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- "A note to past Nobel Laureates from the Former Episcopal (Anglican) Bishop of New York" from The Right Reverend Paul Moore Jr. (04/1994)
- United States Senate Committee on Foreign Relations: Press Release: Pell and 29 other Senators urge President Clinton to Raise Issue of East timor at November APEC Meeting (07.11.1994) with a copy of the letter attached | 4 pp.
- Fax message to Arnold Kohen from Mairead Maguire, Community of the Peace People (11.11.1994)
- USCC Action Alert: East Timor (09/1994)
- Developments in Indonesia and U.S. Policy: Members and professional staff are cordially invited to a CRS workshop and luncheon on the developments in Indonesia (18.03.1994)

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12 pages

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General Secretary: Ian Linden

15 June 1994

**To: All participants of the Christian Consultation on East Timor
Strasbourg, 17-19 June 1994**

Dear Friends,

You will by now have received an agenda from Victor Scheffers of Justice & Peace Netherlands for the above-mentioned meeting this week-end.

As a preparation for the meeting, we are taking the opportunity of faxing you a number of recent interviews and letters from Bishop Belo, as well as a copy of the CNRM peace plan, in case you have not had previous access to this material.

We hope that you will be able to read it before the meeting!

I look forward to seeing you on Friday afternoon.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads 'Catherine Scott'.

Catherine Scott
Asia Desk

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Topic 263 Bishop Belo on Church's role
tapol reg.easttimor 7:28 am Oct 19, 1993

Bishop Belo on Church's role

East Timor - UCAN interview
Sept. 27, 1993
Full Text

[UCAN is the Catholic news agency based in Hongkong]

BISHOP BELO TALKS OF CHURCH ROLE IN EAST TIMOR

DILI, East Timor (UCAN) - Salesian Bishop Carlos Filipe Ximenes

Belo has served as apostolic administrator in Dili, East Timor, for 10 years. First he served in that capacity as a priest, and was ordained bishop of Lorum, a titular see, in June 1988. When then Monsignor Belo was named apostolic administrator, East Timor had 280,000 Catholics. By the time he was named a bishop, the territory had 540,000 Catholics. Today there are more than 632,000, about 85 per cent of the population.

In an interview with UCA News shortly before his episcopal ordination, Bishop-elect Belo explained that East Timor had an administrator and not a bishop because the politics in this former Portuguese territory were unsettled. Indonesia sent troops into East Timor in 1975 and declared it Indonesia's 27th province in 1976. The United Nations has yet to recognise Indonesia's integration of the territory.

Bishop Belo spoke with UCA News again recently and gave an update on the role of the Church in the development of East Timor. The interview appeared in the Sept. 24 issue of ASIA FOCUS.

ASIA FOCUS (AF): Comparing before and after Indonesian integration, has the role of the Church changed in East Timor?

Bishop Belo (BB): In the history of insurgencies in East Timor, local people have always relied on two alternatives. If they feel strong, they fight alone, but if they feel helpless, they rely on the Church to help voice their aspirations. During Portuguese colonization, the Church served as a channel for people's aspirations and was involved in education and socio-economic programmes. The Church protected people from abuses by government officials.

The (Portuguese) government - for certain political interests - acknowledged the Church's role in voicing people's aspirations

by

appointing the bishop of Dili as government advisor. Now, after integration the Church finds itself in a dilemma. The government of Indonesia asks the Church in East Timor to be active in promoting the government development programme. It also asks the Church to maintain a neutral position in politics

-
not to get involved in practical politics.

However, the Church can't close its eyes to various problems faced by the faithful as the result of integration. Regarding this issue, the Church faces a dilemma. If the faithful see the Church as too close to the government, they would dub it a 'Government Church.' If the Church is too vocal in voicing people's aspirations, the government would immediately accuse it of getting involved in 'practical' politics.

AF: What is the basic attitude the Church brings to such a dilemma?

BB: Considering that formal political channels aren't functioning yet, the Church is prompted to overcome the dilemma by declaring it takes the side of the people without opposing the government. The Church also serves as a social control now and (will) in the future, should the formal political institutions fail to function effectively.

AF: Does the Church always succeed with its social control function?

BB: The Church's social control function will be effective only if it can change its image. The old image of 'ritual function' should be replaced with the image of a serving Church. The local Church needs to go to the people to get involved in their efforts to improve their socio-economic conditions.

The East Timor Church is now striving to develop such an image, so (whether it succeeds or not) should be evaluated in the near future.

AF: How does the East Timor Church get involved in development?

BB: So far, the Church has supported development programmes launched by the government in East Timor. But it should be said that the Church can't participate effectively because the government doesn't have a concrete policy that guarantees Church participation in the development programmes.

The government only says it hopes the Church can help in organizing popular support of government programmes. As the Church is striving to become a serving Church that takes the side of the poor, most clerics here are quite critical about government calls to organize popular support of its programmes.

They are not satisfied if they are used to mobilize people with

out being allowed to voice people's aspirations.

AF: What should the government do?

BB: The government should find a more appropriate way to enable the Church to play a greater role in development programmes. Harmonious relations between the government and Church should be maintained. Misunderstandings between government and Church due to prejudices are based on false reports. It is regretful that certain government officials are of the view

that the Church is challenging the government to win people's sympathy through development programmes. Some officials still question the fact that people's participation in Church construction projects is higher than in other projects like road and bridge construction.

The government should also minimize the adverse effects of integration. Local people see the growing number of migrants controlling the economy as negative effects of integration. The native-migrant dichotomy develops with the widening economic gap between the two groups. In such a crucial situation the Church finds itself helpless, and develops a defensive attitude.

AF: What happens if the Church fails to channel people's aspirations.

BB: I do not expect such a failure. But if it really comes, it would bring wide implications.

So we should pray that such conditions do not take place. The Lord will give the best possible way to his faithful ones. Our Church will always support development programmes launched by the government for the benefit of all East Timorese people. And the Church would try its best to speak for the people when all political channels do not function well.

Progress or stalemate in Geneva?

The fourth round of talks between Portugal and Indonesia under the auspices of the UN Secretary-General was held in Geneva on 6 May. Although most commentators conclude that no real progress was made and even speak of 'stalemate', some interesting developments can be noted.

Cynicism is not out of place. Since 1975 the international community, despite numerous resolutions, has done nothing to force the Indonesian troops to withdraw from East Timor. But this is an issue like several others – Tibet, Western Sahara, Palestine – where tiny steps forward are perceptible. The Secretary-General's communique after the meeting is one of those tiny steps.

Political will

The most essential ingredient is the political will to find a comprehensive and internationally-acceptable solution. For years, political will was absent in Jakarta. East Timor is Jakarta's 27th province and that's an end to the matter. Indonesia entered the talks in the mid 1980s only to discuss family-reunification and social issues. The core issue of self-determination was not on the agenda throughout the time Perez de Cuellar was UNSG. But things have improved in the last two years.

Under Boutros Boutros-Ghali, the UN has been a little more helpful. UN officials have taken interesting initiatives to push East Timor up the UN agenda and seek a solution.

The international situation has also improved. The tragic Santa Cruz massacre in November 1991 brought East Timor to world attention. Indonesia's hidden war became public. In the second round of talks, a opening was created, confidence-building measures (CBM). At the same time, the CNRM launched its Peace Plan, showing a willingness to negotiate with the Indonesians.

Meanwhile, international pressure on Indonesia has

become almost unbearable. East Timor is raised at every international event, forcing Indonesia onto the defence. East Timor solidarity groups have strengthened and new groups have been born, keeping Indonesian embassies very busy. The end of the cold war invalidated differences between 'our' and 'their' dictators. Suharto is now in the same basket as Kim Il Sung, Saddam Hussein or Hastings Banda.

Confidence-building measures

These changes have made it necessary for Jakarta to be more flexible. A resolution at the UN Human Rights Commission in 1993 has forced the Indonesians to allow the UN Special Rapporteur on Extrajudicial Killings to visit East Timor. Prior to the May meeting, foreign journalists were allowed to visit East Timor (see separate item).

Proximity talks

While most of the UN communiqué after the May talks is in the usual UN-speak, point 9 states that the foreign ministers of Portugal and Indonesia had informed the secretary-general of their readiness to meet leading East Timorese supporters and opponents of integration respectively, an undertaking that can be far reaching. By agreeing to talk with representatives of the East Timorese resistance, Jakarta has admitted that East Timor is unfinished business. The next step, involving the Timorese resistance possibly in proximity talks, may now be closer to realisation. This is why there are grounds for cautious optimism.

Belo unhappy about reconciliation talks

Carlos Ximenes Belo, the Bishop of Dili, has responded negatively to the reconciliation talks held in London last December. The talks were between a team headed by Francisco Lopes da Cruz, Indonesia's special ambassador for East Timor affairs, the 'pro-integration' side, and one headed by Abilio Araujo, ousted head of Fretilin, the so-called 'anti-integration' side. [See *TAPOL Bulletin*, No. 121 February 1994]

Bishop Belo's remarks came in a letter to Abilio Araujo, a copy of which was sent to the Portuguese press. After saying that in East Timor, the London talks 'are still something of a mystery', the Bishop said many people believe the talks 'are inspired by economic interests and those who benefit will be Messrs Abilio (Araujo), (Portuguese businessman) Macedo and (ret'd general) Melo.' 'For this reason, the Diocese of Dili will not get involved in the buying and selling of East Timor.'

Bishop Belo said the Diocese would not get involved in the talks, even as an observer, while all the factions or different political tendencies are not involved. 'I am referring to Fretilin and its different factions, the CNRM,

the UDT, the *liurais* (village heads), the traditional leaders, pupils and university students.'

The Bishop wondered why these talks were going on when 'the people are still subjected to pressure. When Dili is gradually becoming a Javanese city. When waves of immigrants continue to occupy the south coast's fertile lands. When the young people involved in 12 November are still being hunted down.'

The letter was taken to Portugal by two emissaries from Abilio Araujo, Father Constancio and Mr Ze Belo, who had been sent to Dili to try to win the Bishop over to the talks.

Abilio's two emissaries also took back to Lisbon the tape of their discussion in Cipinang Prison with Xanana Gusmao. A transcript of the tape (which had been planted in the visiting room by Indonesian intelligence!) was published in the Lisbon daily *Diario do Noticias*. It records Xanana's strong denunciation of the reconciliation talks.

Lopes da Cruz gets angry welcome

Following the talks in London, there has been an exchange
continued on page 21

APPENDIX 7 THE PEACE PROPOSAL OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF MAUBERE RESISTANCE

A statement by Jose Ramos Horta, Special Representative of the National Council of Maubere Resistance (CNRM) to the Human Rights Sub-Committee of the European Parliament.

Brussels, 23 April 1993

The tragic event of 12 November 1991 marks, however, a turning point in the 16 year-old conflict. East Timor is now an international issue which touches the conscience of millions of people around the world. In Indonesia itself voices of moderation and reason are being heard. There is a realisation that the invasion and annexation of East Timor and the policies of the past 16 years were colossal mistakes. Foreign Minister Ali Alatas himself has publicly acknowledged that the East Timor problem is limiting Indonesia's capacity to intervene more constructively in world affairs, is costly, and a solution must be found.

Mistakes are inherent in the human condition. Indonesian leaders must have the vision and courage of great men who can accept mistakes and propose new directions for their country policies towards East Timor and, in fact, towards their own society in general.

On the other hand, East Timorese political leaders must also have the vision and courage to meet the Indonesians half-way and reassure them that the people of East Timor wish to find a "modus vivendi" with them and to begin a new chapter in the relationship.

In spite of the untold suffering inflicted upon us, we continue to extend an olive branch to those who see us as their enemy.

Negotiations without pre-conditions under United Nations auspices

Xanana Gusmao, the Resistance Leader of East Timor, proposed and remains ready to enter into a process of dialogue with the Indonesian authorities, under the auspices of the United Nations, without pre-conditions, to explore all possible options towards a comprehensive settlement of the problem of East Timor.

The peace proposal put forward by Mr. Xanana Gusmao, the leader of the Resistance, reflects the stand of all sections of the East Timorese society inside East Timor and abroad, as well as the Catholic Church.

The Portuguese government has endorsed this peace proposal and handed it over to the U.N. Secretary-General in January.

Allow me, Mr. Chairman and honourable members of the European Parliament, to elaborate a bit on how I see the unfolding of a peace process. This would involve three phases.

Phase One — one to two years

- **The Portuguese authorities and the Indonesians should commence talks at once, under the auspices of the U.N. Secretary-General. This does not necessitate East Timorese direct involvement.**

For the first stage, we are proposing a modified version of the "proximity talks" followed in the Afghanistan case where in the face of Pakistan's refusal to sit face-to-face with the Kabul government, the U.N. acted as a "go-between".

This should overcome Indonesia's present stance in refusing to talk directly to the East Timorese.

This phase of the talks must focus on achieving:

- An immediate end to all armed activities in East Timor;
- Immediate and unconditional release of all East Timorese political prisoners;
- Reduction of Indonesian military personnel in East Timor from its current estimated strength of 20,000-30,000 to 1,000 within a six-month period;
- The removal from East Timor of all heavy weapons, tanks, helicopters, combat aircraft, long range artillery pieces;
- Reduction by 50% of Indonesian civil servants in East Timor;
- Expanding the presence and activities of the International Red Cross (ICRC) into every district of East Timor and in strict observance of the Geneva Conventions;
- Access to the territory by U.N. Specialised Agencies such as UNICEF, UNDP, WHO, FAO, etc for the purposes of carrying out, within their respective fields of competence, a comprehensive program on:

- Restoration and protection of the environment
- Voluntary resettlement of the tens of thousands of displaced Timorese in their ancestral lands;
- Development projects in every district;
- Proper care for women and children;
- Immunisation campaign.
- A comprehensive census of the population to be undertaken by competent U.N. bodies, a precondition for all of the above projects to be carried out effectively;
- A Human Rights Commission to be set up in Dili, headed by the Bishop, and comprising a number of East Timorese of his choice and with the assistance of reputed Indonesian human rights organisations and the U.N. Human Rights Centre in Geneva. This Commission would report directly to the Indonesian Head of State, the Portuguese Government, with copies to the U.N. Secretary-General, the U.N. Human Rights Centre in Geneva which would circulate it to the U.N. Commission on Human Rights. These reports may be made available to other institutions and the public;
- Lifting of press censorship
- Freedom of political activities and assembly;
- Removal of restrictions on, and expansion of, the teaching of Portuguese and Portuguese schools;
- The U.N. Secretary-General appoints a resident Representative who is responsible for all U.N. activities in East Timor, including reporting on the implementation of the accords.

Phase Two — five years

The first stage is indispensable for a gradual normalisation of the situation and for PHASE TWO to be effected.

At the end of Phase One,

- Portugal and Indonesia to normalise relations;
- Political parties are legalised;
- Portugal to be represented in East Timor by a legation of the European Community with a resident Portuguese official;
- A Portuguese Cultural Institute is set up with funding from the Gulbenkian Foundation, Fundacao Oriente and the EC;
- Elections to be held for a local Assembly. The election process and procedures must conform with universally-accepted democratic norms. The U.N. to provide technical support and supervision of the election;
- Only East Timorese identified as such may vote and be eligible;
- The democratically-elected Assembly elects a Governor of the Territory who has to be an East Timorese;
- The Assembly and Governor have a 5-year mandate;
- The Territory may enter in trade relations with foreign countries, promulgate all its laws affecting investment, land ownership, property etc.;
- Remaining Indonesian troops are withdrawn within 3 months. The Territory will have no army. A Territorial police force is organised by the U.N. and is placed under the command of the elected Governor;
- The Territory will have its own immigration laws;
- Further reduction of Indonesian civil servants.

Phase Three — self-determination

Phase Two may be extended by mutual consent. A 2/3 vote of the Assembly in support of extension of Phase Two is needed before the proposal is put to a referendum.

If the popular referendum rejects extension of Phase Two, Phase Three commences.

If the Assembly fails to adopt a recommendation of the extension of Phase Two, it would continue to function for up to three years while negotiations with the Government in Indonesia take place.

If a referendum votes for extension of Phase Two, elections are held within three months for a new Assembly and Governor.

At the end of Phase Two or the second regime of Phase Two, whatever the case, Phase Three covers:

- Preparations for a referendum on self-determination followed by general elections for a Constituent Assembly being undertaken within a period of one year;
- Transfer of power to the elected government takes place;
- East Timorese political leaders form a Government of National Unity;

- East Timor is declared a Zone of Peace and of Neutrality to be guaranteed by the Permanent Members of the Security Council and ASEAN;
- East Timor joins ASEAN and South Pacific Forum;
- East Timor accedes to, and ratifies, all international human rights instruments.

These are some of the ideas to be explored further when Indonesian leaders decide to come to terms with the reality that their 16-year occupation of East Timor has been an utter failure. I am prepared to fly to Indonesia or anywhere, at any time, to meet with senior Indonesian officials to commence the dialogue.

It was with an open mind, optimism and hope that in June 1974 I travelled to Indonesia and met with Foreign Minister Adam Malik to discuss the future of East Timor. The same spirit inspires me today.

In a world where dialogue has for the most part replaced confrontation, the continuing use of force by Indonesia to resolve an issue which is eminently political must be rejected by the international community. The largest army in the world was not able to prevent the crumbling of the Berlin Wall and the end of the Soviet empire. Dictators all over the world have been overthrown or are being phased out. Has anyone forgotten the Shah of Iran, Somoza of Nicaragua, Duvalier of Haiti, Idi Amin of Uganda, Mengistu of Ethiopia, Stroessner of Paraguay, Pinochet of Chile, Marcos of the Philippines and Ceaucescu of Romania?

No matter the overwhelming force used against us, our will to be free will prevail. Our dream will never die. We will reach the mountain top.

Thank you Mr. Chairman.

CHAPTER ONE

The Current Situation

It is now eighteen years since Indonesia invaded the Portuguese colony of East Timor, subsequently declaring it the twenty-seventh province. Although strong resolutions were passed by the United Nations in the late seventies and early eighties, East Timor remains an unresolved international dispute. The United Nations continues to recognise Portugal as the administering power and has hosted talks between Portugal and Indonesia to resolve the dispute. To date these meetings have been largely ineffectual.

The Indonesian military effectively continue to rule East Timor. There are continuing reports of arbitrary arrests, detentions, torture and killings. There is no freedom of speech or association. The world saw the brutal response of the military to the unarmed demonstrators who gathered at the Santa Cruz cemetery on November 12th, 1991. It should be noted that of the hundreds who were killed or 'disappeared' there are many whose families have yet to find out what happened to them.

Despite protests voiced worldwide, little has changed in the lives of the East Timorese and the majority remain unreconciled to Indonesian rule. Since the massacre, a new Governor and military commander who advocate a hard-line approach to any dissent have been appointed. The armed resistance was dealt a heavy blow in 1992 when its leader Xanana Gusmao was captured but 'silent' resistance is widespread throughout the towns and villages.

Indigenous culture and language have been eroded since the imposition of Indonesian language, education and administration. Indonesian sources point to the increase in schools, health clinics, improved roads and infrastructure. But in their struggle to preserve their culture and lifestyle, the East Timorese are reluctant to speak Indonesian and espouse the principles of *Pancasila*. Many regard Indonesian health services with suspicion and will not consult with foreign doctors whose language and practices they do not understand. Preventable diseases such as malaria, tuberculosis and diarrhoea, all too often lead to premature death. Business and commerce are dominated by Indonesians from other islands, which further alienates the Timorese.

Although East Timor is a close neighbour to Australia and other countries, it continues to be isolated. A closed territory until 1989, access continues to be restricted. The Catholic Church in East Timor, which has strongly identified with the aspirations of the people and frequently spoken out on their behalf, continues to grow with over 80% of East Timorese now Catholic. That Indonesian integration is unacceptable to the people is most poignantly seen in the struggle of the East Timorese youth who have lived most of their lives under Indonesian rule. They continue to reject and demand the basic human rights that are absent in their lives.

In an interview with *Timor Link*¹ in September, 1993 BISHOP CARLOS BELO, the apostolic administrator, spoke frankly about the current situation in East Timor and of his continued belief that a referendum, consulting the East Timorese about their future, is the only way forward.

What is your opinion of the negotiations or quasi-talks

¹*Timor Link* is published by the Catholic Institute for International Relations in England.

*which are being mooted at the moment between Lopez de Cruz and Abilio Araujo?*²

I don't agree with this kind of move since it doesn't include all Timorese, concretely Ramos Horta (the resistance spokesman) and his colleagues. It should be open to all people, all Timorese, not just Lopez de Cruz; it should involve the people who live in East Timor, those

²Lopez de Cruz is an East Timorese who works for Indonesia and heads UDT. Abilio Araujo is a former member of Fretilin.

who suffer, and those in Australia and Portugal, as well as Fretelin. I hear that Abilio Araujo is already expelled from the party.

If they ask me to become an intermediary I must have an official invitation, maybe a letter from the Portuguese government or the Indonesian government and from the Holy See, in order to act.

What about the U.N.?

Also from the U.N.

A few months ago you gave an interview to the monthly, Matra in which you spoke of integration no longer being the basic problem. Can I clarify that you still...

Yes, for me, the best way to reach a peaceful and honourable solution is still the idea of a referendum. You live in a democratic country. Here we would also like to do so and this is the only way ... to ask the people if they would like to become Indonesian, Portuguese or independent. It is the idea of the people.

But living here I see that day by day we are losing the possibility of saving our selves or of being saved. I am now suggesting the idea of a kind of status, a special status, autonomy for East Timor, to save the cultural identity and the religious identity, in the economical and financial field, maybe, because we are not prepared...

Do you see this an interim measure?

Yes, we are not prepared, we have no men, we have no infrastructure. Maybe linked with Indonesia, but some kind of autonomy, to feel that we really are the owners of this land, not second class citizens in our own homeland.

And do you see this as fitting in with the framework of the peace plan suggested by Ramos Horta where there is a period of semi-autonomy?

Up to now I do not have a copy of Ramos Horta's proposal, I haven't received it yet. I don't know what has happened abroad, but living here, seeing the possibilities, looking at how to work out *modus vivendi*, to me it would seem better for us, without renouncing the idea of the universal principle of consulting the people through a referendum, to fight for a kind of autonomy, at least at the social and cultural level.

What is your impression of the diplomatic progress this year, especially bearing in mind the shift in American opinion...

This is a good thing, a good initiative, it is good to continue to develop and implement it, and it is important to have a good lobby in the United States, in New York and Washington about East Timor, but it is also important to do something here. Yesterday, and again on Sunday when the three congressional aides were here, there was a small group

which wanted to demonstrate and to talk about human rights abuses; they were taken and then yesterday they beat them and tortured them...

How many were involved?

