

This item includes:

- Telefax to Arnold Kohen from Gloria Rosa-Wendelboe, Caritas Norway (21.11.1996)
Subj.: Film and Bergen | 3 pp.
- Letter to Bishop Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo from the Lord Mayor of Bergen
(06.11.1996)
- Telefax to Arnold Kohen cc: Gloria at Caritas, Alf. W.Johnsen, Juan from Manuelpillai
Soosaipillai, Organising secretary, for solidarity group (14.11.1996)
- Email to Arnold Kohen from Caritas Norge (04.11.1996) Subj.: Sometimes I must speak
out strongly | 5 pp.
- Fax message for Ms. Sandra Hoggett, TWI from Arnold Kohen (28.11.1996) RE: Film
Script | 5 pp.
- Letter to Reverend Reinaldo M. Cardoso, St. Anthony Rectory from Louis E. Gelineau
(24.10.1996)
- Letter to the Most Reverend Louis E. Gelineau, Bishop of Providence from Rev.
Reinaldo M. Cardoso (15.10.1996)
- Letter to *The Economist* from Arnold Kohen (16.12.1996)
- Fax message for Mr. Howard Goldberg, *The New York Times* from Arnold Kohen
(17.10.1996)
- Fax message for Ms. Majorie Pritchard, *The Boston Globe* from Arnold Kohen
(06.11.1996)
- Fax message for Mr. H.D.S. Greenway, *The Boston Globe* from Arnold Kohen
(23.10.1996)
- Fax message for Mr. Stephen S. Rosenfeld, *The Washington Post* from Arnold Kohen
(30.10.1996)
- Fax message for Mr. Stephen S. Rosenfeld, *The Washington Post* from Arnold Kohen
(01.11.1996)
- Fax message for Ms. Johanne Dorais-Slakmon, ICRC from Arnold Kohen (04.09.1996)
- Article for *The International Herald Tribune* (1996) | 2 pp.
- Article for Red Cross Societies (1996) | 2 pp.
- Fax message for Ms. Nancy Yoshihara, *The Los Angeles Times* from Arnold Kohen
(12.07.1996)
- Article written by Paul Moore Jr. and Arnold S. Kohen (1996) | 2 pp.
- Fax message for Mr. Stephen S. Rosenfeld, *The Washington Post* from Arnold Kohen
(30.10.1996)
- Fax message for Mr. Howard Goldberg, *The New York Times* from Arnold Kohen
(17.10.1996)
- Fax message for Mr. Raskob, Politik Abt. c/o Die Zeit from Arnold Kohen (30.10.1996) |
3 pp.

- Telefax to Arnold Kohen and Bishop Paul Moore from Letters to the Editors, *The New York Times* (29.11.1996) | 2 pp.
- Article for Die Zeit (Hamburg) by Arnold Kohen “Poor Kohl?” (1996) | 2 pp.
- Article written by Paul Moore Jr. and Arnold S. Kohen (1996) | 2 pp.
- Fax message for Mr. Stephen S. Rosenfeld, *The Washington Post* from Arnold Kohen (30.10.1996)
- Fax message for Ms. Kris Wells, *The New York Times* from Arnold Kohen (29.11.1996)
- Draft letter for *The Washington Post* - Jeff Morley (1996) | 6 pp.
- Fax message to the Letters to the Editor, *The New York Times* from The Rt. Rev. Paul Moore Jr. & Arnold Kohen (29.11.1996)
- Fax message for Mr. Jefferson Morley, *The Washington Post* from Arnold Kohen (02.12.1996)
- Fax message for Ms. Kris Wells, *The New York Times* from Arnold Kohen (29.11.1996)
- Telefax to Arnold Kohen from Ambassador Francisco Knopfli, Secretary-General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Portugal (17.10.1996) [Portuguese]
- Letter to Ambassador Rui Quartin Santos, M.N.E. from Arnold Kohen (21.11.1996)
- Fax message for Ambassador Rui Quartin Santos, M.N.E. from Arnold Kohen (25.11.1996) | 2 pp.
- Letter to Arnold Kohen that is private and confidential (17.12.1996) | 3 pp.
- Fax to Arnold Kohen from Rui Manuppella Tereno (27.11.1996) Subj.: Travel dates for some of the Oslo invitees
- Letter to Ambassador Rui Quartin Santos, M.N.E. from Arnold Kohen (25.11.1996) | 2 pp.
- Letter to H.E. Ambassador Fernando Andresen-Guimarães, Embassy of Portugal from Arnold Kohen (12.05.1996)
- Faxed copy of “NSC gave warnings about Asian Donors” *The Washington Post* (15.02.1996) | 6 pp.
- Fax to Dan Southerland from Mary Lou White (24.11.1998)
- Fax message for Ms. Bettina Edelstein, *The New York Times* from Arnold Kohen (02.12.1996) attached is Bishop Belo’s December 8 “sermon” | 3 pp.
- Fax message for Prelat Herkenrat and Father Thomas Aston from Arnold Kohen (12/1996)
- Draft of a sermon by Bishop Belo to the Oslo Cathedral (09.12.1996)
- "Reflexões Espirituais" by Bishop Carlos Filipe X. Belo (28.08.1996) [Portuguese]
- Draft Nobel Speech for Bishop Belo (1996)
- Programme for the visit to Sweden of 1996 Nobel Peace Prize Laureates: His Excellency Bishop Carlos Felipe de Ximenes Belo and Mr. José Ramos Horta (13.12.1996) | 2 pp.

- Fax to Bishop Carlos Felipe Belo and Mr. Arnold Kohen from Mr. Øyvind Y. Brigg, Political Correspondent, TV2-Norway (06.12.1996) Subj.: Brief Interview on Sunday Dec. 7 | 2 pp.
- Interview by Agenzia Internazionale Salesiana di Informazione with Bishop Belo: “The Salesian bishop from Timor will speak on the social doctrine of the Church and of reconciliation in Oslo. On the agenda is also a joint press conference with Ramos Horta, and meetings with the Norwegian Prime Minister, with Kohl and with the Pope.” | 2 pp.
- Draft of a speech by Korinna Horta (a version of it was published in Die Zeit) (24.10.1996) | 3 pp.
- Draft proposal for efforts to assist 1996 Nobel Laureate Bishop Carlos Ximenes Belo of East Timor under the auspices of the United States Catholic Conference (1996) | 6 pp.
- Telefax to Arnold Kohen from Jan-Erik Forsberg (04.12.1996) Subj.: Bishop Belo’s visit
- Article written by Philip Püllela about the awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize to Bishop Belo (11.10.1996) | 2 pp.
- “East Timorese protests mar Dili anniversary” by Ian Mackenzie (12.11.1996)
- Blurb about Arnold Kohen through fax
- News from Bishop Belo written by Arnold Kohen (30.12.1996)
- Article published on October 14th, 1996 about Bishop Belo condemning Indonesia’s military rule over East Timor
- “Belo, The Shepherd” (the voice of the voiceless) a song written about Belo (1996)
- Article written by Arnold Kohen about "an attack in Dili on Christmas eve where a soldier was murdered by unknown assailants and Bishop Belo condemned the killing. The Indonesian military seized upon this incident as a reason to step up repression against the young people of East Timor.” (12/1996)
- The Humanitarian Project: Estimated Budget, 1996
- Salesian News Agency: Pope receives Bishop Belo & Reception for Bishop Belo at the UPS (20.12.1996)
- Letter to The Rt. Rev. Paul Moore Jr. from the Under Secretary of State (25.11.1996)

TELEFAX

To: PLEASE FORWARD TO ARNOLD KOHEN

From: Gloria Rosa-Wendelboe, Caritas Norway

Date: 21. November 1996

No. of pgs. (inkl. this): 10

Re: Film and Bergen

Greetings from Norway,

Regarding Bergen:

As Sweden cannot seem to make up it's mind, Bergen is asking that perhaps the Bishop make up their mind for them. I.e. will he rather be in Bergen until 19.25 and miss any Swedish dinner if they get around to inviting him? Or will he play it safe, and plan to leave Bergen around 16.25 in order to leave upon the possibility that the Swedes will come through with their invitation.

The Lord Mayor of Bergen is trying to make plans, and is cooperating with the All Parties Solidarity Group for Bergen. It would be a good idea if you contacted the mayor, Ms. Ingmar Ljones, directly at (47) 55 56 62 00 to discuss alternative plans and your concerns for Bishop Belo to be making speeches/appeals together with Horta. As they haven't gotten any clear go-aheads they may drop ALL plans! I would personally be very grateful if you could give her a call tomorrow.

The All Parties Solidarity group would like me to impart to you that they believe this visit to Bergen will lead to many positive developments. There is the hope that Bergen will establish itself as a type of sister-city to Baucau, and that this visit could inspire Bergen to indeed make the decision to become a sister city.

I would greatly appreciate your contacting the Mayor and/or Manuel in the All Parties Solidarity Group, as they are pressing me for decisions. I have made it clear, that I am *not* in a position to make decisions on behalf of the Bishop. Nor, do I believe it is correct for me to pressure Sweden for a decision (although it does give cause for concern that they cannot seem to make up their mind). I have though been in frequent contact with Sweden to learn of any new developments.

If you want to discuss the Bishops program in Sweden, you can speak with either Jon Erik Forsberg +46 86 48 31 93, or Karl Erik Svartberg in Caritas Sweden, +46 821 55 35.

Regarding Film: Find attached what you need

Regarding payment of rooms in Norway: Please make a written «application» to Caritas. The Nobel Institute has reserved 7 rooms from the 9-12 desember (don't some people arrive on the 8th??).

Other: The meeting about East Timor (CAFOD, Misereor, Caritas Norway, etc.) has been put off until the end of January so that you can also participate

To: Harald Gammelseter @ 55328585 @ FAXGATE, Ingwild Hakestad @ 56144260 @ FAXGATE, Alf Johnsen @ 56302980 @ FAXGATE, Nils Arild Johnsen @ 55566075 @ FAXGATE, Are Næss @ 22313867 @ FAXGATE, Eina Solberg @ 22313851 @ FAXGATE, Røald Zweidorf @ 55327924 @ FAXGATE, Ronny Hansen @ 22362280 @ FAXGATE, GLORIA @ 22568306 @ FAXGATE

cc:
From: Manuelpillai Soosaipillai @ ULSHIN
Date: 15.11.96 14.50.29 GMT

Mail Sent
Project/Job: Doc. Id:
Title

Subject: Bishop's visit to Bergen

*Copy of letter to
Arnold to Arnold
from
Gloria*

Kjære venner,

Vedlagt følger et brev som vi har sendt til koordinatoren for Biskop Belo's program. Han er for tiden i Washington.

Brevet forklarer status vedr. besøk av prisvinnere samt de ubesvarte spørsmålene. CARITAS-Norge har prøvd så godt de kunne. Dette brevet er skrevet i samarbeid med CARITAS. Arild! Vil du være vennlig å levere en kopi av brevet til ordføreren? takk.

Håper at vi kan få en avklaring senest på mandag den 18. des.

Med vennlig hilsen
Manuel

Dear Mr. Arnold Kohen

Hope you would have received my fax yesterday. The Lord Mayor of Bergen got a fax from Bishop Belo, dated yesterday saying that he accepts mayor's invitation to visit Bergen on the 12. Dec. But the visit will be short.

As I wrote you yesterday that we need some more information in order to organise the common program.

Please answer the following:

1. The time of arrival in Bergen?, according to Gloria, it is about 10.55 AM.
2. The time the Bishop will finish his private program in Bergen in connection with the baptism of Cortreal's son?, according to Gloria, this event will end at 13.00PM.
3. At what time the Bishop has to take flight from Bergen to Stockholm?. Gloria mentioned that the Bishop has to leave by 16.45 PM flight. How long we have to wait until we get to know that the Bishop has to leave as early as 15.20 PM to catch the flight which leaves at 16.25 PM in order to dine with the Swedish prime minister?

As the Mayor suggested the common programmes are to be arranged in a way that both prize winners can attend.

But we understand from Bishop that he has to travel to Stockholm already on the 12th. dec. The last flight is leaving at 19.25 PM. Mr. Horta, on our request, has promised to arrive Bergen Airport (Flesland) at 15.30PM on the 12th. and leave Bergen on the 13th.

In case if Bishop has to travel on the 19.25 PM flight, we may suggest the following:

1. The common programme start with a service at a church with the public and Bishop Belo and finishes at the time we can receive Mr. Ramos Horta, about 16.10PM. Mr. Horta's flight arrival

time is about 15.30 PM.

2. The torchlight procession starts from the time of Mr. Horta's arrival
3. Common gathering in a place where the procession can end, give 2-3 minutes appeals/speech by prize winners, Lord Mayor, Solidarity group.
4. Bishop leaves for Stockholm by 19.25 PM flight.
5. Program continues with Mr. Ramos Horta, Dinner by Mayor together with some invited friends of East Timor.

In case if the Bishop has to travel by flight before 19.25PM, we may find it will be very difficult to organise common programs in Bergen. The Solidarity actions are very important for future work in Norway.

Please be kind enough to answer us immediately. The above mentioned programme must be well planned and we need time for that. You can also send the answer by fax no. 4755 131039 to Mr. Alf W. Johnsen.

Yours sincerely
For All Parties Solidarity Group for East Timor

Manuelpillai Soosaipillai
Organising secretary,
Nobelintitute

Alf W. Johnsen
Contactperson, Mayor and

CC: Ronny Hansen SAHI, Gloria CARITAS, Lord Mayor Ingmar I Jones Bergen



BERGEN KOMMUNE

Ordføreren

Bishop Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo,
Deli,
East Timor,
Indonesia

~~not official~~
IKKE TIL
OFFENTLIGHET NA-

6th November 1996

Invitation to a reception in Bergen in connection with the Nobel Peace Prize
arrangement in Oslo

On behalf of the City of Bergen we hereby have the pleasure to congratulate you on the
Nobel Peace Prize for 1996.

The Lord Mayor of Bergen refers to the contact between you and All Parties Solidarity
Group for East Timor where they have informed you about our invitation.


As 13th and 14th December do not fit into your program, we are informed that you are able
to come to Bergen on 12th December. Therefor the Lord Mayor has the pleasure to invite you
to Bergen on that day. Your arrival and departure will be confirmed later on. Travelling
expenses will be paid by us.

We will suggest the following program for your official visit here in Bergen:

1. Reception by the City of Bergen.
2. Torch procession.
3. Common service - in a church in Bergen.
4. Dinner with friends of East Timor in Bergen.

We would like to hear from you as soon as possible.

Yours sincerely,


Ingemar Ljønes
Lord Mayor of Bergen

P.S. Same invitation has also been forwarded to Mr. José Ramos-Horta.

Telefax

To: Arnold Kohn
CC: Gloria at CARITAS, Alf. W. Johnsen, Juan

Fax.no.:

Fr/From: Manuelpillai Soosaipillai

Date/Date:

Ref.nr./Ref. no.: 14.11.96

Antall sider/
Number of pages:

Merknader/Remarks:

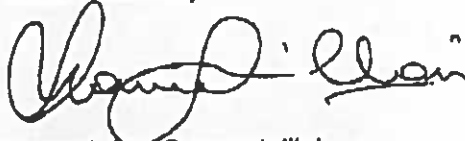
Dear Mr. Amlod,

Will you please kind enough to answer us today, if possible whether Bishop Belo accepts the Lord Mayor's invitation to Bergen. Further more whether he can be in Bergen for common arrangement from 16.00 PM til night?.

We, The All Parties Solidarity Group For East Timor understand from CARITAS that the Bishop Belo wishes to come to Bergen and the baptism will take place. But to organise the common programme on behalf of the city of Bergen, together with Jose Ramos Horte, as the mayor stated in his letter, we need an answer from you how long the Bishop will be here in Bergen.

We consider that CARITAS in Oslo as a good partner for us to coordinate our wishes towards you and have been informing them time to time. Gloria knows all in details. Please contact her or send us reply as soon as possible.

Yours Sincerely



Manuelpillai Soosaipillai
Organising secretary, for solidarity group

I will not be at the office today. Alf. Johnsen, tel. 4755 131039

Manuelpillai Soosaipillai
Solismitten 34, 5088 MJØLKERÅEN (BERGEN), Norway
Tel. 47 55 199262, Telefax + 47 55 19 92 11, tel. private 4755184813
Emailedadr. Manuelpillai . Soosaipillai @ Ulstein . Notes . Telemax . No

Subject: Film : Sometimes I must Speak Out Strongly

Date: Mon, 04 Nov 1996 10:16:10 +0100

From: Caritas Norge <caritas@caritas.katolsk.no>

To: askohen@igc.apc.org

Dear Arnold,

Greetings and good morning!

In the budget for the film, NOK 61.935,- has been set aside for you. At today's exchange rate of NOK 6.5 = \$1, this equals approximately USD 9.500.

Caritas Norway presently has NOK 36.971 (\$5.687) in our account. The remaining portion of your money's are with Max. Much of the remaining money is not yet available, given Sigurdjons fine works.

Please send us an invoice for what you are owed (NOK 61.935). You do not need to send us receipts if you do not have them readily available. However, they should be somewhere just in case. Try to send a detailed invoice which costs the various items you are billing us for.

- Upon receiving this invoice, we can forward the funds presently available, NOK 36.971. Then we can follow up Max to insure that he forwards the rest to you once funds are available. Max and Sigurdjon have sold enough films to T.V. stations to recover the funds which have gone astray.

With kind regards,

Gloria

NetTUKpd	Net\$ToFC	Gillan	Focus	Arnold K	SALES
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Budget:

37000.00		0.00	57350.00		
7500.00		0.00	11825.00		
25288.88	-38187.78	0.00	0.00		
		0.00	0.00		
		0.00	0.00		
		0.00	0.00		
		0.00	0.00		
		0.00	0.00		
12803.23		20000.00	0.00		
10000.00		15500.00	0.00		
5000.00		7750.00	0.00		
8451.81	10000.00	0.00	0.00		
3225.31	5000.00	0.00	0.00		
34302.33	-53168.81	0.00	0.00		
5483.87		0.00	0.00	8500.00	
8282.08	-8737.22				
-9877.42					

FilmCostUK\$Balance:	\$Gillan In	\$Focus In	\$Arnold In
143780.38	-87103.81	43250.00	88875.00
222828.81	Co.Costs:	88418.81	108172.78
-87103.81	BALANCE	-53168.81	-38187.78
-58195.88			-9737.22

REF. 4.2 Division...

