observer likened it to a "second invasion" of East Timor and said that the recent disturbances were "like an organic reaction to something foreign entering the body." The seriousness of this aspect of the situation was stressed again and again and it was underscored that international pressure must be exerted to stop the entry of transmigrants into East Timor.

At the same time, several local experts say that elements within the Indonesian military and security apparatus have played a central role in exploiting the widely reported religious incidents, which are said to stem from an insulting remark about the Virgin Mary made by a government official in the town of Maliana in early September.

There has been public rhetoric on the part of the Indonesian military in appealing for calm and tolerance. But authoritative sources say government officials have been printing and distributing leaflets throughout East Timor that recount the Maliana insult to the Virgin Mary. This is seen as tantamount to pouring oil on a fire.

Some experts observers say the official motive in provoking such incidents is that the incidents justify the continuing Indonesian military presence and give security forces the excuse they need to crack down on the opposition. Indeed, after the disturbances of Sept. 8-11, it was reliably reported that 2,000 fresh Indonesian troops were flown in from Surabaya.

Authoritative observers give little credence to widely-reported claims of troop withdrawals by the Indonesians, saying that the battalions allegedly being withdrawn are actually being moved from Dili to other parts of East Timor, or they are merely being replaced by other troops.

September 18, 1995

FURTHER REPORT ON SEPTEMBER 1995 VISIT

Public Health Situation of East Timorese People

According to a variety of Church and secular sources in East Timor, as much as 80% of the East Timorese population in the territory's capital city, Dili, is suffering from tuberculosis. The same Church sources view the widespread presence of disease and lack of medical services as part of a strategy by the territory's occupiers to slowly annihilate East Timor's native population.

During an eight day visit to East Timor by independent witnesses in September 1995, circumstantial evidence and statements by Church and other sources in different parts of the territory confirmed the existence of a massive public health problem as one of several threats to the survival of the East Timorese people. The visit took place at the invitation of East Timor's Roman Catholic Bishop, Msgr. Carlos Ximenes Filipe Belo and included field visits to Baucau, Fatumaca, Venilale, Aileu, Maubisse and Ermera, as well as some smaller villages.

(1) Lack of medicine

The problem of tuberculosis, malaria and other diseases is not confined to Dili and other urban areas. It is widespread throughout the territory because of the breakdown of traditional production systems and the increasing poverty and malnutrition that have followed. Polyclinics run by religious orders appear to be the only health care facilities East Timorese people are willing to seek out. These services have limited means and can only serve a very small part of the population. The lack of medicine - particularly for tuberculosis - is a major problem. Indonesian customs services have confiscated medicines brought into the country for use by the polyclinics. The argument made by the Indonesian authorities is that importation of medicine (and food and clothing) undermines Indonesia's quest for self-sufficiency in these areas. While the "protection of infant industries" argument may make perfect sense in some situations, the difficult circumstances in East Timor call for effective and immediate assistance that Indonesia cannot or is not willing to provide.

Medicines smuggled into the country or purchased on the black market can only serve a very small number of sick people.

(2) Mistrust of Indonesian-run hospitals and health facilities

It has been known for some time that East Timorese people are extremely reluctant to visit Indonesian hospitals and clinics. This was confirmed by many sources during the visit. Tellingly, we witnessed an accident on a mountain road not far from Dili. An empty Indonesian military truck with just a few plain-clothed, machine-gun toting soldiers in the back crashed into a motorbike. The motorbike driver, a worker for a local Church, was tormented by pain and afraid of a broken back but absolutely refused to be taken to any of the hospitals in Dili. He preferred to pretend he was dying until the military truck drove off. Only then did he agree to allow the vehicle being used by Project to take him to a polyclinic run by religious sisters.

In another incident, a young woman student who was severely injured by Indonesian elite mobile brigades during the recent protests, managed to escape to the grounds of the offices of the International Committee of the Red Cross in Dili. Her injuries, including a hole in her upper arm from some kind of unidentifiable bullet were so severe, that she could not be treated by the ICRC nurse. For the longest time she refused to be taken to the hospital until promised that she would be accompanied by ICRC personnel at all stages of her hospital visit and would not remain there by herself.

(3) Women and children

While it may be difficult to obtain accurate statistical data on infant and child mortality in East Timor, visits to cemeteries both in Dili and other towns reveal that most fresh graves are of small children. According to Church sources infants die in great numbers.

Overworked, undernourished and fearful East Timorese mothers are reluctant to get any kind of pre-natal care from Indonesian facilities. Their experience is one of being yelled at and being asked questions by Indonesian medical personnel about why they are having another child. They are also afraid of sterilization or other procedures being performed on them against their will. It is reported that many women have gotten intra-uterine devices (IUDs) implanted in them for birth control without being told or without given the knowledge about what this implies. IUDs in a woman's body need to be monitored and should only be removed by physicians.

According to sources in East Timor's countryside, many women have bled to death as a result of trying to remove the IUDs by themselves.

(4) Crowded urban conditions

With the great influx of migrants into East Timor, Dili has become a crowded town without having had the benefit of urban planning and nor the creation of physical and social infrastructure to accommodate its growth. The arrival of people from Java, Sulawesi and other parts of Indonesia has forced the East Timorese into ever more marginal and more crowded urban areas. Open sewers and uncollected garbage are a common sight throughout Dili and the entire urban setting has undergone serious decay since Indonesia's 1975 take-over.

Dili's municipal market hall, an inheritance from Portugal's rule over East Timor, is a telling example. In the Portuguese days, East Timorese vendors would have their stalls inside the colonial market hall, shielded from heat and rain. Only on Sundays, when the market crowd grew to larger proportions, would parts of it spill out into an open air market around the hall. Today, the East Timorese are confined to selling their small amounts of vegetables and fruit outside of the market hall. They are relegated to a small parking lot-like space under the eaves of the neighboring building of the military police. The market hall itself is filled with stores selling wares unobtainable for a majority of East Timorese. Migrant vendors have more permanent, structured stalls behind the market building, where they sell manufactured goods that are expensive when compared to the agricultural offerings of the East Timorese.

Church sources affirm that increasingly unsanitary living conditions and growing economic marginalization are taking their toll on the public health situation for the East Timorese population of Dili.

(5) Loss of resources in rural areas

Economic marginalization of East Timorese people in rural areas is also a severe problem. During colonial times the movement of East Timorese throughout the territory was largely unrestricted. For example, farmers from the Aileu area would traditionally walk all the way to Dili to sell their produce. Now this kind of movement is forbidden, heavily restricted or felt to be too dangerous by the rural people themselves. Being caught walking at night

may amount to a death sentence as Indonesian military personnel will immediately suspect involvement in resistance activities.

East Timorese possibilities to sell their goods, and trade, has suffered greatly as a consequence. According to sources in the Baucau area, local markets are now often selling produce and fish that has come all the way from West Timor and other parts of Indonesia, while local farmers have no possibility of getting their products to the market.