About 100 - I have a list. There are 66 written down. So I think it is better to do two things at the same time, both at the political and diplomatic level abroad, in the United States, Canada, Europe, and here in terms of how to pressure the Indonesian government to respect and to enter into direct dialogue with the population. But my impression is that they fear the people, they are afraid of young people. So only by military means, by force, can they suppress the real desires of the people.

How do you think the Indonesians are feeling in the light of the resolution at the UN Human Rights Commission this year?

I would like to see the issue of human rights discussed as global human rights, but also the human rights of self-determination. We try to pass over this important and fundamental issue, human rights. There really are abuses of human rights; people are beaten, they are not allowed the possibility to speak differently, to hold a different opinion, but also the fundamental right to express what they would like to be politically.

What do you know about the prison conditions of Xanana Gusmao, and another prisoner, Saturnino da Costa Belo, who you were also very concerned about?

I don't have news, I don't know. About Xanana I heard only that he was transferred to Semarang in East Central Java to a good, "high quality prison", and I hear through the provincial of the Jesuit Fathers, because this prison is in the Jesuit area, in their parish. But about Saturnino, I don't know anything.

We understand that in addition to the youths that were demonstrating on Sunday, many youths had been rounded up...

Yes someone told me around 600, but we have a list of 74 names. They have been taken to different military detention centres. I have not yet heard that they have been released.

From spending two days in a Timorese parish, it was my impression that it was very difficult for the parishioners even to discuss their faith in God with each other because the meetings are disallowed by the military. I was wondering how the Timorese people can express their faith?

There are many ways, their presence in the Church, in the Eucharist, in the chapels. They also pray in their own homes, the rosary, they organise processions with a statue of the virgin which they carry from house to house. This is allowed. Other kinds

of group meetings, to sit down together to read the Bible and to pray are not allowed because the military doesn't trust them. They think that they will discuss politics - this is not allowed. But really, the Catholic faith of the people is a kind of symbol to unite them, it is a way of expressing the fact that they are Timorese. They don't like any other religion, they don't like Indonesia.

Have you tried complaining to the military about this lack of freedom for church activities? What is their reply?

They say that they don't beat anyone, they respect the people, that they work for the prosperity of the people. But for me it is a pure lie. From 1983 till now. I hear only lies from them.

I would have thought from the doctrine of Pancasila that people are free to worship.

That is the theory. But in practice it is very difficult because they are intent on Islamisation. I hear yesterday that about 400 boys were taken to Java to attend Islamic centres of studies like minor seminaries. The theory is all very well, but in practice is different.

And what about this large statue of Christ which has been donated to Catholics here by Garuda Airlines?

This is the idea of our governor. He has many ideas. They start with the religious aspect and the political aspect. So it will have 27 steps for the 27 provinces, some kind of Garuda motif, the rules of Pancasila and the ten commandments, and will be inaugurated on 17 July, the day of integration, next year. The governor will oblige the people to come to the ceremony and they will probably ask me to celebrate the mass.

And you will have to do it?

I don't have to, I have the right to avoid or not to avoid. I will see first...

What message would you like to give to readers of Timor Link, and all those who have a deep concern for East Timor, and who want to campaign?

To lobby more, with politicians, to keep the issue alive at the political level, as well as at the social and economic level, anything you can do to help the young generation to get scholarships for their studies and so on would be welcome.

This succession of letters from a Church source within East Timor to a friend outside East Timor catalogues a summer of oppression during 1993. These extracts are taken from the English journal *Timor Link* of October, 1993.

10 July 1993

"I have known various parishes... they (the military) are capturing young people for interrogation...but not only for interrogation. The military also give them beatings and apply torture. I was informed that they have captured more than 70 youths in Lautem and 120 in Baucau. Therefore, you see that the persecution of young people in East Timor does not stop..."

6 August 1993

"The Indonesian military continue to kill civilians on 5 August at about 7.00 pm, two village heads of Waigre, Vemassee (area of Baucau) were shot dead by Red Beret Indonesian soldiers. The dead men were Armanso and Vicente. Armanso was killed with three shots and Vicente with seven shots. After having killed the men the Indonesian soldiers buried them in a hidden place. It was only on 7 August that the families were able to get the bodies..."

5 September 1993

"The situation is the same. Always the same environment of terror. An example; before the visit of the congressional staff, the Indonesians demonstrated their military power by rigidly patrolling the city of Dili and its surroundings. Some youths who had barely been freed from prison were taken away in five military trucks and spread amongst various military units. On Sundays, the churches of Dili are guarded by well-armed Indonesian troops because they fear demonstrations. What I see is that Indonesia is afraid of the young people, it is afraid of the East Timorese population. As long as there is not a reduction in military forces or reduction of military occupation and dictatorship..."

"The Indonesians have been able to make the faithful afraid to talk with their bishop. On 1-2 September I was in the parishes of Maliana and Bobonaro and the Christians of the village of Saborai were not allowed by the military to participate in the church services. When the Apostolic Nuncio visited Bobonaro on 23 July, the students of the school of agriculture did not come to Church services because the military commander prohibited them and some families to attend mass. So much fear has been created among Christians, that Catholics are now afraid to approach the bishop and priests.

"The young people are constantly under surveillance, they are tense and I believe that one day the whole thing might explode."



8 September 1993

"I would like to tell you a bit about what happened here in my residence in Lecidere on 5 September. The visit of three congressional staff members was planned for this day. Early in the morning the Indonesian military took measures to avert any type of demonstration by the young people. At around 6.00 am we celebrated mass on the patio of my residence, because the number of faithful present was very high and the chapel was too small. This mass was attended by a large number of people, because there were many young people. After mass some of them went into hiding in the rooms, bathrooms and kitchen to wait for the right time to demonstrate in front of the congressional staff. There were about 100 young people. During the day more of them arrived. Most of them left after I asked them to do so. However, one group managed to remain hidden in the bathrooms. At 5.00 pm I myself escorted them to the door of the residence. The problem was that the house was surrounded by military, police, police informers, altogether about 200 people. After a lot of discussion with the young people I decided to take them personally in a truck and drop them off near their homes. That way there was no demonstration. But when the young people were in front of the door of my residence (about 50 of them) they were filmed by Indonesian intelligence. The next day, 6 September, soldiers captured all these young people and took them to their headquarters; they had not even demonstrated before the congressional staff but were barbarously beaten and tortured.

"Please pray for me, because now I have to confront two sides; Indonesia and the youth (people of East Timor)...The (Indonesian) soldiers continue to accuse me of promoting demonstrations and the young people accuse me of having sold out to Indonesia, because I do not allow them to have a demonstration at my residence..."

16 September 1993

"Yesterday I returned from my pastoral visit to Turiscai, Maubisse, Aunaro and Aileu. I went to Turiscai to set up a new parish...In these places I heard many complaints of the population; the people are under constant surveillance. In the region of Alas, Fatuberliu, people may not venture beyond two kilometres from their vegetable gardens; the Indonesians are settling more families from Java as transmigrants in Alas and Natarbora; in all the places I passed through I saw many Indonesian military control posts. At these control points they search everything, including wallets, briefcases, suitcases. On 5 September, they beat a young man until he almost died. In Dili at the Komando headquarters in Colmera they continue to torture young people with electric shocks.

"As you see, we are living in an environment of terror and pressure. The Indonesians are saying that they have already withdrawn battalions from East Timor, but this is not true. On the contrary, they are increasing the presence of military units in all places. I would like you to know that the following battalions are in East Timor:

"Batalyon Tempur", a combat battalion to fight Fretilin.

"Batalyon Territorial", according to the Indonesians, this battalion is dedicated to development. But all it is doing is spying on people and beating them.

"Kodim" which consists of those soldiers who are in the counties, administrative centres and villages for military and social services, for control and intelligence-gathering.

"745" and "744" are special units consisting of Timorese and Indonesians whose task is to penetrate the bush and fight the guerrillas.

Police who are to be found everywhere.

Security troops "Hanship" and "Ratih".

These consist of East Timorese civilians who are trained to collaborate and be the servants of the military.

Battalions of commandos, "Red Berets" known here in East Timor as "Nanggala". These are the worst, their task is to spy, capture and torture.

"That is why when the Indonesians say that they have already reduced their troops and withdrawn their fighting battalion "Batalyon Tempur", it is necessary to analyse Indonesian tactics well..."

"The Indonesians are now fomenting a campaign against me, saying in all counties of East Timor that I organised the demonstration of 5 September at the time of the visit of the congressional staff (no demonstration even took place then) and that I hid those participating in the demonstration. This is a campaign to discredit me among Catholics in order to keep the faithful away from the churches. This is like a communist regime which needs to be dismantled through increased pressure from Washington.

This statement from the US Catholic Conference dated September 1993, quotes Bishop Belo on East Timor and the current situation which is still dominated by terror and harassment.

BACKGROUND: Nearly two years after Indonesian soldiers opened fire on hundreds of peaceful marchers in Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili, East Timor, killing from 150 to 250 innocent people,

Deutsche Kommission Justitia et Pax

Justitia et Pax, Adenauerallee 134, 53113 Bonn - Tel. (0228) 103-217

**Intervention of the German Commission for Justice and Peace
(represented by Dr. Sabine Spitzlei) on the occasion of the
Christian Consultation on East-Timor, in Strasbourg, 17th to
19th June 1994**

Preliminary Remark:

The human rights desk of the German Commission for Justice and Peace had not been occupied in the time between March 1993 and January 1994. I started working there in the beginning of 1994. This consultation will be one part of my familiarization with the problems of a concrete ecclesiastical human rights work.

East-Timor within the human rights work of the German Commission for Justice and Peace between 1991 and 1993

One of the working fields of the Justice and Peace Commission's human rights desk is the "exercise of influence in single cases of human rights violations", briefly: political lobbying. This lobbying is determined by the Commission's self-image: on the basis of the subsidiarity principle the Justice and Peace Commission reacts on concrete inquiries and demands for interventions in (existing or impending) cases of human rights violations.

Within the last three years we intervened twice referring cases from East-Timor:

- a. In the run-up to and the surroundings of the massacre in Santa Cruz in November 1991.
- b. In connection with the delivery of warships out of the stocks of the People's Army of the former DRG by the German government to Indonesia in December 1992/March 1993. For us the delivery of arms seemed to be unacceptable, as it cannot

be excluded that they will be used against the civilian population - not only in the territory of East-Timor.

Several times the Justice and Peace Commission asked the German government for its attitude towards an end of the occupation of East-Timor. The government did never answer these questions. We are of the opinion that without a solution of the fundamental problems, which are the reason for human rights violations in East-Timor, there will be no possibility to guarantee and protect the basic human rights in East-Timor.

- c. During the first 6 months of 1994 the Justice and Peace Commission did not intervene in the case of East-Timor. We had several conversations with Misereor and Missio about the importance of the human rights problem within the projects they attend to.

15.6.1994 - Dr. Sabine B. Spitzlei

Arnold S. Kohen

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

July 29, 1994

for Jack de Groot
Catholic Commission for Justice, Development and Peace

Dear Jack,

Thanks very much for your message and efforts and, not least, your kind words about the proposed venture.

I was happy to receive the news from Albert Street Productions. It is fine that they have the Australian and New Zealand rights to the production on Belo. I perfectly well understand the difficulties in getting such material on television, let alone fetching a good price. The important thing is that it gets the best possible distribution in your part of the world, and I am confident they will do that to the best of their ability.

I look forward to receiving a copy of "Xanana."

I should mention that I phoned Bob Muntz at Community Aid Abroad and he said that their budget is very tight this year and that while they are obviously sympathetic, he saw no way that they could make a contribution this year. I hope that ACR and perhaps other sources can do something, simply to have enough in hand to get Max Stahl working, acquire some needing material and editing space plus a small travel budget and accommodation. If successful, A\$20,000 on top of the Albert Street pledge would get Max a good start, I think, and if the sources are Catholic it would be even better, helping us to attract Catholic funds elsewhere.

I'm ringing Pat Walsh, too. We first met nearly 15 years ago when I prevailed upon him to raise funds to bring Father Francisco Fernandes and other Timorese to testify in Congress. That is the last time I asked Pat or anyone else in Australia to do anything like this, I should add. But I believe the current project is so compelling that I have launched this intercontinental appeal. The result will be well worth it, I am convinced.

Thanks again for your efforts.





Universidade do Porto

Reitoria

Nº PAGE: -

DATE: 94.07.29

TELEFAX. 00.1. 202.541 3339

TEL:

541 3180

ADDRESSED TO: *Mr Thomas*
Quigley

S. R.

VIth Symposium on Timor of UP

Sender:

Prof. A. Barbedo Magalhães - Coordinator

VIth Symposium on Timor of Oporto University

University of Porto - FEUP - R. dos Bragas

4099 Porto Codex - Portugal

Fax nº 351 - 2 - 319125

TEL.: 351 - 2 - 2002148 / 2003599 / 9537348

The President of Oporto University and the Coordinator of the VI Symposium on Timor of Oporto University have the honour to invite you to participate in the International Sessions of this Symposium that will take place in Oporto, Portugal, October the 4th and 5th 1994, according the Provisional Program we send you.

Accepting our invitation you will be the guest of the Oporto University. This means that Oporto University will pay your traveling expenses - from your country to Oporto and back - in tourist class -, as well as your lodging and meal expenses in Portugal during the Symposium and a few additional days just before and after, depending on your schedule.

Lodging is previewed in the Casa Diocesana (Diocesis House), in Oporto, where the rooms are very simple, with a small toilet with shower and WC.

Regarding flight tickets, and for financial reasons, we would like to know, if possible, the prices of your tickets if bought in your own country, to compare with prices in Portugal. Probably it would be better for you to buy a round trip ticket in your own country. At your arrival at Oporto this would be paid back to you.

If you have any other suggestions about this please let us now.

We would like to receive the confirmation of your participation and a very short curriculum vitae, as soon as possible.

If you require additional information about the Symposium, the Course or anything else, please let us now.

We thank you very much in advance for your participation and we remain

Sincerely Yours,

The President of
Oporto University

Alberto Amaral
Alberto Amaral
(Prof. Catedrático)

The Coordinator of the VI Symposium
on Timor of Oporto University

A. Barbedo de Magalhães
A. Barbedo de Magalhães
(Prof. Catedrático)



SIXTH SYMPOSIUM ON TIMOR OPORTO UNIVERSITY

EAST TIMOR, AN INTERNATIONAL RESPONSIBILITY

Organizing Committee:

Prof. Alberto Amaral Prof. Nuno Grande
(President Oporto Univ.) (Vice-Pres. Oporto Univ.)

Prof. A. Barbedo de Magalhães

Secretariat:

Faculty of Engineering,
Oporto University
R. dos Bragas
4099 PORTO CODEX
PORTUGAL

phone 00-351-2- 200 21 48 fax 31 91 25



UNIVERSIDADE DO PORTO

SIXTH SYMPOSIUM ON TIMOR OPORTO UNIVERSITY

OBJECTIVES:

- To manifest the international obligation to ensure the right to self determination for East Timor.
- To enable participants to gain further knowledge on Timor and to open perspectives for its future.
- To foster debate, not only among Timorese but also between Timorese and non-Timorese, and to create links of solidarity.

PROGRAM

The following have been invited to attend:

- The President of Portugal
- The Portuguese Minister of Foreign Affairs
- Cardinal Jaime Sin, Manila, Philippines
- Danielle Mitterrand, the First Lady of France
- Robert Van Lierop, Ex-Embassador of the Vanuatu in the UN (USA)

- Chandra Muzaffar, Malaysian academic
- Gilmar Mendes, former Counsellor of the President of Brazil
- Mairead Maguire, Nobel Peace Prize, Ireland
- Renato Constantino Jr, President of the Conference of Manila on East Timor
- Indonesian guests

A. OPENING AND INTERNATIONAL SESSIONS

04/10/94 (Tuesday) - Rectoria, Oporto University, R. C. Manuel II, Oporto

18:00 Public opening session with representatives of official entities and of universities, Timorese, and other groups involved in the organization of the Symposium.

19:45 Timorese dinner in the canteen of Oporto University.

21:00 Public session with speeches of foreign guests on East Timor, Indonesia and Southeast Asia. Performances related to Timorese culture.

5/10/94 (Wednesday) - Faculty of Engineering, Oporto University, R. dos Bragas, Oporto

09:30 Speeches by Portuguese and foreign guests on East Timor, An International Responsibility.

11:30 Debate

14:30 Working sessions on actions to be carried out by diverse sectors (universities, parliamentarians, churches and religious groups, NGOs, etc.).

16:00 Public closing of the international sessions: speeches by guests from Indonesia, Southeast Asia, Brazil, the USA, Germany and other countries.

B. NATIONAL SESSIONS

Those interested may present their papers in Lisbon, from 29 October 1994 to 18 February 1995 (Saturdays) from 17:30 to 19:00.

Papers should be related to the following topics: *History and Culture; East Timor and the International Community; Perspectives for the Future*.

East Timor Research Project

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

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

July 28, 1994

Mr. Karl Wintgens
Entraide et Fraternite

⑦ Pages

Dear Karl,

The US Bishops Conference on July 26 issued a long-awaited statement on East Timor, and I wanted to get this to you, together with an important letter that has been sent to Congress, and other material.

I regret that I missed seeing you on my trip to Brussels in June, but I plan to return in December and hopefully you will be home at that time and available to meet at the "social restaurant" or elsewhere.

I refer now to your "Decision Letter 94/03",
Ref. : 92-337 Timor Oriental, April 5, 1994, in which you kindly inform us of the positive decision on our application for a grant this year. Your letter stated that the subsidy would be transferred to our bank account within a few days. However, our bank has apparently not received this payment, according to our recent statement.

Would it be possible for you to check with your bank on this matter to see if there has been an error? It is somewhat confusing and we want to make sure that nothing is wrong. Please inform me via fax.

It seems I am full of requests today. Please also send me the fax number of Ms. Savat at Justice and Peace, as I would like to send her some material.

Once these matters are settled, I have another issue to discuss, regarding Bishop Belo, but I will save it for my next communication after I hear from you, so as to avoid confusion.

Thanks very much. *Arnold*

Sincerely,
Arnold S. Kohen
Project Director

Arnold S. Kohen

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

July 28, 1994

Prof. Antonio Barbedo Magalhães (6) Pages

Dear Prof. Barbedo,


Thank you for the kind message. I will be very happy to speak at the Timor conference this year on Congressional matters. I would only ask that I be consulted before you publicize a description of me so I can provide correct biographical information about my actual position, etc. Thank you for your consideration on this matter.

It would also be necessary to have my airfare and other expenses paid.

In addition, the US Catholic Bishops have now made an important statement on East Timor, the first major statement by the US Bishops on Timor since 1987. The senior official at the Bishops Conference responsible for East Timor, Mr. Thomas Quigley, could be a speaker at the conference if he is invited and his airfare and expenses could be paid by the conference. I would strongly recommend inviting Mr. Quigley, for a variety of reasons.

Please confirm the dates of the conference and your interest, if any, in the issues raised here.

I look forward to seeing you.



Arnold S. Kohen

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

July 28, 1994

For Jack de Groot-----3 pages

Dear Mr. de Groot,

I phoned Max Stahl over the weekend (he is in Melbourne, of all places) to tell him of the news from Albert Street Productions and of their conditions (Australian and New Zealand rights to the production). I suggested that Max contact you, and see Albert Street Productions and make arrangements to begin work. Max went to a Jesuit school (I'll never forget Mark Raper's comment to me just after Santa Cruz regarding Max, full of pride: "Arnie, did you know that he's a Jesuit boy??") and he is a very decent guy. When I told him the news, he expressed concern about the fact that we are currently a very long way from having the financial wherewithal to make a 30 minute documentary. "What if we don't get financing? How can we promise something we may not be able to deliver??" I told him that we're going to do it.

I have extensive experience working with Catholic agencies (not that I am Catholic, but as Mark Raper put it some time ago, it's better that I'm not) and I feel quite confident that as funds are committed by a few agencies, others will come on board. Max was still wary of making promises, and he may well express this to you when he rings. I simply want to state here that I am more than confident that we will bring this off, that I intend you twist every arm I can to do so (amongst non-Catholic donors, too). An old friend of mine, a Maryknoll priest, said about 10 years ago that I play a prophetic role on some things re: Timor. Such is my role here, I believe. And to bear down until it gets done.

As I stated when we first spoke on this, my concern at the moment is that we get Max working so that television material is in preparation for the APEC meeting in November and perhaps sooner. Thanks to you, that is in process. So when Max rings you and expresses wariness about the final product, don't get overly concerned, frankly. We're on the road and we're going to make it.

I will look forward to hearing from you.

With best wishes,

PS Attached is the USCC press statement.

Anne

Arnold S. Kohen

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

July 28, 1994

Paulette Geraud ----8 pages
ASTO

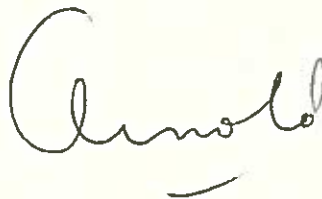
Dear Paulette,

Finally I have a chance to communicate. I am very sorry that I was unable to come to Paris and that conversation was so rushed in Strasbourg, but in December of this year I will be returning and hopefully we will be able to meet at that time. Let us plan on this.

The US Bishops Conference on July 26 issued a long-awaited statement on East Timor, and I have attached this, together with an important letter that has been sent to Congress, and other material. As you can see from the recent events things have taken on greater urgency. I have revised the proposal for the film on Belo and the Church and will send this to you soon, and to Sergio. So much has happened since I returned from Strasbourg that it has been difficult to do everything.

Can you confirm receipt of this and confirm that all is well?

With warm regards to you and Rene et al,



July 28, 1994

East Timor Research Project

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

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

July 28, 1994

Mr. Burt Van Mulders ----7 pages
Broederlijk Delen

Dear Mr. Van Mulders,

The US Bishops Conference on July 26 issued a long-awaited statement on East Timor, and I have attached this, together with an important letter that has been sent to Congress, and other material.

I regret that I missed seeing you on my trip to Brussels in June, but I plan to return in December and hopefully you will be available to meet. As it happened, I was with a Portuguese friend and we passed close by your offices, several times in fact. I understand that you were in Brazil at the time.

Many thanks for the support of Broederlijk Delen for our efforts.

I would appreciate the fax number of Ms. Savat at Justice and Peace, as I would like to send her some material. I met her at the consultation on East Timor at Strasbourg in June but did not receive her card.

Thanks very much for your support. Please send my best wishes to Jef Felix.



Sincerely,
Arnold S. Kohen
Project Director



Department of Social Development and World Peace

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

FACSIMILE TRANSMITTAL COVER SHEET

Date: July 27, 1994
Number of Pages: 5
(including cover page)

Sent To: Tim Rieser

Location: _____

Fax Number: 224 7914

From: ARNOLD Kohen

Fax Number: (202) 541-3339

Comments I was passing through
here to help them out
+ thought I would send
copies of the attached.

