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 - Letter to Mr. Gerard S. Garey, Executive Vice President of Raskob Foundation for Catholic Activities.
 - Letter to Ms. Janet Shenk, Executive Director of the Arca Foundation.
 - Letter to Mr. James M. Furman, McArthur Foundation
 - Letter to Dr. Boyd Lowry, Executive Director of Codel, Inc.
 - Letter to Mr. Albert G. McGarthy III, Secretary of Loyala Foundation, Inc.
- ❖ The panels for the workshop (04/1990) | 4 pp.
- ❖ Human Rights Watch Fax package from Sidney to Holly (1990) | 4 pp. | includes:
 - “Asia watch to Indonesian Government: Leave East Timorese Demonstrators Alone”
 - Letter to Arnold Kohen from Rev. Thomas J. Martin
- ❖ Asia Watch package to Clyde Haberman, *The New York Times*, from Arnold Kohen. It contains background information for his interest. (12.02.1990) The package contains: | 8 pp.
 - Letter to Clyde Haberman, *The New York Times*, from Arnold Kohen (12.02.1990)
 - East Timor Bishop writes of torture (11.02.1990) *The New York Times*
 - “Asia Watch to Indonesian government: Leave East Timorese demonstrates alone” (22.01.1990)
 - Several injured in East Timor demonstration (01.02.1990) *Far Eastern Economic Review*

- Indonesia's Press needs Reagan's help (29.04.1986) *The New York Times*
- Violence in Timor protest (19.01.1990) *The Guardian*
- ❖ Asia Watch package to Ben Anderson from Arnold Kohen. It contains pieces from *The New York Times* and a couple other bits and pieces. (12.02.1990). The Package contains: | 6 pp.
 - East Timor Bishop writes of torture (11.02.1990) *The New York Times*
 - Violence in Timor Protest (19.01.1990) *The Guardian*
 - Romanian opposition assails New Assembly (11.02.1990) *The New York Times*
 - At 15th St. Condo, an English touch (02.02.1990) *The New York Times*
- ❖ Governor calls for investments in East Timor written by the Jakarta Post (1990)
- ❖ Letter to Tony Hall from Janet Mullins (22.01.1990)
- ❖ Fax to Sidney Jones, Asia Watch (15.01.1990)
- ❖ Asian Newswatch with updates from Jakarta (2) (19.11.1990)
- ❖ Letter to Arnold Kohen from Mark Raper, International Director of the Jesuit Refugee Service, (27.09.1990)
- ❖ Letter to the Honorable Janet G. Mullins from Tony Hall (29.03.1990)
- ❖ Letter to Reverend Edward O'Meara, Catholic Relief Services, from John S. Cummins, Bishop of Oakland (05.09.1990) with an attached Summary of his trip to East Timor (19.10.1990) | 13 pp.
- ❖ Congress-East Timor: "Lawmakers urge the administration to help stem repression in East Timor" (18.11.1990)
- ❖ Excerpts from a letter from a church source in East Timor dated June 30, 1990
- ❖ An address was given at the Oxford Conference on East Timor "Remember East Timor" (08.12.1990)
- ❖ A document for Sidney Jones, Asia Watch, from Arnold Kohen (1990) | 2 pp.
- Congress of the United States- July 9, 1990, written by Tony Hall



The Right Reverend
Paul Moore Jr.

October 19, 1990

Dear Representative *Anthony,*

I am sure you are aware that Rep. Tony Hall is circulating a letter showing concern over the human rights situation in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor.

I visited East Timor last winter and found scandalous conditions and a virtual military occupation which has continued since the Indonesian invasion 15 years ago, at a cost of at least 100,000 lives.

I feel it is urgent that our Congress express its interest to the State Department along the lines of Rep. Hall's letter. As a fellow Episcopalian, I urge you to co-sign Rep. Hall's letter.

I appreciate that this is an extremely hectic period in the Congress. And I thank you for anything you can do on this important humanitarian issue.

Sincerely,

Bishop Paul Moore

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

(Note: I have retyped, because of legibility, the text)

REPORT ON MEETING WITH UN UNDERSECRETARY GENERAL RAFECUDIN ACMED
ON AUGUST 8, 1990 at 10:00 AM IN MR. ACHMED'S OFFICE

Text by Jean Inglis, a longtime American resident in Japan and scholar of Southeast Asia.

(The appointment was sought by fax from Japan explaining that Ms. Takemura Yasuko of the Upper House Foreign Affairs Comm. was anxious to clarify the nature of the Secretary-General's letter to Suharto that was reported in the Jakarta Post of July 26, 1990 and to exchange views. Jose Ramos-Horta had suggested this action to Ms. Takemura when he met her in Tokyo in early August).

Since I acted as interpreter for Ms. Takemura, I was unable to take notes. There were two other people present, a woman with a pad and pencil, and a man who observed and listened. I do not remember their names.

Ms. Takemura expressed appreciation to Mr. Achmed for answering letters sent from 70 Diet members to de Cuellar several years ago. She recalled the comment in his letter that the secretary-general, like the Diet members, was concerned that the East Timorese be included in the negotiations.

Ms. Takemura explained the nature of the Diet Forum, and said that the concern for East Timor sprang from a sincere reflection on Japan's past aggression in East Timor, and a desire to help in the present situation where Indonesia is committing the same kind of aggression, two hundred thousand East Timorese having lost their lives and instances of arbitrary arrest and torture continuing. Achmed mentioned the fact that the pope had visited E.T. last year and said that he hoped the E.T. issue would be solved by the realization of the Portuguese parliamentarian's mission to E.T. He talked about this in an optimistic tone.

Ms. Takemura raised the issue of the de Cuellar letter to Suharto. (We showed Mr. Achmed the copy of the Jakarta Post article). Mr. Achmed said that the letter to Suharto was in order to encourage Indonesia to realize the carrying out of the Portuguese parliamentarian's mission to East Timor. At the same time a similar letter had been conveyed to President Suarez (sic) of Portugal. The Jakarta Post article was a strictly Indonesian interpretation, but could be said to be correct insofar as, if the parliamentarians mission took place, this would lead to the solution of the issue and therefore the removal of the issue from the UN.

Mr. Achmed consistently expressed the hope that the mission would pave the way for a settlement.

Mr. Achmed gave a long explanation about the differing views at the UN regarding self-determination for former colonial territories. While in Africa, he said, the trend is to support the maintaining of the colonial borders, in Asia it is not. He said the trend among Asian countries is to seek the unification of territories that were separated by colonialism. For example, China, Macau and Hong Kong were being reunited now, and no one objects. The same for Malaysia; this is seen as the unifying of areas that were formerly one, but were divided by colonial conquest. He said the same was true of Indonesia.

Ms. Takemura asked if the Secretary General had received and answered the February 1989 letter from Bishop Belo urging the UN to conduct a referendum in East Timor. Mr. Achmed avoided the question. She asked again; had the Secretary General received a letter from Bishop Belo. Mr. Achmed answered that the Secretary General had received no letter from East Timor; he had received a letter from "an individual" from outside East Timor. Ms. Takemura asked: did the Secretary General respond to the letter? Mr. Achmed said that "the individual" was informed that the letter had been received. Mr. Achmed never once used Bishop Belo's name, nor did he refer to the contents of the letter or who "the individual" was.

We concluded the meeting and I took a couple of pictures of Ms. Takemura and Mr. Achmed standing in front of a picture he got from Japan. Upon leaving the room, I called Ms. Takemura's attention to the wall-size map of the world in Mr. Achmed's office, pointing out that there was no mark separating East Timor from West Timor. The man who had been silent up to then pointed to the fact that the map was a U.S. Defense Department map. "The UN mapa have a line," he said. Mr. Achmed saw us out to the door and gave Ms. Takemura a UN poster-chart on the status of women around the world.

Comments by Jean Inglis. In retrospect, we probably should have responded to Mr. Achmed's explanation about "the trend" in Asia toward reunification by citing the appropriate UN principle guaranteeing the people the right to determine their own fate. We should have mentioned this same point as a comment on the parliamentary mission as well (while sharing the UN hopes for the mission, stressing that the UN mandate can only be achieved

when the people themselves are consulted). We should certainly have dwelt on this at length in response to Mr. Achmed's non-response to mention of Bishop Belo's letter. We might also have asked Mr. Achmed what he thought Japan could do.

Provisional list of participants

Peter Carey (Asian Studies Centre)
Bob Barnes (ASC)
Robert Archer (Catholic Institute for International Relations)
George Monbiot (author)
Andrew Gray (International Working Group for Indigenous Affairs)
Nick Van Hear (Refugee Studies Programme)
John Taylor (South Bank Polytechnic)
Barbara Harrell-Bond (RSP)
Janet Leatherby (RSP)

Ann Clwyd (MP)
Claire Palley (Principal, St Anne's College, Oxford)
Roger Clarke (Distinguished Professor of Law, Rutgers University)
Sue Roff (Minority Rights Group, New York)
Bob Hering (James Cook University, Queensland)
Andrew Turton (SOAS)
Gervaise Clarence-Smith (SOAS)
A representative from the Department of SE Asian Studies,
University of Hull

Likely:

Jose Ramos-Horta (International Secretariat of Timorese
Resistance)
Lord Avebury
Bishop Paul Moore
Jill Jolliffe (Reuters, Lisbon)
Anti-Slavery Society
Carmel Budiardjo/Liem Soie Liong (Tapol)
Maureen Davies
Timorese refugees based in Lisbon
Portuguese MPs/journalists
Frank Johnston (Australian High Commission)
Hassan Wiraynda (Indonesian Permanent Mission at the UN, Geneva)
A representative from the Portuguese embassy
A representative of the New Zealand government

Possible:

David Hicks (State University of New York at Stony Brook)
Sidney Jones (Asia Watch)
Professor Mubyarto (Gajah Mada University, Yogyakarta)
NGOs - Oxfam, Cafod, Save the Children, Christian Aid, Red Cross
Prof Antonio Barbado
Jose Carlos Vereira (journalist)
Gilberto Faraz ()
Anthony Goldstone (EIU)
Pat Walsh (ACFOA)
A representative of Komite Indonesia, The Netherlands
Arnold Cohen (Washington)
Amy Goodman (WBAI Pacific Radio Station, New York)

Arnold S. Kohen

2225 Observatory Place, N.W.
Washington, D.C 20007
Tel. 202 / 333-2981

November 5, 1990

Message for Ben Anderson, Fax # 011-63-2-5218105

Dear Ben,

I am sorry it has taken me so long to get in touch with you. In a short while, you will receive some things by mail that will give you an idea of what I have been doing in the interim.

The dates for the SSRC forum on East Timor have been set, finally: Thursday and Friday April 25 and 26, 1991. I hope that you will be able to make it. You will receive a formal letter from Toby in the weeks to come. Here I will only say that I believe you will be asked to speak on two panels. One, on East Timor before 1975, has this (tentative, according to your wishes, of course) topic for you: the situation/atmosphere in Indonesia in 1975. In the second panel, on the internal and external effects on Indonesia of the East Timor situation over the past 15 years, your tentative topic would be the effect of the Timor conflict on Indonesia's domestic life. Each of these topics would necessitate a presentation of no longer than 15 or 20 minutes, owing to the large number of panelists. My files over the past 15 years are quite extensive, and I can help provide any documentation you may require.

Your topics are of course subject to major adjustment according to your specifications, but I do hope you will be able to participate next April 25 and 26. I know of no one who can provide the kind of overview that you can, and we need that.

Please fax me with your confirmation of participation as soon as possible at the Amnesty fax here in Washington, care of John Nides.

The situation in Timor itself has become much heavier as of late, as you can see from the attached piece. Steven Erlanger of the New York Times published a very good article 2 weeks back, based on 5 days in Dili -- the authorities wouldn't let him travel outside of the capital, which pissed Erlanger off greatly. And Allan Nairn, an American journalist who has written widely on Central America for the Atlantic, the New Republic, the NY Times (op-eds), was in Timor for 2 weeks in late August, early September, for 2 weeks, and he managed to travel fairly widely in outlying

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areas. Nairn, who has worked with Aryeh Neier over a long period of time on Central American issues, told Neier that people in East

Ben-----Page 2

Timor are more scared than Guatemalans...Nairn went to Timor under the auspices of the New Yorker, and hopefully his piece will appear there soon. We are also inviting Nairn to be a panelist at the SSRC event next April. See the attached Wall Street Journal piece, incidentally.

I know you must be wondering what has become of my draft proposal for Ford, etc, on the longer term media project at American University. It was only in recent weeks that I got the go-ahead from Sanford Ungar, the Dean of the School of Communication (and the moderator of the SSRC Timor event) to draft something up, and as you know, without his backing, things would be much more problematic. My draft will be ready soon and I will send to you immediately. The time I have had these past months to think things through has been very valuable, however, so the delay has had its positive side.

I am feeling much, much better than when we last spoke. Your advice about laying aside the kind of friction I described was on the mark -- I simply have been keeping my distance from it.

Please send me your confirmation on the SSRC event and any questions you may have as soon as possible. I will respond right away with another faxletter, as I have a few matters concerning which I need your advice. But I want to get this off to you, so I will stop here. All the best.