Even more serious may be the East Timorese loss of land, which is being occupied by migrant farmers or by buildings and facilities of the Indonesian administration. An example is the new "Indonesian" town of Ermera which occupies the fertile land at the bottom of the valley. The valley has traditionally been used by the East Timorese as a "strategic food reserve". The old town of Ermera and surrounding East Timorese villages were built on the hillside so as to safeguard precious agricultural land.

A East Timorese elder described the situation, saying that the East Timorese now have nothing left but the skin that covers their bones. Malnutrition and lack of medicine have made this skin exceedingly vulnerable.

1995 contacts

Bishop Belo

visit
with

Arnold

Kohen

Mr. Anthony Lake
National Security Advisor to President Bill Clinton
The White House
Washington, DC 20504

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Office of Global Affairs/Assistant to Mr. Lake
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Washington, DC 20504

Mr. Peter Tarnoff
Undersecretary of State for Political Affairs
Department of State
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Mr. John Shattuck
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Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

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The Belo Visit: A Summary

The June-July 1995 visit to several Western nations by Bishop Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo presents a rare opportunity to accomplish the following ends:

- * Build and enhance links between Belo and Church leaders and development agencies.
- * Build international awareness of the East Timor situation and enhance the prospects for peace.

The Belo visit is a unique chance to expose the pertinent issues to a far wider audience than is ordinarily possible, even allowing for the discretion with which this event must be handled. Stops in the United States, Belgium, Germany, France, Ireland, Britain and Norway (Norwegian costs have been met by a separate special grant) can build links that will endure for many years.

Coming as it does at a time when United Nations peace efforts are more active than ever, it is vitally important that the financial means exist to conduct such a visit. In the past, face-to-face contact of this nature has greatly increased support for East Timor over the short and longer term. And coming at a time when Belo is apparently being considered for a Nobel Peace Prize, the potential for concrete benefits are far greater than ever as an outgrowth of this kind of visit. In addition to development aid, Belo is seeking assistance for his seminary project.

To facilitate this project, Bishop Belo has asked me to accompany him on this demanding journey to provide logistical and research assistance and a variety of other services. From his visit to the United States in 1993, I and my associates have a wide knowledge of Belo's situation, and he has specifically and emphatically requested this kind of help.

Additional information has been provided in the Project's recent workplan.

Special funds were always needed when the East Timor Research Project arranged far less extensive visits for Belo's late predecessor, Msgr. Martinho da Costa Lopes.

Meeting with
Bishop Belo

June
1995

Germany

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Bishop Franz Kamphaus
Bischofliches Ordinariat
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Archbishop of Paris
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Mgsr. Jacques Delaporte, President
Justice et Paix
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Also Mrs. Annie Canazares

Mgsr. Guy Deroubaix (from dinner at airport)
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Secretary General
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also Mr. Burint Saray

Mr. Claude Bachrel
Secretary General
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President Mary Robinson
Aras An Uachtarain
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Mr. Michael Taylor
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Journalist, formerly NBC News

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* Organizations listed for
identification purposes only.

Trip Report

The Belo Visit: A Summary

The June-July 1995 visit to the United States, Belgium, Germany, France, Norway, Ireland and Britain by Bishop Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo presented a rare opportunity to have high-level exchanges in church circles, and otherwise expose church and secular officials in these nations to first-hand information on East Timor rarely available directly from such a source. The visit was also designed to break down the isolation of the East Timorese Church that has impeded international awareness of the situation throughout the 20-year occupation by Indonesia.

Bishop Belo is a major player in any resolution of the East Timor tragedy. His international visits, aimed at deepening ties with church leaders, were a major step in creating alliances that can play a role in bringing this longstanding tragedy to an end.

It was indispensable, in Belo's view, to be accompanied and assisted during his travels and he expressly requested that this be done to enhance this opportunity to create church, diplomatic and other international links.

Some accomplishments of the visit:

* The visit created or renewed links between Belo and Church leaders, aid and development agencies. Both sides learned about each other, to the benefit of both. Outside of the U.S. and Britain, Church hierarchies in the nations visited had never had direct contact with Bishop Belo before. By having fruitful exchanges with him, knowledge of the East Timor situation was enhanced and the possibilities for future action greatly increased.

At the same time, the establishment of

direct contact with these countries enabled Bishop Belo to gain a better understanding of the situation that exists in each of these nations --- in church institutions, in secular society, and in the individual aid and development agencies. Learning of the concerns and priorities of these various institutions can only be valuable for future exchanges between them and Bishop Belo (and his representatives).

* The Belo visit was a unique opportunity to provide exposure to a far wider audience than is normally possible, even allowing for the discretion with which this event had to be handled. Church newspapers and newsletters in all of the countries stopped at -- carried information on Bishop Belo and East Timor. The quality of the exchanges indicate that they will have contributed to building links that will endure for many years.

* The visit built awareness of the East Timor situation and helped enhance the prospects for peace. Coming as it did after the intra-Timorese talks held under United Nations auspices in Austria, the Belo visit provided first-hand information at a level that is rarely reached under ordinary circumstances. Church leaders committed themselves to assisting Belo in his quest for peace and human rights, by making representations to their own governments as appropriate. Exchanges of this nature in the United States in 1993 led to continuing action and greater responsiveness by the U.S. Catholic Bishops Conference and others in various walks of life. It is likely that the same thing will happen in Europe.

* Coming at a time when Belo is apparently being considered for a Nobel Peace Prize, the potential for concrete benefits are far greater than ever as an outgrowth of this kind of visit. Should he actually win the prize, he will have an informal network of friends in various countries who can provide assistance on the difficult road to peace and creation

conditions that might lead to real improvements in the human rights situation and the quality of life in East Timor. Such gains do not happen by themselves. International pressure will be necessary, and this visit went a long way toward creating the necessary infrastructure to build such pressure when appropriate.

Needless to say, if Belo does not win the Nobel Peace Prize, he will be in even greater need of an informal network of international support.

* The visit laid the groundwork for needed development aid and assistance for human rights projects, including training for personnel to build the Justice and Peace Commission in East Timor. The visit also succeeded in stimulating assistance from Ireland, Belgium, the United States and possibly Norway for the seminary project under construction in East Timor.

Arnold Kohen, the president of The Humanitarian Project (formerly the East Timor Research Project) was asked by Bishop Belo to facilitate the visit, and provided a variety of functions before, during and after the visit, and will continue to do so. During the course of the visit, the Project was able to provide a variety of services, including facilitation and other arrangements, translation, information and historical analysis, liaison with the press, among other things.

Finally, some comments on Bishop Belo's visit to the West and the implications for the human rights situation in East Timor. One of the main ideas behind this visit was for Bishop Belo to establish or renew personal contact with Church and secular circles in a number of nations. Past experience has shown that contacts such as these (notably in the USA) have succeeded in bringing pressure to ameliorate human rights abuses in East Timor at least to some extent, judging from information we have been able to monitor over time from diplomatic circles. This is a central reason why the Project makes every effort to maximize such contacts: their impact on the concrete situation in East Timor. It is the view of experts that without pressure generated in the situation in East Timor would be far worse than it is

at present (and it remains bad, with torture still commonplace).