All the best
Arnold

If all pages are not received, please call _____
(Name)

(Telephone Number)



Department of Social Development and World Peace
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FACSIMILE TRANSMITTAL COVER SHEET

Date: _____
Number of Pages: _____
(including cover page) **7**

Sent To: Anthony R. Goldstone

Location: _____

Fax Number: _____

From: Arnold

Fax Number: (202) 541-3339

Comments Fancy meeting
you here.

If all pages are not received, please call _____
(Name)

(Telephone Number)



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FACSIMILE TRANSMITTAL COVER SHEET

Date: _____

Number of Pages: 5

(including cover page)

Sent To: Geoff Robinson

Location: _____

Fax Number: _____

From: Arnold Kohen

Fax Number: (202) 541-3339

Comments As you can see, I am

no longer a Protestant.

Hope you're well.

All the best

If all pages are not received, please call _____

201 585 3229

(Name)

(Telephone Number)

July 27, 1994

Dr. JG Taylor-----five pages

Dear John,

I made revisions in the four pages of typescript I sent you on Belo. PLEASE DISCARD THE FOUR PAGES I SENT YOU EARLIER AND USE THE ONES THAT FOLLOW HERE.

Annie

Arnold S. Kohen

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

July 28, 1994

For Jack de Groot-----7 pages

Dear Mr. de Groot,

Attached is the long-awaited policy statement
by the US Catholic Bishops -- the last major one, as you know,
was in 1987. Also, some important letters to Congress by USCC.

I will look forward to hearing from you.

With best wishes,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Anne".

NEWS

Office for Media Relations

3211 Fourth Street, N.E. Washington, DC 20017-1194

DATE: July 27, 1994

FROM: Deacon C.W. Baumann

O - 202-541-3200

H - 703-503-9664

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

U.S. BISHOPS EXPRESS SOLIDARITY WITH EAST TIMOR CHURCH

WASHINGTON--In a statement of solidarity with the Church and people of East Timor, Bishop Daniel P. Reilly, Bishop of Norwich and Chairman, Committee on International Policy, United States Catholic Conference (USCC), expressed USCC concern at the continuing difficulties experienced by Catholics there, and urged "more vigorous action" by the United Nations to help settle the island's disputed political status. East Timor was invaded and annexed by Indonesia in 1975, after Portugal ceded its colonial control.

In recent weeks, incidents involving desecration of the Eucharist and harassing of nuns by Indonesian soldiers have heightened tensions between the largely Muslim occupying forces and the overwhelmingly Catholic population. East Timor Bishop Carlos Ximenes Belo has said the area is becoming "a hell...where Christians are constantly being arrested, beaten and intimidated by police" and where a policy of imposing Islam seems to be occurring.

Citing the hope expressed by Pope John Paul II last year that new talks on the future of East Timor might promote the cultural and religious rights of the people there, Bishop Reilly called on Catholics "to pray for the well-being of our Timorese brothers and sisters, that they may continue to grow in their rich cultural and religious traditions, free of outside pressure and coercion."

more...

In Indonesia proper, religious tension is less of an issue where 85 percent of the 185 million people are Moslems and the constitution guarantees freedom of worship. Cardinal Francis Arinze, President of the Pontifical Council for Inter-Religious Dialogue, met with President Suharto today and told reporters "there are many religions in the world. If they cooperate in mutual harmony, listen and face challenges together they can do much good."

The text of Bishop Reilly's statement is attached.

#

94-107

A



Department of Social Development and World Peace

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

STATEMENT ON EAST TIMOR

Small nations oppressed by larger neighbors often draw sympathetic responses from the world community, but seldom has a population as small, and as distant from us, as East Timor held our attention as that tiny community continues to do. A population of some 650,000 Timorese has, for almost twenty years, lived under the control, and the abusive, harsh and often violent treatment, of their Indonesian military overseers.

These people have survived the brutal invasion of December 7, 1975 and the subsequent policies which have been described by serious observers as nearly genocidal. More than 100,000 people--some estimates are much higher--perished in the early years as a direct result of Indonesian military rule. The massacre of unarmed and non-violent demonstrators at the Santa Cruz cemetery on November 12, 1991, captured in horrifying detail on film by a foreign filmmaker, is now etched in the consciousness of many. Repressive policies and actions directed especially against the young people of East Timor, and often against the Catholic church there, are a continuing reality.

We admire the people of East Timor for their bravery, their suffering and their determination to preserve their culture against overwhelming odds, but we also feel the special bond with them that comes from our shared Catholic faith. The Church of East Timor, led by Bishop Carlos Ximenes Belo, S.D.B., has become a source of hope and encouragement for all the people. It is instructive to note that, during the 400 years of Portuguese colonial rule, Catholics remained a relatively small minority among the largely animist population, whereas today over 90% of all East Timor is now Catholic. It is surely a testament to the fidelity of that local church to the Gospel of Jesus Christ and to the church's commitment to the defense of human rights and the dignity of every person.

East Timor continues to pose a political challenge to the community of nations. It presents a set of conflicting interests and rights not unlike other situations in the world today. Some of these areas of conflict, as in South Africa, the Middle East, and Central America, have witnessed extraordinary breakthroughs in just the last years; others, as in the Balkans and parts of Africa, remain apparently intractable. East Timor, it seems to us, represents a far less thorny problem than many others; it is a problem that can and should be solved.

The mechanism that is already in place, namely the ministerial meetings between the governments of Indonesia and Portugal under the auspices of the United Nations, is the appropriate vehicle to advance the negotiations. Ever since 1983, the U.N. Secretary General has been entrusted with the task of finding a settlement to the dispute. The recent meetings, held in Rome and New York last year and in Geneva this May, thus far without participation of Timorese representatives, appear not to be moved by a sense of urgency. It seems appropriate for the Secretary General to press for more vigorous action to come from these meetings, and we urge him to do so.

The United States and Indonesia are very important partners of one another. We recognize that our government has made a number of useful overtures to Jakarta concerning East Timor, for which we are grateful. We urge, however, that new initiatives be undertaken, to encourage both the resolution of the political crisis and full compliance on issues of human rights.

We recognize that differing proposals for resolving the region's status may exist among the people, some apparently favoring annexation, others full independence, and the rest calling for a process that would eventually lead to a referendum determining the relationship. Prior to any political resolution, however, all can agree that there must be an end to the kind of political and even religious persecution and violation of human rights that continue to plague that tortured community.

A year ago, Pope John Paul II expressed to the Indonesian foreign minister his wish that new talks on the future of East Timor might promote "the well-being of that people in respect of their rights and cultural and religious traditions." We invite our Catholic people to pray for the well-being of our Timorese brothers and sisters, that they may continue to grow in their rich cultural and religious traditions, free of outside pressures and coercion. And we express our fraternal solidarity with Bishop Belo and all the church of Dili, asking God's blessing on their ministry to the people of East Timor.

Bishop Daniel P. Reilly, Chairman
Committee on International Policy
United States Catholic Conference

July 26, 1994

Arnold S. Kohen

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

July 24, 1994

Mr. Jack de Groot (5) Pages
Catholic Commission for Justice, Development and Peace
Melbourne

Dear Jack,

Attached is the draft proposal. Let me re-state add the points I made in our phone conversation:

1. It would be highly desirable to have a Catholic-oriented media group such as the one you mention retain Australian rights to the proposed film efforts (at least to the extent of reimbursement of whatever is put in, together with other donors) in exchange for facilitating donations to help get the project off the ground. Hopefully this would make the project self-financing at least where Australia is concerned. Such an arrangement would also help with distribution in various places, of course.

2. I believe that we can get a good start at this effort with about US 20,000, so we can begin to pay Max and the cost of assembling material, editing facilities, etc. However, because it is not clear exactly how much support will be forthcoming from elsewhere, I cannot state with certainty that this will constitute the extent of the need for this project, bearing in mind that levels of interest and concern vary from place to place and Australia obviously has a special relationship to the Timor matter. I simply want to maintain flexibility at this early stage, and be prudent. Please understand that the proposal and all else is in draft form at this point. Nonetheless, the urgency is clear, and as I said, we must put Max to work on this very soon. I hope that there will be interest in this venture. More information can be provided on request. I also have a character reference from Bishop Belo if that is helpful.

With many thanks for your efforts and kind regards,

The fax here is 301-585-3288; phone is 301-585-3229.

Arnie

Mr. MITCHELL: Does the Senator have any objection during that time if the Senator from Louisiana proceeds?

Mr. LEARY: I yield to the Senator from Louisiana.

The PRESIDING OFFICER: The Senator from Louisiana is recognized.

Mr. JOHNSTON: Mr. President, I rise to voice serious objection to language in this bill on page 34 which, in effect, puts an embargo on foreign military sales to Indonesia.

I think this is a very serious mistake for the United States to be doing this. The House has language continuing a ban on what we call IMET funds; that is, the military training funds. And this is, in effect, a sanction against Indonesia for the policy in East Timor.

What the Senate has done is to substitute for the ban on IMET funds, in effect, a ban on foreign military sales if those foreign military sales would be used in East Timor.

The problem is that any of these sales can be used anywhere in Indonesia. For example, the C-130, which is made in, I think, over 40 States in the United States and sold in fairly large quantity to Indonesia, flies all over Indonesia. If you cannot fly to East Timor, then you probably will not be able to sell the C-130 or spare parts for the F-16. The F-16 lands all over Indonesia. There are all kinds of spare parts, there are all kinds of weapons which are sold to Indonesia. So that we have in this language the start of what is, in effect, an arms embargo on foreign military sales.

I can tell you, Mr. President, the Indonesians are outraged about this language. It is much worse than the House language.

We could debate all night about East Timor and about human rights in Indonesia, which I believe are greatly improving. It is an emerging country. We could debate for a long time, and I think we ought to debate the question of Indonesia, their record on human rights and the situation in East Timor.

I believe Indonesia deserves the support of the United States. They are the fourth largest country in the world. They are the largest Moslem country in the world, and we keep poking them in the eye. They are one of the world's leading emerging countries in terms of economy. They will be buying \$130 billion in infrastructure imports over the next decade. They are a key player in ASEAN and in APEC. Indeed, the President is going to APEC this fall, and while he is doing that, we are putting, in effect, an embargo on foreign military sales.

Mr. President, what is the policy of the State Department on this? I will be frank to tell you, I do not know. They tell me they are opposed to it, but a letter from them is not forthcoming, so I do not know what the policy is.

I have a letter from the Deputy Secretary of Defense, John M. Deutch, who says:

I am writing to express the views of the Defense Department on a matter of some

concern. A provision in the Foreign Operations Appropriations bill as reported by the Senate Appropriations Committee would place significant restrictions on the use of defense equipment that Indonesia purchases from the United States. Specifically, this provision would bar Indonesia from using defense items purchased through the Foreign Military Sales Program in East Timor.

We oppose this provision, and in coordination with the State Department, are working with concerned Senators such as yourself to see if it can be revised. We are concerned that passage of this provision would disrupt our modest yet important security relationship with this strategic country and would drive the Indonesian defense establishment away from U.S. sources of equipment.

As you certainly know, we have many important interests in Indonesia; improved human rights, as well as solid defense ties are among the many objectives we pursue. We strongly believe that active engagement with the Indonesian military through training and FMS programs and other defense cooperation better positions us to positively influence the development of improved human rights conditions. Through our interaction with the Indonesian military at all levels, we play a role in the candid dialog the administration conducts on human rights and the issue of East Timor.

The Office of Management and Budget advises that, from the standpoint of the administration's program, there is no objection to the presentation of this letter for the consideration of Congress.

Signed John M. Deutch, Deputy Secretary of Defense.

I ask unanimous consent that this letter be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE DEPUTY SECRETARY OF DEFENSE,
Washington, DC, June 29, 1994.

Hon. BENNETT JOHNSTON,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, DC.

DEAR SENATOR JOHNSTON: I am writing to express the views of the Defense Department on a matter of some concern. A provision in the Foreign Operations Appropriations Bill as reported by the Senate Appropriations Committee would place significant restrictions on the use of defense equipment that Indonesia purchases from the United States. Specifically, this provision would bar Indonesia from using defense items purchased through the Foreign Military Sales program in East Timor.

We oppose this provision, and in coordination with the State Department, are working with concerned Senators as yourself to see if it can be revised. We are concerned that passage of this provision would disrupt our modest yet important security relationship with this strategic country and would drive the Indonesian defense establishment away from US sources of equipment.

As you certainly know, we have many important interests in Indonesia; improved human rights as well as solid defense ties are among the many objectives we pursue. We strongly believe that active engagement with the Indonesian military through training and FMS programs and other defense cooperation better positions us to positively influence the development of improved human rights conditions. Through our interaction with the Indonesian military at all levels, we play a role in the candid dialogue the Administration conducts on human rights and the issue of East Timor.

The Office of Management and Budget advises that, from the standpoint of the Ad-

ministration's program, there is no objection to the presentation of this letter for the consideration of Congress.

Sincerely,

JOHN M. DEUTCH.

Mr. JOHNSTON: Mr. President, I would have had an amendment on this issue, but I was led to believe that the State Department would take a position and would give us a letter. They will not give us a letter. They say we are opposed to it, we want you to work it out.

What is our position from the State Department in East Timor and Indonesia, the fourth largest country in the world? We ought to have a position and we do not. Consequently, I do not have an amendment, but I think this is a huge mistake. I think it ought to be looked at in the conference committee. I hope they will look at it in the conference committee, and I hope the State Department will tell us one way or the other, do they want it, do they want to go back to the IMET ban, do they want to have foreign military sales bans? What do they want to do?

This is not beanbag, Mr. President. This is important foreign policy with the largest Moslem country in the world, and fourth largest country in the world, and one of the fastest emerging countries, and a traditional friend of the United States. They stood by us all the while in Vietnam and everywhere else. They are a demonstrated friend of the United States. If we are going to poke them in the eye, it ought to be intentionally, it ought to be the foreign policy of this country and not makeshift policy where nobody knows exactly what is the policy of the country.

I hope that we will look at this issue in the conference committee.

Mr. PRESSLER addressed the Chair. The PRESIDING OFFICER: The Senator from South Dakota, Mr. PRESSLER, is recognized.

Mr. PRESSLER: Mr. President, it is my strongest feeling in this debate on Haiti that we should not shed a single drop of American blood. I feel strongly that no troops should be sent there. I feel strongly that the problems in Haiti must be resolved by their people. The expectation is that we are going to solve their problems. America cannot do that. Even if we sent troops there, they could not restore democracy. That is a fallacious argument.

Some say we have an obligation to send troops to restore democracy. But that would not restore democracy in Haiti. United States troops cannot restore democracy in Haiti.

First, we should make clear there should be no United States troops sent to Haiti. Second, I feel strongly we should consider lifting the embargo. The embargo is hurting the poor people the most. I am very much in favor of an end to military rule. I am very much in favor of democracy in Haiti. Unfortunately, we are on the opposite course. We should implement a policy of not deploying United States troops to Haiti under the current cir-

cumstances, proceed with normal immigration procedures, and lift the embargo. That is just about the opposite of what the administration is doing.

That would lead to democracy and an end to military rule much faster. The course we are on leads the Haitian people to believe that the United States is somehow going to miraculously restore democracy in Haiti, a country that has never known democracy. Aristide has said he will not go back to Haiti as a result of a military invasion. Almost all who have followed these events say Haiti could not sustain democracy.

Almost all experts say the embargo is hurting the poor and the impoverished worst of all, and the people running the country, the military junta, are not going to give up or be hurt. We are pursuing the opposite policy we should with Haiti. We should reverse ourselves 180 degrees and we should do it now.

I thank the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there further debate on the amendment?

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The absence of a quorum has been suggested.

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. President, will the Senator withhold.

Is the Senator prepared to indicate whether we can vote on this matter at this time?

Mr. McCONNELL. I would say to the leader I am happy to indicate as soon as I have an opportunity to talk to the Republican leader, who is expected momentarily.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. SIMON. I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. SIMON. Mr. President, I wonder if I could have the attention of the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. JOHNSTON]

I heard the Senator's remarks about Indonesia, and I am not an expert in this area. I know our colleague, Senator FEINGOLD, has paid a great deal of attention to that. There is concern about what Indonesia is doing in East Timor and their pressure on the Philippines and others and then the recent crackdown on freedom of the press in Indonesia.

I have to say the conduct of Indonesia just recently in this regard has not encouraged me—and again I am a nonexpert in this field, but has not encouraged me to go with the Senator from Louisiana on his position. I would be curious as to his response on that.

Mr. JOHNSTON. The Senator is correct, that not everything that takes place in Indonesia is encouraging. They do not have freedom of the press in Indonesia as we know it, and indeed there has been some arrests, a crackdown on some press who have been particularly

critical of the government. No doubt about that.

A lot of our friends around the world have adopted policies that are not consistent, do not comport with our Bill of Rights Government, and I think we should not retreat from doing what we can to be effective in trying to propagate democracy and freedom of speech, freedom of religion, et cetera, around the world.

My problem is that to put a ban on foreign military sales and to do so without having it a considered judgment of foreign policy of the United States with one of our best traditional friends, with one of the largest countries in the world, just to do it haphazardly I think is an awful way to make foreign policy.

We had debate earlier about whether the Congress should make it or whatever. It seems to me that the President and the State Department ought to be the ones to at least initiate and should not be bi-players, should not be wringing their hands on the sidelines while we make foreign policy in the Senate.

A good indication of the kind of foreign policy we made was a couple of weeks ago when we adopted two sense-of-the-Senate amendments on Bosnia about lifting the embargo. One said by a 50-to-49 vote we should not lift the embargo unless the United Nations says so, and the other one said we ought to lift the embargo with or without the United States—both resolutions adopted 50 to 49.

I just do not think we ought to make foreign policy in this way. I would also say that if we are going to take sanctions against every country in the world that is criticized by Amnesty International or somebody else, the list of our friends will be short indeed—short indeed. In fact, the United States itself has been criticized by Amnesty International on the death penalty and other things.

Having said that, I would say I share the Senator's concern about some of the policies in Indonesia, although I think that Indonesia has made huge steps forward in human rights, in labor relations, and I think the State Department would tell us that if they would tell us something.

Mr. SIMON. I simply say to my colleague from Louisiana that I agree we cannot expect carbon copies of the United States around the world. I think we have to be careful in micromanaging foreign policy in this Chamber. I think that is one of the dangers; when people sense a little bit of a vacuum in the executive branch, that we move in and move in sometimes when we should not.

I hope before the Senator would maybe offer an amendment that he might discuss this with our colleague, Senator FEINGOLD, who has spent a considerable amount of time in this area, who knows much more about it, frankly, than I do.

Mr. JOHNSTON. It was offensive I think, or counterproductive to have a

ban on the IMF funds, the military training funds because the military training funds keep the kind of incident in East Timor from occurring by having better trained people.

The House had the ban on the IMF funds but for that we substituted something worse, which is the FMS ban. And one of the things that is so offensive to the Indonesians is that in mentioning East Timor it suggests that we do not recognize East Timor as a part of Indonesia, that somehow we are tipping our hat or genuflecting in the direction of those who say East Timor ought to be an independent state. There are some people who legitimately and sincerely believe that.

To say that as part of a law adopted by this Senate is a very serious charge. It is as if the British Parliament adopted a resolution that said Puerto Rico should not be part of the United States. And we have been criticized by the United Nations for that.

So I just say that this is a bad way to make foreign policy. I think it is a big mistake, and I hope the conferees will look at this when they get in the conference committee.

Mr. President, I would like to take this opportunity to say a few words about two other issues which are funded by the Foreign Operations Appropriation bill. Earlier this year, I led a CODEL to the Far East. Several of my colleagues and I visited numerous Asian nations, including Thailand and China, and I would like to speak about some issues relating to those two nations at this time.

As many of you know, in 1988, the legitimately elected government of Burma was blocked from assuming office by the military and leaders have been illegally detained. Since that time, in accordance with United States policy, our Government has denied Burma all foreign assistance with the exception of basic humanitarian assistance; the United States has had no bilateral assistance program for nonhumanitarian aid with Burma since 1988.

Unfortunately, this well-intentioned policy of our Government resulted in the termination of a Drug Enforcement Administration bilateral counternarcotics assistance program with Burma, which sprayed pesticides on poppies in Burma. As you know, opium and heroin are derived from the poppy plant, which grows prolifically in Burma. The abundance of poppies has created a profitable underground drug processing industry in Burma, and when it comes to the world's supply of illegal drugs, it can be said that "all roads lead to Burma." The DEA reports that Burma is the source of more than 70 percent of all heroin in the United States. Think about that—almost three-quarters of all heroin traded on American streets can be traced back to the poppy field in Burma.

The heroin trade is a lucrative one both in Burma and in America; and heroin, whose use had been declining in

this country, is increasingly becoming the drug of choice for many drug abusers in the United States. The reemergence of a market for heroin can be linked to the fact that a single kilo, or 2.2 pounds, of heroin can net \$1 million in revenue.

Production of heroin in Burma has only increased since termination of the DEA program there. It is estimated that about 2500 metric tons of opium were produced last year in Burma, yielding slightly less than 200 million tons of heroin.

Ending the DEA counternarcotics program in Burma harms the United States more than it does the Burmese. It is American children who are purchasing Burmese heroin and American drug dealers who are getting rich off this fatal export from Burma. While present United States policy harms us, it strengthens the power of drug lords and helps entrench their position in Burmese society.

The United States has received a great deal of cooperation in the area of drug interdiction from Burma's neighbor, Thailand, and for that we should be most appreciative. However, it is impossible to stem the flow of heroin from Burma into America's streets without reducing the source. The source of that heroin is Burmese poppies, and to reduce that source we need the DEA's counternarcotics assistance program. I have a letter from the Drug Enforcement Administration giving their evaluation of current U.S. anti-drug policy in Burma and would like to ask that it be inserted into the appropriate place in the RECORD.

Mr. President, I am not offering an amendment on this issue, and I do not in any way support the reestablishment of relations with Burma until a legitimate democratic government is installed there. However, the bill now under consideration appropriates \$100 million to antinarcotic initiatives, with not one dollar of that money going to the largest source of narcotics. This policy just does not make sense. I believe the State Department should reconsider its definition of nonhumanitarian aid to evaluate whether the DEA's counternarcotics program should perhaps be reinstated. I believe the present U.S. policy in this regard is foolish and that, to restate a common expression, we are only shooting ourselves up the arm by allowing the world's largest exporter of heroin to continue to grow poppies at will.

The second issue I wish to discuss is that of fossil fuel use in the world's most populous state, the People's Republic of China. The magnitude of this problem was discussed in a hearing I chaired for the Energy and Natural Resources Committee in March. Since 1989, several bilateral aid programs have been prohibited from operating in China, first by administrative action and later by statute (Public Law 101-246), in an attempt to place pressure on central authorities to respect internationally recognized human rights.