Warm regards,

Ben, the NY Times piece is much too large to fax -- it will reach you by mail. Please pay special attention to the Nation's piece on Kissinger and Timor faxed here -- it is devastating and deals with matter related to your 1978 Fraser Committee testimony.

The Amnesty FAX where it can be reached, c/o John Nides, is 202-546 7142

FAX # 63-2-952908

February 8, 1990

Dear Ben,

I have sent you a packet of cuttings and other items of interest recently.

I do hope you are fully mended after your mishap. I hope you can send word, however brief, on how you are, etc.

In the abovementioned packet of printed matter, included is an amusing profile (and a follow-up article) of Andrew Knight from the new London paper, The Sunday Correspondent. It's just the kind of tidbit you probably don't see out there, and wouldn't necessarily miss, but like chocolate cake, it's nice if available from time to time.

And at long last, I'm sitting down to write a proper note, chiefly to thank you for your decency and moral support around the time of my dad's death -- especially in our conversations in London in September. It was very good of you to take the time to meet and talk. (I can hear your reply, "That is what friends are for", -- but plenty of friends did not display your patience and good cheer). I was feeling somewhat overwhelmed, if only temporarily, and you really helped me think things through.

I am feeling much better now, even if some of the family stuff is still a bit spooky (then again, what are families for, if not shared spookiness?).

At any rate, whatever problems may exist, I've been counting my blessings since December, what with the torrent of news from Romania. Had I ever told you that my dad's parents emigrated to the U.S. from Bucharest in 1902? (In the packet, I've sent along a few of my favorite press clips on Romania for your interest. Also a good piece on Panama and other bits and pieces, including some stuff on Timor, of course.)

Speaking of which, thanks for recommending me to Toby Volkman. If the proposed workshop comes off, it would be very good.

Please note material regarding Amb. Monjo's visit to Timor -- attached here is a synopsis from the Review. We are still trying to flesh out exactly what happened. Interesting, no?

I can be reached by mail at the abovementioned address or through the Asia Watch fax. I will send another note soon.

February 12, 1990

Dear Ben,

The attached piece came out in the NYT yesterday. Because there is the chance that you might be consulted on Timor at any time re the SSRC workshop, I thought that you should get the piece right away -- it is fairly lengthy and demonstrates, once again, that significant interest still exists.....

Also attached are a couple of other bits and pieces. Forgive my Rumania obsession -- it's kind of like the marvelling one does when one has avoided a head-on collision. Again, thank the Lord that my grand-dad went through Ellis Island. Note the underlined portion of the Reuter clip from Bucharest.

More soon,

Best,

Social Science Research Council
605 Third Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10158

Toby Alice Volkman
Staff Associate

(212) 661-0280
FAX: 1-212-370-7896

May 1, 1990

Mr. Arnold Kohen
2225 Observatory Place, NW
Washington, DC 20007

Dear Arnold:

I am pleased to inform you that the Joint Committee on Southeast Asia has received a grant from the Ford Foundation to support a workshop and photographic exhibit on East Timor, to take place at American University in March, 1990.

The grant is made only for the purposes detailed in your proposal, with no substantial variation from the budget specified in that proposal without prior approval in writing. Any grant funds not expended or committed for the purposes of the grant will be returned to SSRC.

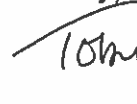
A written report must be provided to SSRC following the workshop, including: 1) a narrative report of what was accomplished by the expenditure of funds; and 2) a financial accounting, according to the line-item categories of the approved budget. We also request 15 copies of any publications resulting from the project.

The role of SSRC should be acknowledged as "support from the Joint Committee on Southeast Asia of the Social Science Research Council\American Council of Learned Societies," in any publicity relating to the project, or in any publications that result.

As detailed in your budget, the amount of the grant is \$26,500. Let us know how you would prefer payments (i.e. would you prefer installments or one check), to whom the check(s) should be made out, and when.

Please keep me informed as plans develop, and feel free to contact me if you have any questions. I am looking forward to attending what promises to be an exciting workshop.

Sincerely,



Toby Alice Volkman

Estimated Budget

1. Elaine Briere photographs -- shipping and insurance: \$750.00
2. Processing of 25 color and black-and-white photographs, estimated cost \$70.00 per photograph for professional printing and mounting: \$1,750.00
3. Room Rental -- It appears likely that American University will donate a room for the exhibition.
4. Printing and mounting of explanatory remarks -- Ms. Briere estimates from previous experience that 10 of these will be necessary at \$100.00 each: \$1,000.00.
5. Organization of Exhibition -- It is esimated that 30 workdays will be needed to organize all aspects of the exhibition. This would be done by Korinna Horta, who lived in East Timor from 1972-74 and is now a resident of Washington. Ms. Horta (no relation to Jose Ramos Horta) has written articles on Timorese language and history, was recently an international economic analyst with the Environmental Defense Fund and will rejoin that organization in early 1990. A graduate of the School of Advanced International Studies of Johns Hopkins University, Ms. Horta brings to this project first-hand familiarity of East Timor during a significant part of the period in question.

Organizational costs: 30 days at \$100.00 per diem: \$3,000.00.

Shepard Forman has informed us that he requires assistance in reviewing his photographic collection. Therefore, one visit to New York (plus, in all likelihood, a stop in Middletown, Connecticut, to review the photographs of Elizabeth Traube) will be needed, at an estimated cost of \$400.00.

Total Estimated Budget, Exhibition: \$6,900.00

GRAND TOTAL, WORKSHOP AND EXHIBITION: \$26,100 (Without Governor Carrascalao's fare); \$28,100.00 in event that the fare must be paid.

CORNELL UNIVERSITY

SOUTHEAST ASIA PROGRAM

120 Univ Hall

Ithaca, New York 14853-0001

Tel: 607/255-2378

FAX 607/254-5000

December 20, 1990

Dr. Karl Hutterer, Chair
Joint Committee on Southeast Asia
Social Science Research Council
605 Third Ave.
New York, NY 10158

Fax: 212-370-7896

Dear Dr. Hutterer:

I am responding to your letter of December 7 to Ben Anderson regarding the workshop being planned on East Timor for April 25-26, 1991.

Ben is still on sabbatic. We expect him here in Ithaca about mid-January. I will list the workshop on his tentative spring calendar which has several conflicts at this time, this being one of them. Ben will also be Acting Chair in the Department of Government and teaching a seminar on the Philippines.

I'm sure he will contact you as soon as possible to let you know his availability.

Sincerely,

Teresa M. Palmer

Teresa M. Palmer
Administrative Aide

Karl Hutterer
Chair, Joint Committee on East Timor
Social Science Research Council
605 Third Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10158

24 December 1990

Dear Mr. Hutterer:

Thank you for your letter of December 7, 1990 and the invitation extended to me to participate in the workshop on the situation in East Timor planned for April 25.26 in Washington, D.C.

I am pleased to confirm my participation and I'll be contacting Mr. Arnold Kohen to make the travel arrangements.

I am now sending the summary of my contribution.

Sincerely yours,

Jose Ramos Horta
Jose Ramos-Horta
Exec. Director

Please note our
new fax number
(02) 3137209

Workshop 1: East Timor: 1974 - 1975

On April 25, 1974, almost 500 years of Portuguese colonial rule crumbled in Africa and Asia. A process of decolonization was set in motion in East Timor by November 1994 with the arrival of the new Governor, Brig. Mario Lemos Pires. Three political parties had emerged in East Timor soon after the "Carnation Revolution": The Uniao Democratica Timorese (UDT), favouring close links with Portugal but having independence as the long-term goal; the Social Democratic Association (ASDT), later renamed Frente Revolucionaria de Timor Leste Independente (FRETILIN), favouring independence with close links to Australia and ASEAN; and APODETI, a small group favouring outright integration in the Republic of Indonesia.

Throughout 1974 and up to June 1975, East Timor was relatively calm inspite of growing Indonesian interference and attempts at intimidation and subversion of the decolonization process. I met with Adam Malik (June 1974) and Gen. Ali Moertopo (1975) and numerous other senior Indonesian officials in efforts to persuade Indonesia not to invade East Timor. I assured my interlocutors that an independent East Timor would strive to maintain close links with Indonesia and would seek membership in ASEAN. However, all my assurances and clear demonstrations of good will fell on deaf years for the Indonesian military leaders had only one thing in mind and that was the incorporation of East Timor into the Republic.

Workshop 2: The human rights situation in East Timor from late 1975 until present.

Indonesia's invasion of East Timor in December 1975 was marked by brutalities beyond comprehension. Hundreds of innocent civilians, including Indonesian supportes, were summarily executed in Dili. Rape was common place. Looting of every valuable item. In the first few months, it was estimated that 60,000 had died. This was the estimate of none other than the then "Deputy Governor of East Timor", Mr. Francisco Lopes da Cruz, speaking in February 1976.

From 1975 until 1979, more than 100,000 must have died from massacres, bombing, including the use of napalm. Entire villages were wiped out. More than 80 per cent of the people were forced to abandon their ancestral homes and herded into "resettlement camps" where thousands more died. It is impossible to make an accurate assessment of the actual number of people who died and to break down the figure according to the causes of death - war, famine, massacres, etc. The fact is that a great number of people died. Almost every Timorese family lost someone. In some cases entire families were wiped out. In the course of 1990, human rights situation in East Timor deteriorated seriously. This has been acknowledged by the Australian Minister for Foreign Affairs, Sen. Gareth Evans, in a meeting I had with him in Canberra on December 18. This was the first admission ever by a senior Australian Minister that the human rights situation in East Timor is very critical.

Workshop 3: the implications of the conflict.

(This title is a bit too vague. Could you please advise me on the exact theme of this workshop).

The conflict of East Timor poses serious questions about the rule of law in international relations, morality and decency. The West, chiefly the U.S., bears enormous responsibility for the tragedy for the weapons used by Indonesia against the East Timorese people were supplied by Western governments who knew and know full well the implications of the arms sales to Indonesia.

Workshop 4: Scenarios for the future in East Timor.

More than 15 years have elapsed since the Indonesian invasion of East Timor. The fact that we are gathering here today is a proof of the fact that the East Timorese refuse to fade away from our collective conscience. Armed resistance continues even though at a small scale. However it is beyond any question now that the overwhelming majority of the people of East Timor oppose Indonesia's rule. The only difference between the young East Timorese protest movement and the Palestinian "intifade" is that the latter have the world's TV cameras zoomed in on their actions while the East Timorese are largely cut off from the rest of the world.

16 years along the road, it is time for the West to bear firm pressure on the Indonesian generals that cannot continue to dispose of the lives of the East Timorese with impunity. It is time for us to explore ideas for a solution to this horrendous conflict. The Resistance leader, Xanana Gusmao, has made a significant proposal for a negotiations without pre-conditions where all possible ideas for a solution could be explored. A round-table conference involving the Resistance leaders, the Catholic Church, Indonesian officials, the United Nations in a mediation role, with Portugal involved as well in one form or another, might be the most appropriate scenario for a solution to be worked out. I object to attempts to by-pass the East Timorese themselves and impose a cosmetic arrangement because this would only prolong the conflict.



Department of Social Development and World Peace

Office of International Justice and Peace

3211 4th Street N.E. Washington, DC 20017-1194 (202)541-3198 FAX (202)541-3339 TELEX 7400424

December 19, 1990

Dr. Robert McC. Adams
2810 31st Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20007

Dear Bob:

I regret that we haven't seen each other for some time, but I have followed your new career with great interest and have not envied your management challenges. You continue to have my best wishes in your leadership of one of the great institutions in the world.

On December 1, I reached 65 and, as had long been arranged, left the Catholic Bishops' Conference as full-time director of their international staff to become a part-time consultant. It has been a stimulating and rewarding experience, especially when we were able to help the bishops to speak out on issues such as military aid to El Salvador, normalization of relations with Vietnam, and, most recently, on the Persian Gulf crisis. Nevertheless, I am looking forward to more time with the family and for hobbies.

Relying on an increasingly defective memory, I seem to recall that you or your wife were connected with the MacArthur Foundation. For that reason I enclose a copy of a grant request which I recently sent on behalf of a friend with whom I have worked closely on the tragic situation in East Timor. If memory is correct, I would be most grateful if you could ensure that the request receives a fair hearing.

With all good wishes for Christmas and the New Year.

Sincerely yours,

Robert T. Hennemeyer
Ambassador (ret.)



Department of Social Development and World Peace

Office of International Justice and Peace

3211 4th Street N.E. Washington, DC 20017-1194 (202)541-3198 FAX (202)541-3339 TELEX 7400424

December 18, 1990

Mr. Gerard S. Garey
Executive Vice President
Raskob Foundation for Catholic Activities
P.O. Box 4019
Wilmington, DE 19807


Dear Mr. Garey:

Ever since coming to the Conference in 1986 I have worked closely with Arnold Kohen, director of the East Timor Research Project. It has been the only effective voice in the United States on behalf of the long-suffering and devoutly Catholic people of that small former Portuguese colony which was seized by force by Indonesia in 1975. They have suffered greatly under Indonesian rule and an estimated 100,000 died as the result of military operations and attendant famine and illness. Pope John Paul II has expressed his concern about the East Timor situation and visited the area last year. Monsignor Carlos Filipe Belo, bishop of Dili, and the principal spokesman for his people has called for international support. In response, the United States bishops adopted a statement (enclosed) on East Timor at their General Meeting in November 1987.