Adding dozens of new friends in several countries in Europe and the U.S. to this equation --- Bishop Belo visited Belgium, Germany, France, Norway, and the U.K., in addition to Ireland -- can only increase the degree of international protection that can be brought to bear when such action is needed.

It is also important to recognize that the personal contact made with United Nations Secretary General Boutros Ghali and his senior staff in New York provides a new dimension that did not exist before. Bishop Belo was also received at high levels by the US Catholic Bishops Conference as well as the US government. One must compare all of this with the many years of isolation suffered by Bishop Belo and his Church that has only begun to change in recent years.

As for follow-up to this visit, this will proceed on different levels, including the following:

- * Information will be provided to key contacts as it becomes available, and action will be requested as appropriate. The Project is in contact with Bishop Belo regularly and will distribute news through appropriate channels to key contacts in the churches and church agencies, the media, governments, parliaments and human rights organizations. Bishop Belo himself is writing follow-up letters to a contact list compiled by the Project.

- * Now is an unusual time because Bishop Belo only just returned to East Timor and will leave once again in mid-September to attend a month-long course for bishops at the Vatican, followed by activities to be determined. The Project will be working closely with Bishop Belo during this period in Rome and elsewhere. So in a certain sense, his earlier visit is not yet over.

Here is a summary report of meetings held during Bishop Belo's trip, which ran from June 6 through July 8: United States, Belgium, Germany, France, Ireland, Britain and Norway.

June 6-9: Washington: Bishop Belo was here to give presentation U.S. Catholic Conference/National Conference of Catholic Bishops Committee on International Policy on June 7-8. Luncheon with US Catholic Bishops led by Bishop

John Cummins of California. Also meetings with Anthony Lake, National Security Advisor to President Clinton, and Undersecretary of State for Political Affairs Peter Tarnoff, the third ranking official in the State Department (on that day, Mr. Tarnoff informed us that he was acting Secretary of State, in the absence from Washington of his two superiors. Private reception at a Washington restaurant for Congressional aides who previously met Bishop Belo in East Timor or Washington and Portuguese Embassy officials. A White House representative was in attendance.

June 10-14: Stay in the New England (Rhode Island) area with clergy

who were teachers of Bishop Belo in East Timor. Also Bishop Robert Mulvey of Providence, Rhode Island. Private meetings with former Anglican Bishop of New York, Paul Moore Jr.; Dr. Benedict Anderson, specialist on Indonesia, Cornell University; Noam Chomsky, Linguist and social critic, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

June 14-16, New York: Meetings with United Nations Secretary General Boutros Ghali and other high-level U.N. officials.

June 17-19, Brussels: Meetings with Cardinal Godfreed Daneels;

Entraide et Fraternite (itinerary organizer), Broederlijk Delen and

Justice and Peace Commissions of Belgium and The Netherlands.

June 19-- Bonn: Meeting with the Dalai Lama

June 20-23, Germany: Itinerary organized by Misereor included extensive meetings at that agency and with Bishop Kaspar and Kamphaus, responsible for International church affairs and justice and peace respectively; at Catholic justice and peace commission; with Protestant aid agencies; with Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

June 23-26, France, organized by Justice and Peace Commission, CCFD and Sergio Regazzoni of Centre Lebreton: Concelebration of Mass at Notre Dame de Paris with Cardinal Jean-Marie Lustiger and Patriarch of Alexandria, Egypt; lunch with Msgr. Duval, President of French Bishops Conference, Rouen; dinner with Msgr. DelaPorte, President of Justice and Peace; dinners with Msgr. Pican, Bishop of Bayeux, Normandy and Msgr. Deroubaix, Bishop of St.-Denis. Meetings with Ministry of Foreign Affairs; leadership of CCFD.

June 27-30, Norway, organized by Focus Films, Caritas-Norway and Catholic Bishop of Oslo, Gerhard Schwenzer. Numerous meetings with Caritas. Meetings with diplomatic office of Church of Norway; with Ministry of Foreign Affairs; with Norwegian Human Rights Institute; with representatives of the Order of Santo Egidio; with local East Timor organizations.

June 30-July 4, Ireland, organized by Trocaire: Concelebration of Mass with Archbishop Desmond Connell of Dublin; meeting with Bishop Kirby, who is responsible for Trocaire, as well as the director, Justin Kilcullen with President Mary Robinson; with Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Joan Burton.

Northern Ireland-- with Mairead Corrigan Maguire, Belfast.

July 4--8, Britain: Meetings with Cardinal Basil Hume, the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, Julian Filchowski and other staff of CAFOD, David Breyer and other staff of Oxfam, Michael Taylor and staff of Christian Aid, Ian Linden and staff of CIIR. Meetings at Oxford with Dr. Peter Carey of Trinity College.

July 8-13, Lisbon: Assisting Bishop Belo with correspondence, research and other follow-up activity.

July 14-17, London: Follow-up reporting to British agencies.

Financial Report

Costs for the Belo visit were as follows:

@ Ticket prices were higher than the original estimate (a total of US \$9,188, in contrast to US \$5,500), because of expansion of itinerary, availability, scheduling and seasonal considerations.

1. Airfare for Bishop Belo, Vienna-Washington-Boston-New York-Brussels-Stuttgart-Paris-Oslo--Dublin-London-Lisbon: US \$5,243

Airfare for Arnold Kohen, Washington-Boston-New York-Brussels-Stuttgart-Paris-Oslo-Dublin-London-Lisbon-London-Washington: US \$3,945

Airfare and other travel expenses for Michael

Chamberlain, Humanitarian Project secretary, for U.S.-based assistance: US \$ 557

2. Train and rental car, US \$602; taxis, US \$1137; Parking: US \$115; petrol: US \$105. Total: \$1,959

4. Lodging for Mgsr. Belo and Arnold Kohen:
A) Stonington, Connecticut, USA: \$168
B) New York: \$107
C) Brussels (including phone and fax): \$825.
D) Northern Ireland: \$ 226 Total: \$1,326

5. Most meals were directly paid by hosts, but there were a modest number of other meals and receptions paid by credit card for Bishop Belo and a limited number of guests for business purposes. Smaller items of this sort are in the separate category for incidental expenses:

Washington reception: \$561

Other meals: \$907

Total: US \$1,468

5. Per diem expenses for Bishop Belo and Arnold Kohen, plus other incidental expenses (clothing, laundry, recreation, books, etc) US \$2,650;

6. Meetings to Bishop Belo in Portugal May 14-24 to plan arrangements for visits and provide other assistance (as outlined in earlier workplan): Total, US \$1,754 (Flight, New York to Portugal was donated. Expenses included trains (Washington-New York, \$202) and taxis (\$220), hotels (\$792) and per diem expenses (\$550)

7. Toshiba Laptop Computer for Bishop Belo: US \$2,051

8. Estimated phone-fax-electronic communication-stationary-postage-printing-mailing for arrangements for Belo visits and follow-up, April-May-June-July-August: US \$4,500.

It was essential over a period of several months to have extensive communication between Bishop Belo and East Timor and to other places by phone and fax. According to a top official of the International Campaign for Tibet in Washington (which provides the Project with a good local basis of comparison), the phone/fax/and other administrative costs for the Belo international visit were moderate.