Restricted programs include sanctions against bilateral aid for environmental programs in China.

In addition to being the world's most populated nation, China is also the world's largest source of fossil fuel emissions. Unfortunately, air pollution does not recognize international boundaries, and what China's factories spew into the atmosphere eventually affects the air that we all breathe. This problem will only get worse in the future, as China's rapid economic expansion is expected to result in a doubling or tripling of industrial emissions that contribute to global climate change. This dramatic increase more than offsets reductions in air pollution anticipated by the United States. The United States can never reach its worldwide environmental goals unless we assist China with an aggressive pollution control and prevention program.

I have a letter that I sent to President Clinton in February, after I returned from the CODEL to China, and would like to ask that it be included in the RECORD. It explains in great detail why the United States should encourage, rather than discourage, our companies to share their environmental technology with China. I would like to share with you just a few of the statistics from that letter. The World Bank reports that Asia's contribution of greenhouse gases to the environment will increase from approximately 20 percent in 1985 to almost 30 percent by the year 2000. Half of all sulfur dioxide emissions by the year 2000 will originate in China, which relies on fossil fuels for domestic cooking, heating, and power generation.

Current United States policy of linking the human rights issue in China to trade and environmental issues contributes to global economic problems, hurting America's economic interests and undermining the well being of Chinese citizens. American companies should be allowed to compete for trade opportunities and help China mitigate its environmental problems, but are frustrated by U.S. trade policies. Restrictions on programs such as the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC), the Trade and Development Association [TDA], and the Export-Import Bank prevent U.S. companies from investing in China and helping to improve their environmental technology. By decreasing trade restrictions on American corporations in China, we can have a lasting impact on the global environment, reducing acid rain and protecting the ozone layer.

The Foreign Operations Appropriations bill recommends the allocation of \$55 million to combat the effects of global warming; however, allowing United States companies to share their clean air technologies with China could augment this investment considerably.

Not only are United States companies hurting because of current administration policy, but the Chinese people

are suffering as well. Lung cancer associated with industrial air pollutants is now the leading cause of death in China. We can prevent the pain and suffering of millions of Chinese afflicted with pollution-induced lung cancer by providing incentives for our corporations to share their knowledge and expertise with Chinese factories and allowing them to compete on a level playing field. The primary fuel in China is coal, and it is burned inefficiently and without pollution controls. The resulting damage affects crops, buildings, and human health.

I am not going to offer an amendment to change United States policy toward China in this regard; however, I would again urge the State Department to reconsider their position on this issue and to consider the environmental consequences of China's rapid growth as a separate focus from other aspects of United States-China relations. It is my hope that we can find a way to address this problem that has such a major global environmental impact by developing a coordinated international environmental policy. Restoring USAID, OPIC, and TDA programs and involving the private sector in this area would be a positive step in developing a constructive relationship with China on an issue of global importance, and an issue which must be addressed to improve the health and safety of the Chinese people.

Mr. SIMON. Mr. President, I note the majority leader standing. I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The majority leader is recognized.

Mr. MITCHELL. Mr. President, I am advised that our colleagues now will permit a vote to occur, and therefore I ask that the Chair put the question.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there further debate on the amendment?

If not, the question is on agreeing to amendment No. 2118 offered by the majority leader.

The yeas and nays have been ordered. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk called the roll.

Mr. FORD. I announce that the Senator from Michigan [Mr. RIEGLE] is necessarily absent.

I also announce that the Senator from Nevada [Mr. BRYAN] is absent because of attending funeral.

Mr. SIMPSON. I announce the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. COCHRAN] is necessarily absent.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Are there any other Senators in the Chamber who desire to vote?

The result was announced—yeas 93, nays 4, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 173 Leg.]

YEAS—93

Alaska	Boxer	Chafee
Baucus	Bradley	Coats
Bennett	Breaux	Cohen
Biden	Brown	Conrad
Bingaman	Bumpers	Coverdell
Bond	Burns	Craig
Borah	Campbell	D'Amato

Danforth	Inouye	Murkowski
Daschle	Jeffords	Murray
DeConcini	Johnston	Nickles
Dodd	Kassebaum	Nunn
Dole	Kempthorne	Packwood
Domenici	Kennedy	Pell
Dorgan	Kerry	Presler
Durenberger	Kerry	Pryor
Eaton	Kohl	Reid
Feingold	Lautenberg	Robb
Feinstein	Leahy	Rockefeller
Ford	Lewis	Roth
Glenn	Lieberman	Sarbanes
Gorton	Lott	Sasser
Graham	Lugar	Shelby
Gramm	Mack	Simon
Grassley	Mathews	Simpson
Gregg	McCain	Smith
Harkin	McConnell	Specter
Hatch	Metzenbaum	Stevens
Heflin	Mikulski	Thurmond
Helms	Mitchell	Warner
Hollings	Moseley-Braun	Wellstone
Hutchison	Moynihan	Wofford

NAYS—4

Byrd
FairclothHatfield
Wallop

NOT VOTING—3

Bryan

Cochran

Riegle

So the amendment (No. 2118) was agreed to.

Mr. LEAHY, Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote.

Mr. MITCHELL. I move to lay that motion on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

OVERHAUL THE FOREIGN AID JALOPY

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, the time is long overdue for a major overhaul of the foreign aid jalopy. This bill, the annual foreign aid bill, is a bill similar to dozens which have come before this body in previous years, and is, once again, to a large extent a product of old thinking. It represents holdover philosophy from the cold war, and responds to political problems and priorities which are outdated and gathering mold.

In saying this, I certainly do not fault the chairman of the subcommittee, the able Senator from the State of Vermont, Mr. LEAHY, who has done his best given the budget request submitted by the President and the constraints of the budget. I commend him for his frugality, and note that the bill is below last year's appropriated amount by about \$700 million and below the President's request for fiscal year 1995 by \$340.3 million.

Nor do I fault the ranking manager of the bill, the able junior Senator from Kentucky (Mr. MCCONNELL). This is a thankless task. Other than the appropriations subcommittee on the District of Columbia—which I chaired for 7 long years, just as Jacob worked for Rachel 7 years and then had Leah palmed off on him by Rachel's father—and perhaps the Legislative Appropriations Subcommittee, I do not know of any subcommittee that constitutes a more thankless job than the Foreign Relations Subcommittee. But somebody has to do the work. It is an important job. It is an important assignment and somebody has to do the work. It does not reward one with very good headlines back home.

The Administration has promised major foreign aid reform in light of the end of the cold war and in response to new priorities. While the Administration did submit a foreign aid reform bill, as is pointed out in the report accompanying this measure, it "falls far short of the reforms that are needed." Thus, foreign aid reform on a magnitude to reflect changed realities has not been executed and is, therefore, not reflected in this measure. I suggest that if further initiatives are not taken by the Administration in preparation for the fiscal year 1996 bill next year, that the subcommittee, working with the House Appropriations Subcommittee, and with the legislative committee—Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate, Foreign Affairs Committee of the House—take the bull by the horns themselves and put into place a far-reaching program of reform befitting the new era which our economy and the world reflect. In the absence of this, I cannot support the bill as it has been presented to the Senate, nor could I support similar legislation in the future.

Our major emphasis under a reformed foreign assistance measure should be to enhance American competitiveness abroad. Many of my colleagues and I have attempted to shift the direction of foreign aid to help our ability to export more American products abroad, to create new markets for our goods and services, and fashion our foreign aid programs so as to promote U.S. economic goals—much in the way our major international economic competitors, particularly Japan and the aggressive economies of the Far East, and the countries of the European Economic Community have done. In my view, a more tightly woven connection between our economic health and strength with our foreign assistance programs is still sorely needed.

Second, there is entirely too much arms giving and arms sales promotion in our foreign aid program. Much of this was in vogue during the Cold War, and no one has yet to seriously question whether we are fueling regional tensions and conflicts by selling American arms. The grant program alone this year consumes nearly 25 percent of the whole bill, over \$3.1 billion.

An American arming the world in the guise of foreign assistance does an increasing disservice regarding the real and urgent needs of the emerging nations in the third world and the nations of the defunct Soviet bloc and its proxies. The committee report states that "regrettably, the evidence clearly indicates that the administration has sought to promote arms sales, rather than to reduce them. The committee deplores 'the administration's apparent lack of interest in doing anything significant about the problem * * * of excessive levels of military spending by developing countries.'" So, Mr. President, we are concerned, on the one hand, about stopping the spread of weapons of mass destruction, including

not only nuclear, but also chemical and biological weapons, and we have invented a new term to stop the spread and use of these weapons called "counterproliferation." On the other hand, we are still peddling weapons and components, a practice that speaks loudly of our inconsistency on the matter.

The distinguished Senator from New Jersey, Mr. LAUTENBERG, suggested on this floor earlier in the debate that foreign countries which do not cooperate with our efforts to reduce illegal immigration, and which will not agree to accept their nationals who are illegal aliens here in the United States, and are incarcerated felons, should not be recipients of foreign aid. That is a very worthwhile goal, and an idea that should be seriously explored. Other ties to foreign aid which reflect U.S. concerns and interests should be allowed a forum in coming years.

I do not intend to engage in an extensive dissection of the details of the Administration's foreign aid program on this floor today. But it is high time we get this antique car off the road and into either the overhaul shop or the junkyard. The point is that our foreign aid program should cease being mainly a one-way transfer of resources, but should be used as a lever to accomplish our Nation's priorities not only in the economic area, but in terms as well of promoting our goals in other priority areas such as immigration reform, and benefits to U.S. business. It should be a clear carrot for nations that play ball with us, and a stick for those that do not.

As I have said before, our foreign aid budget is not an entitlement program.

Mr. President, we have not been hard-headed nor tight-fisted enough in focusing our attention more directly on our Nation's best interest when it comes to foreign aid. Until we do a better job, I cannot vote for these examples of wrong-headed American generosity.

After all, it is our money, the taxpayers' money, that is being squandered if we fail to vigorously promote our own national interests. As with Timon of Athens:

When Fortune in her shift and change of mood

Spurns down her late beloved, all his dependents

Which labour'd after him to the mountain's top

Even on their knees and hands, let him slip down,

Not one accompanying his declining foot.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

Mr. JOHNSTON. Mr. President, I send an amendment to the desk on behalf of myself, Mr. MCCONNELL, Mr. NUNN, Mr. INOUE, Mr. HOLLINGS and Mr. HEFLIN, and ask for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair advises the Senator that there are pending committee amendments.

Mr. JOHNSTON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to temporarily lay the amendments aside.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, does that mean that the Johnston amendment is now the pending question?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Louisiana intends to lay the committee amendment aside?

Mr. JOHNSTON. Mr. President, if I may inquire of the floor manager, I would like to bring this up at a time convenient with both floor managers, and I understand the Dole amendment had been scheduled and I thought this was an appropriate time.

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, the Johnston amendment, which he has introduced, is now pending. I certainly do not want to cut him off or the Senator from Kentucky—if we could have order, Mr. President—because I think for some of those who may be planning to leave this may be of importance to them, because I suspect we are going to vote on this.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. LAUTENBERG). The Senator is right. If we could have order in the Chamber. Please cease conversations.

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, so people will understand, I do not want to cut off any amount of time for the Senator from Louisiana or the Senator from Kentucky to speak on the amendment of the Senator from Louisiana, but at some appropriate time they will get a chance to say what they want. I will go to a few items, and I will then move to table, asking for the yeas and nays.

I mention that because it would then require a vote. I will either win or lose, either way. If I lose the motion to table, of course, I will not ask for a second rollcall on the amendment, naturally.

Mr. McCONNELL. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. LEAHY. Of course.

Mr. McCONNELL. I just would like to say to my friend from Louisiana that I am supporting the amendment along with him, but I myself understood that we were going to go with it right now. I was hoping we might be able to lay that aside and move to the Bosnia amendment. I wonder if there is any chance of that from the Senator from Louisiana.

UNANIMOUS CONSENT AGREEMENT

Mr. JOHNSTON. Of course, I would be willing to enter into a unanimous consent agreement to have a short time limit for anybody who would like a time limit tomorrow or tonight.

Mr. LEAHY. Later tonight.

Mr. JOHNSTON. Or when anybody would like. I certainly will go along with the floor managers, whatever they wish.

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, I do not want to delay. There is nobody more willing to enter into a short time agreement than I. I have demonstrated that time and time again. I am happy to enter into whatever time agreement

the proponent of the amendment feels protects his interest. I would want 10 or 15 minutes on my own at the most to state my point, but I would want to vote on this tonight.

We spent a lot of time in quorum calls and a lot of time talking about issues that were voted on a lopsided vote. We have had four votes. We have been on this bill for about 12 hours now. None of these votes were close votes. A number of them were items that we have already debated at length at other times.

And I told my colleagues that I have canceled plans to fly anywhere on Saturday, but I do not want to cancel plans to fly on Sunday, too.

I would like to get this bill done. So I would be very reluctant to agree to anything that would not allow us to vote, and I know the Senator from Louisiana would want a rollcall on this to vote on his matter tonight.

If we want to set it aside and do other things and come back to it, if that kind of agreement were entered into and vote on it, I do not know, midnight, 1 o'clock, whatever, so we can keep this bill moving.

Mr. JOHNSTON. What is the desire? Would it be agreeable, Mr. President, if I may ask the managers, if we had a 30-minute time limit equally divided on our amendment?

Mr. McCONNELL. To be taken up subsequent to the Dole amendment?

Mr. DOLE. Right now.

Mr. McCONNELL. Now, fine.

Mr. JOHNSTON. All right.

Then, Mr. President, if there is no objection, I ask unanimous consent that on the Johnston-McConnell-Nunn amendment there be a 30-minute time agreement equally divided with no second-degree amendment in order, the time to be under my control and that of the distinguished floor manager.

Mr. LEAHY. I do not believe a second-degree amendment would be in order anyway because of the parliamentary situation, and the Senator does not preclude motions to table?

Mr. JOHNSTON. No.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Louisiana.

Mr. JOHNSTON. Mr. President, I am advised that the proper way to get to this amendment, since we have not reached this committee amendment in proper form now is by unanimous consent. I guess my unanimous consent might have covered the amendment in order to move to strike at this time in accordance with the amendment at the desk, and I ask the Chair if that is the correct parliamentary situation.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator has a right to make that request.

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, reserving the right to object, this gets a little bit confusing. I realize we can do anything by unanimous consent. But is the Senator saying he wishes to move to amend an amendment that is not before us because it has not yet been adopted? Would it not be better to

adopt the amendment that he wishes to amend?

Mr. JOHNSTON. Mr. President, if the Senator will yield, I am advised that the proper motion would be a motion to table the committee amendment which is contained on page 34, line 15, beginning with the word "provided" and ending with the word "Timor" on line 25.

I ask unanimous consent that there be a 30-minute time agreement on the motion to table that amendment and that it be in order to consider it at this time.

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, reserving the right to object, that amendment has not been adopted. I make a parliamentary inquiry.

Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state it.

Mr. LEAHY. Can the Senator from Louisiana—and I want to help him find a way to do this—move to strike an amendment which has not yet been adopted?

Mr. JOHNSTON. The Chair just advised me that the proper motion is the motion to table since it has not been adopted, and I have asked unanimous consent so to do with a 30-minute time agreement.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection?

Mr. LEAHY. I do not mean to be difficult. But would the Senator tell me which lines he is talking about?

Mr. JOHNSTON. It is on page 34, beginning with line 15 beginning with the word "provided" and ending on line 25, page 34 with the word "Timor."

Mr. LEAHY. So he would take out the money for the demining activities? That has nothing to do with Timor. It is talking about demining in Cambodia, Afghanistan, Africa, and everywhere else.

Might the Senator want to start down on line 19?

Mr. JOHNSTON. Let me correct that motion, Mr. President. It is page 34, line 19, beginning with the word "provided" and ending on line 25 with the word "East Timor." I think my written amendment so states.

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, I will not object provided I have the right to offer a perfecting amendment on line 21 between the words "any" and "equipment" to be able to offer the amendment to say "lethal."

Mr. JOHNSTON. Mr. President, the Senator can do so by unanimous consent, as far as I am concerned.

If the matter is tabled, then there will be nothing to put "lethal" between. If it is not tabled, then you can announce to Senators that it is your intention, and I would have no objection.

Mr. LEAHY. If the amendment of the Senator from Louisiana is tabled, the motion to strike, we are back to "provided further, that any agreement for the sale," and so on. We would be back to the legislation, is that not correct?

Mr. JOHNSTON. If my motion to table is granted, then that matter will be stricken and there will be no language in which to insert the word "lethal."

Mr. LEAHY. Parliamentary inquiry, Mr. President. Would it be in order at the appropriate time to move to table the motion to table of the Senator from Louisiana?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. It would be incorrect. A motion to table cannot follow a previous motion to table.

Mr. JOHNSTON. What is the parliamentary situation, Mr. President?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Louisiana has made a unanimous consent request. Is there objection?

Mr. LEAHY. Reserving the right to object.

Would the Senator from Louisiana permit me, by unanimous consent, to amend the provision on line 21 with the word "lethal" ahead of the word "equipment"?

Mr. JOHNSTON. Mr. President, I would restate my unanimous consent request.

I ask unanimous-consent that it be in order to move to table the language on page 34, line 19, beginning with the word "provided" and ending with line 25 with the words "East Timor"; and further request that the amendment to be stricken be modified by adding the word "lethal" in front of the word "equipment" on line 21.

Mr. LEAHY. And would you further modify that that at the expiration of 30 minutes we would vote on or in relation to your motion?

Mr. JOHNSTON. Yes; it is a motion to table.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection? Hearing none, it is so ordered.

The committee amendment is so modified.

The modification reads as follows:

The committee amendment on page 34, beginning with "Provided" on line 19, is modified by inserting "lethal" before the word "equipment" on line 21.

Mr. JOHNSTON. And we now have a time agreement of 30 minutes?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. That is correct.

Mr. LEAHY. I ask for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there a sufficient second? There is a sufficient second.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

Mr. JOHNSTON addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Louisiana.

Mr. JOHNSTON. Mr. President, I yield myself 5 minutes.

Mr. President, since I made my statement on this matter, I am advised that the State Department has, in fact, as of 7:35 p.m. tonight, taken a position on this provision and that they do find this provision unnecessary and inconsistent with our policy.

If I may now read the letter from Warren Christopher. It is a letter to Mr. LEAHY. It reads as follows:

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: As you work on the FY 1995 Foreign Operations Appropriations bill, we would like to provide you with a clear statement of the Administration's policy towards Indonesia and reiterate our objections to language which would place restrictions on arms sales or transfers to that country.

This Administration is steadfastly pursuing the objective, shared with Congress, of promoting an improved human rights environment in East Timor and elsewhere in Indonesia. We are trying to pursue our agenda aggressively, working with Indonesians both inside and outside the Government, using our assistance, information, and exchange programs to achieve results. At the same time, we have raised our human rights concerns at the highest levels in meetings with Indonesian officials. As a direct expression of our concerns, our current policy is to deny license requests for sales of small and light arms and lethal crowd control items to Indonesia. In accordance with U.S. law, we make these decisions on a case-by-case basis, applying this general guidance.

East Timor remains a high priority for our human rights efforts in Indonesia. In 1993-94, there was considerably greater access to East Timor on the part of international groups such as the International Commission of Jurists, Human Rights Watch, foreign and domestic journalists, parliamentarians, and diplomats. We understand that the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) is expanding its on-the-ground presence in East Timor and has, with the cooperation of government authorities, worked out satisfactory access arrangements for visits to detainees. The expanded USAID program includes projects designed to strengthen indigenous NGOs active in agriculture, health, vocational training, and microenterprise. On the security front, the Indonesian Government has reduced its troop levels in East Timor by two battalions. In East Timor, as well as elsewhere in Indonesia, we have seen evidence of improved military accountability and self-restraint under new military leadership.

We clearly recognize that more needs to be done. We continue to push for a full accounting for those missing from the 1991 shootings in East Timor and for reductions or commutations of sentences given to civilian demonstrators. We have also urged further reductions in troop levels and efforts at reconciliation which take into account East Timor's unique culture and history. But we do not see new restrictions on sales of defense equipment warranted by any deterioration in conditions; indeed we believe efforts to support military reform and promote military professionalism, discipline and accountability should be encouraged.

IMET restoration would be an important tool to this end. We therefore welcome the fact that the Senate Appropriations Committee language for the Foreign Operations Bill for FY 1995 would remove the existing legislative prohibition regarding IMET for Indonesia.

The United States has important economic, commercial, security, human rights, and political interests in Indonesia. Our challenge is to develop a policy that advances all our interests, that obtains positive results and reduces, to the extent possible, unintended negative effects. In this regard, the provision restricting military sales or transfers to Indonesia in the Foreign Operations Appropriations bill is unnecessary and inconsistent with our policy objectives in Indonesia.

Please be assured that we will continue to work aggressively to promote better human rights observance throughout Indonesia. We are committed to doing so in what we believe is a comprehensive, effective, and results-oriented manner, and will continue to keep in close contact with you and other Members interested in these matters.

Sincerely,

WARREN CHRISTOPHER.

Mr. President, in fairness to the chairman, neither of these letters, either from the Deputy Secretary of Defense or from the Secretary of State, were available to any of us on the Foreign Operations subcommittee at the time this amendment was adopted.

I hope, therefore, that this language could be stricken, keeping in mind that the matter will be in conference as regards IMET.

I yield the floor at this time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who yields time?

Mr. JOHNSTON. I yield the Senator 5 minutes.

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent Senator DOLE be added as a cosponsor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. MCCONNELL. Mr. President, I rise in support of the amendment by the Senator from Louisiana. Indonesia is a large, thriving market. In fact, it has been identified as one of the prime trade investment opportunities for U.S. companies. The language in the bill is sufficiently vague to cause both the United States and the Indonesian Government a considerable concern.

The language asks that we reach an agreement with Indonesia that equipment we sell may not be used in East Timor.

Frankly, I do not see how we could possibly monitor that. If we sell equipment to Indonesia to use with their armed forces, we do not sell it to a particular place in Indonesia. What happens, for example, if a unit is using United States equipment in one part of Indonesia and gets transferred to East Timor? There is no practical way to endorse this particular provision.

In effect, our inability to monitor the terms of any understanding could turn it into an embargo of all sales. I repeat, it could turn it into an embargo of all sales, and that is certainly not in our best interests.

This would be a serious mistake. Indonesia has been a valuable ally in regional politics and has provided support to our naval forces in the region over the years. The effect of the amendment would be damaging to our trade, political and security relationship with a country of over 190 million people. I think we can press the human rights case in a constructive fashion without damaging this important relationship.

So I commend the Senator from Louisiana for this proposal. We have been working with him to try to minimize the restrictions on Indonesia in this bill. We obviously did not get quite far enough to satisfy the Senator from

Louisiana. I think his concerns are valid. I support them, and I hope the Senate will approve the Johnston amendment.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who yields time?