SUMMARY

Total pds	\$CshToFC	Gillan	Focus	Arnold
11898.35		8200.00	3000.00	2898.35
8000.00		8000.00	1500.00	500.00
1200.00		800.00	800.00	0.00
885.00		315.00	210.00	140.00
7200.00		3800.00	3800.00	0.00
0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00
0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00
0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00
4550.00		3250.00	850.00	850.00
8800.00		4250.00	1700.00	850.00
0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00
4800.00		1200.00	2400.00	1200.00
10500.00		4500.00	8000.00	0.00
17000.00		5000.00	10000.00	2000.00
20000.00		15000.00	3750.00	1250.00
3800.00		1950.00	1950.00	0.00
1200.00		400.00	400.00	400.00
3500.00		1500.00	2000.00	0.00
2700.00		450.00	1950.00	300.00
15800.00		0.00	15800.00	0.00
4770.00		1770.00	2400.00	800.00
5100.00		0.00	5100.00	0.00
14378.04		8220.58	8878.88	1178.58
0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00
0.00				
143780.38		82205.58	88788.88	11765.95 Pounds UK
		88418.81	108172.78	18237.22 Dollars US

SUMMARY OF FIGURES:

Cash In Promised Budget Balance Each coproducer:							
	\$US Recvd:	\$USpromis:	FilmCostUK\$	Balance:	\$Gillan In	\$Focus In	\$Arnold In
Totals:	80600	55125	143760.39	-87103.61	43250.00	68975.00	8500.00
		FilmCost\$:	222828.61	Co.Costs:	96418.61	108172.78	18237.22
In US \$	REQUIRED	\$toFineCut	-87103.61	BALANCE	-53188.61	-39197.78	-9737.22
In UK pds	(Nkr 10:1)	UKpdTo Fo	-56195.88				

The Cost of the Film is calculated at 143760 UK pounds or 222829 US dollars. This includes all three versions to the contracted 52 min version.

Of this sum 80600 US dollars has been received in the form of grants, investments and presales.

A further 55125 US dollars has been promised in the form of grants, investments and presales. These include contracts to screen the 50 minute film in 3 countries.

The remaining 87103 US dollars, or 56195 UK pounds is outstanding and required to complete the 50 minute film.

This is the sum we are seeking through Caritas.

Sept '96

NOK

CARITAS GRANT	566000.00
Payments advanced for items as listed as follows:	
net to Gillan	173000.00
net to Intervision Ltd	109000.00
net to A Kohen	61935.48
Caritas	13000.00
Operating Account (joint)	235000.00

Operating account Caritas contribution	209084.52
Budgeted total	<u>591935.48</u>
Net	-25935.48

Date	Curr Cost	Unit	No.	NKR	Item	Intervi: Gillan	Operat Arnold	Caritas
Sep-Oct 10	250 day	20	50000	Dry Hire Media	100, incl. Bet: 1	50000	0	0
Aug-Oct 10	150 wk	6	9000	assist. (pr Time)	tel. Office 1	9000	0	0
95/6 10	5000 wk	1	50000	Sig salary	1	50000	0	0
Max						0	0	0
sep-oct 10	150 day	20	30000	editor standard	1	0	0	30000
sep-oct 10	20 hr/o	50	10000	editor o/time and etc	1	0	0	10000
Aug-Oct 10	100 hr/o	20	30000	copies/outside (beta-Hi8-etc)	1	0	0	20000
aug-oct 10	60 tape	20	12000	stock (beta sp)	1	0	0	12000
			0			0	0	0
Rights 10	2000 ytv	1	20000	YTV rights	1	0	0	20000
Rights 10	600 min	4	24000	ABC, NBC, SBS etc	1	0	0	24000
Resear 10	100 hr/o	5	5000	Resrch (video) & copying costs	1	0	0	5000
Courier 10	150 jrnly	4	6000	transport material/ etc	1	0	0	6000
Transcr 10	2000 past	1	20000	transcription/translition (done)	1	0	0	20000
Transcr 10	100 hr/o	15	15000	trans. transl to do	1	0	0	15000
aug 10	1000 cam	1	13000	camera & cash to Timor		0	0	0
aug-oct 10	100 dy/nit	50	50000	Overnight, incl food: Nor/Holl/Prt	1	0	0	50000
aug-oct 10	1500 wk	8	120000	max salary to completion	1	0	120000	0
dec-jan 10	1000 tit	1	10000	Music, work & costs	1		0	10000
aug-oct 10	350 flight	6	21000	max flights/transport	1	0	21000	0
aug-oct 10	120 wk	10	12000	max office mobile tel	1	0	12000	0
	100 wk	8	8000	entertainment/axis	1	0	0	8000
aug-oct 10	500 day	3	15000	filming	1	0	15000	0
oct 10	5 kilo	100	5000	Overweight (stock/equipment)	1	0	0	5000
aug-oct 10	100 wk	5	5000	insurance: minor equip/health	1	0	5000	0
						0	0	0
final 10	6194 bill	1	61935	Arnold Balance after French		0	0	0
							0	0
							0	0
Total			591935					
			53000	contingency				
gross			641935					
NET CASH AGAINST PROJE			-25935					
(including 10% contingency)			-78935					

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

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

November 28, 1996

Ms. Sandra Hoggett
TWI

(9) Pages

RE: FILM SCRIPT

Dear Sandra,

I have carefully reviewed the script and on the whole it works well. As you know, I reviewed the Yorkshire Television and Central Television (Pilger) scripts. They had far more time than you did, and the changes I needed to make for them were far more extensive than the ones recommended here.

Also please bear in mind that all of the people TWI interviewed are close associates of mine or are people I enthusiastically recommended, so I feel I am on solid ground in discussing the end product: I have no axe to grind: for instance, Peter Carey is my advisor on the D. Phil. thesis in Politics I will be doing at Oxford --- on how East Timor became an international issue --- and I have edited much of Peter's own writing on East Timor; Robert Archer is a close friend whom I recommended; you know what my relationship is with Bishop Moore, and you know what I think about Wahid. What I say here is in the interest of getting this job done as credibly as possible.

First, comments on specific items in the text:

C. One, Page one, middle: Portugal's coup was in 1974, not 1975. Belo...to be a priest, WAS OUTSIDE THE COUNTRY-- while Ramos Horta WAS THERE.

c. Two: omit "radical." It wasn't that radical, and he himself was never radical.

c. Five: "bloody" is too broad. About 1,500 people died. We need to state this, because the Indonesians and their friends have wildly exaggerated the civil war death toll.

c. 6: They didn't actually form a Government, they were simply in de facto control and appealed in vain for Portugal to return. Jose was the spokesman during this period. "Minister of External affairs" came only after they declared independence on Nov. 28 (TODAY!), 1975, in a desperate bid for U.N. support as they watched the invading forces gain ground.

c. seven: penultimate line: shot and thrown into the sea. OMIT THE LAST LINE HERE---It is WRONG. Substitute, if you want, something like: THE HORROR THAT FOLLOWED HAS NEVER RECEIVED PROPER INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION/NOTICE.

c. Sixteen: "The Indonesians refused to negotiate with the East Timorese so until 1995 the U.N. was only able to organise talks between the Indonesians and the Portuguese...

c. Twenty one, line one: Catholic Church

c. Twenty Seven: ...diplomat, PLAYING A PIVOTAL ROLE in keeping the issue of East Timor alive on the international agenda. FULL STOP. [The rest of this sentence is inaccurate and potentially harmful; the earlier change in this commentary is simply to avoid language that could cause trouble in the Timorese community.

BOTTOM PAGE 8: I would cut the last line of Jose's mother, it's a lose-lose situation.. The first sentence is a mother's quite proper fear, and says it all; the second sentence won't help the film credibility (what mother wouldn't say wonderful things about their son?) and could really inflame things in the Timorese community.

Commentary Thirty: IT was this plan that CONTRIBUTED TO THE DECISION...

Commentary Thirty Two: "The diplomatic work of Ramos Horta, and Bishop Belo's authority inside East Timor, culminated last year in the

holding of the first INTRA-TIMORESE
DIALOGUE...Experts agree that Bishop Belo
played a key role in these talks -- so much so
that Indonesia prevented him from attending
the following round in March 1996.

That's it for the specific
corrections -- on to more general issues.

What the Nobel Committee said
about Belo in their Oct. 11 statement
(attached) should be stated again, and high up
in the piece: he "has been the foremost
representative of the people of East Timor."
Putting Ramos Horta first tends to create the
opposite impression.

One key thing that may have
attracted the Nobel Committee is Belo's day-
to-day role in going into tear-gas filled
streets or rock-throwing melees or other armed
confrontations between demonstrators and
military, and managing to negotiate peaceful
compromises. Experts see this as critical in
bringing about an ultimate peace. This is
crucial material in any profile of Belo, and
it is missing. The Santa Cruz material is five
years old, and while it must be included, it
is too old to tell the story that should be
told. There is no first-hand commentary on
Belo that is more recent than Santa Cruz in
this filmscript. Bishop Moore was there in
1989, Robert Archer in April 1991, before
Santa Cruz, while Peter Carey has never been
to East Timor, and while Peter is my friend
and advisor, I fear that we are setting
ourselves up for a situation in which the
Indonesians will say that he, the main foreign
commentator in the film, has never been to
East Timor and that what he is saying has not
been directly witnessed.

THE CRUCIAL THING ABOUT SANTA CRUZ, AND
THIS SHOULD BE STATED IN ONE SENTENCE AROUND
COMMENTARY TWENTY THREE, IS THAT THIS WAS THE
FIRST TIME THAT A MASSACRE IN EAST TIMOR WAS
WITNESSED BY A FOREIGN JOURNALIST WHO LIVED TO
TELL ABOUT IT.

I was in East Timor a year ago (see
attached Boston Globe piece) at Bishop Belo's
invitation and saw him negotiate truces in

(4)

tear-gas filled streets and the like. At this point I have no recollection of what I actually said when we did my interview, but frankly I was so tired and engaged in making arrangements for your visit to East Timor and similar stuff that I may well have neglected to say the things on these matters that CNN used in my post-Nobel interview. I would certainly be willing to go into the BBC-quality studio of a reporter friend and record this material and have it sent over by satellite, even at my own expense, because I strongly believe that the script as it now stands lacks current material on Belo's role and falls short of what is needed.

If a choice must be made, then a chunk of the old history might be shortened; it would be better to do that than give short shrift to what Belo actually does every day and which is crucial to understanding the future that the Nobel Committee is trying to influence. Yorkshire and Central have aired tons of material on what happened in 1975 and 1981, etc, and so have others: But no one has done much of anything on what Belo does, which is to save lives on a rather consistent basis. The Nobel will help him do more of that in the period ahead, and such points need to be stressed.

Also, if one is going to include Ramos Horta being cheered in Lisbon, it is also necessary to mention Belo's reception by 200,000 people when he returned from Jakarta after you were there (see attached New York Times clip), even if there is no available footage -- otherwise the whole thing seems much too exile-oriented. As things stand, I fear Belo might see the work as unbalanced.

In addition, the horror photos are absolutely essential -- the Sydney Morning Herald photos of people from 1979, with a one liner, such as "This situation was brought about by an Indonesian military campaign designed to destroy resistance." One can include the Nobel Committee's second paragraph of October 11. All of this would be far more effective than having Westerners talk of atrocities that have been repeatedly described in two recent well-distributed films -- neither of which took the trouble to highlight the 1979 photos, which were taken in a

5
situation then described by the International Committee of the Red Cross as "worse than Biafra and potentially as serious as Cambodia" at that time. In fact, a top ICRC man told me around then that Timor was worse than Cambodia.

Again, I'm simply trying to avert trouble before it occurs, which is the same thing I did for Yorkshire and Pilger. (Pilger, who is a rather tough character, thanked me profusely for it in the end, and Central's lawyers consulted me then and later on for matters of accuracy.)

You have not had the luxury of the kind of time that they had. Most of your script is quite good, as I have tried to make clear. How can anyone sort out everything in such a short time without expert help?

Let's speak today.

Regards,

Arnold

PS: See the attached letter of introduction Bishop Belo gave me some time ago, for use in instances such as this one.



DIOCESE OF PROVIDENCE

ONE CATHEDRAL SQUARE
PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND 02903-3695
(401) 278-4545 FAX (401) 278-4548

OFFICE OF THE BISHOP

October 24, 1996

Reverend Reinaldo M. Cardoso
St. Anthony Rectory
10 Sunset Avenue
West Warwick, RI 02893

Dear Father:

Thank you for your letter of October 15. It is a great acknowledgment that the Nobel Peace Prize was given to Bishop Belo. He certainly is deserving of it.

I will ask Mr. Halpin to prepare a news release for December 7 asking for a Day of Prayer. He may be in touch with you for some background information. I will also mention this to Monsignor Paul Theroux who is the Associate General Secretary of the Conference of Bishops.

Thanking you again and asking God's blessings for you, I remain

Sincerely in Christ,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "Louis E. Helminiak".

Bishop of Providence

cc: Mr. William G. Halpin, Director

St. Anthony's Church
10 Sunset Avenue
West Warwick, R. I. 02893
—
821-8342

October 15, 1996

The Most Reverend Louis E. Gelineau
Bishop of Providence
One Cathedral Square
Providence, RI 02903

Your Excellency,

As you know, on Friday October 11th, Bishop Carlos X. Belo of East Timor was awarded the 1996 Nobel Peace Prize. This award has done more than recognize the efforts of Bishop Belo on behalf of human rights in East Timor. The award has brought the attention of the world, and shown the light on the suffering of the people at the hands of their oppressors.

I respectfully request that December 7th, the 22nd anniversary of the invasion of the Indonesian army, be proclaimed as a Day of Prayer for the people of East Timor, here in the Diocese of Providence. I also request, if possible, that you introduce this cause to the United States Bishops' Conference, asking that December 7th be a National Day of Prayer, so that all Dioceses in the United States remember the suffering humanity in East Timor.

Thank you for your consideration of this request.

I am,

Yours in Christ,

Rev. Reinaldo M. Cardoso.

Rev. Reinaldo M. Cardoso

RMC/rer

cc: Bishop Mulvey
Msgr. Evans

Total of (2) Pages

Arnold S. Kohen
Writer/Journalist
P.O. Box 32307
Washington D.C. 20007
USA

December 16, 1996

Letters
The Economist

FAX 00-44-171-839-2968

Sir---Your leader "Let East Timor Vote" (December 14) is quite pertinent and is on target regarding the need for an internationally-supervised referendum in that long-suffering former Portuguese colony, occupied by Indonesia since 1975. But there is a need for some clarification.

You state that the question of the viability of an independent East Timor is one objection to a referendum that deserves

"greater respect" than the political objections customarily raised by the Indonesian government. Commendably, you dismiss this objection, and state that the East Timorese should be allowed to choose their own fate. Still, the facts of East Timor's economic viability have been consistently distorted by Jakarta and its allies for some time.

For instance, the extent of the deposits is not publicly known, but oil companies from several nations have been lining up to explore the offshore area south of the island. Petroleum workers have told visitors that the prospects there are quite significant. East Timor has other resources, too, including marble, plus a good agricultural base, which would be even better in the absence of conflict. And there are many hundreds of East Timorese with university educations, if not more, who could take up posts in a new administration -- not only a few.

On another front, it should be stressed that before any legitimate referendum can be held, there must be tranquility, including removal of Indonesian troops, restoration of human rights and an absence of intimidation. The international community should work steadily to create such conditions.

Yours Sincerely,



Arnold S. Kohen

P.S. I am the author of a forthcoming biography of Bishop Carlos Ximenes Belo of East Timor. I have attached a recent article to help identify myself. I am travelling at present with Bishop Belo, and can be reached on Dec. 16 in Germany 49-2133-42487. From December 17-24 I will be in Rome, Hotel San Anselmo, PHONE 39-6-5745174 or 5745231 or FAX 5783604. After Dec. 24 back in Washington at 301 585 3229.

Thank you.

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

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

October 17, 1996

Mr. Howard Goldberg
Op-ed Page
The New York Times

(3) Pages

Dear Mr. Goldberg,

Attached is the promised article on Bishop Belo, the Nobel Peace Prize, the Clinton Administration and the Riadys. I hope that the Times will want to run it.

Bishop Moore will be faxing you an authorization on his own stationary.

I am sorry that it is getting in so late, but we wanted to give it a good solid editing.

Thank you for your interest.

Sincerely,
Arnold Kohen

P.S. I can be reached at 301 585 3229 tonight. I will take the Metroliner to meet Bishop Moore for lunch at his home at 1 PM tomorrow, Friday the 18th. I can always be reached via my home number.

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

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

November 6, 1996

Ms. Marjorie Pritchard
Op-ed Editor
The Boston Globe

③ Pages

Dear Ms. Pritchard,

Attached is an amended version of an article submitted in recent weeks by Bishop Paul Moore Jr. and myself at the request of David Greenway.

I hope The Globe will be able to publish it.

Thank you for your attention.

Sincerely,

Arnold Kohen

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

P. O. Box 32307

Washington, D.C. 20007

Phone: 301-585-3229

FAX: 301-585-3288

Oct. 23, 1996

MR. H.D.S. GREENWAY
EDITOR, EDITORIAL PAGE
The Boston Globe

Dear Mr. Greenway,

I am working with Bishop Paul Moore JR. Attached is a note from the bishop and the promised op-ed, which is much more urgent than before. No one has broached this topic, which would give the Globe an exclusive.

We hope you will want to publish

Many thanks!^{it}

Arnold S.
Kohen

PS Attached is an article of mine.

October 30, 1996

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

Dear Mr. Rosenfeld,

Here is the "Taking Exception" article I
promised to send. I hope you will like it.

Bishop Belo was quite scathing in his critique
of the Barry piece. The bishop just returned yesterday from 10 days
of pastoral visits in the eastern hinterland of East Timor, and
said that people there do not agree with much of what Barry says.
He said there were numerous errors in the article. Our purpose here
was not to abuse Mr. Barry but simply to correct some of the most
salient points.

Thanks for your interest.

Arnold Kohen

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

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

Nov. 1, 1996

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

Dear Mr. Rosenfeld,

Here is a corrected and improved version of the
"Taking Exception" article we have already submitted. PLEASE
DISCARD THE PREVIOUS VERSION. Bishop Moore has authorized me to
make the changes.

Thanks again for your interest.

A handwritten signature in brown ink, appearing to read "Arnold", with a horizontal line underneath.

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

P. O. Box 32307

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Phone: 301-585-3229

FAX: 301-585-3288

September 4, 1996

Ms. Johanne Dorais-Slakmon
ICRC

TOTAL OF 5 Pages

Dear Ms. Dorais-Slakmon,

Attached are the two op-eds as discussed.
There are some necessary similarities, but also some important differences.

I would be happy to make whatever changes that are needed. Please note that I will be away on Sept. 11 and Sept. 12.

Thank you for your assistance on this project,

With best regards,

Arnold Kohen

P.S. The e-mail address
for some reason
did not work. Please
re-confirm by fax.

For the International Herald Tribune

When representatives of more than 40 nations meet in Ottawa at the invitation of the Canadian government early next month, it will provide an unprecedented opportunity to make progress toward a total ban on the worldwide plague of anti-personnel landmines. The upcoming Ottawa conference is the first international gathering of States and non-governmental organizations which support a global ban, and could stimulate a significant response: even before a formal legal ban is in place, combatants can renounce the use of anti-personnel mines and producing countries can choose neither to make nor transfer these pernicious weapons.

The most recent international conference to wrestle with a proposed ban on anti-personnel landmines, the Review Conference of the 1980 UN Convention on Certain Conventional Weapons (CCW), ended on May 3 in Geneva, and was stymied by the need to achieve consensus among nations of widely diverging views. It thus accomplished only a small part of what is needed and will not meet again for five years. But this desperate humanitarian problem requires an immediate response.