Arnold Kohen and the East Timor Research Project have cooperated with the United States Catholic Conference to ensure that Bishop Belo's pleas on behalf of his people reach United States policy makers. The funding for his work has been tenuous and very small, and assistance is needed. At my request the enclosed project proposal has been prepared which will enable the Project to continue. I would be most grateful for your consideration of this proposal.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,


Robert T. Hennepeyer
Ambassador (ret.)



Department of Social Development and World Peace

Office of International Justice and Peace

3211 4th Street N.E. Washington, DC 20017-1194 (202)541-3198 FAX (202)541-3339 TELEX 7400424

December 18, 1990

Ms. Janet Shenk
Executive Director
The Arca Foundation
1425 21st Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

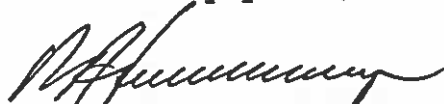
Dear Ms. Shenk:

Ever since coming to the Conference in 1986 I have worked closely with Arnold Kohen, director of the East Timor Research Project. It has been the only effective voice in the United States on behalf of the long-suffering and devoutly Catholic people of that small former Portuguese colony which was seized by force by Indonesia in 1975. They have suffered greatly under Indonesian rule and an estimated 100,000 died as the result of military operations and attendant famine and illness. Pope John Paul II has expressed his concern about the East Timor situation and visited the area last year. Monsignor Carlos Filipe Belo, bishop of Dili, and the principal spokesman for his people has called for international support. In response, the United States bishops adopted a statement (enclosed) on East Timor at their General Meeting in November 1987.

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With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,


Robert T. Henne Meyer
Ambassador (ret.)



Department of Social Development and World Peace

Office of International Justice and Peace

3211 4th Street N.E. Washington, DC 20017-1194 (202)541-3198 FAX (202)541-3339 TELEX 7400424

December 18, 1990

Mr. James M. Furman
McArthur Foundation
140 South Dearborn Street
Chicago, IL 606603

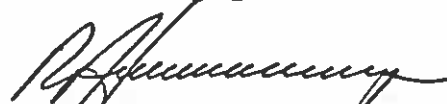
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December 18, 1990

Dr. Boyd Lowry
Executive Director
Codel, Inc.
475 Riverside Drive
New York, N.Y. 10115

Dear Dr. Lowry:

Ever since coming to the Conference in 1986 I have worked closely with Arnold Kohen, director of the East Timor Research Project. It has been the only effective voice in the United States on behalf of the long-suffering and devoutly Catholic people of that small former Portuguese colony which was seized by force by Indonesia in 1975. They have suffered greatly under Indonesian rule and an estimated 100,000 died as the result of military operations and attendant famine and illness. Pope John Paul II has expressed his concern about the East Timor situation and visited the area last year. Monsignor Carlos Filipe Belo, bishop of Dili, and the principal spokesman for his people has called for international support. In response, the United States bishops adopted a statement (enclosed) on East Timor at their General Meeting in November 1987.

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Department of Social Development and World Peace

Office of International Justice and Peace

3211 4th Street N.E. Washington, DC 20017-1194 (202)541-3198 FAX (202)541-3339 TELEX 7400424

December 18, 1990

Mr. Albert G. McCarthy, III
Secretary
Loyola Foundation, Inc.
308 C Street N.E.
Washington, D.C. 20002

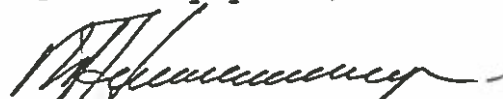
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Panel III: The Implications of the Conflict, 3 PM-- 5 PM

- * Benedict Anderson, Professor of Government and Director, Modern Indonesia Project, Cornell University
- * Martin Rendon, aide to Rep. Tony Hall (D-Ohio)
- * Jose Ramos Horta
- * Robert Archer, Asia specialist, Catholic Institute for International Relations, London
- * Harold Maynard, Indonesia representative, United Engineers and Constructors

RECEPTION in University Club, first floor, Mary Graydon, at the opening of an SSRC photographic exhibition on East Timor, 1973-91. 5:15 PM-7PM, April 25

CONCLUSION:

**Scenarios for the Future in East Timor, April 26,
8:30 AM -- 11:30 AM**

- * John Taylor, author and Principal Lecturer, London South Bank Polytechnic
- * Ramos Horta
- * Mubyarto, Professor and Director, Center for Rural and Regional Development Studies, Gadjah Mada University, Yogyakarta, Indonesia
- * Donaciano Gomes, recent refugee from East Timor

PROGRAM FOR SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL WORKSHOP ON EAST TIMOR

Thursday, April 25 and Friday, April 26, 1991

Kay Spiritual Life Center, American University, Washington, D.C.

Other speakers may be added.

Panel I: East Timor Before the Events of December 1975 (focusing on aspects of the pre-1975 period that enable us to understand subsequent events), Morning, April 25, 9AM -- 11AM

- Panelists:**
- * Elizabeth Traube, Associate Professor of Anthropology, Wesleyan University.
 - * James Dunn, Author and chair, Human Rights Council of Australia; Consul in East Timor, 1962-64.
 - * Jose Ramos Horta, former representative of East Timor's FRETILIN independence movement in New York and currently director of Diplomacy Training Program, University of New South Wales, Australia.

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- * Allan Nairn, Writer, The New Yorker
- * Sidney Jones, Executive Director, Asia Watch
- * The Rt. Rev. Paul Moore, Episcopal Bishop of New York, 1972-89
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Executive Director

FAX COVER SHEET

Date: _____ Time: _____

Number of Pages: _____

TO: HOLLY

FROM: SIDNEY

Supplemental message:

Could you get this to Marty
Rendon + ask Arnold to
get it to the people who signed his
last letter?

I also want a copy sent
to Barbara Horney at the S.O.
desk

I realize the news is now almost
a week old but nobody knows about
it.

Our fax machine number is (212) 972-0905. If you have any
questions about this message, call _____ at (212) 972-8400.

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 (718) 398-4186 (h)

January 22, 1990

ASIA WATCH TO INDONESIAN GOVERNMENT: LEAVE EAST TIMORESE DEMONSTRATORS ALONE

The human rights organization Asia Watch today called on the Indonesian Government to ensure that its troops and police do not detain, harass, interrogate or otherwise intimidate those who took part in a peaceful protest in East Timor on Wednesday, January 17.

The demonstration of well over 100 people calling for respect for human rights and the right to self-determination in East Timor took place outside the Hotel Turismo where the American ambassador, John Monjo, was staying. Asia Watch understands that several people were detained and at least three people hospitalized when the Indonesian authorities used force to break up the demonstration. (Rumors that one person was killed have not been substantiated.) Those detained were reportedly released after an appeal from the ambassador, who asked that no one be arrested "in view of the peaceful nature of the demonstration".

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Robert L. Bernstein, Chairman; Adrian W. DeWind, Vice Chairman
 Argha Meier, Executive Director; Kenneth Roth, Deputy Director; Paul J. Burchard, Washington Director

"We strongly endorse the statement of Ambassador Monjo," said Sidney Jones, director of Asia Watch. "But if the pattern of abuse in East Timor holds, all those who took part in the demonstration will be sought out, interrogated, and perhaps face preventive detention the next time an important visitor comes to Dili. There is no freedom of assembly in East Timor and no freedom of speech."

Three major demonstrations for human rights and self-determination have taken place in East Timor in the last 18 months. One took place at the time of a visit by President Suharto in November 1988; thousands were interrogated and hundreds detained. Just prior to Pope John Paul II's visit in October, dozens more were detained as a preventive measure, but a demonstration took place anyway following the Pope's final mass in the territory. The demonstration last week was apparently the largest so far.

While Asia Watch takes no position on the issue of self-determination for East Timor, Ms. Jones said the East Timorese should have the right to freely express their opinions in a peaceful manner. "Freedom of expression is an internationally recognized human right," she said. "It is high time the Indonesian Government upheld it."



JUSTICE AND PEACE COMMISSION
OF THE UNIONS OF SUPERIORS GENERAL (UISG-WOMEN USG-MEN)

Via Aurelia, 476
00165 ROMA, Italia
Tel. (39-6) 662-2929

November 19, 1990

Mr. Arnold Koh
P.O. Box 32307
Washington, D.C. 20007

Dear ARnold,

It was good to be able to talk with you on the phone last July, though I regret we could not have gotten together. I do hope that we can see each other when you come to Rome-

I have given your name to Fr. Domingo Moraleda, a Claretian Priest in Manila. He is the Superior of that Congregation there, and they have sent priests to work in East Timor over the last year. He has visited there several time. He is sensitive to justice and peace concerns, and should be a good contact for you.

Enclosed are some articles on East Timor I have come across. You may have missed them, so I send them on to you.

I would care to be kept informed on the East Timor situation, if you can keep my name on your mailing list. I may be of help in time, especially in the matter of information sharing.

I wish you success in your efforts on behalf of justice and peace in East Timor. Keep y up your good work.

Sincerely,

Rev. Thomas J. Marti, M.M.
Executive Secretary

composed of religious resident in Rome.

Hackney
Brixton
another possible target
anniversary
of invasion.
Geoff Robinson
Lisbon 2nd week
July
Feels uncertain
about taking
action.
wonders about Focus.



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Research Associate

FACSIMILE COVER SHEET

DATE: Feb 12, 1990

011-39-6-6541505

TIME: _____

NUMBER OF PAGES: 8 (INCLUDING THIS COVER SHEET)

TO: Clyde Haberman

New York Times, Rome bureau

FROM: Arnold Kohen

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SUPPLEMENTAL MESSAGE:

*The following is
background info
for your interest*

THE WASHINGTON OFFICE FAX MACHINE NUMBER IS 202-371-0124. IF YOU HAVE ANY QUESTIONS ABOUT THIS MESSAGE, CALL _____ AT 202-371-6592.

Asia Watch is an affiliate of Human Rights Watch

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Aryeh Neier, Executive Director • Kenneth Roth, Deputy Director • Holly J. Burkhalter, Washington Director

† Arnold S. Kohen

2225 Observatory Place, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20007
Tel. 202 / 333-2981
February 12, 1990

Mr. Clyde Haberman
The New York Times

Dear Mr. Haberman,

You will probably remember having spoken with me from Mauritius regarding events in the aftermath of Pope John Paul's visit to East Timor last October.

Attached is a piece that appeared in the Times yesterday, together with other background information, including an old piece of mine to help identify myself. Please note that it is still unclear exactly what happened in recent weeks when the US ambassador visited East Timor, hence the difference between the various accounts. Anyway, this is probably of marginal interest to the papal beat...

However, at some point in the not-too-distant future, Asia Watch (or someone else) may have information on East Timor that may be of direct relevance to the Pope and your beat. We will keep you apprised of developments.

In the meantime, thank you for your good cheer in your call from Mauritius -- and, more to the point, your good reporting.

Sincerely,



The New York Times

THE NEW YORK TIMES INTERNATIONAL SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 11, 1990

EAST TIMOR BISHOP WRITES OF TORTURE

Isolated, He Pleads in Letter
for Pressure by Lisbon on
Indonesian Occupiers

Special to The New York Times

LISBON, Feb. 10 — In a letter carried here clandestinely, a Catholic bishop in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor has described the human rights situation there as intolerable and has criticized Portugal and the United Nations for failing to intervene on behalf of the Indonesian-occupied territory.

"Portugal hopes that time will solve the problem, but meanwhile we are dying as a people and a nation," said the Bishop, Msgr. Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo, who is under strong pressure from the Indonesian military authorities in East Timor.

Indonesia, which is overwhelmingly Muslim, forcibly annexed the predominantly Roman Catholic territory after Portugal withdrew in 1974.

Monsignor Belo's letter, which took seven months to reach Portugal, was delivered to Bishop Manuel Martins of Setúbal, a major industrial city south of Lisbon, and he read excerpts on national television this week. The letter was written on June 7, four months before Pope John Paul II visited Dili, East Timor's main commercial city.

Bishop Martins said by phone from Setúbal that the letter had been "carried by many hands" and reached him through members of a religious order.

In the letter, Monsignor Belo said he feared he might suffer the same fate as Archbishop Oscar Arnulfo Romero, the Salvadoran primate assassinated in 1980.

Persecution and Torture

"The situation of the East Timorese is absolutely unthinkable, from the point of view of persecution, torture," Bishop Martins said after reading the letter. "The East Timorese are profoundly isolated and their bishop is profoundly isolated. Many things have been promised, and many hopes created, but it seems there's no morals in politics. Moral principles are invoked only as currency, as means to an end."

The Timorese bishop asked Bishop Martins to press the United Nations Secretary General, Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, to reply to a letter that he wrote to him in February 1989. Monsignor Belo complained then that Portugal had not been sufficiently active in seeking a negotiated settlement in East Timor since the territory was invaded by Indonesia in 1975.

Portugal withdrew from East Timor as part of a rapid dismantling of its colonial empire. The United Nations still recognizes Portugal as the administering power, but Monsignor Belo told Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar that the United Nations had yet to discharge its responsibilities toward the territory.