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, I yield myself such time as I may need.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Vermont is recognized.

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, basically my good friends from Louisiana and Kentucky are saying we should have no restrictions or no say at all on what the equipment we send to Indonesia is used for. I am not sure if there are other countries that we are willing to give that kind of carte blanche to. I know of none in this bill that we give that to. I know of no countries where we give them such an open-ended use of our equipment.

It is not a case where we have ignored Indonesia. We have given them \$4 billion of taxpayer-paid-for economic and military aid over the past 30 years—\$4 billion. We are going to give Indonesia another \$60 million in aid next year. We have not turned our back on them.

In the committee amendments we have removed the prohibitions on IMET placed in the other body. We have tried to do things to show Indonesia our continuing support. After all, \$4 billion, and \$60 million next year, is more than just a Valentine card.

The Indonesian army occupied East Timor over 20 years ago. Since 1976 we passed half a dozen nonbinding resolutions in this Congress. Most of the Members of this body voted on them—asking them to stop abusing the rights of the people of East Timor.

Three years ago—one of the things that really brought this to a head—Indonesian soldiers fired on peaceful demonstrators in East Timor. They killed between 200 and 300 people. At first they said only 19 people died but then, when the truth came out, they said we have to do something about it. And what did they do? They arrested some of the demonstrators, sentenced some of them up to life imprisonment, and the soldiers went to jail for a few months. Even that would not have happened if the press had not become aware of what happened. Even the officers in charge were never charged with a crime. People are still not accounted for.

We cut off military assistance for 2 years and then we ended up selling it to the Indonesians anyway. We deleted the House language cutting off sale of military training. I moved to delete the ban on military training assistance. I believe the ban outlived its usefulness and I moved to make sure that could still go to Indonesia. But having given them \$60 million in aid, having lifted the bans on training and assistance, let us not totally turn our backs on the people of East Timor and say the resolutions we passed time and

time again in the Senate were merely that. We never meant it.

We have even amended this provision so it covers only lethal equipment.

Could we, insofar as we are using America's taxpayers' money, just have a little teensy-weensy bit of control? Even a little teensy-weensy bit of American taxpayers' say of where this money is going to be used? Even a little itty-bitsy bit of say when we tap the pockets of Americans for \$60 billion more to say what it is going to be used for?

There are 8,000 Indonesian troops in East Timor. We do not affect the \$28 million sales of commercial equipment to Indonesia in 1995. That goes forward. But we can say when we are sending \$60 million of your tax dollars, my tax dollars, everybody else's tax dollars to Indonesia, we also support people who were persecuted for peacefully expressing their human rights, even if they happen to live halfway around the world and we do not see them daily.

I agree Indonesia is an important country. I joined with the Senator from Louisiana in making that statement, as he knows, on a number of occasions. But that is why we provide this money. That is why I deleted the prohibition of IMET training. That is why I supported \$60 million to them.

But I have to tell you, this is one Vermonter who does not like to give out a blank check of the taxpayers' money, and I say this action of the Senators from Louisiana and Kentucky would do that, as we put on no controls whatsoever.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an article by Philip Shenon in the New York Times on June 29, 1994, be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

INDONESIA MOVES TO STIFLE CRITICISM, BOTH AT HOME AND ABROAD
(By PHILIP SHENON)

SINGAPORE, June 27.—The Indonesian Government, which bans most public debate among its own people over the disputed territory of East Timor, is pressing its smaller Asian neighbors to keep quiet, too.

Last month the Philippines gave in to threats from Indonesia and barred foreign visitors, including Danielle Mitterrand, the wife of the French President, from attending a conference in Manila on human rights abuses in East Timor, a former Portuguese colony that was invaded and annexed by Indonesia in 1976.

Now the Indonesians have turned their diplomatic guns on Malaysia, warning that ties between the two countries could be damaged by a planned East Timor forum to be held this year in Kuala Lumpur, the Malaysian capital.

Brig. Gen. Syarwan Hamid, a spokesman for the Indonesian military, was quoted by the Indonesian press agency as saying the Malaysia conference "is clearly not an ordinary meeting" because some of the participants "wish to tarnish the image of the Indonesian Government and the military." A spokesman for President Suharto's Government said the conference could "upset the solidarity and good relations" between Indonesia and Malaysia.

So far the Malaysian Government has responded to the Indonesian protests by pleading ignorance. Government spokesmen in Kuala Lumpur say they have no information about the East Timor conference, which is being organized by Malaysian public interest and religious groups. The date of the conference has not been announced.

Diplomats in Kuala Lumpur say that if the Indonesian protests continue, Malaysia will almost certainly heed the warnings from its neighbor and cancel the conference. With more than 190 million people spread across the world's largest archipelago, Indonesia dwarfs surrounding nations.

International attention to human rights abuses in East Timor, where as many as 200,000 people have died since the Indonesian invasion, has hindered plans by the Suharto Government to secure a far greater role for Indonesia on the world stage.

In recent months the Government has ushered groups of foreign journalists and United Nations officials into East Timor in hopes of proving that the situation is better than is usually reported.

The decision last month by President Fidel V. Ramos of the Philippines to appease Indonesia by barring dozens of foreigners from taking part in the five-day Manila conference created a furor in the Philippines, which otherwise promotes itself as a bastion of democracy and free speech in Southeast Asia.

Mr. Ramos described the forum as "inimical to the national interest" and conceded that he had given in to the Suharto Government because of concerns that the conference could affect Indonesian investment in the Philippines. Despite the ban, many foreigners managed to attend on tourist visas. Mrs. Mitterrand, president of a French human rights group, stayed home, telling reporters in Paris that Indonesia had applied "tyrannical pressure on us and on the Philippine Government to keep me from going to that meeting."

As it tries to stifle foreign criticism about East Timor, the Indonesian Government continues to deal harshly with its critics at home, as was clear again on Monday as police officers in Jakarta, the Indonesian capital, used rattan sticks to break up a street protest over a Government ban on three of the country's most influential magazines.

Witnesses said dozens of people had been detained as they joined a crowd of about 150 people marching on the offices of the Information Ministry, which issued the order last week to shut down the magazines, including Tempo, a national newsworthy.

Diplomats and human rights groups said the three magazines had been banned because of their reporting on corruption in President Suharto's Cabinet.

Mr. LEAHY. I see the Senator from Wisconsin on the floor. How much time do I have remaining?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Vermont has 9 minutes 40 seconds.

Mr. LEAHY. How much time would the Senator from Wisconsin like?

Mr. FEINGOLD. May I have 5 minutes?

Mr. LEAHY. I yield 5 minutes to the Senator from Wisconsin.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Wisconsin is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. FEINGOLD. I thank the Senator from Vermont.

Mr. President, this is a heck of a time to be giving a seal of approval to the conduct of the Indonesian Govern-

ment with regard to human rights and, in particular, treatment of East Timor. The Congress suspended IMET to Indonesia in response to a brutal massacre by the Indonesia forces against peaceful demonstrators in 1991, and the Indonesians have shown really very little remorse since then. Last year the Senate Foreign Relations Committee adopted an amendment to the foreign assistance bill that would require the administration to consult with Congress on human rights before approving the sale or transfer of arms under the Arms Export Control Act.

Among those conditions the Indonesian Government has significantly failed to respond: There are six areas. To the first three, there has been no response. One of the conditions was whether the civilians convicted in connection with the November 1991 East Timor incident have been treated in accordance with international standards of fairness, including whether the Indonesian Government has reviewed the sentences of these individuals for the purpose of their commutation, reduction or remission. No response from the Indonesian Government on this item.

A second item, whether the Indonesian Government is taking steps to curb human rights violations by its security forces, including all military personnel who were responsible for ordering, authorizing or initiating the use of lethal force against demonstrators in East Timor in 1991 are being brought to justice. No response from the Indonesian Government.

Finally, whether there has been a full public accounting of the individuals missing after the November 1991 incident. No response.

That was the position which the administration agreed to, and the administration now certainly does not believe we should give a blank check to Indonesia.

The administration has adopted a ban on light arms sales to Indonesia after a thorough review of policy which concluded that Indonesia is an important ally but, at the same time, the administration wanted to send a strong message that Indonesia has not done enough.

So this is the worst possible approach we can take to simply strike the language in the bill. I cannot think of a worse time. In this very week, the Indonesians have cracked down on press freedoms by revoking the licenses of three major journals for "sowing discontent." This is the kind of conduct we are going to reward on this night after that conduct in Indonesia this week. I think that is very troubling.

Fifty people who were peacefully protesting the restriction were beaten by Indonesian security forces this past week, and this comes, Mr. President, on the heels of bullying tactics by the Indonesian Government against the Philippines just recently for holding a conference of foreigners who are going to simply talk about what was going

on in East Timor. I understand that they are also now trying to keep the Malaysians from holding a similar conference as well.

Of course, the Indonesians are our allies, and I hope their country is trying to make progress in this regard and we want to have a strong friendship. But the conduct of just these past couple of weeks indicate just the opposite.

I think it would be a very serious mistake for us to remove a provision that says American arms should not be used to kill and torture the people of East Timor. And I ask the Senate to oppose this effort to table the committee language because it could not come at a more inappropriate time with regard to the human rights of the people of this world and, in particular, the human rights of the people of Indonesia and the people of East Timor.

Mr. WELLSTONE addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who yields time?

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, I promised to yield 2 minutes to the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee.

Mr. WELLSTONE. I ask the distinguished chairman for 2 minutes.

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, how much time do I have remaining?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Vermont has 5 minutes and 15 seconds available.

Mr. LEAHY. I yield 2 minutes to the Senator from Rhode Island, and then I will yield to the Senator from Minnesota.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator is recognized for 2 minutes.

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I thank my friend and colleague from Vermont.

I wish to state general and specific reasons why the position regarding East Timor, in my view, of the Senator from Vermont is correct, and, thus, that the language in the bill, as reported by the committee, is correct.

I think we all agree that there should be some control of weapons, whether they are lethal or nonlethal, when they are turned over to other countries. We used this argument when the Turks took American weapons and misused them in the occupation of Cyprus. The argument that the United States should exercise some control over its military assistance and sales to foreign countries is widely accepted.

In addition, there is the argument of human rights. It is generally recognized that Indonesia is a little slow in its march down the road toward human rights, although more and more countries throughout the world and particularly in the Far East are improving the human rights conditions of its citizens.

From a specific viewpoint, I cannot help but recall a couple of years ago when I was in Indonesia, I asked President Soeharto if I could go to East Timor. He told me emphatically, "No, that it might have an unsettling effect." He was afraid at that time that a visit by this U.S. Senator would draw

too much attention to the plight of the East Timorese people.

As Senator LEAHY mentioned, I too was deeply distressed by the treatment accorded the shooters and the shootees at a riot in Dili, East Timor, in 1991 when the Indonesian military fired upon a group of peaceful demonstrators. The punishment meted out to the ones who murdered or shot the shooters was far less than the punishment handed out to the shootees, the people shot at. Clearly, Indonesian security forces continue to repress the East Timorese.

I urge my colleagues to support the committee language as written.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Who yields time?

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, one thing, this does not affect licenses of commercial sales, which is the overwhelming majority of our military sales, and having given billions of dollars to Indonesia, another \$60 million, the language sought to be stricken is simply any agreement for the sale or provision of any lethal equipment on the United States munitions list to Indonesia that is entered into by the United States during fiscal year 1995 to expressly state the understanding the equipment may not be used in East Timor.

It does not affect commercial sales, which is the overwhelming majority of military sales. It is a tiny, it'sy-bitsy restraint on the money we are going to give them.

I yield, first, 1 minute to Senator HARKIN and 1 minute to Senator WELLSTONE.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Iowa is recognized for 1 minute.

Mr. HARKIN. Mr. President, I just learned of this amendment, and I noticed there was a time limit on it. I wish there was not. Had I been here, I would have objected to a time limit on this amendment.

I kept hearing all this talk on my monitor before I left to come over here that somehow because Indonesia is big and powerful and they are a market and that somehow we have to excuse their conduct in East Timor.

Look at the history. In 1975 with the use of United States arms, which we prohibited in a treaty with Indonesia in 1958, they invaded tiny East Timor, killed 200,000 people, one-third of their population and have kept them in severe repression ever since.

And now we are going to let them walk and say, "Oh, that's just fine."

It has been condemned by the United Nations and by about every human rights organization around the world. The East Timorese have pleaded with us year after year to help them out. Just last week, the Indonesian Government banned three of the top newspapers in East Timor. They will not let them publish. Three of their top newspapers they just shut down so they could not publish anymore.

Is this the kind of activity that we want to reward? They broke the treaty we had with them dating back to 1958 in using our arms to invade East Timor. I agree with the distinguished chairman we ought to have at least some control.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The time of the Senator has expired.

Mr. WELLSTONE. Mr. President, I ask that my minute be given to the Senator from Iowa.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Iowa is recognized for the remaining minute.

Mr. HARKIN. Mr. President, the East Timorese over the years, the Catholic population there have pleaded with us to help them out, to take their cause to the world community. Just because they are small and because they are defenseless means that we have to put up with what the Indonesians have done to them? I do not think so.

We have not banned all aid to Indonesia. We have not stopped trade with them. But at least I think we ought to do what the chairman has said, to hold them to some small standard.

The implication I think given earlier that I heard on my monitor that somehow the State Department is against all forms of control on the military equipment that we give them is wrong. They may be opposed to this amendment, or they may be opposed to one provision in the bill, but the implication that they are opposed to any restrictions at all is wrong and the amendment offered by the Senator from Louisiana strips all controls—everything—strips everything off.

Mr. JOHNSTON. Will the Senator yield at that point?

Mr. HARKIN. I will if I have made a mistake.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator's time has expired. Six minutes remain for the proponents of the amendment.

Mr. JOHNSTON. Mr. President, I yield myself 30 seconds simply to say that my amendment strips only that part of the bill to which the State Department and the Department of Defense both object.

Mr. President, I yield 3 minutes to the distinguished Senator from Wyoming.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Wyoming is recognized for 3 minutes.

Mr. SIMPSON. Mr. President, I am aware of the time limitation. I just want the Senate to be very clear what we are voting on here. This is not a vote about whether or not we are concerned about human rights violations or transgression in the region of East Timor. We are rather voting about whether or not to place an explicit prohibition on the use by the Indonesian Government of any defense items which we send to them in East Timor.

The language in the underlying bill is very troubling. I appreciate that we have been able to successfully work at the committee level to remove the re-

strictions on IMET, that training which is in the House version. But there is a clear and disturbing indication that results from military sales language in the underlying bill. I think all of us would agree it would be inappropriate for us to restrict how other governments are able to use their defense weaponry to deal with insurgent activity within their borders. Arrogant intrusion.

I agree with Senator JOHNSTON that by drawing the line on East Timor, we are giving a kind of implicit endorsement to the principle that East Timor is not a part of Indonesia.

I fully recognize that many Members of this Senate believe in good conscience that East Timor is not and should not be a part of Indonesia. This is going much further than simply saying, as we should, that basic human rights ought to be respected there.

By including this language, we place the Senate on record on one side of a very fractious debate, and that is on a side in direct opposition to the Indonesian Government. Therefore, I urge my colleagues to be mindful of this while casting their votes.

I further echo the arguments of my colleague, Senator JOHNSTON, in noting that the language in the underlying bill contradicts the evolving administration policy toward Indonesia which is in the direction of more exchange, more involvement and more influence on human rights by the consequence of increased military and trade contacts.

I urge, if you can, go to Indonesia. See the changes made. Hear their leaders. Look at our own history, where in 1860 we had a civil war that makes that one, if it comes about, look like nothing. A country that has 300 languages—not dialects, but languages—and hundreds of ethnic groups. They know what will happen to their country when the breakup takes place. I think it is very important we not judge Indonesia by our own standards and try to let Indonesia judge itself and know that our best influence on their human rights is exchange and openness and trade and communication.

Mr. JOHNSTON. Mr. President, how much time remains?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator has 2 minutes 50 seconds remaining.

Mr. JOHNSTON. Mr. President, did the Senator from Kentucky want 1½ minutes?

Mr. MCCONNELL. I will just take a minute, I say to my friend.

There is no doubt that there is a human rights problem in East Timor. We are not here arguing about that. But the control the chairman is insisting on will not necessarily achieve the goal of improving that situation, and it may punish American companies seeking contracts and business opportunities.

Like China, I think it is a mistake to try to use commercial levers to fulfill human rights goals. While strict commercial sales are excluded, American

defense contractors would be penalized under this proposal.

So I hope that the amendment of the Senator from Louisiana will be approved.

Mr. President, I yield the floor.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Louisiana.

Mr. JOHNSTON. Mr. President, the Senator from Wyoming stated it properly. There are human rights concerns in Indonesia. By adopting the language that is contained in the bill, we are not endorsing the human rights violations in Indonesia. What we are doing by adopting the Johnston motion to strike is recognizing that the Secretary of State believes there has been a lot of progress in Indonesia, by recognizing that the Department of Defense thinks this is a very unworkable amendment that may restrict the sales of spare parts to C-130's, of which we sell many, many to Indonesia, spare parts to F-16's, spare parts to other things, and thereby render ourselves to be unreliable as the supplier to Indonesia.

Mr. President, the President of the United States is going to Indonesia this fall. This would be a matter of severe embarrassment to him, a major blow in our relationship with Indonesia. I say follow the Secretary of State, follow the Deputy Secretary of Defense, both of whom say this would be a big mistake and we ought to strike this language.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the following be added as cosponsors: The Senator from Virginia [Mr. WARNER]; the Senator from Kansas [Mr. DOLE]; the Senator from Virginia [Mr. ROBB]; the Senator from California [Mrs. FEINSTEIN]; the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. SIMPSON]; the Senator from Tennessee [Mr. MATHEWS]; the Senator from Alaska [Mr. STEVENS]; the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. THURMOND]; and the Senator from Florida [Mr. GRAHAM].

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mrs. FEINSTEIN. Mr. President, I rise to speak about the pending Johnston amendment to the foreign operations appropriations bill, which strikes language prohibiting the Indonesian Government from using United States military equipment in East Timor. This is a very complex issue that I have reviewed carefully.

On the one hand, there is no question that there are serious and continuing human rights abuses in Indonesia. While we now see the Indonesian Government opening up to visits by the International Committee of the Red Cross and withdrawing troops from East Timor, it has simultaneously moved to crack down on freedom of the press and labor activists.

On the other hand, Indonesia is an important ally of the United States in a strategic location. It is also a large and populous country that provides significant trade and investment opportunities for American companies.

The entire Pacific rim is particularly important to California business and industry.

With regard to the Johnston amendment, the pertinent question to ask is whether keeping the language restricting military sales to Indonesia would accomplish the goal of improving human rights in that country and in particular in East Timor. I believe that the answer to that question has to be "no."

There are also logistical concerns about whether it is practical to try to condition military sales on where the equipment will be used.

Secretary of State Christopher has stated that the administration is concerned about human rights in East Timor and will continue to engage the Indonesian Government aggressively on this important issue. I support Secretary Christopher's and the administration's efforts in this regard. In addition, as Secretary Christopher has explained, it is the State Department's current policy to deny license requests for sales of small and light arms and lethal crowd control items to Indonesia. This decision was made on the basis of concerns over Indonesia's past record in human rights, especially in East Timor.

With this in mind, I will vote for the Johnston amendment. As a general rule, I believe that trade is a force for economic liberalization and that it leads to democratization. Trade is a tool, but it must not be used as a blunt instrument to cudgel those nations that we wish to influence.

I ask unanimous consent that the letter from Secretary Christopher be printed in the RECORD.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE,
Washington, June 29, 1994.

Hon. PATRICK J. LEAHY,
Committee on Appropriations,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, DC.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: As you work on the FY 1995 Foreign Operations Appropriations bill, we would like to provide you with a clear statement of the Administration's policy towards Indonesia and reiterate our objections to language which would place restrictions on arms sales or transfers to that country.

This Administration is steadfastly pursuing the objective, shared with Congress, of promoting an improved human rights environment in East Timor and elsewhere in Indonesia. We are trying to pursue our agenda aggressively, working with Indonesians both inside and outside the Government, using our assistance, information, and exchange programs to achieve results. At the same time, we have raised our human rights concerns at the highest levels in meetings with Indonesia officials. As a direct expression of our concerns, our current policy is to deny license requests for sales of small and light arms and lethal crowd control items to Indonesia. In accordance with U.S. law, we make these decisions on a case-by-case basis, applying this general guidance.

East Timor remains a high priority for our human rights efforts in Indonesia. In 1993-94, there was considerably greater access to East Timor on the part of international groups such as the International Commission of Jurists, Human Rights Watch, foreign and

domestic journalists, parliamentarians, and diplomats. We understand that the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) is expanding its on-the-ground presence in East Timor and has, with the cooperation of government authorities, worked out satisfactory access arrangements for visits to detainees. The expanded USAID program includes projects designed to strengthen indigenous NGOs active in agriculture, health, vocational training, and microenterprise. On the security front, the Indonesian Government has reduced its troop levels in East Timor by two battalions. In East Timor, as well as elsewhere in Indonesia, we have seen evidence of improved military accountability and self-restraint under new military leadership.

We clearly recognize that more needs to be done. We continue to push for a full accounting for those missing from the 1991 shootings in East Timor and for reductions or commutations of sentences given to civilian demonstrators. We have also urged further reductions in troop levels and efforts at reconciliation which take into account East Timor's unique culture and history. But we do not see new restrictions on sales of defense equipment warranted by any deterioration in conditions; indeed we believe efforts to support military reform and promote military professionalism, discipline and accountability should be encouraged.

DMET restoration would be an important tool to this end. We therefore welcome the fact that the Senate Appropriations Committee language for the Foreign Operations Bill for FY 1995 would remove the existing legislative prohibition regarding DMET for Indonesia.

The United States has important economic, commercial, security, human rights, and political interests in Indonesia. Our challenge is to develop a policy that advances all our interests, that obtains positive results and reduces, to the extent possible, unintended negative effects. In this regard, the provision restricting military sales or transfers to Indonesia in the Foreign Operations Appropriations bill is unnecessary and inconsistent with our policy objectives in Indonesia.

Please be assured that we will continue to work aggressively to promote better human rights observance throughout Indonesia. We are committed to doing so in what we believe is a comprehensive, effective, and results-oriented manner, and will continue to keep in close contact with you and other Members interested in these matters.

Sincerely,

WARREN CHRISTOPHER.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. All time has expired. The question is on agreeing to the motion to table the committee amendment on page 34, line 19, beginning with the word "provided" through the words "East Timor" on line 25. The yeas and nays have been ordered. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk called the roll.
Mr. FORD. I announce that the Senator from Alaska [Mr. PRYOR] and the Senator from Michigan [Mr. RIEGLE] are necessarily absent.