TOTAL EXPENSES:

US \$25,453

Direct Cash Donations already made:

Bishop Paul Moore Jr, former Anglican Bishop of New York,
and Chairman of Humanitarian Project, US \$5,000

Misereor, US \$2,800 toward plane fares

Broederlijk Delen: US \$750

Pledges:

Christian Aid, US \$1,500 toward Arnold Kohen's expenses,
minus restaurant bill submitted by Robert Archer

Anticipated donations

CAFOD US \$4,500

Trocaire, US \$1,500

CCFD, US \$1,500

Entraide et Fraternite, US \$750

Total Direct Contributions from Agencies: US 13,300

Total Contribution from Humanitarian Project and Bishop
Moore. US \$12,153*

* Other Hotel bills and US costs were contributed by
Father Reinaldo Cardoso, Vice President of the
Humanitarian Project.

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510

February 15, 1995

Dear Mr. President:

Despite nineteen years of brutal misrule and occupation by the government of Indonesia, the former Portuguese colony of East Timor remains among the least known human rights tragedies in the world today. We appreciated your statements on human rights in East Timor at the APEC summit last November. Since then, there have been several new incidents of repression in East Timor, including the reported summary executions of six civilians by the Indonesian military on January 12. We are writing to ask that your Administration support a resolution or statement reflecting U.S. concerns about the situation in East Timor at the upcoming session of the United Nation's Human Rights Commission meeting in Geneva.

A U.S.-sponsored resolution in Geneva should address several issues. East Timorese detainees do not enjoy safe and humane treatment on the island of East Timor or elsewhere in Indonesia. These conditions must be ameliorated. Indonesia should be called upon to allow unrestricted visits to East Timor by international observers and journalists. The resolution should press for the release of East Timorese political prisoners and a full accounting of those killed, wounded or missing as a result of the 1991 Santa Cruz cemetery massacre in Dili.

The resolution should also support mechanisms that promote restraint by the Indonesian military and security forces, such as visits to East Timor by the United Nations Working Groups on Arbitrary Detention and Disappearances, and the Special Rapporteur on Torture, and independently verified reductions in Indonesian troop levels. Tensions between native East Timorese and Indonesians who, as a result of special treatment by the Indonesian government, dominate the private sector and local government institutions could be reduced by restrictions on further settlement by migrants from Indonesia.

Estimates of the number of East Timorese killed, imprisoned or exiled since Indonesia's 1975 invasion run into the hundreds of thousands. We believe that the U.S. relationship with Indonesia should enable us to effectively press our

The President
The White House

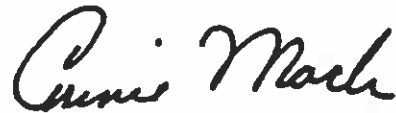
The President
Page Two

concerns with the Jakarta government. We urge your Administration to counsel President Suharto to act with restraint toward the East Timorese. American leadership in crafting a strong resolution at the U.N. Human Rights Conference in Geneva in the next several weeks will be a crucial sign of U.S. concern and its support for a peaceful and equitable resolution of the East Timor conflict.

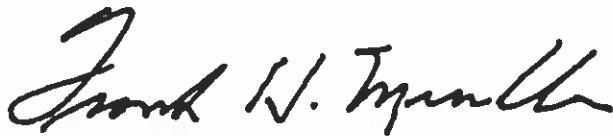
Sincerely yours,



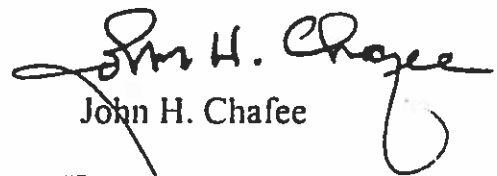
Alfonse M. D'Amato




Connie Mack



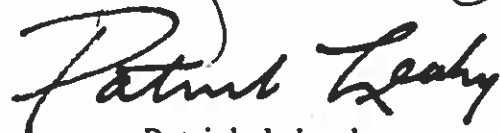
Frank H. Murkowski



John H. Chafee



Craig Thomas



Patrick J. Leahy



Frank Lautenberg



Claiborne Pell



Russell D. Feingold



INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE & PEACE

3211 Fourth Street, NE
Washington, DC 20017
Tel: (202)541-3180
Fax: (202)541-3339

East Timor Update

February 1995

RECENT EVENTS: Last November, some 29 East Timorese drew world attention to their homeland by staging a sit-in at the US embassy in Indonesia during President Clinton's visit. The demonstrators were eventually allowed safe conduct out of the country, but reports of new repression in East Timor (some say in retaliation for the embarrassment suffered by Indonesia) are increasing.

On February 14, Reuters reported that "masked thugs believed to be linked to intelligence organizations within the [Indonesian] armed forces" have been carrying out night attacks for weeks in Dili, the East Timor capital, detaining or injuring scores of people and threatening many more. Church leaders and aid workers interviewed by the press say that the local population has been too terrified to sleep, as the homes of dissidents have been targeted by gangs under the control of the Indonesian army. "It's terrible because troops are now coming to the houses of all the young people and those who are close to the church," according to a senior East Timorese figure quoted by Reuters on February 16.

Bishop Carlos Ximenes Belo of Dili has once again expressed grave concern about the deteriorating human rights situation in East Timor and called on the Indonesian military authorities to restrain the marauding gangs operating under their control.

Reputable church sources also report that one of the battalions involved in the 1991 massacre at the Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili, at which between 150 and 275 people died, has returned to the territory. Witnesses say this battalion has been intimidating local people, and six East Timorese civilians are reliably reported to have been executed by Indonesian troops last month.

There is concern that, with increased tensions between the population and the Indonesian forces, an outbreak of violence such as occurred in 1991 could be repeated. "East Timor is like hell," Bishop Belo said last July, and "Christians are constantly being arrested, beaten and intimidated by police." Many young East Timorese, protesting official harassment and acts of disrespect toward the church, have been severely beaten.

ROLE OF THE U.S.: As difficult as the situation in East Timor has been over the years, Congressional protests and representations by various US Administrations have helped limit the severity of human rights abuses, keeping a bad situation from becoming much worse. Similar action by Congress and the Clinton Administration at this time could have a deterrent effect on the Indonesian authorities, lest the present situation deteriorate further. A special

UN investigator recently issued a report stressing that the conditions that led to the 1991 massacre still persist.

The present Administration has taken some steps to address the East Timor situation. Encouraged by many groups, including USCC, President Clinton raised the issue of human rights in East Timor with Indonesian President Suharto in November. In mid-1994, the Administration banned the sale of certain kinds of US arms that could be used by Indonesian forces for repressive purposes in East Timor. The Administration has also provided encouragement for the UN-sponsored discussions between Indonesia and Portugal regarding human rights and the political status of East Timor, and has joined in expressing concern over the six villagers killed in January.

USCC POSITION: On July 26, 1994, Bishop Daniel Reilly issued a statement in the name of the USCC Committee on International Policy, expressing renewed concern about the difficulties being experienced by Catholics in East Timor and about the human rights situation generally in that area. The statement repeated USCC calls for intensification of the UN discussions, which the Holy See has also encouraged.