"The East Timorese have never been consulted about their political future," he said.

Ruled at 'Pistol Point'

In the letter described this week, Monsignor Belo said the people of East Timor were forced to accept Indonesian rule "at pistol point," and that he was being subjected to harsh and humiliating attacks by the Indonesian authorities.

"However, the majority of the population is well aware of the maneuvers practiced by the Indonesian Government and military authorities," he wrote. "The Christian population prays" and "waits for the happy day when people can express their aspirations as free men. Monsignor, pray for me. From one day to the next I could follow the path of Bishop Romero."

From the time he was appointed bishop of East Timor in 1983, Monsignor Belo has faced pressure from the East Timorese nationalist movement, known by the Portuguese name Fretilin, as well as from the Indonesian authorities. Supporters of Fretilin and young Catholic radicals initially accused the bishop of being an agent of the Indonesian Government, but Monsignor Belo soon proved to be as outspoken as his predecessor, Martinho Lopes da Costa, who was ordered by the Vatican to retire after Indonesia complained that his sermons fomented nationalist sentiment.

Monsignor Belo's strongest statement was a pastoral letter in December 1987, in which he accused the Indonesian military of regularly practicing torture. He dismissed claims that human rights abuses had ended in Timor as "lying propaganda."

An 'Intifada' Emerges

Since the Pope's visit on Oct. 12, when a melee broke out as students demonstrated for independence, East Timorese persecuted by the police have sought refuge in the Bishop's residence. There are unconfirmed reports that his house was raided by the military in November and that students were removed by force.

Reports from Fretilin released through the movement's office in Lisbon suggest that a new movement described as "the Timorese intifada" has emerged in East Timor since the Pope's visit. Unarmed members of the movement, which is modeled on the Palestinian uprising in the Israeli-occupied territories, have reportedly risked death on three recent occasions in direct confrontations with the Indonesian military.

A Fretilin spokesman in Lisbon, Abilio de Araujo, said an Indonesian soldier was killed on Dec. 26 when a Timorese grabbed his rifle and shot him during a student demonstration in Bali.

On Jan. 17, students reportedly confronted the United States Ambassador to Indonesia, John Monjo, when he was staying at a hotel in Dili. They unfurled pro-independence banners and used a megaphone to shout their grievances until soldiers arrived and dispersed them. After students threw stones at the soldiers, the troops are said to have attacked them with bayonets and rifle butts, causing at least one death.

News Summary

East Timor bishop writes of torture 23



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For further information:
 Sidney Jones (212) 972-8400 (w)
 (718) 398-4186 (h)

January 22, 1990

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BRIEFING

Hun Sen ready for major concession on Cambodia

► Under increasing pressure from a war-weary population to end his country's civil war, Cambodian Premier Hun Sen is ready to make dramatic concessions to the currently mooted Australian peace plan, including the resignation of himself and his entire cabinet, if the resistance coalition vacates the country's UN seat, say diplomats in Phnom Penh. Provision would be made for prominent exile figures to join an interim national council embodying the resistance and the Phnom Penh regime. A ruling party plenum in mid-January approved Hun Sen's change of stance. Cambodian elections under the existing constitution are expected to be postponed by the national assembly shortly, in anticipation of UN-run polls.

Japan set to call general elections

► Japan's parliament was dissolved on 24 January in preparation for a lower house election which is expected to be held on 18 February. The government cited the refusal by the opposition parties to help pass a supplementary budget as the reason for the dissolution. The election is likely to result in sharp gains for the opposition with the ruling party possibly losing its majority in the lower house.

China says it has released 573 democracy protesters

► Chinese authorities said that a total of 573 persons who participated in political disturbances in May-June 1989 have been released "recently" after admitting their guilt and showing repentance. Diplomats here said that the announcement was apparently timed to precede the reopening of the US Congress and a meeting between Japanese Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu and state councillor Zou Jiahua in Tokyo this week. They estimate at least 10,000 demonstrators were arrested last year and some 800 were sentenced to prison.

Several injured in East Timor demonstration

► At least 40 people were injured, three seriously when security forces dispersed a demonstration outside US Ambassador to Indonesia John Monjo's hotel in the East Timor capital Dili, reliable sources said. Monjo was met on 16 January by up to 150 demonstrators demanding independence for the former Portuguese colony annexed by Indonesia in 1975. A spokesman from

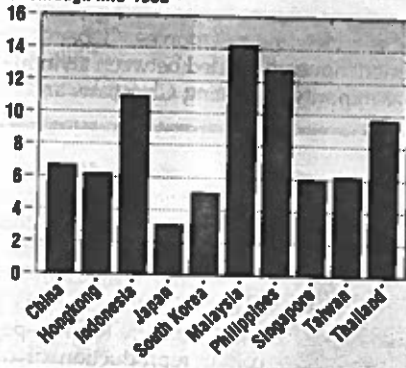
the US Embassy in Jakarta said that the demonstration was peaceful and that following discussions lasting for an hour, Monjo requested that the protesters be permitted to disperse peacefully. But the spokesman added: "The security forces moved against the demonstration with force and there were people injured, some of them seriously."

Sabah chief minister's brother faces bribery charges

► Sabah Chief Minister Datuk Seri Joseph Pairin Kitingan faces political embarrassment over the Anti-Corruption Agency's 23 January arrest of his brother, Sabah Foundation director Datuk Jeffrey Kitingan. Kitingan was charged on seven counts of accepting bribes and kickbacks, related to the shipping of Sabah Foundation timber in 1988 and 1989. Timber is Sabah's main revenue earner and has traditionally been linked to political patronage. Bail was posted at M\$1 million (US\$369,960) in two sureties.

Social indicators

Five-year population growth
% Through mid-1988



Burmese opposition leader banned from election

► Burmese opposition leader Aung San Suu Kyi was finally banned on 22 January from running in a May general election, said Western diplomats in Rangoon. Although there was no official announcement, the diplomats said they understood that the National Election Commission had confirmed an earlier ban on Suu Kyi, who is general secretary of the major opposition National League for Democracy party, as a candidate on the grounds that she has had contacts with unlawful elements. The popular oppositionist has been under house arrest since July 1989 under the military junta which rules Burma, and many others in her party also have been detained.

Afghanistan key item in US-Soviet talks

► The possibility of a political settlement to Afghanistan's civil war is expected to be a principal topic of discussion in talks in Moscow early this month between US Secretary of State James Baker and Soviet Foreign



Shevardnadze.

Minister Eduard Shevardnadze. US officials recently said that the US still was strongly committed to supporting the Muslim guerillas fighting against the government in Kabul, but that recent indications by the Soviets that they may not insist on Afghan President Najibullah remaining in government have provided new opportunities for discussion of a solution to the hostilities. However, a plan for a political transition is unlikely to emerge before mid-1990, in part because Washington wants to see how successful the rebels will be in their coming spring offensives.

Thai MPs seek restrictions on Cambodian guerillas

► A multiparty group of 90 Thai MPs delivered a petition to Prime Minister Chatichai Choonhavan on 17 January calling on him to move against Cambodian resistance groups. The petition asked Chatichai to stop the Cambodian guerilla groups from using Thai territory as a sanctuary and to start a programme to persuade the 300,000 Cambodian refugees in Thai border camps to return to their country. More significantly, the MPs called on the government to cut off the supply of foreign arms to the Cambodian resistance including the Khmer Rouge. Chatichai said he welcomed the petition, but did not indicate whether he would take any action.

Taiwan's KMT wins big in local elections

► Barely six weeks after suffering its worst defeat ever in national elections, Taiwan's ruling Kuomintang (KMT) turned the tables with a near total sweep of local polls. The opposition Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) suffered a rout, while independents — many of them KMT renegades — wound up strategically placed as power brokers. The results leave the six newly elected DPP county executives cut off at the knees, constrained between a hostile central government and hostile local councils.

Indonesia's Press Needs Reagan's Help

By Arnold Kohen

WASHINGTON — When President Reagan visits Indonesia this week, he should encourage greater freedom of the press, both for Indonesian journalists and their foreign counterparts. The issue is important not only to journalists, for the Indonesian public and the rest of the world are being denied essential information about Jakarta's repressive rule.

Strategically located and economically important, Indonesia is the world's fifth most populous nation, the world's largest Moslem country and a pre-eminent member of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations. Staunchly anti-Communist and ruled by a well-entrenched military, Indonesia has been the recipient, over the last 10 years, of approximately \$2 billion in direct American military and economic aid. Echoing its predecessors, the Reagan Administration is lavish in its public praise of the Government of President Suharto, who has ruled by fiat since he seized power 20 years ago.

While cautious criticism is sometimes tolerated in the Indonesian newspapers, it can just as easily result in the closing of a paper, and, with small exceptions, certain subjects are clearly off-limits. As for radio and television, they are entirely under official control, with few dissenting views permitted.

While freer to report than their Indonesian colleagues, foreign correspondents based in Indonesia are carefully scrutinized by the Government. Critical reports on sensitive topics can lead to expulsion or denial of a visa. When they are published in foreign publications, such reports rarely find their way into Indonesia: Government censors cover them with black ink before they are allowed into the country.

A recent article in The Sydney Morning Herald titled "After Marcos, Now for the Suharto Billions" alleged that the President's family and associates had accumulated a fortune of \$2 billion to \$3 billion through Government contracts and "favors." In reprisal, Indonesia banned all Australian reporters from covering President Reagan's visit to Bali.

But even this measure seemed tame by comparison with earlier incidents. In October 1975, shortly before Indonesia's full-scale invasion of the former Portuguese colony of East Timor, five Australian television

journalists were killed while attempting to cover Indonesian incursions into that territory. According to leaked reports from official Australian sources, the journalists were deliberately murdered by forces under Indonesian military command. The assault that they were prevented from describing led eventually to at least 100,000 East Timorese deaths.

Tight restrictions on the few journalists allowed to visit East Timor have resulted in little reporting since of the conflict between Indonesian forces and the Fretilin Independence Movement. Torture, executions, large-scale imprisonment and a near total denial of liberty on East Timor get little notice. The blackout on news is further enhanced by intimidation of the Roman Catholic Church.

Jakarta has also succeeded in seeing to it that the world gets little news of the harsh restrictions it imposes on more than one million former political detainees (more than 99 percent of whom were never tried) suspected of left-wing sympathies or involvement in events 20 years ago.

The world rarely sees accounts of the situation in Irian Jaya, a former Dutch colony taken over by Indonesia in 1962, where Amnesty International reports incommunicado detention and torture of prisoners. Also out of sight are the constraints imposed on Indonesian human rights lawyers, harassed by a Government that sees them as attempting to undermine its authority.

If anything, Jakarta now views Western journalists with increased suspicion. Last month, Lincoln Kaye of the Far Eastern Economic Review was denied a new visa. Among the articles he published before he left was an account of Government pressure on Indonesian newspapers. Most recently, The New York Times's correspondent Barbara Crossette was banned from covering the Reagan visit. No reasons were given.

President Reagan has strongly supported the right to free expression in certain other countries around the world. He should remember the Indonesian situation, both during his visit and after he returns. □

Arnold Kohen is a consultant for Asia Watch, a human rights organization.

The Guardian

30p

Friday

January 19

1990

Published in London
and Manchester

News in brief

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Violence in Timor protest

Several people have been injured during a demonstration in East Timor, the former Portuguese colony invaded by Indonesia in 1975. The US embassy in Jakarta confirmed yesterday that a demonstration of 50 to 100 people greeted its ambassador, Mr John Monjo, when he arrived in the disputed territory on Tuesday, *writes Juliet Rix in Jakarta*.

The embassy could give no details of the protesters' demands, but a demonstration during the Pope's visit in October demanded independence from Indonesia, which has been repeatedly accused of human rights abuses in East Timor.



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FACSIMILE COVER SHEET

DATE: Feb 12, 1990 TIME: 11:00
NUMBER OF PAGES: 6 (INCLUDING THIS COVER SHEET)

TO: Ben Anderson

FROM: Arnold Kohen

SUPPLEMENTAL MESSAGE:

*Sidney sends her
best wishes*

THE WASHINGTON OFFICE FAX MACHINE NUMBER IS 202-371-0124. IF YOU HAVE ANY QUESTIONS ABOUT THIS MESSAGE, CALL _____ AT 202-371-6592.

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†††

2225 Observatory Place, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20007
Tel. 202 / 333-2981
February 12, 1990

Dear Ben,

The attached piece came out in the NYT yesterday. Because there is the chance that you might be consulted on Timor at any time re the SSRC workshop, I thought that you should get the piece right away -- it is fairly lengthy and demonstrates, once again, that significant interest still exists.....

Also attached are a couple of other bits and pieces. Forgive my Rumania obsession -- it's kind of like the marvelling one does when one has avoided a head-on collision. Again, thank the Lord that my grand-dad went through Ellis Island. Note the underlined portion of the Reuter clip from Bucharest.

More soon,

Best,

Amie

The New York Times

THE NEW YORK TIMES INTERNATIONAL SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 11, 1990

EAST TIMOR BISHOP WRITES OF TORTURE

Isolated, He Pleads in Letter
for Pressure by Lisbon on
Indonesian Occupiers

Special to The New York Times

LISBON, Feb. 10 — In a letter carried here clandestinely, a Catholic bishop in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor has described the human rights situation there as intolerable and has criticized Portugal and the United Nations for failing to intervene on behalf of the Indonesian-occupied territory.