ICRC's stance on landmines comes out of something very concrete, namely as an outgrowth of our medical work in conflict zones on four continents. Given its mandate to care for and protect the victims of war, the ICRC would have been negligent if it did not act. It is extremely rare for the ICRC to call for the total prohibition of a weapon: for instance, in 1921, the ICRC wrote to the League of Nations calling for the "absolute prohibition of the use of asphyxiating gas, a cruel and barbarous weapon which inflicts terrible suffering upon its victims."

Similarly, anti-personnel landmines should be illegal because of the horrific nature of the injuries alone. Such injuries are among the most difficult to treat for our war surgeons. Landmine wounds require experience that is in extremely short supply, even in nations with the most sophisticated medical personnel. And they require more units of blood, longer hospital stays, more surgical interventions and far more resources than most other injuries.

They also require lifetime prosthetic care and rehabilitation - which is often not available; only 15 percent of mine victims have access to rehabilitative care. This poses a

ones; just as many are estimated to die, often alone, at the site of their injury. Our experience is but a faint reflection of the landmine legacy which is claiming the lives and livelihoods of some two thousand victims each month.

Landmines are by their very nature an indiscriminate weapon: once placed, they can affect children and women, farmers, military peacekeepers, medics or tourists with equally devastating consequences. They can ruin whole economies: Angola, for example, has the capacity to feed 50 million people on a ample European diet, but landmines have devastated this highly fertile land. Such conditions directly threaten operations of the ICRC and other humanitarian agencies whose personnel must daily risk their lives in bringing assistance to war victims. A long-term international effort at mine clearance is needed.

To encourage dialogue on the issue of anti-personnel mines, ICRC commissioned a March 1996 study on the use and effectiveness of these weapons in conflicts since the Second World War. According to this study of 26 conflicts, endorsed by active and retired senior military commanders from a variety of countries, "even when used on a massive scale, [antipersonnel landmines] have usually had little or no effect on the outcome of hostilities."

Thus, ICRC welcomes a new, strongly-worded United Nations General Assembly resolution calling for the total elimination of anti-personnel landmines that will soon be introduced. This would augment previous resolutions and statements at last year's General Assembly, including one by President Clinton. But the end of the landmine crisis need not await a global, negotiated treaty. When a critical mass of States have outlawed anti-personnel landmines, it will accellerate progress in building an international consensus: a legal ban can then follow.

At this stage, pursuing such a strategy is a more practical approach than waiting for a full international agreement. The point is to move as quickly as possible to take specific actions that prevent further victimization. This is the task for Ottawa, and beyond.

For Red Cross Societies

When representatives of more than 40 nations hosted by Canada meet in Ottawa in early October, it will present a unique opportunity to take steps toward a global ban on a pernicious weapon that has been the subject of mounting public concern in recent years. As the first international meeting of States and private organizations in favor of a ban on anti-personnel landmines, the Ottawa gathering could help create a moral atmosphere in which their continued use will become stigmatized, so that combatants will choose not to use them.

The most recent international conference to wrestle with a proposed ban on anti-personnel landmines, the Review Conference of the 1980 UN Convention on Certain Conventional Weapons (CCW), ended on May 3 in Geneva, and was stymied by the need to achieve consensus among nations of widely diverging views. It accomplished only a small part of what is needed and will not meet again for five years -- far too long to wait for effective action.

The landmines crisis requires immediate attention. For one thing, the Ottawa conference should encourage national and regional initiatives. For instance, national laws can be passed calling for a total ban on anti-personnel landmines, and there can be regional agreements, as in Central America. When a critical mass of States around the world have outlawed anti-personnel landmines, it will accelerate progress in building an international consensus: a legal ban can then follow.

It is extremely rare for the ICRC to call for the total prohibition of a weapon. In 1921, for instance, the ICRC wrote to the League of Nations calling for the "absolute prohibition of the use of asphyxiating gas, a cruel and barbarous weapon which inflicts terrible suffering upon its victims". For similar reasons, we now appeal to the international community to outlaw anti-personnel mines.

ICRC's involvement in the effort to stop the production, export and use of anti-personnel landmines is an outgrowth of our medical work in conflict zones on four continents. Given its mandate to care for and protect the victims of war, the ICRC would be negligent if it did not act.

Anti-personnel landmines should be illegal, and stigmatized, because of the horrific nature of the injuries alone, which are among the worst known to our war surgeons. Landmine injuries demand surgical experience that is in extremely short supply, even in nations with the most sophisticated medical personnel. These wounds require more units of blood, longer hospital stays, more surgical interventions and far more resources than most other injuries.

They also require lifetime care - which is often not available: only 15 percent of mine victims have access to rehabilitative treatment. This poses a massive humanitarian problem that would still exist even there were a ban tomorrow. And those who reach medical care are the lucky ones; just as many are estimated to die, often alone, at the site of their injury.

Landmines claim the lives and livelihoods of some two thousand victims each month. They are by their very nature an indiscriminate weapon: once placed, they can affect children and women, farmers, military peacekeepers, medical personnel or tourists with equally devastating consequences. They can ruin whole economies: Angola, for example, has the capacity to feed 50 million people on a ample European diet, but landmines have devastated this highly fertile land.

Such conditions directly threaten operations of the ICRC and other humanitarian agencies whose personnel must risk their lives every day in bringing assistance to war victims. A massive and long-term international effort at mine clearance is needed if future generations are to be spared paying the price for today's landmine legacy.

To encourage dialogue on the issue of anti-personnel mines, the ICRC commissioned a March 1996 study on the use and effectiveness of these weapons in conflicts since the Second World War. According to this study of 26 conflicts, endorsed by active and retired senior military commanders from a variety of countries, "even when used on a massive scale, [antipersonnel landmines] have usually had little or no effect on the outcome of hostilities."

We welcome a new, strongly-worded United Nations General Assembly resolution calling for the total elimination of anti-personnel landmines that will soon be introduced: taking as many positive steps as possible is a more practical approach than waiting for a comprehensive international agreement. The crucial point is to move quickly to prevent further victimization. This is the task for Ottawa, and beyond.

Arnold S. Kohen

7324 Baltimore Avenue
Takoma Park, Maryland 20912
Phone: 301-585-3229
FAX: 301-585-3288

July 12, 1996

Ms. Nancy Yoshihara *7 Pages*
Editorial Page
The Los Angeles Times

Dear Ms. Yoshihara,

As I promised, I am sending some materials on East Timor. I work closely with Bishop Carlos Ximenes Belo, the head of the Catholic Church in East Timor. I also consult for the US Catholic Conference; their 1994 statement on East Timor, which never received any notice in US papers, is attached. Some recent articles of mine are enclosed, as well as an old one from the Times.

I will phone on Monday.

Thank you for your attention.

Arnold Kohen

By Paul Moore Jr. and Arnold S. Kohen

The awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize to Bishop Carlos Felipe Ximenes Belo, at 48, the widely-respected Roman Catholic Bishop of East Timor and Timorese international diplomatic representative Jose Ramos Horta has drawn unprecedented public attention to this beleaguered former Portuguese colony, a island territory the size of New Jersey which Indonesia invaded and illegally occupied in 1975. The Nobel award coincides with accusations that the Administration allowed its foreign policy to be improperly influenced by campaign contributions from the Riady banking family of Indonesia. President Clinton should respond to these allegations by meeting at the earliest opportunity with Bishop Belo, who was cited by the Nobel Committee as "the foremost representative of the people of East Timor..[who] has been a constant spokesman for nonviolence and dialogue with the Indonesian authorities."

The good elements of Clinton's record on East Timor are praiseworthy. For example, soon after taking office, the U.S. in March 1993 supported a resolution at the United Nations Human Rights Commission in Geneva, putting America on the side of the victims of a conflict where, according to the Norwegian Nobel Committee, "it has been estimated that one-third of the population of East Timor lost their lives due to starvation, epidemics, war and terror." The willingness of Washington to criticize Jakarta was refreshing, in light of the longstanding U.S. policy from 1975 of supporting the Indonesian invasion with arms and diplomacy.

In addition, in July 1994, under Congressional pressure, the Administration instituted a ban on the sale to Indonesia of certain small arms that could be used for lethal purposes in places like East Timor. And in November 1994, the President himself took a tough stance with Suharto himself to find a peaceful solution during the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation summit in Jakarta; Twenty-nine young East Timorese had occupied the American Embassy parking lot to draw attention to the plight of their country.

When Bishop Belo visited Washington in June 1995 at the invitation of the US Catholic Conference he was received by National Security Advisor Anthony Lake. In contrast, during the Reagan Administration, Belo's late predecessor, Mgsr. Martinho da Costa Lopes, could manage no better than a junior desk officer. (Those acting as if relief would come from a Dole Administration should take a hard look. So far as is known, of the fifteen odd letters of concern about East Timor that have circulated in the Senate over the past 15 years, the Kansas Republican signed none.)

Bishop Belo is no politician. But in a territory where independent civic activity is forbidden under pain of long imprisonment, Belo needs outside help. Experts affirm that foreign

opinion is the only thing that stands between East Timor and oblivion. Thus, when in Sept. 1995, tense confrontations took place in East Timor between young nationalist protestors and Indonesian security forces, who brutally beat hundreds of them, Bishop Belo was elated one morning when he heard on the radio that U.S. Ambassador to the U.N. Madeleine Albright had expressed American concern about East Timor while visiting Jakarta.

There is another side of Clinton policy. In Oct. 1995, when Indonesian President Suharto visited Washington and met with dozens of US officials and businessmen anxious to invest in this oil and mineral-rich nation with the world's fourth largest population, Clinton once again raised the East Timor issue in response to a letter by 29 senators. Despite this, a White House official told the New York Times that Suharto is "our kind of guy," effectively a blanket endorsement of the regime. There have been new arms deals and a renewal of military training cut off by Congress after the 1991 Santa Cruz massacre in East Timor. At that time, more than 250 people were gunned down by Indonesian troops in full view of Western journalists, including a British TV reporter.

The Riadys have had several meetings in the Oval Office with the President and one in Indonesia: will Belo match their access? We would hope and expect that Bishop Belo, the first Roman Catholic Bishop to receive a Nobel Peace Prize in the award's 96-year history, would meet President Clinton in the White House when he next visits Washington, and be invited to the Inauguration should the President win the election.

In this way the President would give assiduous backing to the Nobel Laureate's efforts to save lives. And Mr. Clinton should put the U.S. behind the Nobel Committee's call for "a diplomatic solution to the conflict in East Timor based on the people's right to self-determination." After 21 years of tragedy in East Timor, that is the least we can do.

Paul Moore Jr. is the Episcopal Bishop of New York (ret.).
Arnold S. Kohen is a journalist and consultant on international human rights issues.

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

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October 30, 1996

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

 Pages

Dear Mr. Rosenfeld,

Here is the "Taking Exception" article I
promised to send. I hope you will like it.

Bishop Belo was quite scathing in his critique
of the Barry piece. The bishop just returned yesterday from 10 days
of pastoral visits in the eastern hinterland of East Timor, and
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He said there were numerous errors in the article. Our purpose here
was not to abuse Mr. Barry but simply to correct some of the most
salient points.

Thanks for your interest.



October 17, 1996

Mr. Howard Goldberg
Op-ed Page
The New York Times

Dear Mr. Goldberg,

Attached is the promised article on Bishop Belo, the Nobel Peace Prize, the Clinton Administration and the Riadys. I hope that the Times will want to run it.

Bishop Moore will be faxing you an authorization on his own stationary.

I am sorry that it is getting in so late, but we wanted to give it a good solid editing.

Thank you for your interest.

Sincerely,

P.S. I can be reached at 301 585 3229 tonight. I will take the Metroliner to meet Bishop Moore for lunch at his home at 1 PM tomorrow, Friday the 18th. I can always be reached via my home number.

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

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FAX: 301-585-3288

October 30, 1996

Mr. Raskob
Politik Abt.
c/o Die Zeit

(4) Pages

Dear Mr. Raskob,

I am the biographer of Bishop Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo of East Timor, and am working as a consultant to the Norwegian Nobel Institute's film project on Bishop Belo and his co-laureate, Jose Ramos Horta. I have recently been cited in the New York Times, The Washington Post and many other places, and have been interviewed at length on CNN and elsewhere.

Attached is a short analysis (about 550 words) I have done on the matter of the abortive meeting of Chancellor Kohl and Bishop Belo. Much of this information has appeared nowhere else and is based upon a long interview by phone with the bishop this morning. The analysis and perspective are based on many years of following the issue.

I hope that you are able to publish the article or some version of it.

Also attached is an article I published late last year on a visit to East Timor as the guest of Bishop Belo.

Thank you for your attention.

Sincerely,

Arnold Kohen

Poor Kohl?

I read the Reuters article off the computer news service on Monday night October 28 with no small amount of amazement: the lead paragraph said that Chancellor Helmut Kohl was "apparently snubbed" by Nobel Peace laureate Bishop Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo of East Timor, where, according to the Norwegian Nobel Committee, "it has been estimated that one-third of the population lost their lives due to starvation, epidemics, war and terror" since Indonesian forces invaded in 1975.

I found this rather odd, knowing that Belo was on a series of pastoral visits to the extreme eastern part of East Timor between October 20 and 29. What exactly was the nature of this "snub," which has been reported worldwide and has created the impression in at least some quarters that the Timorese prelate was somehow at fault?

In fact, Kohl's visit to Indonesia, supposedly "marred" by the apparent reluctance of East Timorese Bishop Belo to accept an invitation for a meeting, had been scheduled months in advance. But there was no contact between the German authorities and no formal invitation was extended to the Timorese prelate, the first Catholic Bishop to win the Nobel Peace Prize in the 96-year-history of the award.

Reached by phone Wednesday morning, Bishop Belo said "I never received any invitation from the German government -- no letter, no card, nothing." What did he receive? Messages relayed through the Apostolic Nunciature in Jakarta. And on the same day of the supposed meeting, the military regime that illegally occupies East Timor offered to bring Bishop Belo to meet Kohl, which is hardly the same thing as a direct invitation. German officials may have been avoiding direct dealings with Belo so as not to offend the government of Indonesia, a big trading partner and arms market. By dealing with Belo with intermediaries Germany fails to treat East Timor -- illegally occupied by Indonesia and in need of "a diplomatic solution...based on the people's right to self-determination," in the words of the Nobel Committee -- as a distinct entity with rights of its own.

On Monday morning -- the same day he was being invited to lunch with Kohl in Jakarta, about 1,300 miles away-- the Indonesian-appointed governor and military authorities came to tell Belo that Kohl wanted to see him. But, Belo said, "People expected me in Baucau [East Timor's second largest town] for a Mass that had been scheduled far in advance, and I couldn't disappoint them."

This has to be understood in the context of numerous confrontations in this area.

Baucau has been the scene of much tension. In fact, on June 10, 1996, a day I phoned Bishop Belo, he was extremely agitated over street confrontations then taking place between heavily armed security forces and Timorese youth. Skipping a long scheduled Mass on a moment's notice in a tinderbox like Baucau, a place always on the edge of explosion, is not something he could do. After all, he received the Nobel Peace Prize -- characterized as "the foremost representative of the people of East Timor" ---- not for negotiating with foreign dignitaries but for easing tense confrontations and other on-the-ground mediation efforts.

However, Bishop Belo himself made it clear this morning that he would be delighted to meet with Chancellor Kohl in Germany in mid-December. The Timorese prelate would welcome a visit to Bonn (or anywhere else in the country) to see the Chancellor, whom he saw only at a distance in the Parliamentary cafeteria when he last visited Germany in 1995. A meeting with Kohl was requested at that time but there was no response.

The New York Times

TO: Arnold Kohen Bishop
Paul
Moore
FAX: 301 585 3288 let

FROM: Letters to the Editor

Inell

FAX: (212) 556-3622

PHONE: (212) 556-1873

PAGE of

November 29, 1996

Letters to the Editor
The New York Times

via Telefax

To the Editor:

The Indonesian Embassy spokesman, Darmosutanto Budiman (Letter, Nov. 29), states that Anthony Lewis is wrong to take up the Norwegian Nobel Committee's call for "efforts to find a diplomatic solution to the conflict" in East Timor "based on the people's right to self-determination." Mr. Budiman also states that the 1996 Nobel Peace co-Laureate, Bishop Carlos Ximenes Belo, is against the holding of a referendum in East Timor to determine the future of this former Portuguese colony, where a third of the population of less than 700,000 are estimated to have died from the combined effects of Indonesia's 1975 invasion and ensuing occupation. A military occupation characterized by arbitrary arrests, torture and other blatant human rights abuses has continued unabated.

Mr. Budiman advocates concentration on the continuing talks under United Nations auspices between Indonesia and Portugal. And indeed, efforts by United Nations officials are praiseworthy. But with all due respect to Portugal, it is the views of the people of East Timor that are of paramount importance in this matter, not the views of anyone else, and the only way to determine these views is through a referendum under strict international supervision. In a 1989 letter to then U.N. Secretary General Perez de Cuellar, Bishop Belo made precisely these points, and he reiterated it in the days after it was announced on October 11 that he had received the Nobel Peace Prize.

There must be tranquility, including removal of Indonesian troops, restoration of human rights and an absence of intimidation, before such a referendum can be held, of course. But even now, it is worth noting, as The Times reported on November 17, that more than 200,000 people "gave a rousing welcome" to Bishop Belo when he returned from a difficult visit to the Indonesian capital of Jakarta. Diplomatic experts state that this reception, with people coming from all thirteen districts of East Timor for days beforehand, is a stunning referendum in its own right -- all the more reason why we must insist on the people's right to choose, not merely a deal between Indonesia and Portugal that circumvents democratic principles.

(signed) The Rt. Rev. Paul Moore Jr.
Arnold S. Kohen

The writers are, respectively, the Episcopal Bishop of New York (ret.) and the author of a forthcoming biography of Bishop Belo.

FOR DIE ZEIT (HAMBURG)

NOT FOR CITATION

Poor Kohl? BY ARNOLD S. KOHEN

I read the Reuters article off the computer news service on Monday night October 28 with no small amount of amazement: the lead paragraph said that Chancellor Helmut Kohl was "apparently snubbed" by Nobel Peace laureate Bishop Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo of East Timor, where, according to the Norwegian Nobel Committee, "it has been estimated that one-third of the population lost their lives due to starvation, epidemics, war and terror" since Indonesian forces invaded in 1975.

I found this rather odd, knowing that Belo was on a series of pastoral visits to the extreme eastern part of East Timor between October 20 and 29. What exactly was the nature of this "snub," which has been reported worldwide and has created the impression in at least some quarters that the Timorese prelate was somehow at fault?

In fact, Kohl's visit to Indonesia, supposedly "marred" by the apparent reluctance of East Timorese Bishop Belo to accept an invitation for a meeting, had been scheduled months in advance. But there was no contact between the German authorities and no formal invitation was extended to the Timorese prelate, the first Catholic Bishop to win the Nobel Peace Prize in the 96-year-history of the award.

Reached by phone Wednesday morning, Bishop Belo said "I never received any invitation from the German government -- no letter, no card, nothing." What did he receive? Messages relayed through the Apostolic Nunciature in Jakarta. And on the same day of the supposed meeting, the military regime that illegally occupies East Timor offered to bring Bishop Belo to meet Kohl, which is hardly the same thing as a direct invitation. German officials may have been avoiding direct dealings with Belo so as not to offend the government of Indonesia, a big trading partner and arms buyer. By dealing with Belo with intermediaries Germany fails to treat East Timor -- illegally occupied by Indonesia and in need of "a diplomatic solution...based on the people's right to self-determination," in the words of the Nobel Committee -- as a distinct entity with rights of its own.