The Conference takes no position on the political questions of East Timor's independence or integration with Indonesia; rather, the issue is taken as one in which there have long been very serious violations of human rights, including to some extent religious liberty, and an unresolved political status issue which the UN has a specific responsibility to settle.

ACTION REQUESTED: In light of the high tensions in East Timor and the potential for further violence, we urge that all Members of Congress be encouraged to support efforts now underway in both Houses for a strong US expression of concern about East Timor at the UN human rights meetings now going on in Geneva.

Led in the Senate by Sen. Connie Mack (R-FL) and in the House by Reps. Tony Hall (D-OH) and John Porter (R-IL), a recent letter to the President called on him to have the US government persuade the Indonesian leaders to control their troops in East Timor so as to avoid further provocative acts of repression, and to assure strong US support for actions of the UN Human Rights Commission.

It is anticipated that further letters, and possibly legislation, may be introduced later this year to follow up on these issues. It is important that your Senators and Representatives be encouraged to support such initiatives. Those, like the Members mentioned above, should be thanked for their efforts on East Timor and PLEASE RAISE THE ISSUE OF EAST TIMOR WITH EACH MEMBER OF CONGRESS YOU MEET WITH.

Samuel Rubin Foundation

May 10, 1995

Ms. Mia Adjali,
Women's Division
United Methodist Church
777 United Nations Plaza
11th Floor
New York, New York 10017

Dear Ms. Adjali,

We are pleased to enclose a check in the amount of \$5,000 which the Board of the Samuel Rubin Foundation awarded on March 3, 1995 to the Women's Division, United Methodist Church for your sponsored project, The Timor Project.

Kindly remit a receipt for the above amount at your earliest convenience.

Should you have any reason to acknowledge your donors, please credit:

Samuel Rubin Foundation

Yours sincerely,



Lauranne Jones Pazhoor
Assistant to the President

enc. Check No: 244

cc: Arnold Kohen:

The Humanitarian Project

1995
President:
Arnold S. Kohen
Journalist, formerly NBC News

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* Organizations listed for
identification purposes only.

His Eminence Cardinal Jean-Marie Lustiger

Archbishop of Paris

Your Eminence:

I was honored and delighted to have the pleasure of meeting you on the occasion of the visit to Notre Dame de Paris of Bishop Carlos Ximenes Belo of East Timor last Sunday evening, June 25.

As I believe I mentioned, I have worked as a consultant for the United States Catholic Conference for many years and have accompanied Bishop Belo on his recent visits to the U.S.A., Belgium, Germany, Norway, France and now Ireland. Based on these various visits I must extend my special appreciation for the actions of the Church in France during our brief visit of three days. I know that the fact that Bishop Belo was able to concelebrate Mass at Notre Dame was a high point of his journey abroad.

I am a historian and journalist by profession and have been engaged in the East Timor problem for nearly 20 years, in a multinational effort to defend the suffering people there in a responsible way. Since 1979 I have worked closely with the Church in East Timor and the United States and organizations of the Church in other nations, including France. My wife is a German citizen and former university instructor who lived in East Timor for three years before the 1975 Indonesian invasion, speaks local languages and has served as a translator for Bishop Belo as well as his late predecessor.

In effect, we have assisted the Church in East Timor and many other Church institutions internationally in social communications projects on the East Timor matter. We are now involved in our most important effort to date, which is a documentary on the Church in East Timor, being done with the full cooperation and collaboration of Bishop Belo. We are working closely with CCFD on this project and hope for significant assistance from AIDE A L'EGLISE EN DETRESSE.

The Humanitarian Project

President:
Arnold S. Kohen
Journalist, formerly NBC News

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identification purposes only.

Page 2, His Eminence Cardinal Jean Marie Lustiger

I would be honored to meet with you at your convenience to provide further information and to discuss matters of mutual interest. I would be able to visit Paris from July 9-17 and can be contacted from now until mid-July through M. Sergio Regazzoni at Centre Lebreton in Paris at 47071007 (fax: 47076866) or 60791729.

I can also be reached through my phone number in the USA in Maryland, 301 585-3229. I constantly call this number for messages.

In any event, I would be very happy to meet with you again either in Paris or the United States.

With many thanks and good wishes,

Yours Sincerely,



Arnold S. Kohen

President

The Humanitarian Project

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

P. O. Box 32307
Washington, D.C. 20007
Phone: 301-585-3229
FAX: 301-585-3288

August 30, 1995

Ms. Fran Carpenter----3 pages
PARADE

Dear Ms. Carpenter,

Thank you for taking the time to talk with me yesterday. Attached here is a piece by Mairead Corrigan Maguire that touches on the subject we discussed yesterday.

I will call later today, as I leave for Asia tomorrow.

Thank you for your attention.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Arnold Kohen".

P.S. I have attached an article of mine, which is of a very different style and content than what I have in mind for the Parade piece -- I look forward to hearing your suggestions later.

PROPOSAL FOR FUNDING

A Documentary on the Church in East Timor and The Life and Work of Bishop Belo

Proposal for Funding A Documentary on the Church in East Timor and The Life and Work of Bishop Belo

Summary

The East Timor Media Project of Washington, D.C., tentatively in collaboration with the London-based Catholic Institute for International Relations, and Gillan Films of London, is seeking to produce a 30-minute documentary of high professional quality on the Church in East Timor and the extraordinary life and work for peace and human rights of Bishop Belo, who has been nominated for the 1994 Nobel Peace Prize. The renowned actor/director/producer Mike Farrell has agreed to narrate the production, which would be directed by the award-winning British filmmaker Max Stahl, who captured the Nov. 1991 Santa Cruz massacre on film and has recently interviewed Bishop Belo extensively; Mr. Stahl has played an historic and heroic role in bringing the situation in East Timor to the attention of the world, and amongst those outside of East Timor he has an unparalleled understanding the Church and recent developments. It is anticipated that such a production will go a long way toward spreading international awareness of and a greater level of protection for the East Timorese Church and stimulate moral and material assistance for the Church and people of East Timor. At the same time, it is hoped that such a film, especially if translated into various Asian and European languages, would increase participation of church groups internationally and others. All told, such a film would generate benefits for the East Timorese Church and people that would more than justify the relatively low cost of the production.

Background

Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo, the Roman Catholic Bishop of East Timor, who has come to symbolize the struggle for human rights in East Timor, has been nominated for the 1994 Nobel Peace Prize by Parliamentarians from Japan, Sweden, Portugal and the United States. Whatever the outcome of this nomination in 1994 and in following years, it presents a great opportunity to make known the situation of the Church and people of East Timor and increase international awareness and support. One problem friends and supporters of the East Timorese Church have always faced has been the relative lack of awareness of the situation and lack of access to East Timorese Church leaders. A film showing the vibrant nature of the East Timorese Church and Bishop Belo, set in the context of developments in East Timor, would help to break down the isolation of the East Timorese Church and help to create new friends and allies. Additional information on Bishop Belo is attached.