"Portugal hopes that time will solve the problem, but meanwhile we are dying as a people and a nation," said the Bishop, Msgr. Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo, who is under strong pressure from the Indonesian military authorities in East Timor.

Indonesia, which is overwhelmingly Muslim, forcibly annexed the predominantly Roman Catholic territory after Portugal withdrew in 1974.

Monsignor Belo's letter, which took seven months to reach Portugal, was delivered to Bishop Manuel Martins of Setúbal, a major industrial city south of Lisbon, and he read excerpts on national television this week. The letter was written on June 7, four months before Pope John Paul II visited Dili, East Timor's main commercial city.

Bishop Martins said by phone from Setúbal that the letter had been "carried by many hands" and reached him through members of a religious order.

In the letter, Monsignor Belo said he feared he might suffer the same fate as Archbishop Oscar Arnulfo Romero, the Salvadoran primate assassinated in 1980.

Persecution and Torture

"The situation of the East Timorese is absolutely unthinkable, from the point of view of persecution, torture," Bishop Martins said after reading the letter. "The East Timorese are profoundly isolated and their bishop is profoundly isolated. Many things have been promised, and many hopes created, but it seems there's no morals in politics. Moral principles are invoked only as currency, as means to an end."

The Timorese bishop asked Bishop Martins to press the United Nations Secretary General, Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, to reply to a letter that he wrote to him in February 1989. Monsignor Belo complained then that Portugal had not been sufficiently active in seeking a negotiated settlement in East Timor since the territory was invaded by Indonesia in 1975.

Portugal withdrew from East Timor as part of a rapid dismantling of its colonial empire. The United Nations still recognizes Portugal as the administering power, but Monsignor Belo told Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar that the United Nations had yet to discharge its responsibilities toward the territory.

"The East Timorese have never been consulted about their political future," he said.

Ruled at 'Pistol Point'

In the letter described this week, Monsignor Belo said the people of East Timor were forced to accept Indonesian rule "at pistol point," and that he was being subjected to harsh and humiliating attacks by the Indonesian authorities.

"However, the majority of the population is well aware of the maneuvers practiced by the Indonesian Government and military authorities," he wrote. "The Christian population prays" and "waits for the happy day when people can express their aspirations as free men. Monsignor, pray for me. From one day to the next I could follow the path of Bishop Romero."

From the time he was appointed bishop of East Timor in 1983, Monsignor Belo has faced pressure from the East Timorese nationalist movement, known by the Portuguese name Fretilin, as well as from the Indonesian authorities. Supporters of Fretilin and young Catholic radicals initially accused the bishop of being an agent of the Indonesian Government, but Monsignor Belo soon proved to be as outspoken as his predecessor, Martinho Lopes da Costa, who was ordered by the Vatican to retire after Indonesia complained that his sermons fomented nationalist sentiment.

Monsignor Belo's strongest statement was a pastoral letter in December 1987, in which he accused the Indonesian military of regularly practicing torture. He dismissed claims that human rights abuses had ended in Timor as "lying propaganda."

An 'Intifada' Emerges

Since the Pope's visit on Oct. 12, when a melee broke out as students demonstrated for independence, East Timorese persecuted by the police have sought refuge in the Bishop's residence. There are unconfirmed reports that his house was raided by the military in November and that students were removed by force.

Reports from Fretilin released through the movement's office in Lisbon suggest that a new movement described as "the Timorese intifada" has emerged in East Timor since the Pope's visit. Unarmed members of the movement, which is modeled on the Palestinian uprising in the Israeli-occupied territories, have reportedly risked death on three recent occasions in direct confrontations with the Indonesian military.

A Fretilin spokesman in Lisbon, Abílio de Araújo, said an Indonesian soldier was killed on Dec. 26 when a Timorese grabbed his rifle and shot him during a student demonstration in Bali.

On Jan. 17, students reportedly confronted the United States Ambassador to Indonesia, John Monjo, when he was staying at a hotel in Dili. They unfurled pro-independence banners and used a megaphone to shout their grievances until soldiers arrived and dispersed them. After students threw stones at the soldiers, the troops are said to have attacked them with bayonets and rifle butts, causing at least one death.

News Summary

East Timor bishop writes of torture

The Guardian

30p

Friday

January 19

1990

Published in London
and Manchester

News in brief

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Violence in Timor protest

Several people have been injured during a demonstration in East Timor, the former Portuguese colony invaded by Indonesia in 1975. The US embassy in Jakarta confirmed yesterday that a demonstration of 50 to 100 people greeted its ambassador, Mr John Monjo, when he arrived in the disputed territory on Tuesday, *writes Juliet Rix in Jakarta*.

The embassy could give no details of the protesters' demands, but a demonstration during the Pope's visit in October demanded independence from Indonesia, which has been repeatedly accused of human rights abuses in East Timor.

Romanian Opposition Assails New Assembly NYT Feb 11, 1990

BUCHAREST, Romania, Feb. 10 (Reuters) — Leaders of Romanian opposition parties said today that they were pleased to be talking in Parliament instead of demonstrating on the streets, but they were not convinced the new body was truly representative.

Opposition officials said President Ion Iliescu admitted more members at Friday's inaugural session than had been agreed with the opposition. This, they said, increased the influence of the Council of National Salvation, which has ruled since the overthrow and execution of President Nicolae Ceausescu in December.

"The front should have consulted us beforehand," a Liberal Party official, Calin Tariceanu, said, referring to the leadership.

"The front doesn't want to share power. It wants to keep its leading

role," he said. "It's clear the Front of National Salvation is a front of personal salvation in this particular matter."

Parliament decided on Friday to allot three seats each to the 37 parties formed since Mr. Ceausescu's fall.

One hundred and eleven seats would be occupied by nonpolitical groups, and nine ethnic minorities would have three each, making 249 seats in all.

But most nonparty members are nominees of the Council of National Salvation and opposition leaders question the independence of some of the new parties.

"We don't really know who these little parties are, I mean whether they are real parties or ghost parties of the Front," the Peasants' Party spokesman, Valentin Gabrielescu, said.

At 15th St. Condo, an English Touch

By ANDREE BROOKS

A new 23-story condominium called the Grosvenor House, at 22 West 15th Street between Fifth Avenue and the Avenue of the Americas, may not have all the English embellishments of the London hotel of the same name. But it apparently has enough to help it sell fairly well in a generally slow market. In nine months, well over 50 percent of the units, 77 of 134, have been sold.

The desire to emulate the British upper classes has proved a marketing bonanza in recent years, and Alan B. Friedberg, a seasoned New York residential developer, is making it work for him at this project.

Gleaming brass door knockers adorn the front door of each apartment. The lobby has Chippendale-style furniture. Pictures of hunting scenes hang in hallways decorated with pin-striped carpeting and vertically striped wallpaper. Hand-held showers are attached to the bathtubs. And at the entrance plaza are Victorian street lamps that might well have come directly from Covent Garden, or at least the Broadway set of "Me and My Girl."

Mr. Friedberg is also offering prices below the top dollar asked at many new luxury condominiums and a location that is gaining in popularity as the stretch of Fifth Avenue between 14th and 23d Streets acquires a certain cachet from the presence of Emporio Armani and other grand new shops. Once an area of garment manufacturing and lofts, it has become a center for publishing companies and advertising agencies in recent years.

The project began in 1986 when Mr. Friedberg was offered a sliver of a medical building, only 25 feet wide, on 15th Street, about 100 yards west of Fifth Avenue. Little could be done with that site, but it was a beginning.

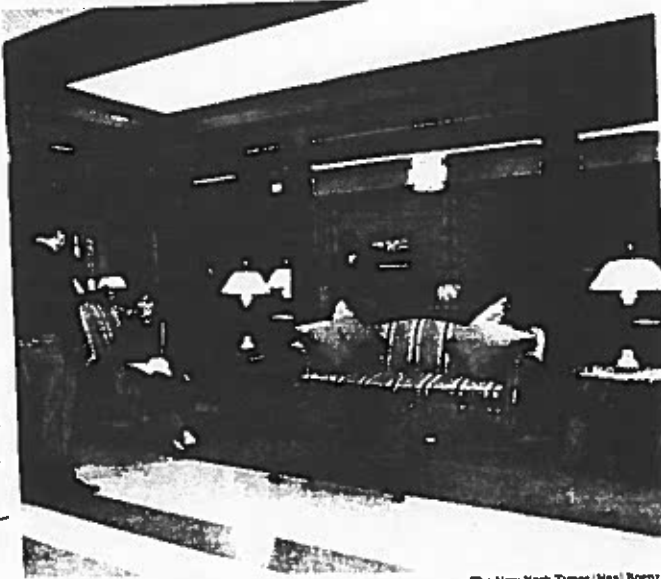
Mr. Friedberg, together with Philip Pilevsky, his partner for this venture, then purchased the adjacent building — a six-story, 60-year-old loft occupied by the Continental Felt Company — as well as the air rights over a two-story retail and office building that backed onto the site along West 14th Street. The air rights not only added to the development potential of the 15th Street properties but also assured unobstructed views to the south, which the partners were eager to achieve to attract buyers.

Together the three pieces permitted the building of a 23-story tower of 140,000 square feet, enough for 134 apartments. The cost for the land and rights came to \$12 million.

The building, designed by Schuman, Lichtenstein, Claman & Efron, was laid out to appeal to a broad range of buyers, with two-bedroom units, one-bedroom duplexes and standard one-bedroom units in a wide assortment of sizes and configurations.

"All we left out were studios," Mr. Friedberg said, as he talked about his venture over a polished mahogany dining room table replete with a bone china tea service and place mats — plus a bowler hat casually placed on a sideboard. "We felt we would attract more buyers by providing some really small — 550-square-foot — one-bedroom units instead of the studios." The cost, he said, would be roughly the same.

Helen Crystal, director of sales, said buyers have so far been a mix of younger working couples with no children, couples moving up from a smaller apartment in a less-presti-



Lobby of the Grosvenor House condominium at 22 West 15th Street.

The Victorian street lamps might have come from Covent Garden.

gious location, and foreigners and out-of-towners seeking a centrally situated pied-à-terre. Some parents are also buying apartments for young adult children who are completing degrees or are in trainee positions.

A few buyers are investors, but of a different kind: a person who pays cash and sees the purchase as an opportunity for a good return on capital instead of focusing on future appreci-

ation, which is no longer assured. For example, a one-bedroom apartment costing \$180,000 and renting for \$1,750 a month can generate a 9.8 net percent return on capital.

One-bedroom apartments that range from 580 to 715 square feet cost \$163,000 to \$259,000. Monthly common charges, including real estate taxes, are about \$450. Two-bedroom units offering 840 to 1,385 square feet are priced from \$255,000 to \$462,000, with monthly charges averaging \$1,000. Some have working fireplaces.

The one-bedroom units can be purchased fully furnished for an extra \$15,000; two-bedroom furnished units, which also have a dining room, cost \$25,000 more. Furnishings include linens and tableware. Maid service is also available.

The building has an exercise room and rooftop garden.

Ben: My mother used to take me to buy trousers at a wholesale showroom down the street from "Grosvenor House."

ARNOLD -
GOT SOME
"SPARE CASH" TO
INVEST?!
Phong

SOUTHEAST ASIA

39

most likely to be
Variant model.

demonstration
of the British
erdanakusumah
planes, which
ng to the inter-

fly at Mach 2
by the British
Integrated Air
Power Defense
March. [passage

Carascalao explained that East Timor with its unique culture, attractive tourist resorts, and various spots of historical value could become an important tourist city in the country in the future.

"That's why we call for the attention of the government to study the possibility of opening a direct flight from Dili to Darwin to help in the further development of tourism in the province," he said.

Reportage on Foreign Minister's Visit to Egypt WA2703143090

For reportage on the visit by Foreign Minister Ali Alatas to Egypt, please see the Egypt section of the 27 March Near East & South Asia DAILY REPORT.

Governor Calls for Investments in East Timor

BK2703090490 Jakarta THE JAKARTA POST
in English 23 Mar 90 p 1

[By Lukas Karl Degey]

[Text] Jayapura (JP)—East Timor needs at least Rp. [Rupiah] 277 billion (U.S. \$152.19 million) in investment funds to maintain its economic growth of six percent annually during the current Five-Year Development Plan period, which began in April last year, says the chairman of the province's Chamber of Commerce and Industry (Kadin).

Manuel Viegas Carascalao [concurrently East Timor governor] said at a regional meeting of the chamber in the provincial capital of Irian Jaya that East Timor Province still relied on government funds to carry out investment projects as the contribution of the private sector was very small.

Carascalao said the province, which is rich in natural resources, was a very strategic area for investment projects. "But we need more domestic and foreign investors to exploit the potential of the province," he said.

He, therefore, called on the government to study the possibility of opening a direct flight from Dili to Darwin in Australia to attract more foreign businessmen to invest in the province.

The opening of the Dili-Darwin route will not only encourage foreign investors, particularly from Australia, but also increase the number of foreign tourists, he said.