On Monday morning -- the same day he was being invited to lunch with Kohl in Jakarta, about 1,300 miles away-- the Indonesian-appointed governor and military authorities came to tell Belo that Kohl wanted to see him. But, Belo said, "People expected me in Baucau [East Timor's second largest town] for a Mass that had been scheduled far in advance, and I couldn't disappoint them."

This has to be understood in the context of numerous confrontations in this area.

Baucau has been the scene of much tension. In fact, on June 10, 1996, a day I phoned Bishop Belo, he was extremely agitated over street confrontations then taking place between heavily armed security forces and Timorese youth. Skipping a long scheduled Mass on a moment's notice in a tinderbox like Baucau, a place always on the edge of explosion, is not something he could do. After all, he received the Nobel Peace Prize -- characterized as "the foremost representative of the people of East Timor" ---- for easing tense confrontations and other on-the-ground mediation efforts.

However, Bishop Belo himself made it clear this morning that he would be delighted to meet with Chancellor Kohl in Germany in mid-December. The Timorese prelate would welcome a visit to Bonn (or anywhere else in the country) to see the Chancellor, whom he saw only at a distance in the Parliamentary cafeteria when he last visited Germany in 1995. A meeting with Kohl was requested at that time but there was no response.

By Paul Moore Jr. and Arnold S. Kohen

It is unfortunate that Ambassador Robert L. Barry, who has helped East Timor by supporting aid programs that give concrete assistance to local people, criticizes the recent Nobel Peace Prize as "errant." The prize was awarded to Bishop Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo, head of East Timor's Roman Catholic Church, and Jose Ramos Horta, the international representative of the Timorese resistance. Mr. Barry's article attacks the Timorese leader but concludes by making some of the same recommendations as Ramos Horta has put forth for a gradualist solution to the East Timor crisis.

The tragedy in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor, where up to a third of the population have perished from the combined effects of the 1975 Indonesian invasion, has come to prominence as a result of the Nobel awards. But the Nobel also has prompted complaints from elements of the foreign policy establishment who have never shown any interest in the issue and appear to resent its intrusion on the "larger" issues of the day. That is not Mr. Barry: he has a good reputation among foreign missionaries in East Timor who know him and, no doubt, sincerely believes that he has the interests of the people of the territory at heart.

The key players, however, are not the "Italian, Spanish, German and Portuguese Roman Catholic missionaries" whom he cites as authoritative sources, but the people of East Timor themselves, who all too often have been ignored. This morning we spoke with the one person in East Timor that Barry admires the most, Bishop Belo, and he stated forthrightly, after reading the article, that the former Ambassador is wrong on many points:

* The fact that Bishop Belo, whom we have known for several years, made no mention of the Nobel award when he learned of it at the end of a Mass on Oct. 11 was not out of any lack of regard for the prize but rather a prudent effort to avoid inciting provocative action by independence-minded parishoners that could lead to violence. In fact, Belo's Ghandian approach to the award neatly illustrates why he earned it in the first place.

* Similarly, publicly avoiding identification with co-laureate Ramos-Horta does not signify a lack of regard, but rather a desire to avoid public disagreement with Indonesian military authorities, whom the distinguished Indonesia specialist, Dan Lev of the University of Washington, describes as "in a panic" about the Nobel award to East Timor (as well as the rising political opposition to authoritarian rule within Indonesia itself). Bishop Belo states emphatically that it was Ramos-Horta's tireless work over the past 21 years that kept the issue from disappearing from the international scene.

Moreover, the article seriously distorts the 21 year history of the East Timor tragedy. Portuguese authorities made serious attempts to conduct a fair and credible decolonization effort in 1974-75 but were faced with an extremely determined Indonesian policy to absorb East Timor, to which Jakarta has no legitimate legal claim.

Barry's conclusion that the world invites "a new Bosnia" by encouraging independence for East Timor ignores the fact that Ramos-Horta's approach, first presented in this country at the Council on Foreign Relations in New York in 1992, indeed calls for the kind of evolutionary approach to ending the Indonesian occupation of East Timor that Barry applauds: demilitarization, local autonomy, free elections.

He also states that an independent East Timor would be an "economic basket case," but the territory has significant natural resources, beginning with off-shore oil, which the Indonesians have illegally seized. In addition, the much-discussed Riady family is said to have significant investment in marble mines in the territory; in fact, James Riady reportedly was in New York recently extolling the virtues of investment in East Timor.

Implementing the Nobel Committee's Oct. 11, 1996 declaration calling for efforts "to find a diplomatic solution to the conflict in East Timor based on the people's right to self-determination" is the only sensible way to proceed. But the 1992 Nobel award to Indian activist Rigoberta Menchu in Guatemala stimulated diplomatic moves that, four years later, are leading to a peace agreement there after 42 years of bloody conflict. A concerted international effort could produce the same result over time in East Timor, and that is certainly the Nobel Committee's intention. With the help of the international community, it is hardly outside the realm of possibility.

Paul Moore Jr. is the Episcopal Bishop of New York (ret.).
Arnold S. Kohen is a journalist and consultant on international human rights issues currently completing a biography of Bishop Belo.

October 30, 1996

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

Dear Mr. Rosenfeld,

Here is the "Taking Exception" article I
promised to send. I hope you will like it.

Bishop Belo was quite scathing in his critique
of the Barry piece. The bishop just returned yesterday from 10 days
of pastoral visits in the eastern hinterland of East Timor, and
said that people there do not agree with much of what Barry says.
He said there were numerous errors in the article. Our purpose here
was not to abuse Mr. Barry but simply to correct some of the most
salient points.

Thanks for your interest.

Nov. 29, 1996

Ms. Kris Wells
Letters to the Editor
The New York Times

Via Telefax

Dear Ms. Wells,

Attached is a letter co-authored by Paul Moore Jr., the former Episcopal Bishop of New York (tel: 212 675 3001), and myself. Bishop Moore asked me to send it to the Times after we finished editing it by phone. He will fax his own authorization to you.

Both Bishop Moore and I will be attending the Nobel Peace Prize ceremonies in Oslo (related to the subject of our letter) the week after next, and he will not be reachable in New York after December 5. I will be away as of Dec. 3. We can both be reached after these dates at the Grand Hotel in Oslo, phone 011-47-22-429390 fax 421225.

Thank you for your attention. We hope The Times will be able to publish our letter.

Sincerely,

FOR Washington Post - Outlook)
(Jeff Morley)

When this year's Nobel Peace laureates --- Roman Catholic Bishop Carlos Felipe Ximenes Belo, 48, and international representative Jose Ramos Horta, 46, both of the former Portuguese colony of East Timor -- receive their medals in Oslo on December 10, along with hope there will be anxiety. The fear is that Indonesian authorities could prevent Bishop Belo from returning to the Connecticut-sized territory 400 miles off Australia. Or Jakarta could simply continue to condone a campaign of death threats against Bishop Belo by local thugs who could not operate for a minute without military approval.

Bishop Belo has been the object of threats and two assassination attempts, as he told one of the authors during a visit to East Timor, since he became an international symbol of the quest for freedom and human rights in his homeland in the late 1980s. Such threats have not entirely ceased, even after the announcement on October 11 that he had received the Nobel Peace Prize. And apart from threats to his person, even now, in Oslo, he is severely limited in what he can do and say, for fear of being denied re-entry to his beloved homeland where, according to the Norwegian Nobel Committee, he is regarded as the "foremost representative" of his people. America, the Clinton Administration and Congress in particular, should take strong diplomatic steps, together with its counterparts in the other G-7 nations, to protect Bishop Belo, making it clear that there will be severe consequences if he meets any harm, is prevented from returning to East Timor, or continues to be subjected to threats.

Pnt
Matabean
Here??

Since returning to East Timor from his priestly studies in Rome in 1981, Belo has worked assiduously to prevent new generations from "throwing themselves on the funeral pyre of their own history," as he put it in a 1993 interview: an estimated 200,000 people, or about a third of the original population, have perished from the combined effects of Indonesia's 1975 invasion and subsequent occupation of the territory. Thus Bishop Belo has repeatedly strode into streets filled with tear gas, as one of the authors witnessed in Sept. 1995, to end confrontations between young East Timorese demonstrators and Indonesian security forces, who maintain a large presence in the New Jersey-sized territory. In an effort to ward off violence, Belo has placed himself between government-inspired mobs and independence-minded youngsters, in one case at a stand-off at the local Cathedral during President Clinton's visit to Indonesia in Nov. 1994, when 29 East Timorese occupied the parking lot of the U.S. Embassy in Jakarta to draw attention to the plight of their country.

Earlier, when Indonesian troops opened fire on thousands of mourners at Santa Cruz cemetery five years ago, Bishop Belo used

2

his own vehicle to drive hundreds of young protestors to their homes before they met harm at the hands of Indonesian forces. He has made numerous statements on human rights conditions in the island territory, 400 miles off Darwin, Australia. His importance in the territory has grown, especially as his mediating skills have increased in importance.

Experts inside East Timor say that the awarding the the Peace Prize to Bishop Belo has sparked unprecedented unity. More than 200,000 people, coming from all thirteen districts of the island territory, greeted the bishop when he returned on Nov. 16 from a difficult trip to the Indonesian capital of Jakarta, where he was met by hostile government-inspired demonstrations. The throng that greeted him on his return to Timor was twice as many as had come to see Pope John Paul II when he visited there in 1989. Last year foreign visitors watched Belo being mobbed by children and other villagers.

Even the Indonesian military treated him with grudging respect as he moved throughout the country: travelling with Belo in his Toyota Corolla van last year was reminiscent of riding through British checkpoints in Belfast with the 1976 Nobelism from Northern Ireland, Mairead Corrigan Maguire.

But Belo is more than an earnest good shepherd. He has a marvellous sense of humor that is at once droll and biting. His mordant humor is combined with self-deprecating wit.

Bishop Belo is strikingly similar to the humor of the Yiddish-speaking survivors in the novels of the Nobel-Prize-winning writer, the late Isaac Bashevis Singer. indeed, the Nobel for East Timor might well be called "the Nobel of the Survivors." Whatever else it may mean, it will signify that their generation of East Timorese, of which they are among the few remaining members, has refused to be beaten.

Bishop Belo survived because as a student for the priesthood he was exempt from the rules that applied to most men of his age, many of whom either fought in the resistance against Indonesia or had fled to the mountains to escape the conflict. Ramos Horta was outside the country because he had taken East Timor's case to the United Nations only a few days before Indonesia had launched its fullscale invasion, which began 21 years ago. Since then, Ramos Horta has lost several family members and most of his friends. (Some members of the foreign policy establishment have criticized Ramos Horta's brand of aggressive advocacy, but few are anxious to discuss his status as one of the few members of his generation that is still alive.) Both have felt an overwhelming responsibility as a result, and have responded to it out in different ways.

Travelling with Bishop Belo throughout the

3
countryside of East Timor last year, a visitor was told of friends and acquaintances of the Timorese prelate --- the first Catholic Bishop in the 96 years of the award to receive the Nobel Peace Prize -- who had been killed in the conflict. In his home area near the Matabean mountain (which means, literally, "ancestral ghost"), the sobriquet "Mountain of the Dead" has been applied to that majestic, fog-covered range where numerous bombing missions of American-supplied Rockwell OV-10 Bronco counterguerilla planes worked constantly to root out the armed resistance to Indonesian rule, killing numerous civilians in the process. (The OV-10s were only a small part of the arms and diplomatic support for Indonesia offered by successive American Administrations.) Apart from this, Matabean was reportedly the site of several massacres, according to Amnesty International. Indeed to say that one was "going to Quelicai" -- the village near where Bishop Belo grew up -- was to say that one was condemned to death.

Keep
which reportedly ^{was the site of} several massacres

The idea that Belo might be banned from re-entering East Timor adds a chilling element of irony to this year's Peace Prize. Criticism has been directed at Belo's co-laureate for supporting demonstrations of young people in East Timor, something that the bishop strongly opposes because they can lead to violence. But nothing would incite violence more quickly than to bar Belo, whose heroes include Mahatma Ghandi, Martin Luther King Jr. and Pope John Paul II, ~~from his strategic perch in Lecidere, his waterfront residence in East Timor's capital of Dili.~~ The moral authority of his office, his connection with ordinary people and his charismatic appeal, offer an irreplaceable combination of qualities. Simply stated, East Timor, a tinderbox in the best of times, would blow up without him. And the Indonesian military know it.

Stopping Bishop Belo from returning or allowing assassination rumors to gather momentum would place the Indonesian military firmly in the Burmese mold, after the State Law and Order Restoration Command (SLORC), which continues a severe harassment campaign against 1991 Nobel Peace laureate Daw Aung San Suu Kyi. Will Indonesia go the Burmese route, or will it take a lesson from another hardline military regime that was confronted with a Nobel Peace Prize winner? The Guatemala parallel holds some interesting lessons. Four years after indigenous peoples' activist Rigoberta Menchu received the 1992 award, an embryonic peace agreement is set to go into effect at year's end. Rather than becoming another Burma, could East Timor be the next Guatemala?

When this year's Nobel Peace laureates --- Roman Catholic Bishop Carlos Felipe Ximenes Belo, 48, and international representative Jose Ramos Horta, 46, both of the former Portuguese colony of East Timor -- receive their medals in Oslo on December 10, there will be one thought in the minds of those most familiar with their beleaguered country, where an estimated 200,000 people, or about a third of the original population, have perished from the combined effects of Indonesia's 1975 invasion and ensuing occupation. That thought will be that at all costs, Bishop Belo must be allowed to return unimpeded to the New Jersey-sized territory 400 miles off Australia, and must remain unharmed.

The object of death threats and assassination attempts since he became an international symbol of the quest for freedom and human rights in his homeland, such threats have not entirely ceased, even after the announcement on October 11 that he had received the Nobel Peace Prize. And apart from threats to his person, even now, in Oslo, he is severely limited in what he can do and say, for fear of being prevented from returning to his beloved homeland where, according to the Norwegian Nobel Committee, he is regarded as the "foremost representative" of his people. America, the Clinton Administration in particular, has an obligation should take strong diplomatic steps, together with its G-7 allies if necessary, to defend Bishop Belo. Nothing less will do.

Since returning to East Timor from his priestly studies in Rome in 1981, Belo has worked assiduously to prevent new generations from "throwing themselves on the funeral pyre of their own history," as he put it in a 1993 interview. Thus Bishop Belo has repeatedly strode into streets filled with tear gas, as one of the authors witnessed in Sept. 1995, to end confrontations between young East Timorese demonstrators and Indonesian security forces, who maintain a large presence in the New Jersey-sized territory. In an effort to ward off violence, Belo has placed himself between government-inspired mobs and independence-minded youngsters, in one case at a stand-off at the local Cathedral during President Clinton's visit to Indonesia in Nov. 1994, when 29 East Timorese occupied the parking lot of the U.S. Embassy in Jakarta to draw attention to the plight of their country. And when Indonesian troops opened fire on thousands of mourners at Santa Cruz cemetery five years ago, Bishop Belo used his own vehicle to drive hundreds of young protestors to their homes before they met harm at the hands of Indonesian forces. He has made numerous statements on human rights conditions in the island territory, 400 miles off Darwin, Australia. His importance in the territory has grown exponentially, especially as his mediating skills have increased in importance.

Experts inside East Timor say that the awarding the the Peace Prize to Belo has sparked unprecedented unity in East Timor, as more than 200,000 people, coming from all thirteen districts of the island territory, greeted the bishop when he returned on Nov. 16 from a difficult trip to the Indonesian capital of Jakarta, where he was met by hundreds of government-inspired demonstrators. The throng that greeted him in Timor was twice as many as had come to see Pope John Paul II when he visited there in 1989. Well before the Nobel visitors saw him mobbed as he travelled through the countryside of East Timor. Even the Indonesian military treated him with grudging respect: travelling with Belo in his Ford??? van last year, one received the kind of reception one receives from British troops in Belfast travelling with the 1976 Nobel laureate from Northern Ireland, Mairead Corrigan Maguire.

But Belo is more than an earnest good shepherd. He has a marvellous sense of humor that is at once droll and biting. His mordant humor is combined with self-deprecating wit. Put that together with the moral authority of office and his charismatic bearing, and it is an irreplaceable combination. Simply stated, East Timor, a tinderbox in the best of times, would blow up without him.

One might call it the Nobel of the survivors.

It will be its own kind of milestone. Whatever else it may mean for , it will also signify that their generation of East Timorese, of which they are among the few survivors, has refused to be beaten.

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Prize -- who had been killed in the conflict. In his home area near Matabean (which means, literally, "ancestral ghost"), the sobriquet "Mountain of the Dead" has been applied to that majestic, fog-covered range where numerous bombing missions of American-supplied Rockwell OV-10 Bronco counterguerilla planes worked constantly to root out the armed resistance to Indonesian rule, killing numerous civilians in the process. Apart from this, Matabean was reportedly the site of several massacres, according to Amnesty International. Indeed, to say that one was "going to Quelicai" -- the village near where Bishop Belo grew up -- was to say that one was condemned to death.

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Stopping Bishop Belo from returning or allowing assassination rumors to gather momentum would place the Indonesian military firmly in the Burmese mold, after the State Law and Order Restoration Command (SLORC), which continues a severe harassment campaign against 1991 Nobel Peace laureate Daw Aung San Suu Kyi. Will Indonesia go the Burmese route, or will it take a lesson from another hardline military regime that was confronted with a Nobel Peace Prize winner? The Guatemala parallel holds some interesting lessons. Four years after indigenous peoples' activist Rigoberta Menchu received the 1992 award, an embryonic peace agreement is set to go into effect at year's end. Rather than becoming another Burma, could East Timor be the next Guatemala?

November 29, 1996

Letters to the Editor
The New York Times

via Telefax

To the Editor:

The Indonesian Embassy spokesman, Darmosutanto Budiman, states that Anthony Lewis is wrong to take up the Norwegian Nobel Committee's call for "efforts to find a diplomatic solution to the conflict" in East Timor "based on the people's right to self-determination." Mr. Budiman also states that the 1996 Nobel Peace co-Laureate, Bishop Carlos Ximenes Belo, is against the holding of a referendum in East Timor to determine the future of this former Portuguese colony, where a third of the population of less than 700,000 are estimated to have died since Indonesia invaded 21 years ago.

Budiman advocates concentration on the continuing talks under United Nations auspices between Indonesia and Portugal. And indeed, efforts by United Nations officials are praiseworthy. But with all due respect to Portugal, it is the views of the people of East Timor that are of paramount importance in this matter, not the views of anyone else, and the only way to determine these views is through a referendum under strict international supervision. In a 1989 letter to then U.N. Secretary General Perez de Cuellar, Bishop Belo made precisely these points, and he reiterated it in the days after it was announced on October 11 that he had received the Nobel Peace Prize.