I also announce that the Senator from Nevada [Mr. BRYAN] is absent because of attending a funeral.

Mr. SIMPSON. I announce that the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. CHAFEE] the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. COCHRAN] and the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. WALLOP] are necessarily absent.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. Are there any other Senators in the Chamber who desire to vote?

The result was announced—yeas 59, nays 35, as follows:

[Rollcall Vote No. 174 Leg.]

YEAS—59

Alaska	Faircloth	Mack
Baucus	Feinstein	Mathews
Bennett	Glenn	McCain
Bond	Gorton	McConnell
Boren	Graham	Mikulski
Breaux	Gramm	Nickles
Brown	Gregg	Nunn
Bumpers	Hatch	Packwood
Burns	Heflin	Presler
Byrd	Helms	Reid
Campbell	Hollings	Robb
Coats	Hutchison	Rockefeller
Cohen	Inouye	Roth
Conrad	Jeffords	Shelby
Coverdell	Johnston	Simpson
Craig	Kamelaum	Smith
Danforth	Kempthorne	Stevens
Dole	Kerry	Thurmond
Domenici	Lott	Warner
Exon	Lugar	

NAYS—35

Biden	Grassley	Moseley-Brann
Bingaman	Harkin	Moylan
Boxer	Hatfield	Murkowski
Bradley	Kennedy	Murray
D'Amato	Kerry	Pell
Daschle	Kohl	Sabance
DeConcini	Leahy	Sasser
Dodd	Levin	Simon
Dorgan	Lieberman	Specter
Durenberger	Metzenbaum	Wallstone
Felngold	Mitchell	Wofford
Ford		

NOT VOTING—6

Bryan	Cochran	Riegle
Chafee	Pryor	Wallop

So the motion to table was agreed to.

AMENDMENT NOS. 219 THROUGH 224, EN BLOC

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, I send a group of amendments to the desk, en bloc, and ask for their immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. LEVIN). Does the Senator request that the pending committee amendments be set aside?

Mr. LEAHY. Yes, I ask unanimous consent that they be laid aside so that these amendments may be considered.

I also ask unanimous consent that any statements relative to these amendments be placed appropriately in the RECORD.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The pending committee amendments will be laid aside.

The clerk will report the amendments, en bloc.

The legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Vermont [Mr. LEAHY] proposes amendments, en bloc, numbered 219 through 226.

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that reading of the amendments be dispensed with.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The amendments, en bloc, are as follows:

AMENDMENT NO. 219

(Purpose: To require a report on country development policies)

At the appropriate place, insert the following:

Arnold S. Kohen

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

June 28, 1994

Mr. Emilio da Silva
National Capital Bank

Dear Mr. da Silva,

As I indicated in our phone conversation, I would like to transfer the equivalent of 850 British pounds in the most inexpensive way possible to:

Mr. Hugh O'Shaughnessy
National Westminster Bank, 69 Baker Street,
London W1M 2AT. The bank "sort code" is 556 00 14 and Mr. O'Shaughnessy's account number is 00143863.

This should be charged to my National Capital checking account, number 1 237 5141.

Thank you for your assistance,

Arnold S. Kohen
Arnold S. Kohen

Arnold S. Kohen

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

June 26, 1994

Mr. David Munro
Mr. John Pilger
Central Television

(22) Pages

Dear David and John,

In answer to the questions you have received on Kissinger et al, here is the following information:

1. There is persuasive evidence that Kissinger and Ford gave the green light for the Indonesian invasion -- and persuasive evidence that a bloodbath took place. Amnesty International believes that widespread killing took place in the wake of the Indonesian invasion, and stated as much in a major 1985 report, noting that as many as 200,000 (of a population of less than 700,000) died as a result of the combined effects of Indonesian invasion. The New York Times used the 200,000 figure in a June 11, 1994 editorial, as have many other major newspapers. Some State Department officials have used the 200,000 figure privately. Other State Department officials have said it was at least 100,000, which certainly seems to qualify as a bloodbath, too.

Regarding Ford and Kissinger, the fact that they at the very least condoned the Indonesian invasion has been widely reported and never seriously challenged. Amidst the many citations one could give, there was a 1980 book called Suharto's Indonesia by Hamish McDonald, then working for The Far Eastern Economic Review (which is owned by Dow Jones and Co.). McDonald was reasonably friendly to the Indonesian regime. In pages I have attached, McDonald writes (p. 204) that Indonesian President Suharto returned from a July 1975 visit to Washington -- that is, a full five months before the Indonesian invasion -- "confident enough...to make his first public statement ruling out the feasibility of independence for East Timor." Of the "big wink" period in December 1975, McDonald writes that Kissinger (who after the invasion told the wire services that he understood Indonesia's position) "raised no objection to the intervention, stipulating only that the Indonesian did it "quickly, efficiently and don't use our weapons." The same quote came from the US Ambassador at the time. (Both were disingenuous. As the State Department later testified in Congress, "roughly 90 percent" of the weapons available to the Indonesians at the time were US-supplied. Expert testimony in Congress made it clear that the Indonesians could not have launched a major military operation without US-origin materiel.) In 1977 Congressional hearings, then US Rep. Donald Fraser (D-Minnesota) concluded after an inquiry of several months that Kissinger had acted in complicity with the

Indonesians on East Timor. So far as is known, no one ever refuted Fraser's formulation. (We do know, however, that the State Department refused to release memoranda that Rep. Fraser requested on conversations between Ford, Kissinger and Suharto in Dec. 1975.) The best that Kissinger's associates have been able to come up with is the contention that Kissinger did not encourage the invasion but also did not oppose it. But from what was known of US-Indonesian relations at the time, with the Suharto regime then hungering for US approval and financial assistance, even that would have been tantamount to a green light, in Indonesian eyes.

President Ford, for his part, when asked after his return from Indonesia about his attitude toward the invasion of East Timor, smiled and said, "We'll talk about that later," according to a report in the Boston Globe published at the time, for example. "The big wink" was how this attitude was characterized privately in State Department circles. It was well known within the State Department that Kissinger supported Indonesia on this question.

Additional information in Kissinger's own words surfaced much later, in 1990 in a leaked memorandum of conversation of a meeting of Kissinger and his aides in the weeks following the invasion of East Timor. This cable was later published in a 1992 biography of Kissinger by Time Magazine Assistant Managing Editor Walter Isaacson -- a biography that was reasonably friendly to Kissinger, it should be noted. The pages are attached, with the portions of the Dec. 18, 1975 minutes cited in the film. No one has ever publicly challenged Isaacson's account. By the way, Isaacson's account notes that the Indonesian operation in East Timor was "shockingly brutal" at the time of the Dec. 18, 1975 meeting -- less than two weeks after the attack was launched.

Neither Kissinger nor Ford have ever publicly challenged any of these points. Why the silence? Nor has anyone ever seriously questioned the veracity of the former CIA man who appears in "Death of a Nation." And, crucially, what he says merely corroborates and amplifies what we have long known from many other sources. This CIA man was privvy to what was going on in official US circles at the time. The fact that no one has attempted to put forth a serious rebuttal to what he has said speaks volumes, doesn't it?

As for Moynihan, the cable in question, which you have, was published in The New York Times in 1976. I sent a note to Roger James on this last February. It is attached. He appears to have accepted my explanation, because we heard nothing further from him on the matter. The Chomsky pages cited in my note to him are attached, too. Finally, there are the pages from Moynihan's 1978 memoirs, "A Dangerous Place." In these pages, which I think were reviewed by Roger James in February, Moynihan stated flatly (p. 247) that he deflected UN action on East Timor in 1975-76. He also

Page 3

makes it clear that large numbers of people were killed by the Indonesians in the first two months after the Dec. 1975 invasion alone. Moynihan even compared the percentage of people killed in East Timor in those two months to the percentage killed by the Nazis in the Soviet Union during World War II pp. 245-46) -- and that was in the early going, when it was thought that 60,000 East Timorese had perished, not 100,000 or 200,000.

All of this should satisfy the toughest of libel lawyers, I think. Let me know your reaction, via fax. My phone is out of order at the moment because of an electrical storm here.

All the best,

Arnold

PHILLIPS, NIZER, BENJAMIN, KRIM & BALLON

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May 20, 1994

VIA TELECOPIER

Colin Campbell, Esq.
Director of Legal Affairs
Central Independent Television plc
Central House, Broad Street
Birmingham B1 2JP
ENGLAND

Re: "Death of a Nation"

Dear Colin:

As discussed with you today, I arranged for the transfer of the PAL tape to U.S. VHS format. Upon initial review I would appreciate your supplying the back-up documentation on the following three items:

- President Gerald Ford and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger visited Indonesia and it is suggested a "Big Wink" took place, whereby Suharto was given a "green light". It is said that a "blood bath" followed. A former CIA operative suggests U.S. knowledge and involvement.

- Kissinger is portrayed in a meeting as worrying about his complicity and that various matters will be "used against me." Minutes of a meeting are quoted in part.

- U.N. Ambassador Moynihan (now U.S. Senator from New York) is said to have deflected U.N. action. A cable by Moynihan to Kissinger is partially quoted.

In addition to any other supporting data for the above, it would be helpful to review the Kissinger minutes and the Moynihan cable that are partially quoted.

As discussed, I will view the tape again to see if other areas require comment.

Doc #: 169068.1

S, NIZER, BENJAMIN, KRIM & BALLON

Colin Campbell, Esq.
May 20, 1994
Page 2

With all good wishes.

Sincerely,



Michael J. Silverberg

MJS:ca



TELEFAX.

TO: ARNOLD KOHEN
FAX NO: 0101-301-585-3288
FROM: DAVID MUNRO.
OUR FAX: (44-71)-580-7780.
DATE: 2ND JUNE 1994

2 PAGE(S) TO FOLLOW INC THIS SHEET

If you have any problems receiving this fax please call:
(44-71) 637-4602.

MESSAGE.

Dear Arnold,

As I am sure you are aware, we are at last very close to closing a US Theatrical release of "Death of a Nation" with Tara Leasing of Los Angeles. In order for the deal to be finalised the film has had to be checked for libel by a US law firm. They have come up with a couple of queries which we have to answer as soon as possible. Can you, as a matter of considerable urgency, get the following for us.

1. Any further substantiating evidence that Ford and or Kissinger gave Soeharto the "Green Light" for the invasion during their Jakarta visit.

2. Moynihan and the UN. Last week when Noam and John spoke at a public meeting here in London, Noam quoted the section from Moynihan's biography about his not "inconsiderable success" at blocking the UN. This we have. But Noam continued the quote, including a section where Moynihan went on to say that after this the slaughter, blood bath or some such phrase, continued. Can you please let us have the whole quote including this section about the blood bath continuing. Can you also, and this is just as important, get everything to substantiate the Moynihan cable to Kissinger on this subject.

Arnie, I'm sorry to have to come back to you on all this, but lawyers are lawyers and unless we provide material on these sections, at best the film will have to be cut, but at worst we



could lose the release. We cannot allow that to happen. We will be in the office most of the day so call and we'll call you back "on our dime".

As ever

Arnold S. Kohen

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

June 23, 1994

Mgr. Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo
Diocese of Dili

Senhor Bispo,

In its 1993 resolution on East Timor, the United Nations Commission on Human Rights urged the Indonesian government to invite the United Nations Special Rapporteur on Extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions "to visit East Timor and to facilitate the discharge of his mandate." Therefore, MR. BACRE WALY NDLAYE of Senegal is visiting East Timor in the first half of July 1994, according to the United Nations, "in order to examine situations of extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions" and "to enhance his dialogue with the Indonesian Government."

Mr. NDLAYE "intends to visit detention facilities...and to meet with individuals wishing to testify in their personal capacity."

It is my understanding that Mr. NDLAYE will contact you with regard to the general human rights situation in East Timor and violations of the right to life in East Timor. It is also my understanding that Mr. NDLAYE has a genuine interest in these matters and is very interested in receiving any information that you may be able to provide and in hearing your views.

It was very good to speak with you by phone from Strasbourg, France, last weekend. I hope that you are well, and will be in contact soon.

With best wishes from Senhora Korinna and Menina
Maia and myself,

Arnold Kohen



COPY

Catholic Institute for International Relations
Unit 3, Canonbury Yard,
190a New North Road, Islington, London N1 7BJ

22 June 1994

General Secretary: Ian Linden

Bishop Carlos Ximenes Belo
Apostolic Administrator
Diocese of Dili
East Timor

Dear Bishop Belo,

Representatives of human rights organisations and Christian Organisations and Churches from Great Britain, Holland, Belgium, France, Germany, Portugal and the United States of America met in Strasbourg from 17-19 June 1994 to discuss how we could best address the situation in East Timor.

We would like to express our deepest admiration for the strong support you give to your people and our appreciation of the difficulties you face daily.

We would in turn like to assure you of our own support and prayers. We have proposed a number of initiatives in support of the rights of the people of East Timor. We have also sent a letter to the Protestant churches of East Timor and the World Council of Churches in pursuit of dialogue on this matter.

We continue to work and pray for the peace and security of the East Timorese people.

We send our warmest greetings of solidarity to you and ask that you will pass our greetings to the East Timorese clergy and religious, as well as the Catholic Community.

Yours sincerely,

Catherine Scott
On behalf of all the participants of
The 6th Christian Consultation on East Timor

Arnold S. Kohen

7324 Baltimore Avenue
Takoma Park, Maryland 20912
Phone: 301-585-3229
FAX: 301-585-3288
June 22, 1994

Dear Mr. O'Shaughnessy,

A Catholic-oriented donor here has agreed to contribute 850 pounds sterling toward the cost of your fare to East Timor, the only condition being that this donation remain anonymous; Steve Alston is aware of it but he is the only one and I would ask that I not be associated with it, either publicly or privately; given my ties with the East Timorese Church, it is best that I maintain a low profile, and I would respectfully request that my name be kept out of it. If you must identify it to anyone, simply say that it is from a non-partisan donor who wishes to remain anonymous.

I am prepared to provide a letter of introduction to Bishop Belo. To the extent that I have any suggestions, it is my sense as a journalistic professional myself that in-depth profiles of Bishop Belo by you would be of considerable interest, the more detailed the better, and church as well as secular publications might be interested in such a profile. Recent phone interviews of Belo don't amount to much, frankly speaking.

Please let me know what you think of all this. If you need to contact someone before I am awake, there is always Steve Alston, who can convey the information to me, especially as to where funds may be transferred and dates on which you plan to travel.

Thank you for your attention.

Sincerely,





TROCAIRE The Catholic Agency for World Development

169 Booterstown Avenue,
Blackrock, Co. Dublin, Ireland

Tel: +353 1 288 5385
Projects Dept Fax: +353 1 283 6022

Arnold Kohen
East Timor Research Project
P.O. Box 32307,
Washington D.C. 20007
USA

20 June 1994

RE:

Dear Arnie,

Greetings from Dublin.

It was good to meet you again in Dublin and I hope the meeting in Strasbourg was fruitful. John Pilger had a very full house at Waterstones and gave Tom due credit for his project work.

Regarding the Documentary on Belo we have registered this as a new request and shall await your proposal document to follow up TIM00007.

Trocaire will look at the request for support for the video programme in the context of our own development education/campaigning programme and our review of International Projects.

As you know East Timor is a high priority country to lobbying/solidarity work and Trocaire has links with a number of groups. However, like all budgets our International budget is limited given the many demands placed on it.

Please advise us of the amount of funds committed to date to the video project, any cost changes, (eg. if T.V. stations reduce the price of film footage) and a plan of action on how this video will be distributed (ie. the T.V. stations etc is it likely to be broadcasted on)

Arnie, please send us the report and accounts for TIM00007 when you have had time to settle back and undertake these tasks. Enjoy the world cup (ole, ole, ole).

Best wishes from all here.

Yours sincerely,

Maura Leen
Projects Officer

The Boston Globe

Library

X2541.

RESEARCH FOR

Ann Berra

EXT

3019

TOPIC

☒ THE MATERIAL YOU REQUESTED IS ATTACHED.

☐ ABSTRACTS HAVE BEEN PROVIDED. PLEASE INDICATE WHICH ARTICLES YOU WOULD LIKE TO SEE IN FULL TEXT.

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• NOTES

RESEARCHER

ROSEMARIE

DATE

6/9

RANK 1 OF 10, PAGE 1 OF 2, DB BG4, DOCUMENT 330074
BOSTON GLOBE

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DATE: FRIDAY, November 25, 1994

PAGE: 26 EDITION: THIRD

SECTION: *EDITORIAL* PAGE

LENGTH: SHORT

RIGHTS AND WRONGS IN INDONESIA

At the Asian economic conference in Jakarta, President Clinton kept a promise to raise the issue of human rights abuses on*East*Timor*with Indonesia's President Suharto. Clinton also welcomed 29 East Timorese who came onto the grounds of the US Embassy in Jakarta to protest Indonesia's annexation of their land in 1976 -- an annexation still not recognized by the United Nations.

Clinton's expressions of solicitude for the people of*East*Timor*were commendable, but Suharto's regime has since demonstrated that its brutal treatment of the Timorese has not changed.

Indonesia must not be allowed to draw a curtain over occupied East Timor, where, in the aftermath of peaceful demonstrations, young people are being hunted and tortured by Suharto's army and security forces.

The leader of the Catholic Church in East Timor, Bishop Carlos Felipe Ximenes Belo, told The New York Times that in recent days Indonesian soldiers have "entered houses and arrested young people without any kind of

RANK 1 OF 10, PAGE 2 OF 2, DB BG4, DOCUMENT 330074
explanation." All those arrested were beaten, Bishop Belo said, and some were beaten so badly they had to be hospitalized.

The dragnet and beatings followed a violent attack on peaceful demonstrators that a BBC reporter described as a police provocation. Speaking from Dili, the capital of East Timor, the BBC's Phillip Short reported Monday: "The demonstration was peaceful until, suddenly, from the road that runs around the cathedral grounds, there was a volley of rocks thrown by plainclothes police. This was the provocation that turned the whole thing violent."

Suharto's regime has made the preposterous claim that foreign journalists incited Timorese to protest the occupation that wiped out an estimated 200,000 of the 700,000 people who lived in East Timor in 1975. Ominously, Jakarta has begun to expel foreign journalists from East Timor, as it did after the 1975 invasion.

Clinton should demand that journalists not be expelled and that a sufficient number of human rights monitors be allowed into East Timor to protect the Timorese.

BERGER;11/22

CAWLEY;11/25,19:31 ETIMOR25

KEYWORDS: EDITORIAL

INDONESIA

GOVERNMENT

US

RELATION

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RANK 2 OF 10, PAGE 1 OF 2, DB BG4, DOCUMENT 317080
BOSTON GLOBE

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DATE: SATURDAY, November 12, 1994

PAGE: 18 EDITION: THIRD

SECTION: *EDITORIAL* PAGE

LENGTH: SHORT

A CLINTON MISSION IN JAKARTA

"*East*Timor*remains a place where arbitrary detention and torture are routine and where basic freedoms of expression, association and assembly are nonexistent."

This description of Indonesian human rights abuses in*East*Timor*appeared in a recent report by Human Rights Watch Asia and was quoted in a letter to

President Clinton initiated by Sen. Claiborne Pell of Rhode Island, the outgoing Democratic chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and Republican Sen. Malcolm Wallop of Wyoming and signed by 30 senators.

The senators asked Clinton, politely but firmly, to raise the issue of Indonesian repression on East Timor when he meets with Indonesia's President Suharto this Wednesday during the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation summit in Jakarta. Because the Timorese have suffered genocidal horrors since Indonesia invaded in 1975 -- after receiving a green light from Gerald Ford and Henry Kissinger -- and since the horror continues, the letter from the senators and a similar letter from House members expressed an appropriate American desire

RANK 2 OF 10, PAGE 2 OF 2, DB BG4, DOCUMENT 317080
to make up for past complicity in Jakarta's colonization of East Timor.

As the lawmakers suggest, Clinton should urge Suharto not only to cease the torturing and killing of Timorese but to begin serious negotiations, under UN auspices, with the aim of ending Indonesia's occupation of East Timor. There have been pro forma talks between Jakarta and Portugal, the former colonial master of East Timor, and another set of such talks is scheduled for January. Thus far these talks have accomplished nothing. Unless they produce a genuine commitment to Indonesian withdrawal, they will amount to little more than dilatory conversations between the present and past colonizers of a people not allowed to determine their own fate.

If Clinton wishes to undertake a diplomatic process leading to the decolonization of East Timor, he should seek Japan's assistance. Like the United States, Japan has guilt to live down in regard to East Timor. The Japanese also share with the United States an interest in cultivating a stable Asia unstained by the horrors of colonialism.

BERGER;11/11 NKELLY;11/14,12:37 EJAKART12
KEYWORDS: EDITORIAL EAST TIMOR BILL CLINTON HUMAN RIGHT
END OF DOCUMENT.

RANK 3 OF 10, PAGE 1 OF 2, DB BG3, DOCUMENT 145014
BOSTON GLOBE

Copyright Globe Newspaper Company 1993

DATE: MONDAY, May 24, 1993

PAGE: 10 EDITION: THIRD

SECTION:*EDITORIAL*PAGE

LENGTH: SHORT

INDONESIAN INJUSTICE

As citizens of a nation founded on an anticolonial struggle, Americans have good reasons to identify with the people of*East*Timor*-- a people crushed under the boot of Indonesian occupation.

Though Americans have heard little about the genocidal crimes committed by the Indonesians since their invasion in 1975, a massacre of some 200 peaceful mourners at a memorial ceremony in November 1991 illuminated the agony of*East*Timor.*Now comes the trial and harsh sentence of the Timorese resistance leader Xanana Gusmao.

The blatant injustice of the judicial procedure staged by Indonesian authorities has been castigated by human rights organizations such as Amnesty International and Asia Watch. The trial of Xanana "failed to meet international standards of fairness or even to comply with Indonesia's own Code of Criminal Procedure," Amnesty found.

Witnesses were coerced into giving testimony against Xanana, Amnesty said. Those who refused were "subjected to intimidation and sanctions."

RANK 3 OF 10, PAGE 2 OF 2, DB BG3, DOCUMENT 145014

Xanana, who received a term of life imprisonment for the crime of rebellion, was prevented from continuing to read his 27-page defense plea after reading the first two pages. The Indonesian judge said his text was "irrelevant." But in that statement Xanana said he had been coerced into

rejecting a lawyer from the Indonesian Legal Aid Institute and accepting one from Indonesian military intelligence. He also said he had been forced to declare in public that he was an Indonesian citizen and had given up the struggle against Indonesia's annexation of East Timor.

Since "Indonesia's sovereignty over East Timor has not been recognized by the UN," Amnesty noted, "the competence of Indonesian courts to try Xanana Gusmao and other East Timorese is open to question." This is the heart of the matter. Until Indonesia's colonization of East Timor is ended, Americans should expect their president to demand that Xanana and all his colonized compatriots be safe from Indonesian violence.