According to him, the opening of the route was very potential. [sentence as published] "At least 15,000 East Timorese, who have become Australian citizens, will become regular passengers using the route in addition to Australian tourists, particularly from Western Australia, who could make Dili a transit spot to other cities in the country.

To make the route more lucrative, he said, it could be linked to other Indonesian cities such as Kupang and Ujungpandang.

Laos

Phoumi Vongvichit Attends Plenum on Front Work

BK2703143590 Vientiane Domestic Service in Lao
1200 GMT 27 Mar 90

[Text] The 1990 enlarged plenum of the Lao Front for National Construction [LFNC] committees of four central provinces was officially inaugurated in Vientiane Province yesterday morning with the participation of LFNC Central Committee Chairman Phoumi Vongvichit as honored guest. The plenum is attended by more than 200 LFNC representatives from the four central provinces—namely Vientiane Municipality and the provinces of Vientiane, Bolikhamsai, and Khammouane. The meeting, which is scheduled to convene for three days, will hear and study annual reports on front work from the LFNC committees in these provinces, including the identification of certain good and weak points and lessons gained in work performance in the past year. This will be done so that a basis can be created for outlining plans on front work in the coming year. This is to further enhance the positive role and value of the front in consolidating the strength of unity among the people of all strata around the party; fulfill the tasks of defending and building the country; and improve and upgrade organizational work and front work methods to conform to the current renovation cause in our country.

Oudom Khatthi-gna Lectures on Party Traditions

BK2803032890 Vientiane Domestic Service in Lao
0500 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Text] A ceremony was held at the Youth Union Center in Vientiane on the afternoon of 21 March to hear a lecture on traditions of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party [LPRP]. The lecture was delivered by Comrade Oudom Khatthi-gna, alternate Political Bureau member of the party Central Committee, head of the Central Organizing Committee, and person in charge of guiding mass organizations at the central level. Attending the ceremony on this occasion were Comrade Mrs. Thongvin Phomvihan, member of the party Central

United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

JAN 22 1990

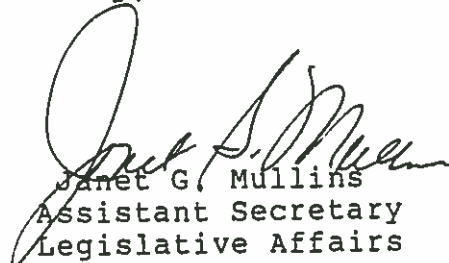
half of the Secretary to your letter expressing concern about the situation in East Timor and the plight of persons detained during the recent visit of the Pope there.

Our Embassy in Jakarta closely monitors the situation in East Timor through visits and contacts with persons from East Timor and other interested parties. We support access by the International Committee of the Red Cross and agree fully that international monitoring is important. We have always urged the Government of Indonesia to provide regular access to prisoners.

We have asked our Embassy in Jakarta to seek information on the current status of those who were arrested after the visit and to investigate the reports you have heard that some persons may have been tortured to extract confessions. The Embassy reported soon after the Pope's visit that there was conflicting information about the detention of demonstrators and has continued its efforts to determine the facts of the situation. Government of Indonesia officials have said there are no longer any detainees being held in connection with the Pope's visit and that detainees, while held, were not tortured.

I will be responding more fully after a report from our Embassy. Thank you for your interest.

Sincerely,


Janet G. Mullins
Assistant Secretary
Legislative Affairs

The Honorable
Tony P. Hall,
House of Representatives.

Arnold -
More of an
interview than a final,
wouldn't you say?
May

To Sidney Jones, Asia Watch FAX # 212 972 -0905
January 15, 1990

The following is Korinna's translation. Let us know who can be contacted by letter in Jakarta (the author of the document) with questions on trials, etc.

TOKYO (AP) - More than 30 people, including nine natives from the Malaysian state of Sarawak, rallied Monday outside a timber organization's meeting to protest what they called excessive logging of Sarawak forests. The protesters, carrying placards with such slogans as "Cut Down Timber Trade, Not Trees," demonstrated in front of a trade center in Yokohama where the International Tropical Timber Organization was meeting. Police said there were no reports of trouble during the rally in Yokohama, a major port city 17 miles southwest of Tokyo. It was sponsored by the Japan Tropical Forest Action Network, a group of environmental activists.

MANILA, Philippines (AP) - An anti-graft court on Monday ordered the lifting of the government's sequestration of companies allegedly controlled by businessman Eduardo Cojuangco, a close associate of the late President Ferdinand Marcos. The lifting frees what could be among the largest assets of Cojuangco, President Corazon Aquino's estranged cousin, who is believed to be eyeing the presidency in the 1992 elections. The government had sequestered shares of stock nominally held by some 1 million coconut farmers in 14 firms established from a government-administered Coconut Industry Investment Fund. The fund was created from a levy on coconut production collected since the mid-1970s.

JAKARTA, Indonesia (AP) - An Indonesian parliamentary leader on Monday criticized a call by more than 200 U.S. congressmen to reduce what they called the "atmosphere of fear and repression" in East Timor. Theo Sambuaga, vice chairman of the Committee for Political and Security Affairs, said the congressmen's statement was based on misinformation from Portugal. Indonesia annexed the Portuguese territory in 1976 after its army intervened in a civil war between pro-Indonesian forces and a group advocating independence. The pro-independence force still are fighting a guerrilla war. The congressmen likened Indonesia's takeover of East Timor to Iraq's occupation of Kuwait.

JAKARTA, Indonesia (AP) - Aftershocks from a strong earthquake jolted Indonesia's northern Sumatra region, and a 13-year-old girl was trampled to death when her family fled its home in panic, police said Monday. A police officer, speaking on condition of anonymity, said the girl was killed in Blang Kejeren, a remote district in the Bukit Barisan mountains, about 116 miles from the aftershocks' epicenter. Police said most Blang Kejeren residents have been afraid to re-enter their homes. No other casualties or damage were reported in the aftershocks.

TOKYO (AP) - North Korea accused South Korea Monday of traitorous behavior for agreeing to substantially increase support for U.S. troops stationed in the South. It also said the United States and South Korea raised the issue of a North Korean nuclear and chemical threat to justify the presence of U.S. troops and



JESUIT REFUGEE SERVICE

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FAX: 39 6 687 9283

Mr. Arnold S. Kohen
Project Director
East-Timor Research Project
P.O. Box 32307
Washington, D.C. 20007
STATI UNITI D'AMERICA

Rome, 27 September 1990

Dear Arnold,

Thank you for your August 20 letter with news of your continuing efforts for peace and human rights for the East Timorese people. I admire very much your perseverance in this just cause.

It is not possible to give an immediate answer to your enquiry about possible new sources, but on receiving your letter I have put out a few feelers among new contacts here in Europe. If and when something comes of this, I will be in touch again.

We are still making efforts to rescue former Fretilin activists out of Jakarta who are in some sort of trouble. Paulino (whose full name escapes me at present - and who defected to the Indonesians in '85 after they executed his family) has been in Bangkok recently waiting for asylum in Portugal. An Episcopalian bishop from New York had promised help to him.

At the moment I am moving around a great deal, especially in Europe; but I also have to try and know Africa and Central America first hand. So I am only one week in four in Rome. In early January I expect to visit Washington.

Every good wish,

Mark Raper, SJ
#B

Mark Raper, SJ
International Director

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March 29, 1990

Honorable Janet G. Mullins
Assistant Secretary
Legislative Affairs
Department of State
Washington, D. C. 20520

Dear Ms. Mullins:

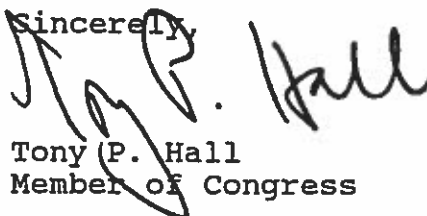
Last December, a group of 114 Representatives joined with me to send a letter to the Secretary of State concerning the reports of arrests and mistreatment of demonstrators in East Timor following Pope John Paul II's visit there on October 12, 1989. In our letter, we requested the Secretary to "ask our Embassy in Jakarta to investigate events surrounding the demonstration and its aftermath."

We appreciated your response of January 22, 1990, and we were encouraged by your comments in support of access by outside groups to monitor human rights-related developments in East Timor. With respect to the incidents in the wake of the Pope's visit to East Timor, you said that you would "be responding more fully after a report from our Embassy."

I would like to take this opportunity to reaffirm the interest my colleagues and I share in human rights matters in East Timor, and to inquire whether you have received a report or further information from our Embassy. I would welcome any information you could provide about the well-being of the demonstrators, as well as further updates on developments that occurred since the time of our letter last year.

Thank you for your attention to this request.

Sincerely,



Tony P. Hall
Member of Congress

TPH:msr



DIOCESE OF OAKLAND

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SEP 12 1990

September 5, 1990

Most Reverend Edward O'Meara
Catholic Relief Services
320 Cathedral Street
Baltimore, Maryland 21201

Dear Archbishop O'Meara:

For the past several years I have served as our NCCB liaison with the Federation of Asian Bishops' Conferences. Their fifth general assembly was held July 17 through 27 at Lembang, Bandung, Indonesia.

In connection with the event, Monsignor Robert A. Lynch asked if I would visit the troubled province of East Timor to see what I could find out about the ecclesiastical situation there.

I was able, along with the Vicar General of our diocese, Father George E. Crespin, with the invitation and assistance of the Bishop Carlos Ximenes Belo and others to visit for three days.

In the course of the visit, many of the difficult reports from history were verified. On the other hand there has been some improvement in the situation and a bit more promise for the future in that very difficult arena.

In conversation with Gail Rothe in Jakarta, prior to our visit, she indicated to me that it was difficult to work in the eastern islands of Indonesia because of distance and lack of facilities. We could well understand that situation. Ms. Rothe, incidentally, was very hospitable and very helpful to us. I appreciated very much her assistance.

During the visit, however, it was strongly expressed, both by the bishop, by the governor, Mario Carras Calao and others that the prime need of East Timor was development and jobs. The bishop was particularly welcoming of any aid that Catholic Relief Services might provide in the area, having been grateful for a successful agricultural program that was begun by CRS years ago and is continued now under other auspices.

Persuasive too, was the explicit wish that the governor gave to CRS' returning although he was very critical our organization's leaving East Timor. He felt it was needlessly tied to the politics of the situation and led to the loss of benefit for the people with no effect at the governmental level.

The Salesian Fathers, who are doing heroic work in Timor by way of education, orphanages and agriculture promotion indicated too a strong wish for aid from CRS. They were hopeful that the some of the requirements of paper work and procedures of accountability might be waived in the light of their limited resources. They cited their record of past accomplishments as a guarantee that the resources would be very well used.

I wish to bring this to your attention and to the Board. I know you face areas of need and many desperate around the world. I would, however, ask for consideration in a special way for Bishop Belo and the largely Catholic population of East Timor.

With gratitude and good wishes.

Sincerely,

+ John S. Cummins

John S. Cummins
Bishop of Oakland

jf

c: Archbishop Daniel Pilarczyk
Reverend Monsignor Robert Lynch

SUMMARY REPORT ON EAST TIMOR

1. THE VISIT

My visit to East Timor took place from Tuesday, July 31 until Thursday, August 2, 1990. This came as a consequence of my attendance at the Fifth General Assembly of the Federation of Asian Bishops' Conferences held in Lembang, Bandung, Indonesia from July 17th through 27th. I was in attendance as a "fateral delegate" from the United States Bishops' Conference in the company of Father George E. Crespín, the Vicar General of our Diocese. A participant in the Conference was the Most Reverend Carlos Felipe Ximenes Belo, S.D.B., the apostolic administrator of Dili in East Timor.

We were able, through our presence in Indonesia to contact a number of helpful sources. We had to be sensitive as to whether we would be welcomed into East Timor. There was widespread encouragement for us to go. The Salesian Provincial, Valencia born Jose Carbonell, S.D.B. was very persuasive. The American ambassador in Indonesia, John Monjo, likewise was direct. Such diverse personages as Cardinal Jozef Tomko, the Prefect of the Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples, the Apostolic Pro-Nuncio to Indonesia, Archbishop Francesco Canalini, and a director of an agricultural development project in East Timor, Pak Florentino, encouraged the visit.

The Bishop was hospitable and friendly but expectedly cautious with us and no doubt, he wondered why we wished to come to his diocese. I indicated to him that I was there representing concern of the American bishops and that we wanted to be of help, certainly not in any way to add to his problems.

The mark of our visit to East Timor was hospitality. The Church people and especially the Salesian Community were welcoming and seemed very free in their expression to us. The appointed governor of the province, Mario Carrascalao gave us a lengthy hour and one half interview in a conversation marked by directness. We also met with the military commandant Brigadier General R. S. Warouw in a short, perhaps, twenty five or thirty minute audience, formal and guarded but explicitly favorable to dialogue.

II. THE CONTINUING HISTORY

The history that we had heard and read before arriving in Indonesia was verified. The Portuguese left East Timor in 1975, quickly and, in the words of some we spoke, to "irresponsibly." There had been at one time patterns in East Timor of independent villages, tribal rivalries and some divisions, as one told us, the residue of collaboration with Japanese during World War II. Three parties sprung up, one for independence, one for federation under the Portuguese and one for joining Indonesia. The situation amounted to civil war.