There must be tranquility, and an absence of intimidation, before such a referendum can be held, of course. But even now, it is worth noting, as The Times reported on November 17, that more than 200,000 people "gave a rousing welcome" to Bishop Belo when he returned from a difficult visit to the Indonesian capital of Jakarta. Diplomatic experts ^{so state} that this reception, with people coming from all thirteen districts of East Timor for days beforehand, is a stunning referendum in its own right -- all the more reason why we must insist on the people's right to choose, not merely a deal between Indonesia and Portugal that circumvents democratic principles.

(Signed) The Rt. Rev. Paul Moore Jr.
Arnold S. Kohen

The writers are, respectively, the Episcopal Bishop of New York (ret.) and the author of a forthcoming biography of Bishop Belo.

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

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

December 2, 1996

Mr. Jefferson Morley
Outlook Section
The Washington Post

(4) Pages

Dear Jeff,

Here is the promised piece by Bishop Paul Moore Jr. and I. You will be receiving a confirmatory fax from him over the next hour or so.

I will call later in the afternoon, as I leave for Oslo tomorrow and want to see if there is anything else I need to do at the moment. Bishop Moore leaves Friday. We will both be at the Grand Hotel in Oslo, tel: 47-22- 429390 or fax 421225---thus the Oslo dateline for the article.

Regards,

Arnold

Arnold S. Kohen

7324 Baltimore Avenue
Takoma Park, Maryland 20912
Phone: 301-585-3229
FAX: 301-585-3288

Nov. 29, 1996

Ms. Kris Wells---2 pages
Letters to the Editor
The New York Times

Via Telefax

Dear Ms. Wells,

Attached is a letter co-authored by Paul Moore Jr., the former Episcopal Bishop of New York (tel: 212 675 3001), and myself. Bishop Moore asked me to send it to the Times after we finished editing it by phone. He will fax his own authorization to you.

Both Bishop Moore and I will be attending the Nobel Peace Prize ceremonies in Oslo (related to the subject of our letter) the week after next, and he will not be reachable in New York after December 5. I will be away as of Dec. 3. We can both be reached after these dates at the Grand Hotel in Oslo, phone 011-47-22-429390 fax 421225.

Thank you for your attention. We hope The Times will be able to publish our letter.

Sincerely,

Arnold S. Kohen

P.S. I have also attached two articles from the Boston Globe to help identify our contribution to this matter.

N/ FAX Nº 397 02 02
V/ FAX Nº 001301 585 32 88

DATA/DATE: 17.10.96
PÁGINAS/PAGES: 1+1

PARA/TO: Mr. Arnold Kohen

DE/FROM: Ambassador Francisco Knopfli
Secretary-General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Portugal

ASSUNTO/SUBJECT:

TEXT/TEXT:

Caso Pamiyo

Venho felicitá-lo pela atribuição do Prémio Nobel da Paz ao Bispo Ximenes Belo e ao Dr. Ramos Horta, com ênfase para o primeiro.

Considero que se tratou de um excelente contributo para a causa de Timor Leste a que, estou certo, não terá sido alheia a sua intervenção e apoio constantes.

A este propósito e para seu conhecimento, junto envio cópia de uma notícia publicada hoje no "Diário de Notícias".

Atenciosamente

F. Knopfli

November 21, 1996

**Ambassador Rui Quartin Santos,
M.N.E.**

Dear Mr. Ambassador,

Jose Ramos Horta suggested I contact you regarding the question of hotel rooms in Oslo for about 30 people who are mainly guests of Bishop Belo, each for an average of three nights. This is in addition to five more flights that are needed (two are for Salesian leaders in Lisbon, one is for a distinguished individual from Oxford, who will be flying from Heathrow. And two are for leading human rights activists (one from Cairo, the other Geneva).

Bishop Paul Moore of New York suggested a very reliable and efficient travel agent who could handle this task: Continental American Travel at 212 759 0099 (fax) or 759 8302 (phone).

As I have indicated, there is an urgent need to avoid the chaos that has already begun regarding tickets, hotels, etc.

I will be phoning you later today.

With regards,

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

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

Nov. 25, 1996

Ambassador Rui Quartin Santos (2) Pages
M.N. E.

Dear Mr. Ambassador,

Some adjustments are necessary in the list I sent you last week.

1. The two people from Egypt and Hong Kong here have not yet had invitations from the Nobel Institute. Until such invitations are issued, no further action is warranted, thus their flights and hotel may not be needed. I will keep you informed on this matter.

Mr. Amir Salem, the Director of the Legal Research and Resource Center for Human Rights, Cairo and Professor Yash Ghai, visiting Professor at Harvard Law School, normally at the University of Hong Kong Faculty of Law.

2. and 3. Don Emilio and Dona Lupe Arano, Sol 26 A,

Box 362 Palma de Mallorca 07001 SPAIN
telephone 34 971 721932
another telephone 510445

The Aranos provided Bishop Belo with a scholarship for seven years of his studies. Five of these years D. Ximenes Belo spent in Portugal. He calls them "his family." Because of confusion on the list they are only being invited now. Given their history, common courtesy would indicate that their flights from Spain and their hotel costs be met.

4. Steve Alston, Catholic Fund for Overseas Development (CAFOD), London: CAFOD has supported advocacy and aid projects in East Timor over the past 7 years, and did so when most others would not. Has very good contacts with Portuguese Embassy in London. Helped fund Belo trip to Europe in 1995. FAX 44-171-274 9630.

HOTEL ONLY

5. Mrs. Kris Savat---Head of (Flemish) Catholic Justice and Peace Commission, Belgium. FAX 32-2-5028101. Mrs. Savat has helped to organize numerous conferences and meetings on East Timor in Belgium, at the European Parliament more particularly, and elsewhere, over the past 11 years. She may not be available, either, but her decade of service in Europe has earned her a place.

HOTEL ONLY

Page 2, Amb. Quartin

6. Karl Wintgens, Entraide et Fraternite (French) Catholic agency in Belgium: Karl has been a good friend in terms of solidarity work. HOTEL ONLY

FAX 32-2-2173259.

7. Three Portuguese people proposed by the Salesianos. It is not clear whether or not they are already on the lists of Ramos-Horta or other Portuguese lists. I have no idea what kind of system is being used in Portugal concerning payment of flights, hotel, etc. This is for you to decide. But it might be wise to treat these three individuals exactly the same as the others to avoid bad feelings on the side of the Salesianos, especially in light of the fact that there are only three people in question:

A) Capita0 Leal Marques--- organized Bishop Belo's visit to Algarve in 1995. Reachable through Father Mauricio, 391-1580, fax 351-396-6472. Mauricio is Bishop Belo's main contact in Portugal.

B. Dra. Antonieta Geraldês

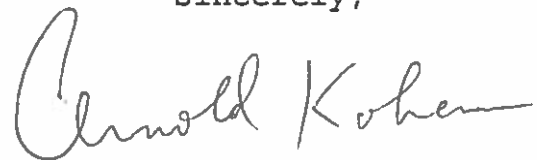
C. Prof. Eduardo Geraldês

These two were also proposed by Father Mauricio, and can be contacted through him.

Hopefully everything is complete now. We will wait to see what happens with the first two gentlemen listed above.

Thank you for your attention.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Arnold Kohen". The signature is fluid and cursive, with the first name "Arnold" written in a larger, more prominent script than the last name "Kohen".

Dec 17th 1995

Private and Confidential

Dear Bruce

Brasilia has been so far a terrible disappointment. The city is ugly and ridiculously expensive, the politics is dull and the people don't care. They don't care about a thing. Indolence without grace permeates the simplest action. And then the sadness of not being understood in my own language. "Oi?! Ue?! Qu'e que ele falou?". Every time I speak I am faced with blank expressions denoting utter perplexity.

Irrespective of party affiliation the Portuguese political establishment leads one to think that Brazil is a priority and a vocation. This perception is regularly encouraged by newspaper articles and returning visitors who claim that there, in Brazil, we find our true dimension and the meaning of fraternity. Balderdash and fiddle-faddle!

The Brazilians at best ignore Portugal and the Portuguese. To them, Portugal is a nineteenth century society of wretched, stupid yokels, whose sole usefulness in life is to provide material for ethnic jokes. Commerce between the two countries amounts to the promising level of 1% and promises to decline. Political support is reluctant when not simply denied. And out of their Foreign Ministry, the famous Itamaraty, where Portuguese surnames are the norm; where most of the flags and insignia on display are solely Portuguese or contain obvious Portuguese elements; where all reception areas are almost exclusively decorated with Portuguese furniture and artifacts - spurts indifference to our projects and designs.

I am neither accusing nor complaining: I'm portraying!

The Embassy, housed in a huge Gulbenkian-like cement structure surrounded by prickles, brambles, mysterious plants (no doubt capable of extraordinary secretions), fallen trees hollowed by rot and rodents and a menacing fauna of predatory habits - The Embassy, as I was saying, is mostly asleep. If it was located in a forest, I would claim a sense of *deja vu* and venture into a Sleeping Beauty theory. But this silence is archeological. Dig well into its depths and who knows?, there may be remnants. But not now, not here, no.

Our house is nice. We have our things, Mary and I have added a few items for the future, and as soon as they let us escape, it should simply be a matter of getting packed and out. Mary and Miguel are progressing very well in Portuguese. Miguel is two now, and quite enchanting. I have written some.

As for Timor: Well! To put it in a nutshell the Brazilian Government has adopted a milder version of the American position. They are interested in Indonesia and the Indonesians are courting them. Timor is seen as a rather lamentable case of human rights abuses and that is it.

The Portuguese Ambassador here didn't really care to sour his non-existing relations with his Indonesian colleague and nobody thought about Timor, what for?

Two factors changed it quite considerably: the international meeting of parliamentarians that took place in Lisbon (which you attended) and the statement made by former President Itamar Franco when he arrived in Lisbon as Brazilian Ambassador.

The first of them led to a visit to the Embassy by a member of the Brazilian Camara de Deputados, proposing that something should be done and "will you help?".

Against the palpable reluctance of the Ambassador, one colleague and I grabbed the chance and pushed it to Lisbon. Lisbon paid the fares of two Timorese (Rogue Rodrigues and a silent guy called Noronha) and a special session was held during which ALL political parties represented in the Camara spoke out for East Timor. A film was shown, the Embassy of Indonesia sent an agent who took photos galore and the Foreign Ministry took note.

Inside information tells me that it led to quite a lot of discomfort. I arranged for Rodrigues and Noronha to be interviewed, by phone, by Lusa and Expresso and locally by Correio Braziliense and TV Manchete.

The prudent Ambassador attended the session in the Camara and received the two Timorese in the privacy of his office to tell them how deeply involved he had always been with their noble cause.

As for Itamar Franco, he spoke in favour of East Timor and I managed to persuade the reluctant Ambassador to take advantage of an offer to publish in a local paper and sign a piece written by me on East Timor. After weeks of hesitations and consultations he did.

The issue went mildly public in Brasilia. The Indonesian Embassy demonstrating enormous creative ability invented indignant readers who reacted in the Letters to the Editor column from the depths of Taguatinga. Some people showed an interest.

But the real opportunity came when the FENAJ (The Association of Professional Journalists) came out in support of Itamar's non official statements on Timor. I met up with the Vice-President of FENAJ, who, as it happens was Timorese supporter and we were able to cook up messages from the Timorese resistance to be taken to the Congress of FIJ (International Federation of Journalists) in Caracas and again in Tokyo.

In both cases FENAJ presented and got unanimous approval on a motion of condemnation of Indonesia.

A delegation of FIJ may be going to Indonesia seeking access to Xanana and entry in East Timor.

The Ambassador is now pouting a bit because Lisbon has not given him the recognition that he deserves for his meritorious handling of the T-L Dossier. He is in risk of becoming the resentful Ambassador.

Now that the socialists are in and planning a visit here in the spring I will try and push the issue. Jose ought to get himself invited to join the party.

The Indonesians are courting the Brazilians most actively and a high-level military delegation has just been here seeking tourist exchanges and offering to buy military equipment. They plan to invite various Brazilian delegations ending up with a state visit to Djakarta.

My calendar tells me that tomorrow is Hanukkah. You have my warmest wishes and the best hope that 1996 will be, personally and professionally a good year for you and Korinna.

Yours love

Lm

P.S.

I will go to Washington towards the end of summer. Will make contact.

One more thing: I read with heartfelt emotion your report in East Times.

In addition to its intrinsic merit I felt your depth of involvement with the country

Bye for now
L.

EMBASSY OF PORTUGAL
2125 Kalorama Road, N.W.
WASHINGTON, DC 20 008

Telephone: (202) 328 86 10
Telefax: (202) 462 37 26

FAX nr. 522
Cover + page(s)

O S T E N S I V O

DE/FROM: RUI MANUPPELLA TERENO
PARA/TO: ARNOLD KOHEN
DATA/DATE: 96.11.27
ASSUNTO/SUBJECT: TRAVEL DATES FOR SOME OF THE OSLO INVITEES

AS I TOLD YOU IN MY LAST VOICE-MAIL MESSAGE, WE WERE ASKED BY LISBON TO FIND OUT THE ARRIVAL AND RETURN DATES OF THE FOLLOWING OSLO INVITEES, FOR THE PURPOSE OF MAKING HOTEL RESERVATIONS:

- CONGRESSMAN AND MRS. HALL;
- CONGRESSMAN AND MRS. WOLF;
- MS. MAIREAD MAGUIRE;
- MR. TOM QUIGLEY;
- MS. ELSIE WALKER;
- MR. BOB ZACHRITZ;

I AM HESITANT TO TALK DIRECTLY TO THE CONGRESSMEN'S OFFICES BECAUSE I DON'T KNOW WHO IS SUPPOSED TO KNOW THESE ARRANGEMENTS, AND THE SAME APPLIES TO MR. ZACHRITZ;

AS FOR MS. MAGUIRE AND MS. WALKER YOU TOLD US THEY SHOULD BE REACHED THROUGH YOU;

FINALLY, I WASN'T ABLE TO TALK TO MR. QUIGLEY (IS HIS PHONE NUMBER STILL (202) 541-3198?);

IN CASE YOU'RE ABLE TO HELP ME WITH THIS, PLEASE SEND ME A FAX, SO THAT I MAY RELAY THE INFORMATION TO LISBON EVEN BEFORE THE WEEKEND. THANK YOU.



Nov. 25, 1996

Ambassador Rui Quartin Santos
M.N. E.

Dear Mr. Ambassador,

Some adjustments are necessary in the list I sent you last week.

1. The two people from Egypt and Hong Kong here have not yet had invitations from the Nobel Institute. Until such invitations are issued, no further action is warranted, thus their flights and hotel may not be needed. I will keep you informed on this matter.

Mr. Amir Salem, the Director of the Legal Research and Resource Center for Human Rights, Cairo and Professor Yash Ghai, visiting Professor at Harvard Law School, normally at the University of Hong Kong Faculty of Law.

2. and 3. Don Emilio and Dona Lupe Arano, Sol 26 A,

Box 362 Palma de Mallorca 07001 SPAIN
telephone 34 971 721932
another telephone 510445

The Aranos provided Bishop Belo with a scholarship for seven years of his studies. Five of these years D. Ximenes Belo spent in Portugal. He calls them "his family." Because of confusion on the list they are only being invited now. Given their history, common courtesy would indicate that their flights from Spain and their hotel costs be met.

4. Steve Alston, Catholic Fund for Overseas Development (CAFOD), London: CAFOD has supported advocacy and aid projects in East Timor over the past 7 years, and did so when most others would not. Has very good contacts with Portuguese Embassy in London. Helped fund Belo trip to Europe in 1995. FAX 44-171-274 9630.

HOTEL ONLY

5. Mrs. Kris Savat---Head of (Flemish) Catholic Justice and Peace Commission, Belgium. FAX 32-2-5028101. Mrs. Savat has helped to organize numerous conferences and meetings on East Timor in Belgium, at the European Parliament more particularly, and elsewhere, over the past 11 years. She may not be available, either, but her decade of service in Europe has earned her a place.
HOTEL ONLY

Page 2, Amb. Quartin

6. Karl Wintgens, Entraide et Fraternite (French) Catholic agency in Belgium: Karl has been a good friend in terms of solidarity work. HOTEL ONLY

FAX 32-2-2173259.

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B. Dra. Antonieta Geraldês

C. Prof. Eduardo Geraldês

These two were also proposed by Father Mauricio, and can be contacted through him.

Hopefully everything is complete now. We will wait to see what happens with the first two gentlemen listed above.

Thank you for your attention.

Sincerely,

May 12, 1995

H.E. Ambassador Fernando Andresen-Guimaraes
Embassy of Portugal
2125 Kalorama Road
Washington, D.C. 20008

Dear Mr. Ambassador,

Thank you very much for taking the time to meet with me on the subject of East Timor last month.

On the basis of that discussion, I have done a good deal of thinking and consultation with experts, and now have a suggestion which I respectfully submit:

As you are aware, Congress will soon consider the proposal to restore IMET military training grant aid to Indonesia. As The New York Times pointed out in an April 20 editorial, such a move is "a terrible idea" that would send the wrong signal to Jakarta.

There is one way that the IMET aid might be blocked. The Speaker of the House, Newt Gingrich, has the power to block consideration of particular measures. He can do so in the case of IMET to Indonesia, if he so chooses.

Is it possible to request that the key individual at the Edelman firm working for Portugal approach Mr. Gingrich with this proposal? This is a serious and constructive suggestion that would, if successful, represent a great victory for all concerned.

I would be happy to discuss this matter at your convenience.

Once again, thank you for your courtesy,

Sincerely,

981124-131241-LU1WML -001-001 PAGE 1 SET 9 WITH 1 OF 1 STORIES

STORY 1

ACCESS NUMBER 777078
NEWSPAPER (c) THE WASHINGTON POST
DAY SATURDAY
SECTION A SECTION
PAGE A01
LENGTH 58 INCHES
STORY TYPE NEWS NATL
DATE 02/15/97
HEADLINE NSC GAVE WARNINGS ABOUT ASIAN DONORS
BYLINE Sharon LaFraniere; Susan Schmidt
CREDIT Washington Post Staff Writers
ART INFO-GRAPHIC,,twp
NAME BILL CLINTON; ALBERT GORE JR.; ANTHONY LAKE;
RICHARD C. SHELBY; JOHN HUANG; CHARLES YAH LIN
TRIE; HSING YUN; JOHNNY CHUNG; JAMES RIADY; MARK
GROBMYER; PAULINE KANCHANALAK
ORGANIZATION NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL; DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL
COMMITTEE
SUBJECT adb#U.S. President; adc#Vice President; apb#Political
parties; apfd#Campaign contributions and funds;
nbb#Ethics and morality; ax#Political corruption
and scandals; skb#Asian Americans;
cbwx#Fund-raising; lg#Investigations and probes;
fdm#Documents

START-OF-TEXT

White House aides sidestepped or ignored warnings from the National Security Council staff about some contacts the president and vice president had with Asian American fund-raisers now under federal investigation, documents released yesterday show.

In one case, a National Security Council official warned that a Democratic Party fund-raiser was "a hustler" trying to trade on his connections to President Clinton and Hillary Rodham Clinton, even presenting himself as a free-lance diplomat for the president. But White House aides allowed him into the Executive Mansion at least 10 more times.