BERGER;05/21 NKELLY;05/25,12:15 ETIMOR24
KEYWORDS: EDITORIAL INDONESIA EAST TIMOR HUMAN RIGHT
END OF DOCUMENT.

RANK 4 OF 10, PAGE 1 OF 2, DB BG3, DOCUMENT 65092
BOSTON GLOBE

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DATE: FRIDAY, March 5, 1993

PAGE: 10 EDITION: THIRD

SECTION: *EDITORIAL* PAGE

LENGTH: SHORT

CLOSED EYES ON *EAST*TIMOR*

During the presidential campaign, Bill Clinton lamented the "unconscionable" indifference previous administrations displayed toward Indonesian violations of human rights in the occupied territory of *East*Timor. He promised a change in American policy if he were elected.

Whether because of inertia, the confusion of a transition or a change of heart, US policy under Clinton seems to be no different from what it has been since the Indonesians first invaded and occupied *East*Timor*in 1975.

Since then, as many as 200,000 Timorese, out of a population of 700,000, have perished, victims of Indonesia's genocidal repression. Though the United Nations never recognized Indonesia's annexation of East Timor, successive US presidents bestowed arms, military training and diplomatic support on the Indonesian executioners.

Sad to say, US delegates to a meeting of the UN Human Rights Commission in Geneva reportedly lobbied this week against a resolution on East Timor prepared for the European Community by the Portuguese delegation. The EC

RANK 4 OF 10, PAGE 2 OF 2, DB BG3, DOCUMENT 65092
resolution calls on Indonesia to cease its abuse of human rights in East Timor, to honor its previous commitments, to allow access to human rights organizations and "to invite the special rapporteur on torture, the special rapporteur on extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions, the working groups on arbitrary detention and the working group on involuntary disappearances to visit East Timor."

Following policy guidelines established last fall by the Bush administration, the American delegates in Geneva left other nations' delegates in no doubt that they found the Portuguese resolution too strong and instead wanted a mild "consensus statement" like the one produced last year.

Indonesia's crimes against humanity are no less repugnant than those committed in Bosnia or Iraq. If Clinton truly wants America to become a protector of human rights, he must change the Bush policy on East Timor.

BERGER;03/04 LDRISC;03/05,18:09 ETIMOR05
KEYWORDS: EAST TIMOR
END OF DOCUMENT.

RANK 5 OF 10, PAGE 1 OF 3, DB BG2, DOCUMENT 330012
BOSTON GLOBE

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DATE: WEDNESDAY, November 25, 1992

*EAST*TIMOR'S*CAPTIVE LEADER

At some jail in occupied*East*Timor,*or perhaps at a military base in Jakarta, Indonesian interrogators are working over Jose Alexandre Gusmao, the East Timorese resistance leader known to his people as Xanana. He was captured last Friday at the home of a Timorese family. The Indonesians are holding Xanana and seven members of the family, including a 74-year-old woman, Rufina Conceicao Araujo, incommunicado.

Because the Indonesian security forces have a record of torturing and murdering Timorese taken into custody, the detention of Xanana and the Araujas has induced Asia Watch and Amnesty International to issue urgent appeals, calling on the Indonesian authorities to allow the captives to be visited by representatives of the International Committee of the Red Cross and to be represented at their interrogations by lawyers of their own choosing.

The military regime of Gen. Suharto, acting in a manner consistent with its history of thuggish behavior, has denied the appeals from the human rights organizations. A spokesman said Xanana was ''undergoing intensive

RANK 5 OF 10, PAGE 2 OF 3, DB BG2, DOCUMENT 330012
questioning'' by military interrogators, and ''for the time being'' nobody would be permitted to see him.

This hint that Xanana's incommunicado detention might be ended -- when the interrogators are finished with him -- would be reassuring were it not for Jakarta's genocidal record in East Timor since Indonesian troops first invaded the territory in 1975.

Knowing that the Indonesians have been responsible for the killing of between 100,000 and 200,000 Timorese (as much as a third of the population that existed in 1975), Portugal's president, Mario Soares, appealed ''to the conscience of the world . . . to be alert and watchful so that Xanana Gusmao's life is not put at risk.''

Although President Bush, like his predecessors, has given military and diplomatic support to the Suharto regime, it is rumored that the State Department has passed word to Jakarta that Xanana must not be murdered in captivity.

The warnings addressed to Jakarta by foreign leaders, whether conveyed in public or private, reflect the fact that Xanana's capture has a political as well as a human-rights dimension. He is regarded by most Timorese not merely as the political and military leader of their resistance struggle but as a beloved and respected symbol of their colonized nation.

Like Nelson Mandela in South Africa, Xanana would be the choice of his people to represent them in negotiations with the Indonesian rulers of their

RANK 5 OF 10, PAGE 3 OF 3, DB BG2, DOCUMENT 330012
land. And if those negotiations resulted in internationally recognized self-determination for East Timor, Xanana could become his country's first elected head of government.

Indeed, representatives of Indonesia and Portugal are scheduled to resume talks about the future of East Timor on Dec. 17. These talks are being held under the auspices of UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, who has tried to transform them from an empty formality into substantive negotiations that will give a participatory role to a representative of the East Timorese people.

If the Indonesians were wise, they would release Xanana and allow him to go abroad. They would then invite him to represent his people in negotiations to end a colonial occupation that has caused unimaginable suffering for the Timorese and brought dishonor upon the colonialist power.

BERGER;11/23 LDRISC;11/25,15:04 ETIMOR
KEYWORDS: EAST TIMOR

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RANK 6 OF 10, PAGE 1 OF 2, DB BG2, DOCUMENT 318124
BOSTON GLOBE

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DATE: FRIDAY, November 13, 1992

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SECTION: *EDITORIAL*PAGE

LENGTH: SHORT

AN UNREMEMBERED MASSACRE

A year has passed since Indonesian troops fired in cold blood on mourners at a cemetery in*East*Timor,*killing 200 or more unarmed people. Because the massacre at the Santa Cruz Cemetery was filmed by a British cameraman and shown in many countries, Indonesia's genocidal policies in*East*Timor*were visible to the outside world for the first time in 15 years.

Despite the justified outrage of distant witnesses, protests from foreign legislators and governments and documented accounts of the atrocity from human rights organizations, the Indonesian regime of Gen. Suharto has neither brought the killers to justice nor ceased its systematic repression of the Timorese.

Indeed, Amnesty International said last week that "the human rights situation in East Timor has not improved in the year since the Santa Cruz massacre." Amnesty found that Indonesia has "failed utterly to honor the letter and spirit of various United Nations statements and recommendations with respect to East Timor."

RANK 6 OF 10, PAGE 2 OF 2, DB BG2, DOCUMENT 318124

As if to validate Amnesty's findings, the new Indonesian governor of East Timor was quoted in the Indonesian legal magazine Forum Keadilan saying: "In my opinion there should have been more people killed. Why did only that number die? Why not all 1,000?"

The governor's comment on the Santa Cruz massacre was a crude expression of his government's remorseless attitude toward the conquered people of East Timor. Since Suharto launched his invasion in 1975, a few hours after being toasted by President Gerald Ford and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, the Indonesian occupiers have caused the deaths of 200,000 Timorese -- one-third of the population.

Because the Indonesian forces committed their murders with American weapons and without complaint from Washington, the United States has a special obligation to insist that Suharto honor the United Nations' repeated calls for Timorese self-determination.

BERGER;11/11 NIGRO ;11/13,08:45 ETIMOR

KEYWORDS: EDITORIAL INDONESIA EAST TIMOR HUMAN RIGHT

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RANK 7 OF 10, PAGE 1 OF 3, DB BG2, DOCUMENT 52095
BOSTON GLOBE

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DATE: FRIDAY, February 21, 1992

PAGE: 14 EDITION: THIRD

SECTION: *EDITORIAL*PAGE

LENGTH: MEDIUM

THE INDONESIAN COVER-UP

There was macabre irony in the location of the press briefing Indonesia's foreign minister, Ali Alatas, gave yesterday at the National Press Club. Alatas has been touring nations that donate \$5 billion in international aid yearly to Indonesia, trying to control the damage his government did to itself by covering up a November massacre of unarmed civilians on*East*Timor.*He met selected journalists in the First Amendment Room.

The irony is macabre because journalists were banned from*East*Timor*for

many years, so that they could not report on Indonesia's genocidal liquidation of between 100,000 and 200,000 Timorese. The November slaughter of 100 or more Timorese mourners at a cemetery became a diplomatic problem for the Suharto regime because Western reporters and photographers witnessed the unprovoked, cold-blooded murders perpetrated by Indonesian troops.

Some of the journalists present were brutally beaten and threatened with death. Their notebooks were seized, and many Timorese whose names were found in the notebooks were later arrested, interrogated, tortured, and charged with

RANK 7 OF 10, PAGE 2 OF 3, DB BG2, DOCUMENT 52095
subversion (which can carry a death penalty under Indonesian law).

Alatas is in Washington to convince legislators, human rights groups and the press that a report on the massacre issued by his government's Commission of Inquiry should absolve Indonesia of any further blame or responsibility. Amnesty International found the Indonesian inquiry "fatally flawed" and decried its findings as "unacceptable."

Amnesty said: "The Commission of Inquiry gave undue credence to military accounts of the incident while ignoring or misconstruing independent evidence, including eyewitness testimony, which contradicts the official version. Such evidence suggests that the actions of the security forces were not a spontaneous reaction to a riotous mob, but a planned military operation, conducted according to normal operating procedures."

The Indonesian cover-up must be rejected -- not merely in the interest of historical accuracy, but because the people of East Timor continue to be arrested, tortured and intimidated in the aftermath of the cemetery killings. Catholic priests have been prime targets of the repression. Timorese say their only protection from Indonesia's army of occupation is the outside world -- particularly the US government.

Political and economic pressure on the Suharto regime can save individual lives in Timor -- a nation that was invaded and annexed in 1975 in the same way that Kuwait was invaded and annexed by Saddam Hussein. To save Timor as a nation, the US should work for a UN-supervised referendum on Timorese self-

RANK 7 OF 10, PAGE 3 OF 3, DB BG2, DOCUMENT 52095
determination.

BERGER;02/19 NKELLY;02/21,09:28 ETIMOR
KEYWORDS: EDITORIAL INDONESIA GOVERNMENT NAME-ALATAS HUMAN RIGHT
END OF DOCUMENT.

RANK 8 OF 10, PAGE 1 OF 2, DB BG1, DOCUMENT 328050
BOSTON GLOBE

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DATE: SATURDAY, November 23, 1991

PAGE: 22 EDITION: THIRD

SECTION:*EDITORIAL*PAGE

LENGTH: SHORT

UNYOKING THE TIMORESE

Much to its credit, the US Senate has passed a strong resolution condemning the unprovoked massacre of civilians in*East*Timor*by soldiers of Indonesia's army of occupation.

Not only did the resolution note this and previous abuses of Timorese human rights by the Indonesian colonizers; it also broke ground by asking President Bush to support appointment by the United Nations of "a special rapporteur to assist in the resolution of the East Timorese conflict in pursuit of the right of self-determination by the East Timorese people."

It has been 16 years since the corrupt regime of President Suharto invaded and annexed East Timor. During those years, the occupation forces committed crimes tantamount to genocide. As many as 200,000 Timorese, out of a population of 600,000, were killed, according to human rights organizations, diplomats and scholars.

Several congressional resolutions have been passed lamenting and condemning Indonesia's crimes against humanity, but Senate Resolution 77 was

RANK 8 OF 10, PAGE 2 OF 2, DB BG1, DOCUMENT 328050
the first to address the cause of East Timor's agony. Forged with the concurrence of liberal Democrats and conservative Republicans, the resolution went beyond mere hand-wringing to propose the only effective salvation for East Timor: an international effort to make Indonesia grant the Timorese self-determination.

Because US administrations beginning with President Ford's have armed and supported the Suharto regime, the resolution signifies a long-overdue rebuke of American collaboration with an aggressor and the renunciation of a Cold War policy rooted in shameless realpolitik.

However, under the influence of Rep. Stephen Solarz of New York, a parallel resolution in the House was being amended yesterday to eliminate the Senate's forthright call for American support of Timorese self-determination. Solicitude for client aggressors is apparently not confined to the White House.

BERGER;11/22 JOBE ;11/23,13:14 EETIMOR
KEYWORDS: EDITORIAL INDONESIA
END OF DOCUMENT.

RANK 9 OF 10, PAGE 1 OF 2, DB BG1, DOCUMENT 323028
BOSTON GLOBE

Copyright Globe Newspaper Company 1991

DATE: MONDAY, November 18, 1991

PAGE: 10 EDITION: THIRD

SECTION:*EDITORIAL*PAGE

LENGTH: SHORT

*EAST*TIMOR,*SYMBOL OF US SHAME

When Indonesian occupation troops fired without warning into a funeral procession in the capital of*East*Timor,*killing 180 mourners, they illustrated in microcosm the pattern of massacres, dispossession and human rights abuse that followed Jakarta's 1976 annexation of*East*Timor.*

This atrocity has drawn perfunctory condemnations from the United States, the European Community, Australia and Portugal, whose retreat from*East*Timor* after 300 years of colonial domination left the island's largely Catholic population prey to new invaders from Muslim Indonesia.

The condemnations were meaningless because they left investigation of the slaughter to the Indonesian perpetrators. They also carried no threat of sanctions to deter President Suharto's regime from policies that have caused the death of between 100,000 and 200,000 Timorese.

Indonesian rule in East Timor is comparable to the mass murder of Cambodians by the Khmer Rouge. Indonesia's invasion and annexation of East Timor rivals China's capture of Tibet or Saddam Hussein's foiled grab for Kuwait.

RANK 9 OF 10, PAGE 2 OF 2, DB BG1, DOCUMENT 323028

More to the point for Americans, Indonesia's rape of East Timor was accomplished with US arms -- and with an indulgent wink from President Ford and his secretary of state, Henry Kissinger, who had been visiting the rulers of Jakarta in December 1975, a few hours before the Indonesian invasion of East Timor was launched.

The agony of East Timor stands as a shameful symbol of American hypocrisy toward Third World peoples. With the Cold War ended, President Bush could end the hypocrisy by insisting on an international investigation of human rights abuses in East Timor and a UN-supervised plebiscite on Timorese independence.

BERGER;11/14 CORCOR;11/18,21:47 ETIMOR
KEYWORDS: EDITORIAL US EAST TIMOR RELATION
END OF DOCUMENT.

DATE: SATURDAY December 8, 1990

PAGE: 26 EDITION: THIRD

SECTION: *EDITORIAL*PAGE

LENGTH: SHORT

*EAST*TIMOR'S*KILLING FIELDS

Fifteen years ago, Indonesia invaded*East*Timor,*annexing the former Portuguese colony and waging a merciless war against the indigenous independence movement Fretilin. In the first year of occupation, the Indonesians killed off more than 100,000 Timorese from a population of 700,000. The predominantly Roman Catholic people of*East*Timor*died in combat, in man-made famine and in concentration camps. The scale of their suffering is commensurate with the agony of Cambodians during the rule of Pol Pot.

Now more than ever, Indonesia's conquest of*East*Timor*deserves attention and understanding. According to Asia Watch, the Timorese continue to be subjected to arbitrary arrest, torture and other human rights abuses. Their land is being stolen by a corrupt military administration, and Indonesian settlers are colonizing their country.

Americans should heed the plight of East Timor because they might be able to alleviate the suffering of its people. Last month, 223 US representatives signed a letter to Secretary of State James Baker deploring Indonesian

RANK 10 OF 10, PAGE 2 OF 2, DB BG0, DOCUMENT 343113
repression and massacres and asking that the US ''use its influence'' to protect the Timorese.

The parallel between Indonesia's annexation of East Timor and Iraq's annexation of Kuwait suggests a crucial lesson for Americans -- a lesson about the moral and political reasons for a foreign policy without double standards.

The invasion of East Timor was launched hours after President Gerald Ford and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger flew out of Jakarta, the Indonesian capital, and three months after Kissinger had signaled to the Indonesians that the US would not object to an invasion.

In 1975, Cold War obsessions made US leaders complicit with Indonesia's violation of international law and the UN charter. If such ''naked aggression'' is wrong now, it was wrong then. If it is now right to defend the Kuwaitis, it is also right to defend the Timorese.

BERGER;12/05

CORCOR;12/09,19:25

ETIMOR

KEYWORDS: EDITORIAL

EAST TIMOR

GOVERNMENT

POLITIC

END OF DOCUMENT.

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DATE: TUESDAY November 1, 1988

PAGE: 12 EDITION: THIRD

SECTION: *EDITORIAL*PAGE

LENGTH: SHORT

***EAST*TIMOR'S*HUMAN RIGHTS**

Since the advent of Mikhail Gorbachev, US efforts to ameliorate human rights in the Soviet bloc have achieved identifiable successes. Raising an outcry about Soviet human rights violations, however, takes less political fortitude than does insisting that a strategic ally of Washington stop torturing and massacring victims of its dominion.

Fortitude of the latter kind is invoked by two letters sent to Secretary of State George Shultz. A letter signed by 47 senators and another signed by 182 congressmen asks the executive branch to exert its influence with Indonesia to protect the human rights of the predominantly Roman Catholic population of *East*Timor.*That former Portuguese colony was invaded in 1975 by Indonesian troops using US weapons -- only hours after President Gerald Ford and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger had departed from Jakarta.

The senators' letter requests that relief organizations be permitted to "expand their operations to help provide relief and protection to the civilian population throughout East Timor." Until now, the Indonesian

RANK 14 OF 19, PAGE 2 OF 2, DB BG8, DOCUMENT 65541
military and intelligence forces have restricted the agencies' access to a population that has suffered terror on a scale comparable to the Khmer Rouge depredations in Cambodia. International human rights organizations estimate that more than 150,000 Timorese -- out of a population of 700,000 -- perished as a consequence of the Indonesian invasion, as well as the repression and the Jakarta-induced famine that followed.

The representatives' letter cites Pope John Paul II's call for "respect for the ethnic, religious and cultural identity of the Timorese people." Both letters plead for an end to persecution of the Catholic clergy and ask that the State Department help end the torture of Timorese political prisoners and that the US foster a just and peaceful solution to the conflict.

While recognizing the strategic considerations that mold US policy toward Indonesia, the lawmakers evince the political courage to demand an American human rights standard that would be the same for client dictatorships and communist regimes.

BERGER;10/31 NIGRO ;11/01,07:42 ETIMOR

KEYWORDS: EDITORIAL TIMOR HUMAN RIGHT

END OF DOCUMENT.

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DATE: SUNDAY April 19, 1987

PAGE: A26 EDITION: THIRD

SECTION: *EDITORIAL*PAGE

LENGTH: SHORT

SLAUGHTERS OF THE INNOCENT

The 20th century may be remembered as the time of the genocides. More than a million Armenians perished in the Ottoman Empire at the beginning of the century. Seven million Ukrainians were put to death by Stalin's order, in a famine organized by the Soviet state. Then Hitler erected death factories such as Auschwitz and Treblinka to process the orderly, bureaucratic murder of six million Jews.

Since the fall of the Third Reich, there have been slaughters of the

innocent in Biafra and Bangladesh, in*East*Timor*and Guatemala. Among recent genocides, the one most likely to haunt Americans took place in Cambodia, where the communist Khmer Rouge killed more than a million people.

Richard Nixon's ''secret'' bombing of Cambodia and the American-sponsored overthrow of Prince Sihanouk prepared the way for the nightmare depicted in ''The Killing Fields,'' the cinematic story of one Cambodian, Dith Pran, who survived the mass murders of the Khmer Rouge regime.

Last week, Dith Pran was among 200 survivors who called on the nations of

RANK 15 OF 19, PAGE 2 OF 2, DB B84, DOCUMENT 299418
the world to arraign the Khmer Rouge leaders before the World Court. The survivors presented examples of the evidence of genocide recovered from Khmer Rouge files after the Vietnamese invasion of December 1978. Signed execution orders and logs, signed reports of torture and stacks of ghoulish photographs -- these were the incriminating vestiges of another 20th-century crime against humanity.

The survivors asked governments to utilize the provisions of the Geneva Convention on the Prevention of the Crime of Genocide for the first time. Standing alongside representatives of other peoples who have been subjected to the same crime -- Armenians, Jews, Baha'is -- the Cambodians politely requested that President Reagan ''make plans and preparations for legal and diplomatic action against the Khmer Rouge genocide.''

The Reagan administration recognizes as the legitimate government of Cambodia a coalition dominated by the Khmer Rouge, commanded by the same men who presided over the butchery of 1975-78. Reagan's policy constitutes a shameful coda to actions that burdened America with a portion of responsibility for the genocide in Cambodia.

BERGER;04/13 NIGRO ;04/20,09:50 ECAMBODI
KEYWORDS: CAMBODIA EDITORIAL GOVERNMENT HUMAN RIGHT
END OF DOCUMENT.

RANK 16 OF 19, PAGE 1 OF 3, DB B84, DOCUMENT 222299
B O S T O N G L O B E
Copyright Globe Newspaper Company 1986
DATE: FRIDAY May 2, 1986
PAGE: 14 EDITION: THIRD
SECTION: *EDITORIAL*PAGE LENGTH: MEDIUM

THE TIMOR TRAGEDY

Yesterday, President Reagan met with the Indonesian dictator, General Suharto, whose forces invaded*East*Timor*in 1975 hours after another US president, Gerald Ford, and his secretary of state, Henry Kissinger, had left Jakarta. During the past decade, between 100,000 and 200,000 human beings have perished in*East*Timor,*victims of a brutal colonization campaign carried out with American weapons.

On the eve of his visit to Indonesia, Reagan had said he was ''bearing a message of freedom.'' If he wished to deliver a true message of freedom, he would have heeded a plea from 125 members of Congress ''to add the plight of the people of*East*Timor*to your agenda.''

Reagan raised the issue of Vietnam's invasion and occupation of Cambodia in talks with Asian leaders in Bali. Yet White House spokesmen say the president did not discuss the ''touchy'' issue of Indonesia's invasion and occupation of East Timor.

The selective silence of the president suggests a shameful double standard.

RANK 16 OF 19, PAGE 2 OF 3, DB B84, DOCUMENT 222299
As the members of Congress said in their letter to Reagan, the Indonesian invaders have been guilty of ''atrocities such as disappearances, summary executions, torture and forced birth control.'' The percentage of the East Timorese population killed by Suharto's army equals or surpasses the

percentage of the Cambodian population killed during the reign of Pol Pot.

Are the lives of people in East Timor any less precious than the lives of Cambodians? Are the crimes of a US ally any less despicable than the crimes of a communist enemy?