When Indonesia invaded the territory in 1976, ostensibly with United States approval, there was some hopeful anticipation that order would be restored. On the contrary, the invasion was ruthless. Some to whom we spoke attributed this, at least in part, to the anti-communist feeling that was sharpened by the memory left from the attempted coup in Indonesia in 1965.

The Fretilin party (Frente Revolucionario de Timor Leste) seemingly were an element of that given impression, in addition to the armed opposition they represented. They apparently chose Marxist language whether there was a large Marxist presence among them or not. The assessment of many was that the Communist reality was less than perceived, but it added to the force of Indonesia's takeover. In any case, there is consensus about excessive violence and brutality.

Until January 1989 East Timor was shut down to visitors. Almost all to whom we spoke agreed about abuse of prisoners, arbitrary imprisonment, the awful phenomenon of "disappearance" during these years. Stories abounded. A nineteen year old whom we met was the son of the head man of a village. Asked by the government to appraise his situation, the father included accusations against the military. He was eventually taken from his home and found dead, having "fallen off a bridge." One very authoritative source to whom we spoke estimated that there was over the decade "a systematic elimination of the leadership" in East Timor. Only eight percent of the population was literate when the Portuguese left in 1975, so that the educated

leadership would not have been an exceedingly large number.

This kind of harshness produced very ill consequences. Additionally, one must see that this was in a context where East Timor, until 1975, had no identification with Indonesia. My estimate is that if Washington D. C. were taken over by Quebec the situation would be similar, with some traceable geographic connection, but certainly no historical one.

There were other sources of alienation. The language in the schools which had been Portuguese and "Tetum," a native Timorese dialect, was changed to Indonesian and English. Portuguese at this moment is allowable but it was frowned upon for a long time, an illustration typical of so many countries to find their national identity and national symbols. One observer indicated to us that the native language is not so rich as to be terribly helpful in the modern world, although the change still was a difficult one.

In these same years there was a great influx of people from Java and other parts of Indonesia who came as civil servants, workers in government, shop keepers and military. These took many of the employment opportunities in the province filling the vacuum of capable native people. Even the governor himself admitted there was little capability on the part of Timorese to run commercial enterprises and manage capital.

Into this heavily Catholic province (The Bishop indicated that there were 650,000 Catholics out of a population of 800,000. Father Marcus Winandi, S.J., the director of a seminarian high school in Deli gave us figures off hand of 530,00 out of 750,000) outsiders brought different religions, especially Islam. A mosque was built in Dili. Some of the natives felt that this was "Islamization." Most however to whom we spoke felt there was no deliberate plan of government to impose the Islam religion, but the change was merely a result of job opportunities and open travel to the province.

With all this background, the lessening of severity and the openness that have taken place since January 1989 were small recompense for so much hurt.

January of this year brought the new commandant, a native of the Celebese

Islands, Protestant by religion, aiming at much better relations with the people. As successor of an ambitious and severe military man, the new general has faced an uphill battle.

Father Winandi said there are twelve battalions, about twelve thousand soldiers in the province. Other estimates given us ranged as high as twenty three thousand. Father Winandi stated that four of the battallions are infantry, the other eight dedicated to development.

To an outsider, there is a heavy presence of military in the province. At the same time some pointed out to us the lessening of the old strictures. Even the demonstration in January 1990 with the American ambassador and further occasional demonstrations and rock throwing indicate a new realm of tolerance. The International Red Cross has been allowed into the province since January of this year. Amnesty International, however, has not. The explanation provided us by one observer was that the prohibition was due to one English leader who was clearly identified with the Communist party.

The Bishop indicated that despite the change in the present regime there are appeals made to him concerning abuses on a regular, even weekly basis.

III. OUR EXPERIENCE

A mood was clear to us despite the fact we only had the two days. We were happy to have had the visit with the commandant. He was welcoming though formal. I found the atmosphere a difficult one in which to relax. He brought with him four others, all of whom seemed to know English, although he worked with a translator. One especially was very watchful over the words used by the young man who was conveying the message to us in English.

We were careful in our approach, indicating the concern of the American bishops for human rights and the obvious need for development. We were pleased with the education efforts we had seen in the country and asked additionally how long in his mind would so heavy a military presence remain. He indicated that if all went according to plan, it would be perhaps two more years.

The commandant spoke very much of collaboration with the governor and the bishop. We had no reason to question his sincerity or his ability to manage this goal. His reputation is quite good. We were aware, however, as to who had the real power in the area.

The governor, Mario Carrascalao, impressed us favorably as was according to his reputation. A native of East Timor, Catholic, educated in Portugal as a lawyer, he has two more years to go in his appointed term. We detected on the part of some people whom we admired some apprehension about the future when his time for ruling is over.

During the lively hour and one half, he indicated that there has been much improvement although there is much more to go. He explained some of the military problems as local abuse, that is people using power beyond what is according to the law. Examples were the establishment of check points and immigration restrictions.

He felt the most important goal ahead for East Timor was development. He was speaking particularly of financial investment, although he understood after thirteen years of isolation, such a direction had been discouraged.

He made a case for a stable and credible government. He indicated a priority of health care for the people. He noted the work of the Salesians in education but was clear that additional education would be fundamental for the Timorese to take jobs that, up until now, had been occupied very much from those outside the province. Surprisingly he saw tourism as a promising hope for the future. We, as outsiders, might have less optimism in that aim.

IV. THE POLITICAL QUESTION

On the matter of independence, we did not find anyone who saw this as a serious possibility. The "forest people" who are Fretilin and guerillas are a diminished group. Seemingly they see their lives now as a witness to an ideal to which they have committed themselves. Part of their witness may well be the loss of hope that they have any future other than annihilation at the hands of the authorities.

The situation is most difficult for families. Salesian priests and sisters have taken children and orphans from the "forest people." With very good reason the "forest people" do not trust the military. At least one earlier amnesty was violated. The Church people did not indicate hope that there would be reconciliation of those who have moved on into the mountains. At the same time I noticed in UCANEWS from Hong Kong that on September 14th of this year, both the East Timor governor and the commandant had advised the guerillas to come out of the forest to join the people in developing the province, declaring a secure and peaceful atmosphere and the guarantee of that for them.

The universal opinion seems to be that the guerillas are small in number. No doubt they cannot be found. As far as we were aware, there was only one good road in the province, along the north coast. The rest is difficult terrain.

Though all admit that the people in East Timor have not had an opportunity to voice their own wishes, independence in reality has vanished as a strong issue. Geographically East Timor is situated in the midst of Indonesia. They are the same people as the Dutch part of Timor which has been part of Indonesia since 1945. They are very small to be a nation whether it is the 800,000 figure or the 700,000 figure that is the correct one. I was very struck by the lack of development in the province. The Portuguese seem neither to have taken much out nor to have put much into the area. The simple living, to my mind, went back to pictures of Hawaii perhaps in 1850, with little electricity or conveniences except in the cities. The Salesian Fathers run their operation in the eastern part of the province through generators, "big ones," as one of the priests said for the heavy machinery.

There is desire for the United Nations to act. Only Canadian, Australian and American ambassadors are invited into East Timor at the present moment. The Pro-Nuncio visits, despite the lack of Vatican recognition of the annexation. No other European country can officially send its state people to the province.

While we were in Indonesia there was a report in the government controlled papers that the President had received a message from the United Nations

General Secretary asking that the matter of East Timor be relegated to very minor status and ultimately off the United Nations agenda. The president's response was that the issue was a simple one, but that outsiders were confusing it by their self-interest. On the part of many, we found objection to the current Portuguese behavior. Their influence on the countries of Europe has prevented the recognition of the status quo. There was some criticism of the present Portuguese complaint about the Australian and Indonesian oil negotiations off the coast of Timor. There was objection too, about the former apostolic administrator who was removed from his office and is now living in Portugal stirring up unreal hopes for independence by his speeches around the world. Apparently he has the ear as well of the bishop who is the Portuguese conference's chair of the Office of Justice and Peace.

Seemingly the status of the Bishop of East Timor as apostolic administrator cannot be more definitively ordered until United Nations action is taken and European nations can acknowledge the situation. There is no doubt the present reality is a shadow over the Indonesian Bishops' Conference and gives evidence of delicacy. There may be appropriateness for us to have some conversation with Archbishop Martino, the representative of the Holy See to the United Nations.

V. THE SITUATION OF THE CHURCH AS WE SAW IT

I was more than favorably impressed with the Bishop of Dili, Reverend Carlos F. X. Belo, S.D.B. At forty two years of age he has a mature calmness and assured step and a large sense of hospitality. His English is good. His conversations with my vicar general in Spanish showed greater facility in that language.

His being a member of the Salesian Society is no doubt an advantage. There is so much good that the Salesians do in education and in the parishes; Italian, Spanish, Timorese, they represent a very bright team of men and women.

There is advantage too, in his being a native, but this brings the burden of pained empathy with his own people. A large number of his diocesan priests,

perhaps twenty three of twenty seven are Timorese. So are the religious. They sense with their people the residue of no Indonesian history or sentiment in that province. They recall sharply the violence and the abuse. They are very aware of the presence of non-Timorese military as a continuing and constant reminder of their relationship to the rest of the country. The bishop has a flood of emotion to deal with that flows in directions other than reconciliation.

While the bishop is affirming of the fact that there has been change, particularly with the military since January, we detected signs of the burdens he still has to carry. We were warned before we went to be careful of endangering people to whom we spoke and be alert to the fact that we would be watched or the telephone lines in rooms would be monitored. We experienced none of those practices. The fact, however, is that the bishop's mail is opened. The president of the Indonesian Bishops' Conference, a very helpful man, Julius Darmaatmadja, S.J., would speak to us of East Timor only in the presence of Bishop Belo. One of the Salesian seminarians in Jakarta told us to be sure to speak to young people, as only they would be free enough to tell the truth. The Catholic Relief Services indicated to us that the Timorese organizer would probably be happier to speak with us in A neutral place such as Jakarta rather than in East Timor.

As I indicated earlier, the bishop is the court of appeal for so many who think they have been abused. The Apostolic Pro-Nuncio indicated also, that before the papal visit last year, people in Timor were put into custody as possible disturbers, a situation which the Nuncio threatened to protest publicly.

East Timor is overwhelmingly Catholic. Father Marcus Winandi attributes this to the "pancasila," the five guiding principles of the nation, one of which is that everyone in Indonesia should be a believer. Father Winandi noted that the number of Catholics has risen since 1975, from 120,000 to the present number since Indonesia took over the area.

The Church seemingly has free practice. There is a large and impressive Cathedral in Dili built by the government. Mass is said in Portuguese.

The work of the Salesian fathers and sisters is a very bright chapter that would match any golden age in the Church. The American ambassador praised their work and their perservance. The governor was positive toward them. Their college at Fatumaca is renowned. It needs little by way of promotion.

The Salesians are both talented and jovial. The school has a variety of vocational programs and at the same time is academic, allowing for university education for those both gifted and inclined. They are training young men in television work and as electricians, anticipating the day when those will be needed in large parts of the country. Beyond that they run orphanages and a seminary. They are architects and contractors and men of business and human development. They are in the process of modernizing the farming in the local community. In order to establish themselves firmly in the country, in defense against possible future antagonism toward foreign missionaries, they have their native seminarians in Jarkata in the archdiocesan seminary, along with many other communities in Indonesia.

With regard to the family planning issue that our conference of bishops addressed in 1987, the governor showed great sensitivity, in fact a good deal of defensiveness. He indicated that though this is state policy, it is not a Timorese priority nor one of his own. He does not attend programs or the celebrations of these because they are just not that high on his agenda. He was told of one case of coercion. He found it not verifiable and therefore does not think that the family planning policy of the country is an issue in East Timor.

VI. PRIORITY NEEDS AS WE SAW THEM.

By all counts development and jobs are the main issue and priority in East Timor. Even after a superficial visit I would be convinced that the judgement is inerrant.

We received a mixed report about United States involvement. Though America recognizes the annexation of East Timor some of the natives complained that there is some technicality that forbids the United States from offering substantial aid. It would be helpful for us, here at home, to find out what is behind this situation and induce the United States to come to the assistance of this small province.

With regard to Catholic Relief Services, the office in Jarkata indicated to us that the work done in East Timor and the other provinces in Indonesia would not be undertaken again because of the great distance from Jarkata in the west. Unhappily, everybody we met in East Timor would welcome the help that would come from Catholic Relief Services.

On this point, the governor of the province was particularly critical. He felt that Catholic Relief Services moved from East Timor for political reasons that were unworthy. A very good agricultural program begun by CRS is still being carried on with other funds. The governor said that the people were hurt by the withdrawal of CRS.

I indicated to him that I would understand the care with which the CRS had to operate so as not to support a government that we found unacceptable. The Australian Salesian provincial was with us at the time and reinforced my comment, stating that the Australian bishops' Justice and Peace Committee was likewise under a microscope in the area of foreign aid.