As Ted Koppel noted on the acclaimed U.S. television show, ABC Nightline on May 4, 1994 (in a program on the crisis in Rwanda), 200,000 of a population of less than 700,000 have died in East Timor since 1975 from the effects of the Indonesian occupation. This is a story of genocide taking place in a country that is largely isolated from the world. There is only one independent institution in East Timor with the ability to influence the situation inside the territory, provide a measure of protection and make itself heard internationally on matters regarding peace and human rights, and that is the Church. Bishop Belo is at once the embodiment of the Church and people of East Timor and of the option of peace in a land that has seen all too much conflict over the past 20 years. There is a universality about the struggle for peace in the role of the Church and Bishop Belo that transcends religious affiliation.

The film would have the benefit of helping to familiarize people crucial to the Nobel Peace Prize process with the East Timor situation and the role of the Church and Bishop Belo. It would also increase awareness of Belo and the Church so as to help give it a greater degree of international protection from repressive measures. It is envisioned, for example, that copies of the film would be distributed to Members of Parliaments, religious and secular news reporters and editors, a wide range of opinion-leaders and grassroots church organizations throughout the world.

No film of this nature currently exists. While passing mention has been made of the East Timorese Church in the two major documentaries that has appeared since 1991, there has been no specific work on the East Timorese Church or on Bishop Belo. This is a big omission that must be rectified. No one is in a better position to do so than the team that is being assembled to carry out the production under discussion here, both in terms of long-term historical knowledge and contemporary material.

Proposal for Funding

To create a wider global audience for the work of the Church in East Timor and for Bishop Belo, grants are being sought to produce a videotaped documentary of approximately 30 minutes length. The documentary will be of a suitable quality for international television distribution.

It is envisioned that grants would be received and administered by one church institution in Europe and one in the United States, both for the convenience of contributors and to facilitate the meeting of costs associated with the production. For instance, one stage of production and editing will take place in Europe, while another would take place in the United States, with administrative costs in both places.

The production budget is based on the industry standard for broadcast quality educational documentaries of \$1,000 per minute for post-production editing; purchase of rights to existing film footage from British, Swedish, Swiss and possibly Japanese sources (every effort will be made to obtain such rights at a discounted rate, but it is extremely unlikely that such rights would be provided free of charge; much of the available film will require

extensive processing); minimal salaries for direction, production, editing and administration that are a fraction of the normal industry standard and are being donated on a cost-basis because of the nature of this project; administrative and travel costs. Some additional location filming in East Timor is required.

Contributing his very considerable talents as Narrator is actor/director/producer Mike Farrell, best known for his starring role in the long-running television series "M*A*S*H." In addition to his numerous film and television credits, Mr. Farrell is a consistent voice for human rights and peace whose recent work in the field includes personal eyewitness missions to Bosnia and Somalia. Some post-production costs in Hollywood could also be donated.

Directing the film will be Max Stahl, the award-winning British filmmaker and journalist who captured the Nov. 1991 Santa Cruz massacre on video and has recently returned to East Timor, where he interviewed Bishop Belo. Mr. Stahl has an unparalleled knowledge of available film resources on the Church in East Timor and Bishop Belo. He played a crucial role in Yorkshire Television's 1992 production, "Cold Blood: The Massacre of East Timor" and Central Television's 1993 film, "Death of A Nation: The Timor Conspiracy." Stahl's work been the recipient of the Royal Film Award and other citations in Britain, Japan, the United States and Latin America. Mr. Stahl, who is of Swedish background, is the grandson of the longtime head of the Nobel Foundation. He has written numerous articles on East Timor for the press in Britain, France, Australia and elsewhere, including The Sunday Times, The Independent on Sunday, Le Monde Diplomatique and others.

ESTIMATED BUDGET

1. Director's Fee: US \$20,000
2. Producer's Fee: US \$10,000
3. Production Assistance: US \$5,000
4. Post-Production Editing: US \$30,000
5. Administrative Expenses: US \$10,000
6. Administrative Assistance: US \$10,000
7. Travel and Accommodation: US \$15,000
8. Purchase of Rights for Film Footage, Photographic and related material essential for production: US \$20,000
9. On-site filming in East Timor: \$15,000

TOTAL ESTIMATED BUDGET: US \$135,000



Department of Social Development and World Peace

3211 4th Street N.E. Washington, DC 20017-1194 (202) 541-3180 FAX (202) 541-3339 TELEX 7400424

June 30, 1993

Dear Senator,

In a few days, President Clinton will meet with Indonesian President Suharto during the G-7 meeting in Tokyo, offering an appropriate opportunity for Mr. Clinton to raise the matter of East Timor with the Indonesian Head of State.

The appalling and continuous violations of the rights of the East Timorese people by the occupying Indonesian forces is, I know, a matter of concern to you. A letter to the President, initiated by your colleagues Senators Wallop, Pell, McCain and Feingold, asks Mr. Clinton to further press U.S. concern over the human rights abuses in East Timor, to urge greater access for international humanitarian organizations, and to seek greater support among our G-7 allies for a U.N.-sponsored settlement of the political crisis.

It is my fervent hope that you will sign on to this letter, if you have not already done so. It is a message that needs to be sent, a further signal to the Indonesian authorities that this country is not indifferent to the suffering of the East Timorese people, and that we will act in their behalf when we can.

Thank you for giving this your consideration.

Sincerely,

(Rev.) Drew Christiansen, S.J.
Director, USCC Office of
International Justice and Peace

Telefax 0
an 0

0228-234488
Missionsprokur/z.H.
Don Bosco / J. Bischof Belo
TELEFAX

To: Misereor
Att: Christiane Overkamp
From: Caritas Norway
Date: June 22, 1995
Re: Bishop Belo's visit to Norway
No. pgs.: 2

URGENT

Please forward to this fax to Bishop Belo before he departs from your offices today.

With kind regards,

Gloria Rosa-Wendelboe

*Calls
Norway
Sergio
for message
Hyland
John T.
Robert
Acker*

Oslo, 22. June 1995

Bishop Belo,
c/o Misereor

Att: Christiane Overkamp

Dear Monsignor Belo,

Caritas Norway would like to take this opportunity to invite you to come to Norway during the period from June 27 - June 30. During this visit we hope to learn more about the conditions of life in East Timor and to explore possible manners in which we could support the Church in its work with the East Timorese.

We sincerely hope to receive your positive reply.

Yours sincerely
CARITAS NORWAY



Bernt Gulbrandsen
Secretary General

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

January 25, 1995

Det Norske Shortings Nobelkomite
(Nobel Committee of the Norwegian Parliament)
Drammrndveien 19
022 Oslo 2
NORWAY

I would like to nominate Bishop Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo of East Timor for the 1995 Nobel Peace Prize.

As you are aware, I submitted a nomination for Bishop Belo in January, 1994. I would like to present fresh information regarding Bishop Belo to add to my initial recommendation to the Nobel Committee.

Events in the period surrounding the November 1994 summit meeting of the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) group in Indonesia brought the situation in East Timor to world attention. Some of these events, which included near calamitous confrontations between East Timorese demonstrators and Indonesian security forces, help illustrate graphically why Bishop Belo merits the recognition of a Nobel Peace Prize.