The same NSC staff official also warned that a fund-raising event at a Buddhist temple should be viewed with "great, great caution," because organizers "may have a hidden agenda." The White House dispatched Vice President Gore to the 1996 event after deciding the concerns were unfounded.

The documents add to the picture of Democratic fund-raisers and donors appearing to exploit their White House ties.

The White House released the memos and electronic messages in response to questions from Sen. Richard C. Shelby (R-Ala.), chairman of the Select Committee on Intelligence, about the nomination of Anthony

981124-131241-LULWML -001-001 PAGE 2 SET 9 WITH 1 OF 1 STORIES

Lake as CIA director. Shelby has delayed Lake's confirmation hearing while he pursues Lake's record as head of the NSC staff, including contacts between the NSC and a number of Democratic Party fund-raisers and donors.

Lake replied that the NSC had very limited contacts with those Shelby asked about. White House officials, hopeful of getting Lake's nomination back on track, said the documents show that under national security adviser Lake the NSC staff worried about protecting the president, not political concerns.

New details about the Justice Department's investigation into campaign contributions also came to light yesterday. Law enforcement sources told The Washington Post that FBI agents are investigating whether the Chinese government tried to funnel money into the Democratic Party through fund-raisers John Huang and Charles Yah Lin Trie. Both men are friends of the president's. Together they raised more than \$1.8 million in contributions that have been returned because of questions about the sources of the funds.

The law enforcement sources also said the Justice Department's task force has asked the National Security Agency to scour its files for any leads from international telephone intercepts.

The newly released documents show that the White House consulted the NSC only sporadically about contacts the president had with foreigners tied to DNC fund-raisers or donors. In his letter to Shelby, Lake said the White House had "no formal process for vetting foreign nationals invited to the White House" in the past four years. Now, Lake said, the White House is implementing such a process.

A handful of individuals who have emerged as key figures in the campaign fund-raising inquiry show up in the documents released yesterday:

JOENNY CHUNG

Chung set off alarm bells with some on the NSC staff when he decided in mid-1995 to portray himself in China as someone "sanctioned by President Clinton" to negotiate the release of Harry Wu, an American human rights activist jailed there on espionage charges. The DNC alerted the White House to Chung's venture, which passed on the information to the NSC.

In a memo to Lake, Robert L. Suettinger, director of the NSC's Asian affairs office, wrote that Chung conceivably could damage U.S.-China relations, "depending on what he says and how much credibility he has with Beijing." But by that time, Chung had already left for China, armed with a letter from DNC Chairman Donald L. Fowler thanking him for his support and commending him for efforts to "build a bridge" between the United States and China.

White House aides say Chung, a California entrepreneur, did his utmost to capitalize on his White House connection with a startling measure of success. Since early 1994, he has visited the White House at least 49 times, and contributed \$366,000 to the DNC.

The NSC staff first learned of him in March 1995, when Chung called

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Clinton's office to ask for photos taken at the president's Saturday radio address. According to an electronic message from one NSC official, Chung and six Chinese business executives were invited to the radio address at the last minute at the request of a DNC official. The president's aides allowed them to attend, "not knowing anything about them except that they were DNC contributors," the message said. The NSC official said Clinton now "wasn't sure we'd want photos of him with these people circulating around."

Suettinger replied that he saw no danger in releasing the photos. He added: "And to the degree it motivates him to continue giving to the DNC, who am I to complain?"

But then he warned that he saw Chung as "a hustler" who was trying to impress his Chinese business friends with his access to the president and first lady. He said he also guessed that some of Chung's business ventures might not be ones "the president would support."

HSING YUN

Vice President Gore's office was told by an NSC staff official to proceed with "great, great caution" in deciding whether to attend what Gore's office explicitly described as a "fund-raising lunch" at a Buddhist temple in Los Angeles last year.

Gore aide John Norris messaged Suettinger last April to see if there would be any problem "from the perspective of U.S.-China relations" if the vice president attended an event for 150 people hosted in his honor by Taiwanese Buddhist Master Hsing Yun.

Suettinger quickly raised a red flag. "This is terra incognita to me," he messaged Norris. "Certainly from the perspective of Taiwan/China balancing, this would be clearly a Taiwan event, and would be seen as such. I guess my reaction would be one of great, great caution. They may have a hidden agenda."

Suettinger's warning now seems prescient. The DNC was forced to return some of the \$140,000 raised at the April 29, 1996, luncheon when one donor said the \$5,000 donation she made was not her own money. Questions were raised about the actual source of other contributions and the DNC was criticized for using a tax-exempt religious institution for political purposes.

Gore spokeswoman Lorraine Voles said yesterday that the vice president's national security adviser, Leon S. Fuerth, approved Gore's attendance at the event after getting further guidance from the NSC and the State Department. Gore's office told the DNC there should be no Taiwanese flags or symbols in evidence at the temple, nor should it be used as a forum for Taiwanese politics.

"We heeded that advice," Voles said.

Gore initially said he thought the event was a "community outreach" affair. More recently, Gore acknowledged that he knew the event was "finance related," but did not know it was a fund-raiser.

MARK GROBMYER

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The Little Rock lawyer and Clinton golfing companion traveled to Asia in search of business deals promoting himself to businessmen as a White House "liaison." The documents released yesterday show that as a self-styled international emissary he presumed to bring messages from foreign leaders to the White House and offered some early policy advice for the president on promoting international trade.

They show too that Grobmyer was not shy about asking for Clinton's help in promoting his own business interests. He was interested in lining up joint ventures between the Jakarta-based Lippo Group and U.S. companies, with help from the Commerce Department and financing from the U.S. Export-Import Bank, where a longtime Little Rock associate, Maria L. Haley, is a director.

After returning in March 1993 from a trip to Indonesia, where he met with President Suharto, Grobmyer wrote to Clinton that Suharto wanted to address the Group of Seven economic conference of world leaders to "announce a new era of economic cooperation." Grobmyer told the president that he had already discussed Suharto's ideas with then-White House Chief of Staff Thomas F. "Mack" McLarty and NSC senior official Nancy Soderberg.

Grobmyer followed up that letter with a memo containing 16 suggestions for promoting U.S. trade abroad. The president should get U.S. car makers to provide free "demonstrators" to prominent foreign businessmen, he wrote, suggesting the Chrysler minivan would likely go over well in Asia.

"I must say that your friend, Mr. Mochtar Riady, who is president of the Asian Bankers Association, was of invaluable assistance to me, as was his son James," Grobmyer told Clinton, urging him to send the younger Riady a thank you letter, and even enclosing a draft. It began, "Dear James: I am pleased to hear of your work with Mark Grobmyer in Hong Kong and Indonesia."

Clinton sent the letter, referring to James Riady as a "treasured friend," but he dropped the reference to Grobmyer.

CHARLES YAH LIN TRIE

The newly released documents show the extent of the pull that Trie enjoyed at the White House. Clinton had a particular "soft spot" for Trie, one White House official said yesterday, dating to the days when Trie was a struggling Little Rock businessman with a Chinese restaurant near the governor's mansion.

Trie now runs an international trading company and promotes himself as someone with personal relationships with a number of government officials in China.

Using his influence with Democratic Party officials, Trie secured an invitation to a White House coffee for Wang Jun, the head of a prominent Chinese state-owned financial conglomerate and of a weapons trading company.

Clinton since has said he should not have met with Wang.

In a March 1996 letter released yesterday, Trie questioned Clinton about the U.S. decision to deploy two aircraft carriers to the Taiwan

981124-131241-LU1WML -001-001 PAGE 5 SET 9 WITH 1 OF 1 STORIES

straits because the Chinese were test-firing missiles in the direction of Taiwan. The deployment escalated tensions between the United States and China.

Trie's letter warned that war with China might result.

His letter was conveyed to the White House by Trie's business partner, Mark Middleton, a former White House aide and Democratic fund-raiser who used the White House mess to entertain business clients after he left.

Middleton noted on his transmittal letter that Trie was a friend of Clinton's and "a major supporter."

Clinton wrote Trie a personal letter, reviewed by Lake, assuring him the deployment was only meant to remind both Taiwan and China that the United States wanted peace in the region.

Staff writer Lena H. Sun contributed to this report.

ECAPTION: FUND-RAISERS UNDER FIRE

Charles Yah Lin Trie

Trie, a former Little Rock restaurateur, raised hundreds of thousands of dollars for the Democratic Party during the 1996 campaign. Head of an export company, Trie last year escorted a Chinese arms merchant to a White House coffee, a meeting the president later deemed "inappropriate." The \$639,000 Trie raised for the Clintons' private legal defense fund was returned because the source would not be identified.

Hsing Yun

Yun is a Taiwanese master of the Fo Kuang Shan monastic order and presides over 130 temples worldwide. Vice President Gore attended a DNC fund-raiser at one of those, the Buddhist Hsi Lai Temple outside Los Angeles, in April 1996. The Democrats returned the \$140,000 raised at the event because religious organizations are generally prohibited from holding fund-raising events. A Hsi Lai Temple brochure describes Yun as an "informal liaison with the White House on Asian affairs."

James T. Riady

Riady's family runs the \$12 billion Lippo Group, an Indonesia-based conglomerate with real estate, insurance and investment holdings. Riady befriended Clinton in the 1970s when the Lippo Group joined interests with a Little Rock investment company and later bought controlling stock in a Little Rock bank. During the 1992 campaign, the Riady family and one of its American companies gave \$225,000 to the Democratic Party. Riady or members of his family have been to White House at least 15 times since 1993.

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John Huang

Huang is the former chief of Lippo's U.S. operations and the focus of Democratic Party fund-raising investigations. Most of the \$3.4 million he raised in the 1996 election was returned because the donations were deemed inappropriate or from illegal foreign sources. He held a senior Commerce Department post before becoming a DNC fund-raiser.

Johnny Chung

Chung, a Taiwanese American from Torrance, Calif., escorted the chairman of a Chinese beer company seeking business in the United States to a White House Christmas party. Since 1994 Chung and his company, Automated Intelligent Systems, have given \$366,000 to the Democrats and he has visited the White House at least 49 times. To boost his business, he issued a brochure featuring photos of himself with Hillary Rodham Clinton and a handwritten note from her.

Mark Grobmyer

Grobmyer, a Little Rock lawyer and golfing friend of Clinton, formed an international trade company in 1993 and went with Riady to Indonesia and to the White House to meet with Clinton. Grobmyer solicited business for his company in Asia and Washington by passing out business cards that touted him as a liaison to the White House for a New York-based nonprofit foundation. He also arranged for the Riadys to contribute \$30,000 to the foundation.

Pauline Kanchanalak

With her relatives, Kanchanalak, a Thai businesswoman and lobbyist, contributed \$253,500 to the Democratic Party. The donations, solicited by Huang, were returned when it was concluded the money came from other sources. She founded the United States-Thai Business Council to promote trade and attended a White House coffee with Clinton the same day she contributed \$85,000. She escorted to the coffee a client who heads one of Asia's largest business empires.

****END OF STORY REACHED****

The Washington Post

News Research Center

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Washington, D.C. 20071

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Jennifer Belton
Director

Facsimile Cover Sheet

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From:

Mary Lou White

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202 334-6768

Fax:

Date:

11/24/98

Pages

7

Comments:

Dan - sorry for the delay, I was
off for a few days.

Mary Lou

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

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

December 2, 1996

Ms. Bettina Edelstein
Op-ed Page
The New York Times

(3) Pages

Dear Ms. Edelstein,

Attached is Bishop Belo's December 8
"sermon."

His telephone number is 011-62-390-21331
Fax: 23184. Please note that they are 13 hours ahead of us, best
time to reach him is about 6:30PM to 7:30 PM OUR time (breakfast
his time; they wake up very early and are asleep very early).

I will be at the Grand Hotel in Oslo after
tomorrow. The phone there is 47-22-42-9390.
FAX 421225.

Many thanks for your interest.

Sincerely,

Arnold Kohen

NYT "Sermon", 8 December

The time has come to end the tragedy in East Timor once and for all. After 21 years of conflict, people in East Timor above all want calm, an end to violence and respect for their human rights. The Nobel Prize for Peace has helped bring about solutions to longstanding problems in different parts of the world. I hope it will now bring about concrete results for the people of East Timor, a former Portuguese colony which, I learned during a visit to the United States last year, is about the size of New Jersey.

An end to tragedy in East Timor cannot come too soon. We knew misery in the early part of this century when Portugal cruelly put down a nationalist rebellion. Then came a harsh occupation by Japanese troops during the Second World War, when our people paid a severe price for playing a crucial role in helping Allied forces survive: more than one-tenth of East Timor's population perished as a result. After that there was civil war in 1975, followed by Indonesian invasion and many years of merciless conflict noted by the Norwegian Nobel Institute in an Oct. 11 statement: "In the years that followed it has been estimated that one third of the population of East Timor lost their lives..." It must be stopped.

In speaking about East Timor, I don't speak only about conditions today, but also of its social situation from 1976 until the present. I therefore mean to include the whole experience that the Timorese people have been living throughout these years. I speak as one in whom people have confided deeply since 1981, the year I returned from my priestly studies abroad, until now. People pour out their sorrows and pains: those Timorese who speak through me belong to all age groups, to various religions and are from different places of origin, within East Timor and outside.

Many of the East Timorese are treated, in their day-to-day life, without minimum respect for their human dignity. Let us join hands together to condemn such transgressions. Defending the dignity and the fundamental rights of the ordinary people must be our common goal to improve the quality of life. I am fully aware of the norms of the Catholic Church which demands a religious leader to refrain from activity specific to the field of politicians. But as a Bishop I have the moral duty to speak for the poor and simple people who, when intimidated and terrorized, cannot defend themselves or make their suffering known.

I also acknowledge the efforts of the Indonesian government towards the development of East Timor. But in accordance with the section on Humanitarianism in the five principles of Indonesia's state philosophy, the Panca Sila, it should be

recognized that no development can be fully appreciated when it is carried out without the participation of local people, and when it is done at the expense of their identity, freedom and dignity.

Where do we go from here, if we are to create conditions that might ultimately bring about peace? Mistakes have been made by all sides, which has resulted in cultural and psychological misunderstandings. Open, sincere and respectful dialogue is needed to overcome these barriers. In the absence of such a dialogue, relationships will only be based on hypocrisy or hostility.

Thus I must praise the United Nations for its painstaking efforts in trying to facilitate dialogue on the question of East Timor to create conditions that one day might bring about peace. The United Nations assisted Indonesia's nationalist movement in the 1940s when it struggled alone against Dutch colonialism. (U.N. efforts on Indonesian independence ultimately won the backing of the United States as well.) This must be recalled.

After all these years of suffering, people in East Timor want to see concrete change. A modest first step, release of East Timorese political prisoners, could help enliven the next round of United Nations-sponsored talks scheduled for mid-December in New York, and lead to further openings.

I hope East Timorese prisoners will be released from their jail cells in time for Christmas, the same way Indonesian independence leaders were freed from the notorious Boven Digul prison. In pondering these things, one realizes that history has so much to teach us.

TO: FAX (0)8-622 6617

The Humanitarian Project

DEC 1996
to German agency
(Misericor)

President:
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-PRELAT HERKENRAT
FOR - FATHER Thomas Aston

(I have tried to call several times
yesterday and today.) Here is some news:

1- Bishop Belo is now
in Stockholm and will be
on the 7:25 AM Flight to
Dusseldorf on SATURDAY. Swedish
authorities will contact you about this
2- We will come to meet
Bishop Belo for a short
time on Sunday afternoon
in Bonn after lunch (13:30h),
perhaps 15-20 minutes as
I explained the other day and
have confirmed with Bishop Belo.
3. Bishop Belo would like to receive his
program for Germany by fax here
as soon as possible. FAX 08 6118686
ROOM 445

Many thanks for your help. Arnold Cohen

Ecumenical

Bishop
Belo

Oslo Cathedral, 9 December 1996

CH VIII

OPPORTUNITY
for
World's

religious
Communities

to
hand
together

Call
Jack
Arthey

Reach
out.

Call
John

Chamberlain

Tolerance for others is the fundamental basis for all civilized society. Whether we are Protestants or Catholics, whatever Christian denomination we may come from, whether we are Muslims, Jews, Hindus, Buddhists or Animists --- it is not only morally right, it is required that we respect each and every human person. We can disagree on one matter or another but we should never allow our disagreements to degenerate into bitterness and hatred, which only lead to violence.

The problem in East Timor is not a problem of religious differences. I am a Catholic Bishop, most of the population of East Timor is Catholic, but there always have been Protestants and Muslims and believers in other forms of worship, but over many years we lived together in tranquillity. With the difficulties of the past two decades, there has been a lack of calm in East Timor, but even under these conditions, it is not a matter of religious differences. Rather than religious differences, the difficulties arise from questions of justice and dignity and freedom. It is a matter of the need to live in the land of one's ancestors without the pain and insecurity that comes with fear.

The instrumentalization of religion for political purposes has been the curse of humankind since its beginnings. It is still a curse today, in Europe and other places around the world, and each and every one of us must work to put an end to this kind of practice.

At the same time, we must salute all human beings, all religious and social and political institutions and groups that simply put aside religious prejudice and religious fear and in place of this find ways to work for increased tolerance. I salute people of Norway and other nations around the world that are able to rise above appeals to intolerance, and instead greet one another with the love that grows from reason and understanding.

Thank you very much!!!

REFLEXOES ESPIRITUAISSANTO AGOSTINHO, BISPO DE HIPONA, O MEU EMULO

Pela primeira vez que ouvi falar de Santo Agostinho quando eu era ainda adolescente em Baucau, aí pela década de 60. Nessa altura os seminaristas de Dare, naturais de Baucau iam passar as férias na Vila de Baucau. Um deles chamava-se Agostinho da Costa, agora é Padre e Paroco em Jame. Em Baucau, estavam os Sacerdotes Salesianos. Um deles de nome Pe. José Rodrigues, quando encontrava o Agostinho da Costa, chamava-o "Águla de Hipona", referindo-se ao sacerdote naturalmente ao Santo Agostinho. Depois fui para o Seminário, em Dare. Nas conferências espirituais tidas pelo Padre Director Espiritual, falava-se de vez em quando de um livro, "AS CONFISSÕES", de Santo Agostinho. Nas férias grandes, eu levei do Seminário um destes livros para a minha leitura durante as férias. Embora não compreendesse muito bem o conteúdo do livro, fez-me a impressão a descrição que S. Agostinho fazia da sua vida, dos seus pecados, e dos seus diálogos ou confissões ao Senhor. ~~Sentia~~ Já em Portugal, voltei a ler o livro as "Confissões". E até comprei o livro, como o livro pessoal.

Porém, foi na Universidade Católica, em Lisboa, que eu ganhei maior admiração por este Santo. Tanto no estudo da Patrologia, como no estudo da Filosofia ou da História da Igreja, um dos meus autores preferidos era o Santo Agostinho.

Vim a desenhá-lo, que no pensamento cristão. Santo Agostinho é um grande génio de pensamento. No campo da santidade, um santo muito humano, mais perto dos homens pecadores que um santo com auréola, posto nos altares.