Despite the strong set of criticism of CRS, the governor indicated that he would welcome them back. One of the Salesians wanted us very much to encourage this possibility, but expressed the hope that a project could be undertaken that would not be subject to so much bureacratic procedures such as forms, paper work, reports, and so forth. He would like very much to have money and resources given to those with proven ability to deliver. I realize the problems with this, but I did want very much to report his statement.

By way of postcript, the Australian bishops have a seven to ten day visit planned this month of October. I believe this is an indication of a helpful opening for the future. Only after our departure did I hear from my vicar general a remark of Bishop Belo's, that I had been the only foreign bishop to

come to East Timor. It was a mark of great appreciation. I am sure it would be further encouragement to Bishop Belo if more of the American bishops were able to visit.

ASSESSMENT

1. As regrettable and sad as it is, I do not believe from our experience that independence for East Timor is a realistic possibility. Indonesian force is large and their determination is strong. East Timor is small, weak and undeveloped.
2. It seemingly would be an advantage if the United Nations could make a decision in favor of the status quo and remove this question from its agenda. This would create a diplomatic situation that might open up help for East Timor from the broad spectrum of countries around the world. We should approach Archbishop Martino to see what these possibilities are.
3. Human rights remains an issue in East Timor. It should, however, be seen in the context of all of Indonesia as well as of each province of that country. East Timor has a heavy military presence, more so than what we saw in the rest of the country. The national sense of human rights however is not what would be used to as part of the American tradition.
4. Family planning is public policy in Indonesia. It does not, however, seem to be a particular problem in East Timor. The local government certainly does not appear to have it as a high priority.
5. There is a priority need for development. As American bishops I believe we should move to see what possibilities Catholic Relief Services can offer. Secondly, I believe an inquiry would be in order with our own government concerning the lack of direct aid to this area that seems so very much in need.
6. An additional aim of ours might be to follow the remarkably good example of the Salesian community in East Timor who are preparing their young men and women for leadership in the future. Bishop Paul Moore, the Episcopal

bishop of New York, indicated to me that he would be inquiring with some universities whether scholarships could be given for promising East Timorese students so that they could pursue advanced studies in anticipation of the day that they would have opportunity for significant service in their native land. I believe we should pursue the same option with our Catholic colleges and universities in this country.

I will be happy to follow up on any of these recommendations. I also am grateful for both the direction on the part of our own conference and the opportunity to visit the Church in East Timor.

+ John S. Cummins
Bishop of Oakland
October 19, 1990

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Lawmakers Urge Administration To Help Stem Repression in East Timor

WASHINGTON (AP) More than half the members of the House are asking Secretary of State James A. Baker III to use U.S. influence to reduce the "atmosphere of fear and repression" in the Southeast Asian nation of East Timor.

A group of 223 House members signed a letter to be sent to Baker on Monday that calls attention to reports of arrests, detention, torture and other human rights violations on the island nation in the last year.

"We believe that it is of great importance that United States' concern over the Timor situation be stressed at this time," the letter said.

East Timor is a former Portuguese colony that was annexed by Indonesia in 1975.

The group likened Indonesia's takeover of East Timor to Iraq's occupation of Kuwait.

The lawmakers, including 53 Republicans, cited reports of detentions of pro-independence demonstrators following an October 1989 visit to East Timor by Pope John Paul II.

They also said human rights advocates were beaten by Indonesian police after their meeting with the U.S. ambassador to Indonesia during a visit to the country in January.

The letter also points out the potential for periodic cycles of hunger and malnutrition brought on by "Indonesian military policies such as restrictions on where Timorese villagers can farm their crops."

"The United States should use its influence to help ensure that humanitarian needs of this nature are promptly addressed," the lawmakers said.

Additionally, the United States "should support a process of peace talks that could lead to negotiations without preconditions among parties directly involved," the letter concluded.

The letter was spearheaded by Rep. Tony Hall, D-Ohio, chairman of the House Select Committee on Hunger.

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Excerpts from a letter from a church source in East Timor dated June 30, 1990

....Here I am sending a photo of one of the young people and how he was tortured by the Indonesian police on June 4, 1990. His name is Aleixio Gama. Here I am sending you the description given by a member of the police force:

"On June 4, 1990, the Indonesian forces captured a young man called Aleixio Gama, a student at the Sao Jose high school, on the grounds of the old market of Dili, without any motive.

"They tortured young Aleixio to the maximum and left him in a state of coma. The torture began at 11:30AM and lasted until 4 PM, when 400 young Timorese demanded the immediate release of Aleixio Gama.

.....A young Salesian priest told us about a case he witnessed in Laissorular, in the area of Kelicai: The prison of a man: The man is stuck in a well that is inside a house. Passers-by cannot see him. He is forbidden to receive visitors. He has been in this well for years. The priest went on to say that there are still other cases like this spread throughout the Baucau area and that nobody knows and is aware of the torture of these people.

REMEMBER EAST TIMOR

The Rt. Rev. Paul Moore, Jr., Bishop of New York, 1972-1989

An address given at the Oxford Conference on East Timor

December 8, 1990

As oppressive regimes crumble throughout the world, and wars and rumors of wars threaten the stability of the entire globe, it is easy to forget some small places where human rights are still savagely denied. East Timor is such a place.

It is easy to forget Pearl Harbor Day, December 7, 1975, when Indonesia invaded and brutally occupied this former colony of Portugal. When Japan bombed Pearl Harbor, President Roosevelt called it "A day that will live in infamy." When President Suharto invaded East Timor, his action was encouraged by Secretary of State Kissinger and President Ford.

At the suggestion of Asia Watch, part of a human rights organization based in New York, my wife Brenda and I went to East Timor just a year ago. Indonesia had opened the territory to visitors several months beforehand. The Pope had visited East Timor several weeks earlier, at which time student demonstrations against the Indonesian occupation were broken up by the military in a brutal fashion. When the American Ambassador to Indonesia, John Monjo, visited Dili several weeks after us, he witnessed similar police action even though he requested that the demonstrators, with some of whom he had had extended conversations, be left alone.

Before travelling to East Timor, we spent some days in Jakarta interviewing a wide cross-section of people
P.2
to help familiarize ourselves with the situation. Our meetings with Timorese people were in obscure places where they would not be noticed. They were apprehensive and intensely afraid of the authorities. This prepared us somewhat for what we would find in

†

For Sidney Jones, Asia Watch 212 972-0905, from Arnold Kohen

On P. 102, Footnote 74: the El Pais cited here is in Madrid, not Lisbon.

Perhaps I'm too much of a journalistic nit-picker, but I think it would be best on p. 102, where you say "The Bishop" in the penultimate paragraph, to simply say Bishop Moore. Shifting back and forth between bishops could confuse the ordinary reader. And in the last paragraph on that page, saying "Bishop Belo" eliminates any chance of confusion, even though your dating should have done that.

Similarly, in the first paragraph in the section, p. 97 in my text, you mention "a series of military offensives" That probably should read Indonesian military offensives, otherwise it is ambiguous.

On p. 97, where you mention tens of thousands killed, it would be a good idea to add a footnote mentioning overall death estimates that include war-related famine and disease, just so that the reader doesn't think that tens of thousands is all there is.

At the top of the second paragraph on p. 97, I feel uneasy about "The sources of conflict were many, but the most important continued to be East Timorese opposition to the 14-year-old Indonesian military occupation of the territory." From 14 years of evidence, it seems that the main source of conflict is the Indonesian military occupation of the territory, rather than the opposition to it. In recent years, a Senate aide with good contacts in the State Dept. and US intelligence community held private meetings to discuss the question of what would happen if there were little or no Timorese resistance. The answer he got back in private was that even if there was no resistance whatever, Indonesian military behavior toward the Timorese would, on the whole, be very harsh, partly out of racism on the part of the military, partly because of the nature of the Indonesian military itself.

What concerns me is that, inadvertently, the present formulation could lend itself to a blame-the-victim response -- that is, if these folks would only stop opposing the Indonesian occupation, the situation might not be that bad. From the testimony my Senate friend got out of the US intelligence community, that isn't necessarily true.

A recasting which stated, "The sources of conflict were many, but the most important continued to be the 14-year-old Indonesian military occupation of the territory and East Timorese opposition to it," would be more accurate, I think.

* On pp. 104-105, in the McMillan deposition, I take it the various typos are just that? (i.e. hteol's-- para. 2)

†

On Page 109, final sentence: I feel uncomfortable about this for several reasons. First, I simply don't believe that competent investigators have had or have enough access to all parts of East Timor to make definitive statements. Quite simply, not enough is known about life in the interior. Reports in 1989 from a Canadian journalist I spoke with who was in ET for 5 or 6 days (who had learned from good sources that Timorese moving too close to the periphery of resettlement areas were being shot like deer by the military); from that anonymous Dutch aide worker (shootings, again) and others make me worry greatly about a sweeping statement about no mass executions, even if qualified.

In talks with refugees and others over the past four years, Korinna and I have received the very strong impression that the farther one gets from from prying foreign eyes in East Timor, the more brutal the situation gets. It may not be an easy matter to document, but one has an equally hard time ruling it out under present conditions. It would hardly be surprising if information on, say, 1988 or 1989 mass executions or disappearances in the interior became available at some point -- indeed, at any time. For that closing sentence on p. 109, I would say something like, "The highly oppressive nature of life in East Timor under Indonesian occupation clearly offers no protection of civil liberties," and leave it at that. I don't believe the comparatives add much, and they could end up making us look bad later on.

TONY P. HALL
THIRD DISTRICT, OHIO

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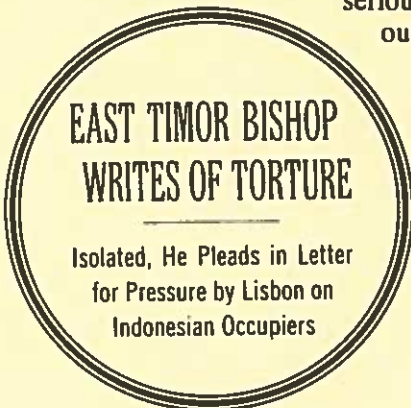
July 9, 1990

Dear Colleague:

Despite the visits within the last year by Pope John Paul II and U.S. Ambassador John Monjo to the former Portuguese colony of East Timor, an atmosphere of fear and repression still persists in that territory. There have been recent, reliable accounts of at least some killings and detention and abuse of prisoners. More seriously, there are still reports of military policies and operations which in the past have led to significant food problems, human rights violations, and widespread death.



East Timor, a predominantly Roman Catholic former Portuguese territory off the coast of Australia, was invaded by Indonesia in 1975. Since that time, there have been widespread reports of serious human rights violations and humanitarian problems in the territory. By 1980, at least 100,000 out of an original population of less than 700,000 perished from the combined effects of the conflict.



I invite you to cosign a letter to Secretary of State James A. Baker III asking the United States to express concern over recent developments in East Timor. To cosign the letter, please call Nicole Ard in my office, at extension 56465.

Sincerely,

Tony P. Hall
Member of Congress

Dear Mr. Secretary:

We would like to underscore our deep concern over recent developments in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor, the predominantly Roman Catholic island territory invaded by Indonesia in 1975 and forcibly annexed. We believe that it is of great importance that United States' concern over the Timor situation be stressed at this time.

As you are aware, dozens of people were detained and abused following a pro-independence demonstration during the visit of Pope John Paul II to East Timor on October 12. In addition, many East Timorese who had called for respect for human rights and political freedom were beaten and bloodied by Indonesian police after leaving an informal meeting with United States Ambassador John Monjo during his visit to East Timor in January. To his credit, Ambassador Monjo registered concern over this situation.

However, after our ambassador's visit, an atmosphere of fear and repression has persisted in East Timor. Subsequently, a top-ranking Indonesian official warned East Timorese to cease their protests against Indonesian rule, particularly in the presence of foreign visitors, or face harsh consequences. It has been reported that those who demonstrated during the ambassador's visit, and their family members, were threatened with disappearance. There have been further reports of repeated, unexplained detention and abuse, in some cases including torture, of a broad group of individuals. We are deeply concerned about such threats as well as recent allegations of executions and repression aimed against those attempting to express their views.

There is also information that more than 100 East Timorese villagers, including women and children, were massacred in a recent Indonesian military operation, said to be in retaliation for the killing of three Indonesian soldiers. The use of East Timorese civilians as "human shields" (similar to the Indonesian "fence of legs" operations in past years) in Indonesian military operations against pro-independence guerrillas in the countryside is further proof that serious human rights violations continue. The "human shield" operations by Indonesian military forces are known to have caused thousands of deaths in the early 1980s, and the recurrence of a similar practice is deeply disturbing.

Indonesian military policies and actions, such as restrictions on where Timorese villagers can farm their crops, are causing periodic cycles of hunger and malnutrition in East Timor. A precarious situation like this is especially alarming when it is recalled that scarcely ten years ago the population of East Timor was decimated by a war-related famine.

The United States should use its influence to help ensure that humanitarian needs of this nature are promptly addressed. This should certainly include a concerted effort to address the reportedly growing problem of tuberculosis in East Timor.

Finally, in light of the continuing tragic consequences of the 15-year-old conflict in East Timor, the United States should support a process of peace talks that could lead to negotiations without preconditions among the parties directly involved. Thank you for your attention to these concerns.

Sincerely,