On November 12, 1994, the third anniversary of the massacre of many dozens of marchers by Indonesian troops at Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili, the capital of East Timor, a group of young East Timorese began a peaceful demonstration in the parking lot of the United States Embassy in Jakarta. This action, which coincided with the arrival of President Clinton and other leaders for the APEC meeting, called attention to the continuing effects of the Santa Cruz tragedy and to the fate of political detainees from East Timor.

While the actions of the young East Timorese at the American Embassy ended peacefully, riots in East Timor during and after the APEC meeting were reminders of the continuing conflict that has already claimed huge numbers of lives. Bishop Belo and a range of independent experts believe that the riots in East Timor, both at the time of the APEC meeting and more recently at the New Year, were to some extent orchestrated by elements of the Indonesian military who are profiting financially from their presence in East Timor and want to create a situation that seems to justify their presence to "maintain order." For similar reasons, Belo and others believe, Indonesian security forces have attempted to exacerbate religious and ethnic conflict in East Timor. Such deceptive activities have made the task of negotiating peace more difficult, but Bishop Belo's firm grasp of the realities in East Timor and his experience at peacemaking have put him in a unique position to do so.

Bishop Belo's approach in the face of this complex and dangerous situation was multifaceted. He called for tranquility on the part of his own people. He pleaded with the occupiers for humanity. He appealed to the international community for support. This approach has produced results.

For instance, on November 18, 1994 shortly after President Clinton and other foreign leaders left Indonesia after the APEC summit, a group of East Timorese held a peaceful demonstration for human rights outside the cathedral in Dili. According to an eyewitness report by a correspondent for the British Broadcasting Corporation, the demonstrators were pelted with stones by people who were apparently security forces in plainclothes or others sent there by Indonesian authorities. The scene turned into a melee. Many of the demonstrators took refuge inside the cathedral, which the security forces surrounded for two hours. The BBC reported that a young East Timorese trying to lead a German TV crew out of the area was beaten senseless by security forces. It strongly appeared to independent onlookers that terrible retribution against the East Timorese, perhaps another Santa Cruz massacre, might be in the offing, a clear possibility in light of the major international embarrassment sustained by Indonesia regarding East Timor during the APEC meeting. Within a short time, however, Bishop Belo had negotiated a compromise whereby the East Timorese human rights protesters were allowed to return to their homes with a pledge from Indonesian authorities that there would be no retribution against them.

The situation in East Timor remains extremely tense and it is always possible that revenge by Indonesian authorities may be exacted at a later date. Many people could ultimately face long prison sentences for doing little more than expressing their opinions. Nonetheless, the integrity of Bishop Belo's approach was confirmed during the tense confrontation at Dili Cathedral on November 18, when his moral authority and skill succeeded in defusing a situation that could easily have turned into a far uglier scene of carnage.

As in similar situations -- such as in recent weeks in Baucau, the second largest town in East Timor, where rioting broke out on New Year's Eve and continued for several days -- Bishop Belo called for calm, both in a pastoral letter and a Sunday sermon. Then, walking a tightrope in a situation of high tension, Bishop Belo let the world know that Indonesian forces could not inflict brutality and injustice on the East Timorese people with impunity. In an interview published in November 22, 1994, in The New York Times, he spoke of arrests and beatings and said, "It was an act of courage for the East Timorese people to speak up." He emphasized that the solution would be a referendum on independence, helping to keep this option in international focus. Of course, such a proposal would only be in accordance with existing United Nations resolutions on East Timor.

Bishop Belo's approach, as noted before, concentrates on appeals to the international community coupled with deft mediation at home. "Contact with the outside world is very, very important," Bishop Belo told an interviewer last July. "It gives us hope and some protection." Reliance on international good will through the religious community, human rights organizations and the communications media may seem quaint in this impatient age but it is an excellent substitute for violent confrontation.

As the United States Catholic Bishops noted in a July 1994 statement, Bishop Belo "has become a source of hope and encouragement for all of the people" of East Timor. Indeed, after the Indonesian government's heavy-handed effort in mid-1994 to prevent a conference on human rights in East

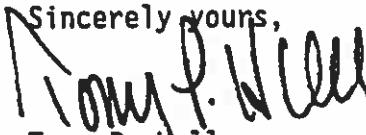
Timor from taking place in Manila, the struggle for human rights in East Timor has become widely known throughout Asia, and Bishop Belo has come to symbolize that struggle. During the visit of Pope John Paul II to the Philippines in January 1995, at which Bishop Belo was present, the East Timorese prelate was greeted warmly by his counterparts from the Philippines and elsewhere in Asia, according to first-hand reports from Manila, and there is growing awareness and sympathy over the plight of the East Timorese and Belo's crucial role. Twenty years after Indonesian troops invaded East Timor, the situation is beginning to get the attention it deserves.

It is not an easy task to take one's case to the international community. The world has a limited attention span and has difficulty keeping more than a few issues in focus at the same time. Small nations, like East Timor, normally receive little notice from the world at large. Bishop Belo has undertaken the long and arduous process of appealing to the court of international public opinion at the same time he does his best to deal with intransigent forces in his home territory.

It seems to me that it would be fitting if the response to appeals such as those of Bishop Belo were answered in the form of the 1995 Nobel Peace Prize. This award would stress the importance of his approach in the face of unrelenting pressures from all sides. Recognition of the East Timor tragedy, through an award to Bishop Belo, would be a signal to many oppressed small nations throughout the world that their fate will not always be ignored.

East Timor has been in the world media this last year because of the demonstrations during the APEC summit and the Indonesian government's efforts to stop the Manila conference in May. Highlighting the role of Bishop Belo would be the right message to send the world at this perilous hour when the language of brutality, violence and intolerance is all too prevalent in nations large and small.

Thank you for your consideration of this nomination.

Sincerely yours,

Tony P. Hall
Member of Congress

1995

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CATHOLIC AGENCY,
(IRELAND - Dublin)
for Trocaire - Summary on
Special Belo project - What
do we hope to accomplish?

- * Build links between Belo +
Church leaders and development
agencies.
- * Build awareness of the East Timor
situation and enhance the prospects
for peace.

The Belo visit is a rare
opportunity to expose the pertinent issues
to a much wider group than is ordinarily
possible, even allowing for the discretion
with which the visit must be handled.
Stops in the US, Germany, France, Belgium,
Ireland and Britain pose a unique
chance to build links that will endure

(2)
for years. Coming as it does at a time when United Nations peace efforts are in higher gear than ever, it is vitally important that the means exist to conduct such a visit. In the past, face-to-face contact of this nature has greatly increased activity over the short and longer term. Coming at a time when Belo is apparently being considered for a Nobel Peace Prize, the chances for concrete benefits are much greater than ever as a result of this kind of visit. In addition to development aid, Belo is seeking assistance for his Seminary project.

To Facilitate this effort in general, Belo has asked me to accompany him

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on his journeys.

An estimated budget follows.