As suas Confissões, são as minhas confissões. As suas quedas, são as minhas quedas. Os seus coloquios são os mesmos coloquios que faço com Senhor. Somente ele é mais inteligente do que eu. Ele é mais culto do que eu. Tem ideias mais brilhantes do que eu. No entanto, eu considero-me mais perto dele, na queda, no pecado, no erro, e sobretudo na ânsia pelo Bem, pelo Belo, e pelo VERDADEIRO. Anseio pelo Belo, suspiro pelo Bem e persigo o verdadeiro.

Esforço-me por reflectir; quero contemplar a Beleza, apalpar a Beleza, que é Deus... o Absoluto. Perante o misterio sinto-me pequenino, pois é demasiado grande o abismo que existe entre mim e o Santo que admiro.

Santo Agostinho adolescente, era brioso e diligente no estudo da gramática. Mas ao mesmo tempo era preso pelas tendências, inclinações e espinhos da carne. Também eu sinto os mesmos desejos pelo estudo da gramática, da literatura. Mas também sou escaravo da carne, da concupiscência, com fogo no coração...

§ Santo Agostinho teve uma mãe que chorava pela sua conversão, eu tive uma Mãe que rezava muito por mim.

Santo Agostinho converteu-se... eu também, embora, tivesse sido baptizado desde a infância, ~~leio~~ de converter-me sempre, a tender para o Bem, para o Belo e para o Verdadeiro.

Santo Agostinho foi um Bispo fecundo no apostolado e nas obras. Talvez aí eu não possa ser igual a ele. No entanto, sob a sua protecção procurarei na minha vida de bispo ser um bom pastor. Gosto muito de ler os escritos do Santo sobre a função de pastor. Não tenho também dizer, que os escritos em Latim, sobretudo os escritos espirituais são formidáveis. Notam-se neles paralelismos, antíteses, comparações. É um prazer ler os escritos de Santo Agostinho.

Termino esta minhas breves reflexões, citando as palavras do Santo sobre a PAZ: "O Senhor me Desu, concedei-nos a paz, pois tudo nos ofereceste; a paz tranquila paz do sábado que não entardece. Com efeito, toda esta ordem formosíssima de seres: excelentemente bons, há-de passar, dar-nos da realização da nossa missão de existência. Foi-se neles alvorecida e tarde" (Confissões, pag. 197).

Dili, 28 de Agosto de 1996

+ [assinatura]
Administrador Apostólico

insert - 1996 Nobel ~~speech~~ speech

**PLEASE INSERT THESE LINES AT THE BEGINNING OF
BISHOP BELO'S SPEECH**

It is with much honor but also much sadness that I come to deliver this address to you. I say much sadness because the struggle for democracy and to uphold human dignity, to live free from oppression, is a struggle that is well known to both my long suffering people and your people.

In 1980, in Kwanju, black beret special forces dispatched by the military strongman Chun Doo Wan massacred hundreds of protesters. The massacre at Kwanju of innocent protesters expressing the democratic aspirations is as significant to the South Korean people as the massacre at Santa Cruz cemetery was eleven years later to the people of East Timor. In both instances, they were human beings denied a fundamental human rights – the right to democracy. The similarities do not end there.



P R O G R A M M E
for the visit to Sweden of
1996 Nobel Peace Prize Laureates
His Excellency Bishop Carlos Felipe de Ximenes Belo
and
Mr. José Ramos Horta

13 December 1996

Thursday 12 December

hrs

22.10 His Excellency Bishop Belo arrives at Arlanda International Airport (flight SK 498).
Met by representatives of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

Transfer to Grand Hôtel.

Friday 13 December

hrs

08.10 Mr. José Ramos Horta arrives at Arlanda International Airport (flight SK 482).
Met by representatives of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

Transfer to the Press Room of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.
Fredsgatan 4-6

09.00 His Excellency Bishop Belo leaves from Grand Hôtel.

09.10 Meeting with the Press, arranged by Caritas Sweden.
Fredsgatan 4-6



MINISTRY FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Friday 13 December (cont.)

hrs

- 10.15 Meeting with Mr. Jan Eliasson, State Secretary for Foreign Affairs.
Also present Mr. Jan Cedergren, Director-General for Development Cooperation and Migration, MFA.
UD, Gustav Adolfs torg 1
- 11.25 Departure from the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.
- 11.30 Luncheon given by Parliament.
Host: Mrs. Birgitta Dahl, Speaker of Parliament.
Riksdagen, Riksgatan 1
- 13.00 Mini seminar at Sida chaired by
Mr. Bo Göransson, Director-General of Sida.
Sida, Sveavägen 20, Hörsalen
- 14.00 Departure from Sida.
- 14.15 Visit to the National Museum of Ethnography.
Received by Mr. Per Kåks, Museum Director.
Folkens Museum, Djurgårdsbrunnsviken 34
- 15.15- Audience given by His Majesty the King
-15.45 at the Royal Palace.
- 16.00 Reception hosted by His Excellency
Bishop Hurbertus Brandenburg.
Götgatan 58 A
- 17.00 Concelebrated Mass in the Catholic Cathedral.
- 18.10 International buffet in the Assembly Hall of the Cathedral.

Departure from the Cathedral.
- 19.55 Departure from Grand Hôtel.
- 20.00 Dinner given by the Government of Sweden.
Host: Mr. Carl Tham, Minister of Education.
Arvfurstens palats, Gustav Adolfs torg 1

Saturday 14 December

hrs

- 08.10 His Excellency Bishop Belo leaves Grand Hôtel.
- 09.10 Departure from Arlanda International Airport
(flight SK 635 for Frankfurt)

FAX

2

Fax No. 22 42 1225

Til / To (Company) Bishop Carlos Felipe Belo

Att: Mr. Arnold Cohen, Room 458

Fra / From Oyvind Y. Briggs

Date / Date Dec - 6. 96

Ant.sider (inkl.denne siden) / No. of pages (incl. this page) 2

Beskjed / Message _____

NYHETSREDAKSJONEN



To: Bishop Carlos Felipe Belo

From: Mr. Øyvind Y. Brigg/Political Correspondent, TV2-Norway

Re: Brief interview on Sunday Dec, 7

Oslo, December 6, 1996

Dear bishop Belo,

First of all, I would like to express my greatest gratitude for the warm reception of myself and my camera-man Mr. Palmers in your residence in Dili on October 14th this year. The result was a highly acclaimed interview that was broadcasted both on our own network and on international news bureaux.

We understand that you need some rest after your long journey from East Timor, to my country. However, we would be most grateful if you could share a few minutes with us- perhaps in your hotel early this afternoon, before the service in the St. Olaf Church here in Oslo.

Since TV2 has its first news hour at 6.30 p.m. it would be most convenient for us to meet you some time after 12, but preferably before 2.p.m.

Yours sincerely

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Øyvind Y. Brigg'.

Øyvind Y. Brigg

I can be reached at the following numbers:

22. 31. 47. 49, (direct # TV2)

Mobile # 90 05 18 22

ON THE EVE OF THE NOBEL CEREMONY**Mgr. Belo: "I am prepared to die for my people and for peace"**

The Salesian bishop from Timor will speak on the social doctrine of the Church and of reconciliation in Oslo. On the agenda is also a joint press conference with Ramos Horta, and meetings with the Norwegian Prime Minister, with Kohl and with the Pope.

ROME, 6 December. (ANS) - "I am prepared to die for my people and for peace."

Strong words from Mgr. Carlos-Felipe Ximenes Belo pronounced during a large demonstration in Timor, but they indicate the difficult situation in which the Salesian bishop, who will receive the Nobel Peace Prize during a solemn ceremony in Oslo on December 10, is working.

ANS had an exclusive interview with him on the eve of the Nobel ceremony. .

ANS - How have you lived this time, from the news of the conferral of the Nobel until today?

BELO - Everything is normal. I do my work as always. Except that personally I have not had any peace from that moment onward.

ANS - You have been bombarded by the mass media. How have you defended yourself, and what message have you wanted to send to the readers and listeners?

BELO - The message is that we must always work for peace, that our actions, our thoughts, all of our activity should be those of a person who lives truly committing himself to peace.

ANS - Have you had any problem following the statement to the German weekly Der Spiegel which reported strong words regarding the Indonesian government?

BELO - The problem is rather the Indonesian government's. I would say that the magazine used many foolish expressions, but they are Der Spiegel's. The Indonesian government, especially the military, have felt wounded by those expressions, but the fundamental problem is that here the people of Timor have been wounded and no one has ever apologized.

ANS - You took part in the meeting of the episcopal conference of Indonesia. Were your confreres the Indonesian bishops cordial?

BELO - Yes, they were cordial. All of them, absolutely all of them, showed me their solidarity. And they told me: "At least now we have a bishop who can talk. In Indonesia we cannot say anything. At least there in Timor we have someone who can speak out, can raise his voice."

ANS - We were told that as soon as you returned to Timor from Jakarta you spoke to a large number of people and said that you were prepared to die for your people and for peace. Why this declaration?

BELO - It is the mission of the bishop. There is no other duty for a bishop.

ANS - But are you in real danger?

BELO - They say here that I am too critical and they want to expel me from the country. So Christians gathered together to demonstrate solidarity with the bishop. On my return from Jakarta, there were more than one hundred thousand people at the airport to greet me. The people say that they are ready to defend the bishop.

ANS - What is your programme until the prize ceremony in Oslo?

BELO - I will be here in Dili, in the city, working on my speech for the Nobel Peace Prize.

ANS - What will you concentrate on predominantly in your speech at the conferring of the Prize?

BELO - I will focus my words on the social teaching of the Church with regard to human dignity, to peace in the world, to reconciliation.

ANS - In Oslo you will meet José Ramos Horta, the other Nobel Prize winner from your island. In fact on the 9th there is to be a joint press conference. How will you behave together? Will you act in harmony?

BELO - Eh...we will behave like Timorese. How should we behave? We are Timorese, are we not?

ANS - But, at least in your approach to the struggle, are you not in different positions?

BELO - We are both for Timor, one at the political level, the other at the religious level.

ANS - We have heard that you will also be meeting the President of the United States of America.

BELO - No, no. I will only go to Europe, first to Oslo, and there I will meet the Prime Minister, then to Bonn where I will have a talk with the Chancellor Helmut Kohl. From there I will go to Rome to have an audience with the Holy Father, and then I will return to Timor.

ANS - Nobel Peace Prize winner Gorbachev, visiting Italy, proposed holding a summit in Milan of Nobel Peace Prize winners to launch a message on the vigil of the 21st century. Do you think you would be interested in this meeting and could it be useful for people?

BELO - Well, I will have to study it first. I do not know yet what it is all about.

ANS - It is the eve of the Nobel Prize ceremony, but also a time of much suffering in the world. Everyone is thinking of Africa. What do you think?

BELO - I think that there should be a commitment on the part of all governments not to allow these tragedies to happen again. It is truly sad to see all that has happened in eastern Zaire and in the neighbouring countries. ■

A version of this was
published in DIE ZEIT, 10/24/96
By Korinna HORTA

he
doctored
this

It seemed unreal. For the first time after 20 years I was to set foot on East Timor again. At the invitation of Bishop Belo, my husband, Arnold Kohen, who is completing a biography on the Bishop, and I visited East Timor last year.

I had lived in East Timor for three years when it was part of the outer edges of the Portuguese colonial empire in South East Asia. When the Portuguese "carnation revolution" in 1974 brought an end to the fascist dictatorship in Portugal and opened the prospects for decolonization, I celebrated with a large group of East Timorese friends, amongst them Jose Ramos Horta, the possibilities that would now be open to East Timor. The talk was about social democracy and independence, but also of the need to go through a transition period of several years in which East Timor and Portugal would work together to jointly prepare the country for independence.

It never got that far. A few months after I had said good bye to my East Timorese friends, the country sank into terror and death and was cut off from the rest of the world. In December 1975 Indonesia invaded East Timor and since then the country has been subject to a merciless military occupation. Less than a handful of my former friends managed to escape the inferno, hardly one of them has survived in East Timor. They are amongst the ca. 250,000 East Timorese out of a former population of 750,000 who have perished as a result of the invasion and military occupation. Over many years only special guests of the Indonesian government were allowed into East Timor on show case visits. In recent years travel restrictions have been intermittently eased, but no independent visitor can ever be sure not be detained at the airport and be expelled on the next plane.


At our arrival, we did not believe that we would ever be allowed out of the airport building. Our passports were immediately taken away from us. The arrival of Bishop Belo, who came to pick us up, led the Indonesian officials, unwillingly, to show some respect. Bishop Belo enjoys like no one else the overwhelming support of the East Timorese people. This is a fact that the Indonesian military, even though it is responsible for many death threats against the Bishop, has to live with for the time being.

As guests in the house of the Bishop we are protected and in his company


-1-

we travel widely throughout East Timor. But we also move around independently. I know the topography of the city and the back streets. When East Timorese notice that we speak Portuguese and that I can make myself understood in Tetum, the national language, they frequently risk their lives begging us in despair to let the outside world know about their suffering. It is heartbreaking, that we always have to interrupt these street contacts quickly. We know that we cannot take a single step without being closely watched by police informers and that contact with us can represent a mortal danger for any East Timorese approaching us.


In the center of Dili one sees primarily Indonesians, who have come from different parts of the Indonesian archipelago and have settled here. The few East Timorese are easily recognizable, the majority looks undernourished, ill and filled with fear. According to Church sources, about 80% of the East Timorese in Dili suffer from tuberculosis, yet there is no medicine for them. Medical shipments from international humanitarian organizations are regularly being confiscated by the military under the pretext that the Indonesian pharmaceutical industry has to be protected from foreign competition.



The market in Dili is a symbol for what is happening in East Timor. The market building is a remnant of colonial architecture, which used to be the place where East Timorese farmers sold their produce shielded from heat, sun and rain. Today the building is filled with Indonesian shops providing consumer goods to the upper strata of the occupying power. Other Indonesian transmigrants have established vending booths behind the market building. The East Timorese have been confined to a dusty area under open skies where they are permanently being watched by military guards from the adjacent military headquarters, which are known for its torture chambers.




Indonesia is right when it claims to have built many roads in East Timor. It is much quicker now to get from place to place on the island. But the East Timorese have not benefited from these roads. To the contrary. Before the Indonesian invasion it was a communal task to pack up one's produce and walk through the cool night to sell one's goods on the Dili market the next day. Today, East Timorese cannot move freely on the roads, especially not after dark, as they will be immediately suspected of having contacts with the resistance forces. The simple suspicion is often a death sentence. The roads with their frequent military checkpoints serve



the military occupation and in addition have led to an increasing influx of Indonesian transmigrants who are now occupying the best agricultural land in the fertile valleys of East Timor's mountain landscape. This land, previously East Timor's bread basket, has de facto been expropriated from the villages.

The resistance movement against the Indonesian military has evolved increasingly from a mountain guerrilla movement to a broad general resistance of the entire population in urban areas. There does not seem to be a single East Timorese who has not lost family members or who has not witnessed unspeakable cruelty on the part of the Indonesian military. Even East Timorese who initially favored integration into Indonesia, have risked their lives to tell us in tears - and have it taped on video - that they never meant this kind of integration.

During our last days in Dili, the streets are the site of an "infitada". Undernourished East Timorese youth burn tires and throw stones. Military trucks filled with machine gun toting soldiers are a permanent sight on the streets. Despite the tropical heat, some of the commandos wear black ski masks, which sent a shiver of terror down our spines.



Shortly before our departure from the Bishop's home, we notice a deeply troubled older woman at the entrance of the house. She carries a tin container with food for her disappeared son whom she has been searching in vain for several days. She has been sent away at all the military headquarters, all of which also serve as prisons. Bishop Belo is her last hope.



DRAFT PROPOSAL FOR EFFORTS TO ASSIST 1996 NOBEL LAUREATE BISHOP
CARLOS XIMENES BELO OF EAST TIMOR UNDER AUSPICES OF UNITED STATES
CATHOLIC CONFERENCE

Background

East Timor, a former Portuguese colony, was invaded by Indonesia in 1975 and illegally annexed in 1976 in violation of United Nations resolutions. On a proportionate basis, the death toll in East Timor has been comparable to the number of deaths in Cambodia under Pol Pot: according to census data compiled by East Timor's Roman Catholic Church, it is estimated that 200,000 of a population of less than 700,000 died from the combined effects of the Indonesian assault between 1975 and 1979 alone.

The awarding of the 1996 Nobel Prize for Peace to Bishop Belo and Jose Ramos Horta has elevated the East Timor tragedy to a world issue. But since Bishop Belo returned to East Timor after attending the Nobel ceremony in Oslo in December, harsh repression has been directed at his supporters and others in East Timor. Efforts to relieve this repression have been led by the author of the proposed effort, who is the main collaborator of Bishop Belo outside East Timor and the key international expert on this subject, under the auspices of the United States Catholic Conference. Serious observers like the International Committee of the Red Cross have been told privately that Indonesian forces would simply kill the many young proponents of democracy and human rights in East Timor were it not for fear of the reaction of the international press and world public opinion. Pressure has been

generated through the editorial columns of leading newspapers and other media, through Congress and through other governmental and private institutions. A good deal of this work has been facilitated by the author of the present proposal, under the auspices of a variety of human rights organizations and church institutions. The potential exists to help solve the problem through an expanded and strategic use of these methods, working quietly through the United States Catholic Conference and other major institutions. In the period between October 3, 1996 and January 28, 1997 alone, in conjunction with a variety of religious and secular institutions, the author of this proposal set in motion actions that helped avert what might have been serious loss of life, a state of affairs known to authoritative sources at the United Nations and elsewhere. But the potential for productive activity is far greater than ever before, thus the need for stable financial arrangements to address these needs has also greatly increased.

Indonesia also has grown sensitive to international criticism and, despite the obstacles, possibilities for a peaceful diplomatic solution in East Timor are better now than at any time in the past 20 years. As noted before, a high-quality team of United Nations staff has been trying to find ways to create an atmosphere in which a long-term settlement might be possible. The proposed effort under the auspices of the United States Catholic Conference could be instrumental in facilitating international support to help achieve these goals.

Concerted and skillful international pressure will be needed to keep the process moving in a positive direction. Major changes could take place in Indonesia within the next three to five years, as President Suharto nears the end of his career in the period surrounding the Indonesian elections of 1998. While the situation remains volatile, international visitors now have greater access to East Timor than ever before, in large part because of continuing outside pressure. Direct contact is now possible. This presents unprecedented opportunities to obtain information and set up aid projects within East Timor, including English language programs under the auspices of Georgetown University and health programs undertaken by Norwegian groups, among others.

What is Needed

It is imperative that the groundwork be prepared so that the tragedy of the past 20 years may finally be addressed as comprehensively as possible. Funding is urgently needed to support efforts under the auspices of the United States Catholic Conference to help achieve practical results over a period of three to five years.

The proposed effort under the auspices of the United States Catholic Conference would work in the following areas:

1. Serve as a clearinghouse for advice and information for Bishop Belo and others inside East Timor to assist their participation in relation to diplomacy and human rights and to help stimulate ideas to relieve the human rights situation and bring about a peaceful solution.

2. Maintain regular contact with Bishop Belo and gather as much information as possible on conditions of human rights in East Timor. Such efforts must be as systematic as possible, and no such effort currently exists.

The effort under the auspices of the U.S. Catholic Conference would act as a systematic and stable way to address human rights problems as yje y arise.

Distribute information gathered to an established network of international human rights organizations plus church and secular institutions in the United States and abroad.

3. Initiate activities on human rights in East Timor aimed at averting further bloodshed and responding to emergencies as they arise.

4. Facilitate an expansion of efforts with the international news media, letter writing efforts in Congress and other parliamentary institutions.

5. Provide expert analysis and advice on developments regarding

(notably in Japan) and greater involvement of other dignitaries. Bishop Belo and East Timor to news media and other key institutions throughout the world.

6. Support United Nations mediation efforts aimed at bringing about a peaceful solution to the conflict.

Such activities have had a positive impact on diplomatic efforts at the United Nations and must be pursued to achieve maximum impact.

The principal person in this effort under the auspices of the U.S. Catholic Conference would be Arnold Kohen, who has been closely involved in East Timor matters since 1975 and has maintained close contact with Bishop Belo for several years (see attached 1993 letter, which has been updated in a private message to the Nobel Committee), who has played a central role in international efforts on East Timor since the late 1970s, and has been a consultant to Human Rights Watch, Amnesty International as well as the US Catholic Conference. Mr. Kohen, formerly a journalist with NBC News, has written many articles on the subject for The Boston Globe, The Washington Post, The New York Times, The Los Angeles Times, The Asian Wall Street Journal and other publications. Mr. Kohen would have the advice of leading international experts and religious leaders.

An estimated budget follows:

East Timor Effort Under Auspices of United States Catholic
Conference, Estimated Budget for 1997

Personnel:

1. Project Director: Salary, \$70,000 plus Payroll Taxes, Insurance
and Pension Contribution, \$17,500: Total, \$87,500

Office Expense and Administration:

2. Telephone, Telefax and Electronic Mail: \$12,000

3. Office Equipment: \$ 5,000

4. Office supplies: \$2,000

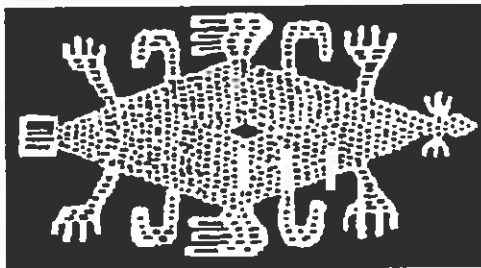
5. Postage and shipping: \$5,000

6. Printing and copying: \$5,000

7. Travel: \$10,000 to East Timor; \$5,000 domestic; \$20,000 other
international travel with Bishop Belo and for research and
conferences, Total: \$25,000

REQUESTED PER ANNUM FROM OPEN SOCIETY INSTITUTE, BEGINNING IN 1997
FOR A PERIOD OF THREE YEARS: \$152,500

FAX-meddelande



Östtimor-Kommittén

Box 70341

107 23 Stockholm

Till: Kohen, Arnold
Organisation:
Faxnummer: +1 (301) 5853288
Telefon, arbetet:

Från: Jan-Erik Forsberg
Faxnummer: janerik@forsberg.pp.se @+46 (08) 6483193
Telefon, arbetet: 08-6483193
Telefon, hem: 08-648 3193

Datum/tid: 1996-12-04 10.18.14
Antal sidor: 1
Angående: Bishop Belos visit

Hi,
have you got any response from bishop B. yet?
Things has to be finalized in practical terms, invitations for various receptions, press-contacts
and so on. Well, you know...

Please drop me a line (fax to +468-453 6841) or call.

Yours

Jan-Erik

P.S

The bishop just faxed to the Diocese saying that he would prefer to meet the press not together
with JRH.

- OK, easy done. But has he commented on other parts of the program?

By Philip Püllella

VATICAN CITY, Oct 11 (Reuter) - The awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize

to Catholic bishop Carlos Belo of East Timor was a sweet satisfaction for

Pope John Paul, who for years has supported the aspirations of the territory's people.

"It is a recognition of (Belo's) activity as a man of the Church,

marked by his indefatigable search for dialogue that is always inspired by

peaceful solutions," Vatican spokesman Joaquin Navarro-Valls said.

"I hope that this will help speed up the achievement of concrete

results, in respect for the rights of peoples."

Belo won the 1996 Nobel Peace Prize jointly with independence activist

Jose Ramos-Horta for their efforts to bring peace in the territory of East

Timor, which Indonesia invaded after Portuguese colonisers left in 1975.

Indonesia annexed the territory one year later

The Nobel committee called Belo the "foremost representative" of the

people of East Timor and praised his efforts to protect them from "infringements by those in power."

Since the Indonesian invasion the Roman Catholic Church has been a

refuge for East Timorese coming to terms with the upheavals and trauma of

Jakarta's sometimes brutal presence.

As bishop of an overwhelmingly Catholic tiny tip of a sprawling island

country with the world's largest Moslem population, Belo has had his work

cut out for him.

The Church is the most powerful institution in the territory after the

Indonesian army.

During the Pope's visit to East Timor in 1989, pro-independence

demonstrators fought with police at a Papal mass shortly after the Pontiff

told Indonesia in his sermon to uphold human rights after what he called

years of death and destruction.

The protesters pushed forward waving banners in Portuguese reading

"Pope, please save East Timor."

Seven years later, the Pope is still defending the rights of East Timorese.

He made the latest of his many appeals for a "just solution" when he

dispatched an envoy there eight months ago, saying the territory was still waiting for proposals addressing its "legitimate aspirations" for recognition.

Last year, the Pope bluntly told Indonesia's ambassador to the Vatican that authorities must respect the human rights of the people of East Timor

"Allow me to express the fervent hope that ever more appropriate measures will be adopted to ensure that human rights are respected, and that the cultural and religious values of the people are protected and promoted," he told the ambassador.

The U.N. has not acknowledged the annexation and the Vatican considers the Dili bishopric vacant because the territory is disputed. Belo has a formal title of apostolic administrator.

The Pope last discussed the East Timor situation with Belo in person on May 17 when the bishop was received at the Vatican.

The Sant'Egidio Community, a Roman Catholic peace group which has been involved in the past in efforts to resolve the conflict in East Timor, said it was delighted at the award.

Spokesman Mario Marazziti, who knows both men personally, said the two laureates were committed to a peaceful solution.

"The prize is a source of great satisfaction," Marazziti told Reuters.

He said he hoped it would help alert public opinion to a conflict that rarely made world headlines.

RWS CSA AFA
REU4315 3 OVR 657 (RWS CSA AFA) H12165810
BC-INDONESIA-TIMOR 2NDLD (SCHEDULED, PICTURE)
East Timorese protests mark Dili anniversary
(Updates with E. Timorese in embassy, protests, background)

ET-530

1996

By Ian MacKenzie

JAKARTA, Nov 12 (Reuter) - Four men from East Timor sought political asylum in the Spanish embassy in Jakarta on Tuesday as students staged a brief protest on the fifth anniversary of the killings of at least 50 demonstrators in the troubled territory.

The Foreign Ministry in Jakarta said it was aware the Timorese were in the embassy and had no objection to them going to another country. They were expected to leave for Portugal, possibly on Tuesday evening.

In the East Timor capital of Dili, several hundred students staged a demonstration in front of the university there, but residents said the protest had broken up without trouble.

Indonesian troops killed 50 demonstrators on November 12, 1991, following a funeral for an anti-Indonesian activist in Dili, according to an official report. Witnesses and human rights groups estimated at least 180 people died.

The former Portuguese colony has been a focal point for trouble since Indonesian troops invaded it, with implicit Western backing, in November 1975. Indonesia absorbed the territory as its 27th province the following July.

The United Nations still recognises Portugal as the administering power and years of U.N.-sponsored negotiations between Jakarta and Lisbon have failed to settle the issue.

Portugal has so far granted political asylum to 89 East Timorese who have entered foreign missions in Jakarta since September last year.

In Jakarta, more than 2,000 members of the youth wing of Indonesia's ruling Golkar party demonstrated in front of parliament, calling for the expulsion of East Timorese Nobel Peace laureate Bishop Carlos Belo from the country.

They paraded as a parliamentary committee debated whether to call Belo to explain comments he is reported to have made in a recent interview with the German news magazine Der Spiegel.

He is reported to have said the Indonesian military had trampled on East Timor's independence "and treated us like dogs". Belo, attending an annual meeting of Roman Catholic bishops in Jakarta, told reporters he would not comment until he saw the full text of the interview and heard the recording.

The committee said it would like to see him sometime next month to hear his explanation. The demonstration outside parliament quietly faded away after a couple of hours.

Officials at the University of East Timor in Dili had closed the college for the day on Tuesday after a heated debate on Monday between students and members of the official Human Rights Commission.

Most students, however, apparently had not heard the university was closed and turned up for classes as usual.

Sources in close contact with East Timor said the student protest there was apparently linked to an article attacking Belo published in an Indonesian newspaper last week.

The article in the Suara Timor Timur (Voice of East Timor) newspaper angered the students, who demanded an apology from the Indonesian paper.

Residents and police said there had been no confrontation or violence during the morning.

Belo, jointly awarded the Nobel Peace Prize last month with self-exiled East Timorese-born anti-Indonesian activist Jose Ramos-Horta, is regarded as one of the most influential civilians in strongly Catholic East Timor.

He has called for a solution to the East Timor issue embracing all sides and has condemned demonstrations and violence there.

The Golkar youths clad in yellow uniforms who demonstrated

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

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Arnold Kohen is completing work on a biography of Bishop Belo (St. Martin's Press, New York), which contains material about Ramos-Horta and an analysis of the recent history of East Timor. He was a consultant to the Norwegian Nobel Institute's film project on Bishop Belo and his co-laureate. Since 1978 he has been an advisor to Amnesty International's research department in London.

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News from Bishop Belo

I spoke with Bishop Belo at about on Saturday Dec. 28 and again this morning, Dec. 30, 1996. He told me the the situation in East Timor is "very bad."

As you know, on Bishop Belo's return on Dec. 24 he was greeted by about 75,000 people lined up for 7 kilometres or so. He proceeded to Dili Cathedral for afternoon Mass. Outside the cathedral an incident developed where a mob attacked a Timorese soldier working for the Indonesians -- apparently the soldier had a pistol and a walkie-talkie and there had been rumors of an assassination plot against Belo. Whatever the case, the mob beat the Timorese soldier to death, and I believe six other Indonesian security people were hurt.

Bishop Belo is not sure who was responsible for theses acts. He says there are different interpretations.

Bishop Belo repeatedly condemned the violence and paid a condolence call to the slain man's home.

Nonetheless, today Bishop Belo told me that young people wearing shirts with his face on them are being systematically beaten by Indonesian forces or forces under effective Indonesian control. He said the situation is "like when you were there" --- the Boston Globe article attached here describes what that was like, essentially largescale provocation by the indonesian military inciting violence.

Bishop Belo said this was happening within 100 metres of his home on Saturday and in other places today.

He said it was "urgent and necessary" to generate foreign pressure on the Indonesians. (There have been 10 arrests in Dili and 86 in Viqueque, he said). I have contacted the White House. He specifically asked me to contact Rep. Kennedy to see if he could lend his weight to the pressure on Indonesia. A press statement might be helpful.

Judging from past experience, quiet pressure can be helpful to the bishop and the Timorese. I hope something can be done in this instance.

October 14, 1996

DILI, Indonesia (AP) -- The Roman Catholic bishop who shared this year's Nobel Peace Prize condemned Indonesia's military rule over East Timor today, saying a referendum on autonomy is the best way to settle the island's 21-year-old conflict.

Bishop Carlos Felipe Ximenes Belo told The Associated Press that the people of East Timor have never accepted Indonesia's 1976 annexation of the former Portuguese colony.

"Have you asked the people in villages what they really want?" he said.

"Don't think that all Timorese people have accepted the integration, and that everything is OK."

Thousands of people have been killed in Indonesia's attempt to crush an independence movement in East Timor. The government invaded in 1975 after Portugal pulled out during a civil war.

Indonesia has repeatedly rejected a referendum, saying the issue has been settled. Belo insists that isn't true.

"It has not been for the past 20 years, and may not be for the next 20 years," Belo said.

The 48-year-old bishop is the most influential figure in East Timor, the only predominantly Catholic region in the world's largest Muslim nation.

His statements, in his first interview since being named a co-recipient of the prize last Friday, were his most confrontational since being named bishop 13 years ago.

He said he hopes the prize would add pressure to find a solution, and

suggested talks among East Timorese groups and the governments of Indonesia and Portugal under the auspices of the United Nations.

Belo declined to comment on the other winner, Jose Ramos-Horta, who was

once a leftist guerrilla in a faction that fought Portugal.

The bishop said he will use his share of the \$1.2 million in cash that

accompanies the Nobel Prize to finance seminary facilities and to set up a fund

for students seeking higher education.

Belo, THE SHEPHERD

(the voice of the voiceless)

*"I belittle my pain and suffering
As I think of the people who fight
For their own redemption and freedom
And avenge the blood of martyrs.
I belittle my pain and suffering
As I hope to give more to the struggle"*

JOSE MARIA SISON

*Belo, the shepherd
Belo, the young bishop*

*loudly
cries out*

*His voice
echoes
in
every corner
of
the universe*

*as
the sheep are
chased after
and beheaded
by
the wolves*

*Belo, the shepherd
is accused of
creating confusion*

*Belo, the shepherd
is restless
and
broken-hearted*

*Belo, the shepherd
is steadfast
amidst
the dejection*

*Belo, the shepherd
has only
one desire--
MAY MY SHEEP
DRINK
AND
EAT AGAIN
IN*

*THE GREEN PASTURE
IN PEACE
AND
PROSPERITY*

On Christmas eve, Bishop Belo returned to Dili after attending the Nobel awards ceremony in Oslo and meeting with Pope John Paul II in Rome. His return was met by orderly crowds of tens of thousands that extended for miles.

This celebration was soon followed by a reign of terror. Outside the cathedral in the capital, Dili, on Christmas eve, a soldier was murdered by unknown assailants. Bishop Belo swiftly condemned the killing. But the Indonesian military seized upon this incident as a reason to step up repression against the young people of East Timor, many of whom favor independence. A major wave of arrests, beatings, torture and other serious abuses has followed.

People have been beaten by security forces simply for wearing Tee shirts with Bishop Belo's likeness. Last week a 23 year old man from the town of Venilale who had come to Dili to sell vegetables was shot dead by three masked man at 3 AM. About 30 young people were detained in the rural district of Uatolari last week. The security forces are known to be even more ferocious in the interior of East Timor. These incidents are only a few examples of the atmosphere in East Timor, which include sexual assaults of young women: a case in mid-November is of particular concern to the bishop, as he saw the authorities as disclaiming responsibility in a press statement before conducting an investigation.

The Diocese of Dili now has a Justice and Peace Commission that gathers information on human rights abuses. According to Bishop Belo, the Commission has received hundreds of complaints in recent weeks, ranging from that of a young man whose ear was nearly severed in a beating by Indonesian forces: No reason was given: he was simply out at night, something most people are now too petrified to do. Troops wait until late at night, then arrive in force, breaking down doors, needlessly firing weapons and dragging away suspects.

The bottom line is Bishop Belo would like to see concrete change but sees no sign of it at present.

Arnold Kohon

DEC 1996

The Humanitarian Project

President:

Arnold S. Kohen

Journalist, formerly NBC News

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1. Personnel

a) Director's Consulting Fee: US\$ 49,000

b) Translation, research assistance and administrative
services: US \$20,000

US \$69,000

2. Administration:

a) printing/reproduction

US \$ 3,000

b) Office equipment

US \$ 2,000

c) Office supplies

US \$ 2,000

d) Postage/shipping

US \$ 3,000

e) Telephone/telefax

US \$12,000

f) electronic communication

US \$ 2,000

g) domestic travel

US \$ 8,000

h) accounting fees

US \$2,000

US \$34,000

3. Program expenses:

a) Conferences, research and fact-finding
visits: US \$20,000

b) International consultations with
church\humanitarian agencies and Timorese
clergy: US \$20,000

TOTAL: US \$138,000

1996 Donors:

CAFOD, US \$25,000

TROCAIRE, US \$19,000

CCODOP US \$12,000

Belgian Catholic agencies: US \$7,000

Christian Aid US \$12,000

Private Humanitarian agencies and US
Foundations: US \$20,000

Salesian Family.

There is a way that you too can participate in the gathering.

Those who want to send a message, either a personal or a community message to Bishop Bello, can do so through the Salesian News Agency: E-mail (ans@sdb.org) or by fax di ANS (011-39 - 6 - 656 12 709).

Date: Fri, Dec 20, 1996 21:48 PST

Subj: Pope receives Bishop Belo

VATICAN CITY - On Friday 20 December, Pope John Paul received Nobel Peace Prize winner Bishop Carlos Filipe Belo of East Timor.

The Salesian bishop told reporters afterwards that the pope had not only congratulated him, but encouraged him to continue to work for peace and reconciliation in East Timor, and especially in defense of the people.

The pope said that "he hoped the Nobel prize would be a shield... to work even more for the peace of East Timor," Bishop Belo reported.

Date: Fri, Dec 20, 1996 21:49 PST

Subj: Reception for Bishop Belo at the UPS

ROME (18 December) - Bishop Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo returned to his "alma mater," the Salesian Pontifical University (=UPS) in Rome to celebrate an Advent liturgy with the students and faculty here.

Bishop Belo, who earned a Licentiate in Sacred Theology from the UPS in 1980, made the university one of his stops during this trip to Rome where he planned to meet with the Salesian superiors and with Pope John Paul II. There was noticeable "Press Attention" during the mass and the festivities that followed.

The diminutive bishop spoke straight from the heart. Along the way he cracked a few jokes (about university studies and on certain professors that he had during his years at the UPS and who are still active teachers). He then read a short speech in English.

"What was most impressive," writes second-year theology student Antoine Ferruggia, "was his short and moving account of the fate of some of his people at the start of his pastoral apostolate. His stories mesmerized the congregation."

As a young priest at the UPS in the early 1980s, Carlos Belo studied spirituality. But when he returned to his country, he did not preach many retreats or give many conferences, as he had

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

November 25, 1996

Dear Paul:

I would like to thank you and Arnold Kohen for coming by on November 6 to discuss East Timor. It is always a pleasure to see you and I value your insights in dealing with this issue.

We queried our embassy in Jakarta concerning some of the points you raised in our discussion. Our embassy checked with the Norwegian embassy concerning the issuance of a passport for Bishop Belo's sister and we were told that she is not having any problem in obtaining a passport. If further problems develop, please let me know.

Also, concerning rumors of assassination attempts against Bishop Belo, we are continuing to monitor that situation closely. On November 18, Bishop Belo clarified the report of nine assassination attempts published in Der Spiegel, reducing the number to two attempts that he said took place in June 1989 and October 1991.

Regarding Jose Ramos Horta, Assistant Secretary John Shattuck was prepared to meet with him November 15 along with Deputy Assistant Secretary Aurelia Brazeal at the Department of State. Unfortunately, a scheduling problem developed that forced cancellation of the meeting. However, State Department officials were able to attend public lectures by Mr. Horta at Georgetown University and Freedom House.

The Right Reverend
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