As already suggested, it would greatly help if Belo's air and train tickets were purchased directly by one of the participating agencies, all of which are being asked to contribute:

Estimated flexible air ticket, Vienna-Washington-Boston-New York-Brussels-Dublin-London-Lisbon: US \$2,800.

Estimated train tickets, Brussels-Germany-France-Brussels, US \$400

Additional phone-administrative costs, May-June-July, US \$1,500

Partial fare for Project translator for

Germany, US \$500

(4)

* Per diem expenses at US \$50
per day, for 30 days: US \$1,500

(* Most costs of Project director
may be met by special ecumenical
grant by Christian Aid)

Extra personnel costs not available
from ordinary budget, est. US
\$1,000 (translation).

Total US\$ 7,700



UNITED NATIONS

Press Release Secretary-General

Department of Public Information • News Coverage Service • New York

SG/T/1974
10 July 1995

SECRETARY-GENERAL HOLDS SIXTH ROUND OF TALKS ON EAST TIMOR IN GENEVA WITH FOREIGN MINISTERS OF INDONESIA AND PORTUGAL

(Received from the spokeswoman for the Secretary-General in Europe.)

GENEVA, 8 July -- The Secretary-General held the sixth round of talks on the question of East Timor in Geneva on Saturday, 8 July, with the Foreign Minister of Indonesia, Ali Alatas and the Foreign Minister of Portugal, Jose Manuel Durao Barroso.

The Ministers discussed developments since the fifth round of talks in January, including the implementation of the Chairman's statement on the situation of human rights in East Timor, agreed upon by consensus by the Human Rights Commission at its fifty-first session, the importance of which was stressed.

The Ministers welcomed the convening of the All-Inclusive Intra-East Timorese Dialogue, held in Burg Schlaining, Austria, from 2 to 5 June, with the assistance of the Secretary-General, which constitutes a positive effort to help create an atmosphere conducive to the achievement of a solution to the question of East Timor. They expressed their appreciation to the Government of Austria for hosting the meeting and to other governments for their support.

The Ministers welcomed the Secretary-General's view on the need for convening a further meeting or meetings of the All-Inclusive Intra-East Timorese dialogue and his intention to pursue the matter with the two parties.

The Ministers, without prejudice to their respective positions of principle regarding the political status of East Timor, have begun discussions on the substantive issues identified by the Secretary-General regarding possible avenues towards achieving a just, comprehensive and internationally acceptable solution to the question of East Timor. In this context, they discussed substantive issues related to an eventual framework for the achievement of such a solution and other related issues, including the preservation and promotion of the cultural identity of the East Timorese people and bilateral relations between Indonesia and Portugal. They agreed to discuss all these issues in conjunction with one another.

(more)

Press Release SG/T/1974
10 July 1995

Following today's discussion, the parties agreed to continue their efforts, with the assistance of the Secretary-General to find a just, comprehensive and internationally acceptable settlement to the question of East Timor. The seventh round of talks between the Foreign Ministers under the auspices of the Secretary-General will be held on 16 January 1996 in London. Prior to the ministerial meeting, preparatory talks will be held through the Representative of the Secretary-General.

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East Timor Update

February 1995

RECENT EVENTS: Last November, some 29 East Timorese drew world attention to their homeland by staging a sit-in at the US embassy in Indonesia during President Clinton's visit. The demonstrators were eventually allowed safe conduct out of the country, but reports of new repression in East Timor (some say in retaliation for the embarrassment suffered by Indonesia) are increasing.

On February 14, Reuters reported that "masked thugs believed to be linked to intelligence organizations within the [Indonesian] armed forces" have been carrying out night attacks for weeks in Dili, the East Timor capital, detaining or injuring scores of people and threatening many more. Church leaders and aid workers interviewed by the press say that the local population has been too terrified to sleep, as the homes of dissidents have been targeted by gangs under the control of the Indonesian army. "It's terrible because troops are now coming to the houses of all the young people and those who are close to the church," according to a senior East Timorese figure quoted by Reuters on February 16.

Bishop Carlos Ximenes Belo of Dili has once again expressed grave concern about the deteriorating human rights situation in East Timor and called on the Indonesian military authorities to restrain the marauding gangs operating under their control.

Reputable church sources also report that one of the battalions involved in the 1991 massacre at the Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili, at which between 150 and 275 people died, has returned to the territory. Witnesses say this battalion has been intimidating local people, and six East Timorese civilians are reliably reported to have been executed by Indonesian troops last month.

There is concern that, with increased tensions between the population and the Indonesian forces, an outbreak of violence such as occurred in 1991 could be repeated. "East Timor is like hell," Bishop Belo said last July, and "Christians are constantly being arrested, beaten and intimidated by police." Many young East Timorese, protesting official harassment and acts of disrespect toward the church, have been severely beaten.

ROLE OF THE U.S.: As difficult as the situation in East Timor has been over the years, Congressional protests and representations by various US Administrations have helped limit the severity of human rights abuses, keeping a bad situation from becoming much worse. Similar action by Congress and the Clinton Administration at this time could have a deterrent effect on the Indonesian authorities, lest the present situation deteriorate further. A special

UN investigator recently issued a report stressing that the conditions that led to the 1991 massacre still persist.

The present Administration has taken some steps to address the East Timor situation. Encouraged by many groups, including USCC, President Clinton raised the issue of human rights in East Timor with Indonesian President Suharto in November. In mid-1994, the Administration banned the sale of certain kinds of US arms that could be used by Indonesian forces for repressive purposes in East Timor. The Administration has also provided encouragement

for the UN-sponsored discussions between Indonesia and Portugal regarding human rights and the political status of East Timor, and has joined in expressing concern over the six villagers killed in January.

USCC POSITION: On July 26, 1994, Bishop Daniel Reilly issued a statement in the name of the USCC Committee on International Policy, expressing renewed concern about the difficulties being experienced by Catholics in East Timor and about the human rights situation generally in that area. The statement repeated USCC calls for intensification of the UN discussions, which the Holy See has also encouraged.

The Conference takes no position on the political questions of East Timor's independence or integration with Indonesia; rather, the issue is taken as one in which there have long been very serious violations of human rights, including to some extent religious liberty, and an unresolved political status issue which the UN has a specific responsibility to settle.

ACTION REQUESTED: In light of the high tensions in East Timor and the potential for further violence, we urge that all Members of Congress be encouraged to support efforts now underway in both Houses for a strong US expression of concern about East Timor at the UN human rights meetings now going on in Geneva.

Led in the Senate by Sen. Connie Mack (R-FL) and in the House by Reps. Tony Hall (D-OH) and John Porter (R-IL), a recent letter to the President called on him to have the US government persuade the Indonesian leaders to control their troops in East Timor so as to avoid further provocative acts of repression, and to assure strong US support for actions of the UN Human Rights Commission.

It is anticipated that further letters, and possibly legislation, may be introduced later this year to follow up on these issues. It is important that your Senators and Representatives be encouraged to support such initiatives. Those, like the Members mentioned above, should be thanked for their efforts on East Timor and PLEASE RAISE THE ISSUE OF EAST TIMOR WITH EACH MEMBER OF CONGRESS YOU MEET WITH.