American complicity with the genocidal assault on East Timor encompasses not only the steady stream of US armaments Jakarta has used in the conquest of Portugal's former colony, but also a disgraceful record of diplomatic silence -- or collaboration. Successive administrations have sided with Indonesia when the East Timor question has been raised at the United Nations. Year after year, the State Department has discovered improvement in the human rights situation, while nonpartisan organizations such as Amnesty International have found "a consistent pattern of violations of human rights in East Timor."

Pope John Paul II, in accepting the credentials of a new Indonesian ambassador to the Vatican in 1984, issued an impassioned plea for the protection of basic human rights in East Timor. Echoing that plea, the congressional letter asked that relief organizations be permitted to visit Timorese in "hidden" prisons and concentration camps; that Indonesia cease its "intimidation" of the Catholic Church in East Timor; and that the

RANK 16 OF 19, PAGE 3 OF 3, DB B84, DOCUMENT 222299
president "encourage efforts to bring about a fair and peaceful settlement of the East Timor conflict."

The Indonesian army is reportedly preparing a new offensive against East Timor. A president willing "to bring to bear on the Timor tragedy the prestige and moral influence of the United States," as the congressional letter requested, could have atoned for America's past complicity with crimes against humanity, and might also have prevented fresh crimes.

Reagan would then have delivered a true message of freedom, engaging the American nation on the side of human rights. He would have demonstrated to the peoples of Asia and the world that an American president need not value strategic convenience above human life. He would have proved that Americans cherish freedom of religion and freedom of expression not merely in Managua and Moscow, but everywhere.

BERGER;04/29,16:40 CORCOR;05/02,14:38 ETIMOR
KEYWORDS: RONALD REAGAN TRIP EDITORIAL HUMAN RIGHT
END OF DOCUMENT.

RANK 17 OF 19, PAGE 1 OF 3, DB B84, DOCUMENT 193757
B O S T O N G L O B E

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DATE: SATURDAY December 28, 1985

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SECTION: *EDITORIAL*PAGE

LENGTH: MEDIUM

*EAST*TIMOR:*HIDDEN GENOCIDE

Today, Christians commemorate the feast of the Slaughter of the Holy Innocents, King Herod's extermination of male infants, One of whom who might have been a political threat to his reign. Ten years ago this month, Indonesia invaded the former Portuguese colony of*East*Timor,*establishing a brutal occupation and declaring a unilateral annexation.

The suffering of the Timorese people compares with the worst crimes against humanity in this century. The Indonesian regime killed off between 100,000 and 200,000 people from a population estimated at 650,000 before the invasion.

Particularly shameful has been the silence, or complicity, of the international community. Amnesty International has documented "a consistent pattern of violations of human rights in East Timor," including extra-judicial executions, widespread torture and "disappearances."

"These violations of human rights have occurred in a situation in which the fundamental freedoms of expression, assembly, association and movement do not exist."

The head of the Catholic Church in Timor (where most people are Catholic) has described systematic Indonesian programs to expunge Timorese culture and identity; to curtail religious freedom; and, most recently, to impose a birth control program on the decimated Timorese population by distributing contraceptive pills and devices.

Although church leaders and Pope John Paul II have spoken out against the violations of human rights in Timor, the Indonesian regime has succeeded in drawing a curtain around its captured colony and cajoling other governments into accepting, as a matter of Realpolitik, the subjugation of the Timorese.

Jakarta has restricted and controlled access to the island by humanitarian organizations, journalists and diplomats. Outsiders allowed to visit during lulls in the fighting between Indonesian troops and Fretilin, the nationalist resistance forces, are guided and indoctrinated by their Indonesian hosts, in a manner reminiscent of tours once provided to visitors in Stalin's Russia.

Strategic considerations, oil-exploration contracts and political blackmail have persuaded many nations to condone or accept Indonesian annexation of Timor. Liberal democracies ignore the "resettlement camps" that resemble concentration camps; developing nations emerging from their own anti-colonial struggles wink at Indonesia's colonization of Timor, treating envoys of the island's independence movement as inconvenient troublemakers.

The government of Australia accepts Indonesian sovereignty on East Timor while it negotiates with Jakarta for the development of offshore oil deposits.

New Zealand's prime minister, David Lange, praised the "economic well-being" and "liberty" of the Indonesian occupation so hypocritically that the Fretilin representative at the UN was provoked to retort: "As long as nuclear weapons pose a threat to the Anglo-Saxons in New Zealand and Australia then Lange is concerned . . . but when there is a military dictatorship in the region waging conventional war with weapons supplied by Western countries, then I hear no similar concern being expressed on the world stage by Mr. Lange."

No nation has been more complicit with the Indonesian crimes in East Timor than the United States. The original invasion was launched hours after former President Ford and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger had concluded a visit to Jakarta. The Indonesians invaded with military equipment supplied by Washington, and throughout the past decade US governments have accepted Indonesia's colonization of Timor while the State Department repeatedly defined the agony of the Timorese as an improvement in the human rights situation.

The shame of Indonesia's conquest of East Timor is shared by an American administration that wants to lament human rights violations in Cuba, Poland and the Soviet Union. To earn that right, the US must first dissociate itself from the genocide committed in East Timor by its Indonesian ally.

BERGER;12/18,15:21 NKELLY;12/29,20:26 ETIMOR

KEYWORDS: EDITORIAL EAST TIMOR RELATION INDONESIA

B O S T O N G L O B E

Copyright Globe Newspaper Company 1984

DATE: WEDNESDAY July 11, 1984

PAGE: EDITION: N

SECTION: *EDITORIAL* PAGE

LENGTH: SHORT

A LETTER FOR THE SECRETARY

Secretary of State George Shultz arrives today in Indonesia to participate in meetings of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). A bipartisan group of 123 members of Congress has signed a letter urging Shultz

to raise with the Indonesian government the legal and human rights issue of
*East*Timor.*

In December of 1975, the day after President Gerald Ford and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger departed from Jakarta, Indonesian armed forces invaded the island of*East*Timor*to crush an independence movement and to annex the former Portuguese colony. The Indonesian war of conquest has been going on for nearly nine years now, and in that time the primarily Roman Catholic Timorese people have suffered from merciless massacres, torture, the bombing of villages and the systematic destruction of their food supply. The Indonesian assault has caused the deaths of between 100,00 and 200,000 people - from a population of less than 700,000.

Some 90 percent of the weapons used to carry out the invasion were

RANK 18 OF 19, PAGE 2 OF 2, DB B83, DOCUMENT 172832
supplied by Washington. Succeeding administrations continued to supply American arms; made false and misleading statements about improvements in the human rights situation on the island; and defended the Indonesian position in the United Nations, where Indonesia was condemned eight years in a row.

The congressmen's letter proposed that Shultz ask the Indonesians to allow independent journalists as well as church officials and human rights workers to visit the island, which has been sealed off from nearly all outside contact. The congressmen asked that the Red Cross be given access to the victims of famine and violence. They also asked Shultz to raise "the issue of the church's right to exist in East Timor free of persecution and harassment."

The letter writers suggest that support for the Indonesian invasion of East Timor places America in the same position as those countries that support the Soviet conquest of Afghanistan.

The congressmen expressed the hope that Shultz would press for "an equitable settlement of the conflict in East Timor." This would mean telling the Indonesians to permit the Timorese to decide their own fate. Nothing could be more consistent with the original, anticolonial spirit of the American Revolution.

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RANK 19 OF 19, PAGE 1 OF 3, DB B83, DOCUMENT 130385
B O S T O N G L O B E

Copyright Globe Newspaper Company 1983

DATE: MONDAY November 28, 1983

PAGE: EDITION: N

SECTION:*EDITORIAL*PAGE

LENGTH: MEDIUM

THE MALIGN NEGLECT OF*EAST*TIMOR*

On Dec. 7, 1975 Indonesia invaded the former Portuguese colony of*East*Timor.*The invasion was launched just hours after then-President Gerald Ford and his Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger, had left the Indonesian capital of Jakarta. Ford later acknowledged that he was informed about the invasion before it began, but said the Indonesians told him nothing about the details.

What Ford knew and when he knew it remains important because for several years, while the Indonesians engaged in a genocidal slaughter of the Timorese, US officials followed a policy of hearing and seeing no evil.

The evil done in East Timor is commensurate with the horrors of Biafra, Bangladesh and Cambodia. American governments have pursued policies which condone and support Indonesia's "final solution" for East Timor.

The US supplied 90 percent of the arms used in the Indonesian invasion. This use of American weapons to annex East Timor was, and is, a flagrant violation of the US-Indonesian Mutual Defense Agreement of 1958 which states that US arms are to be used "solely for legitimate national defense," and it

RANK 19 OF 19, PAGE 2 OF 3, DB B83, DOCUMENT 130385

is self-evident that the Government of Indonesia interprets the term legitimate self-defense' as excluding an act of aggression against any other state."

Among the US weapons provided to the Indonesians, the most notorious has been Rockwell International's OV-10 Bronco aircraft. In 1977 and 1978 the Indonesians used the Bronco for incendiary bombing that caused the wholesale murder of civilians, simultaneously destroying crops and engendering mass starvation.

Whole villages were wiped out; their inhabitants were massacred or herded into concentration camps. Of a Timorese population of 650,000 to 700,000 before the 1975 invasion, between 150,000 and 200,000 have been killed. The rough equivalent for the United States would be a foreign invasion that caused the deaths of 50 million people.

If the US government wanted to stop the slaughter, it would be stopped. The arms supply could be cut off and Washington could apply diplomatic pressure. The record shows that American leaders have done just the opposite. They have helped draw a curtain of silence around the island of East Timor.

State Department spokesmen have repeatedly certified improvements in the human rights situation on East Timor even as more victims were dying. US representatives have opposed efforts at the United Nations to safeguard Timorese independence. For the sake of an overblown "strategic" cooperation with the military regime that rules Indonesia, America continues to send new

RANK 19 OF 19, PAGE 3 OF 3, DB B83, DOCUMENT 130385
murder weapons to East Timor.

This September, the Indonesians mounted another brutal offensive against East Timor. The Indonesian armed forces commander, Benny Murdani, promised that there would be "no mercy" for the Timorese people, whose only crime is their desire for independence.

In an effort to curtail American complicity in this slaughter, a bipartisan group of 37 congressmen has signed a letter urging President Reagan to engage in "constructive diplomacy" to "prevent further bloodshed and misery in East Timor."

After eight years of unimaginable Timorese suffering, it is time for the American people and their representatives to demand an end to the hidden holocaust that has been carried out with their government's assent.

BERGER;11/22,15:44 NKELLY;11/29,08 B07715981
END OF DOCUMENT.

From: "Arnold S. Kohen" <askohen@igc.apc.org>
To: jnevins@ucla.edu
Subject: Comments
Cc: askohen@igc.org
Status: R

C 1994

Joe,

Thanks for your message. First, Paul Moore is the retired Episcopal Bishop of New York. Second, the way you cite Moore re Belo's mother is exactly right, and having Talbert be the point man. Please try to keep it this way -- much better and safer to have a high-level clergyman talking about Belo's mother than anyone else. I had meant to mention this beforehand, in fact.

Next, I would pull out the reference to the "Protestant pastor", because everyone knows exactly who that is, and he is in enough trouble already. "Clergyman", non-specific, would probably do, though Talbert may want the Protestant mention. But it really doesn't add anything except trouble.

Finally, Clinton just yesterday raised Timor in some manner with Suharto in Vancouver -- it was mentioned in the New York Times. It isn't enough, but neither is it turning a deaf ear. Someone like Talbert can't be saying things that are not fully accurate. One can say that they haven't done enough, or that they need to do much more, which is probably the best way for a church leader to put things. But the deaf ear formulation can easily be countered by them. Stanley Roth recently went to see Xanana in prison, and I would not be totally surprised if there were further moves.

Talbert actually knows Clinton and can actually talk with him face to face so it is important that we keep things as precise and factual, sober and non-pejorative as possible. One has to anticipate what they can state, plausibly, in response. Clinton can still point to more policy statements on Timor than any of his predecessors, raising the issue with Suharto on several occasions, and while this is inadequate, a critique has to be surgical rather than a broadside, at least here, when someone like Talbert is the speaker. Another thing is that Belo and others in the clergy very badly want immediate pressure by the US on the Indonesian military to get their hands off the people, in cases like what just happened at the University of East Timor (Belo's statement about that might be worth citing). To them this is fundamental. Everything else can seem too longterm from their perspective.

I'd be happy to look at a second draft when I get back here on Friday night. I leave at 1 PM and will not be accessing e mail in New York, but I do pick up voice mail at least once a day.

Take care,
Arnold

CC John Chamberlin



Arnold S. Kohen
7324 Baltimore Ave
Takoma Park, MD 20912

5 December 1994

Dear Arnold,

I would like to take this opportunity to thank you for all the work that you have done with regard to East Timor in my years at AI. The network you and your associates have created in the international news media, the US Congress and Administration, and with within religious organizations continues to be invaluable in advancing the human rights aims of AI.

Among other things, your media expertise has been of tremendous assistance in the various national campaigns AI has conducted on East Timor. In addition, the research efforts of you and your associates have long been of great assistance to us and to others attempting to advance the human rights of East Timorese in an accurate and effective manner.

I hope that you and your associates are able to continue your efforts in the crucial period ahead.

Yours sincerely,

Geoff Robinson
Asia Research Department

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-3901

September 26, 1994

Dear Colleague:

We invite you to cosign the attached letter to President Clinton regarding the human rights situation in East Timor.

For many years we have been concerned about the situation in East Timor, the predominantly Roman Catholic former Portuguese colony that was invaded by Indonesia in 1975. Since that time, an estimated 100,000 people of a population of less than 700,000 have perished in East Timor as a result of Indonesia's occupation.

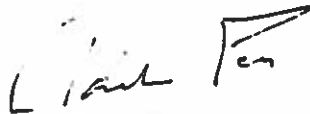
International concern over East Timor has increased since November 1991 when Indonesian troops massacred up to 100 unarmed demonstrators at Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili, the capital of East Timor, in full view of Western journalists, including a British cameraman whose film appeared on American television.

Our concern has been heightened over recent human rights violations, including torture, beatings, and acts of desecration and harassment toward the Catholic Church in East Timor by Indonesian military and security personnel. A recent report by Human Rights Watch Asia observes that "East Timor remains a place where arbitrary detention and torture are routine and where basic freedoms of expression, association and assembly are non-existent." These facts underscore the need for American representations on human rights and for a peaceful settlement under United Nations auspices.

In November, President Clinton will travel to Indonesia for the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation summit. We urge the President to raise the issue of East Timor with Indonesian President Suharto. In January, 1995 the next round of United Nations-sponsored talks between Indonesia and Portugal will take place on the East Timor situation.

If you would like to cosign this letter to President Clinton, contact Richard Kessler at 4-4651 in the Foreign Relations Committee.

Sincerely,



Claiborne Pell



Malcolm Wallop

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-3901

September 26, 1994

Dear Mr. President:

We are writing to express our concerns over conditions in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor, invaded and occupied by Indonesia in 1975. Our concern has been heightened over recent human rights violations, including torture, beatings, and acts of desecration and harassment toward the Catholic Church in East Timor by Indonesian military and security personnel.

A recent report by Human Rights Watch Asia observes that "East Timor remains a place where arbitrary detention and torture are routine and where basic freedoms of expression, association and assembly are non-existent." These facts underscore the need for American representations on human rights and for a peaceful settlement under United Nations auspices.

We urge you to take the opportunity of your November meetings with President Suharto during the meeting of the Asian Pacific Economic Organization in Indonesia to underscore American concern over the situation. We urge you to raise the issues of continuing human rights abuses in East Timor and of the need for demilitarization and the restoration of peaceful conditions through negotiations under United Nations auspices.

We are grateful that you raised the issue of East Timor in previous meetings with President Suharto. Moreover, we appreciate the actions of your Administration at the U.N. Human Rights Commission in Geneva. It is important, however, that we continue to reiterate our concern. We also believe that the United States should enlist our friends in the region to convince Indonesia to cooperate with United Nations efforts to resolve peacefully this matter.

Our interest in the East Timor situation is motivated by pragmatic interests as well as concern for human rights and even-handed application of international law. As some of us have emphasized in the past, we believe that a peaceful and equitable resolution of the East Timor conflict could create a better environment for American and Indonesian business interests and U.S.-Indonesia relations in general.

The President
The White House

Page Two
The President

Next year marks the 50th anniversary of Indonesia's independence from the Netherlands, which came about after untold suffering by many Indonesians. Both the United Nations and the United States helped facilitate Indonesia's drive toward independence. In view of this rich history and the approaching anniversary, it would be fitting for Indonesia to negotiate a resolution of the East Timor conflict under United Nations auspices. The next session of the U.N.-sponsored talks on East Timor is slated for January 1995. We believe that the United States and its allies should give strong support to efforts of the United Nations Secretary General Boutros-Ghali.

Thank you for your consideration of our requests.

Sincerely,

Claiborne Pell

Malcolm Wallop

FRANK R. WOLF
10TH DISTRICT, VIRGINIA

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WINCHESTER, VA 22601
(703) 667-0990

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515-4610

COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS

SUBCOMMITTEES
TRANSPORTATION

TREASURY—POSTAL SERVICE—GENERAL
GOVERNMENT

COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND
COOPERATION IN EUROPE

January 26, 1994

Nobel Committee
Nobelintituttet
Dramensvein 19
1255 Oslo 2
Norway

Dear Committee Members:

I strongly concur with the judgment of my esteemed colleague, U.S. Rep. Tony P. Hall of Ohio, in his nomination of Bishop Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo of East Timor for the 1994 Nobel Peace Prize.

I was shocked by the massacre at Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili in late 1991, and moved by accounts of Bishop Belo's heroic efforts in the face of this tragedy as well as prior and subsequent problems. I believe Bishop Belo merits the strongest possible international encouragement for his efforts to promote peace and human rights. Bishop Belo's unstinting efforts for peace in a situation marked by unending violence and high emotions on all sides deserve the highest commendation.

Bishop Belo has been, and continues to be, a source of inspiration to many people. I hope that the Nobel Committee will consider his candidacy for the 1994 Nobel Peace Prize.

Sincerely,



Frank R. Wolf
Member of Congress

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10TH DISTRICT, VIRGINIA

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Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515-4610

January 26, 1994

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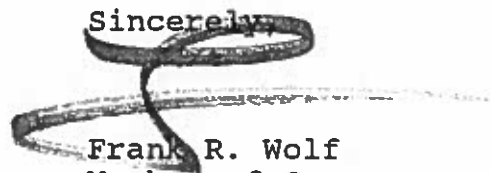
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Sincerely,



Frank R. Wolf
Member of Congress

FRANK R. WOLF
10TH DISTRICT, VIRGINIA

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Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515-4610

COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS
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TREASURY—POSTAL SERVICE—GENERAL
GOVERNMENT
COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND
COOPERATION IN EUROPE

January 26, 1994

Nobel Committee
Nobelintitutttet
Dramensvein 19
1255 Oslo 2
Norway

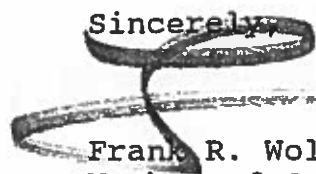
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Sincerely,



Frank R. Wolf
Member of Congress

From peg!pegfido!f110.n612.z90.pegasus.oz.au!CNRMDG Thu Jan 20 20:01:15 1994
Received: from localhost by cdp.igc.org (8.6.4/Revision: 1.125)
id UAA24208; Thu, 20 Jan 1994 20:01:12 -0800
Received: by pegfido.pegasus.oz.au (mailout1.26); Fri, 21 Jan 94 13:15:08 DST
Date: Fri, 21 Jan 94 09:59:30 DST
Message-ID: <9093.2D409A3C@pegfido.pegasus.oz.au>
From: CNRMDG@f110.n612.z90.pegasus.oz.au (CNRMDG)
Subject: Bishop Belo's Nobel prize nomination
To: askohen@igc.apc.org
X-Mailer: mailout v1.26 released
Status: R

cc: cdpm@gn.apc.org, jeforsberg@nordnet.se

Dear Jan Erik Forsberg, Luisa Teutonio and Arnold Kohen

In the name of Jose Ramos Horta , I reply to Jan Erik's inquiry
about progress with Bishop Belo's nomination for the Nobel Prize.

As you well know, the selection procedure for a Nobel Peace Laureate follows th

A strong media and NGO campaign is needed in the weeks preceeding the announcem

It may be worth contacting the Nobel Peace Price Committee in Oslo to get exact

For Luisa:

President Soares has made public statements about supporting
Belo's candidacy in the past. I view of this, could you
please contact the office of the President to find out
what concrete steps were taken regardig
the nomination of Bishop Belo as a candidate for the Prize.

For Arnold:

JRH asks if you could please brief us on the steps being taken by your friends

After the candidacy has been proposed the remaining conditions.
We could perhaps all work together to ensure this.

Thank you and best regards
Juan

--



The Right Reverend
Paul Moore Jr.

April 1994

A NOTE TO PAST NOBEL LAUREATES FROM THE FORMER EPISCOPAL (ANGLICAN)
BISHOP OF NEW YORK

In 1989, when I visited Dili, the capital of the conflict-torn former Portuguese colony of East Timor, I had the distinct honor of first meeting Carlos Ximenes Belo, the Roman Catholic Bishop of the territory. Then and since, I have been extremely impressed by his courageous battle for peace with justice in the face of the overwhelming force of the Indonesian occupation of his homeland.

Because of Indonesian repression and the physical isolation of East Timor from the outside world, it is difficult for Bishop Belo to make himself heard. I therefore feel a special obligation to bring situation of this courageous individual to the attention of the international community.

Attached is a copy of a letter of nomination of Bishop Belo for the 1994 Nobel Peace Prize, made by U.S. Rep. Tony Hall, who has been active on the East Timor human rights effort for many years. Rep. Hall has given me permission to share this letter, which gives an excellent summary of Bishop Belo's qualifications and background.

I am also enclosing a few pertinent items, including an article on Bishop Belo from The New York Times of April 24, 1993 and 1993 interviews published in the BBC Summary of World Broadcasts. Also included is a translation of a moving, widely-quoted letter Bishop Belo sent to then-U.N. Secretary General Perez de Cuellar in 1989.

All told, these materials provide a picture of a person eminently worthy of extraordinary international recognition. I hope that you will be able to take the time to acquaint yourself with his record, and hopefully to meet Bishop Belo, in the period ahead. It is your privilege as a past Nobel Laureate to support future candidates, and I would like you to consider supporting Bishop Belo.

Thank you very much for your attention.

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

United States Senate
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

PRESS RELEASE

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
NOVEMBER 7, 1994

CONTACT: FRANK SIEVERTS
202 224-5220

**PELL AND 29 OTHER SENATORS URGE PRESIDENT CLINTON TO RAISE
ISSUE OF EAST TIMOR AT NOVEMBER APEC MEETING**

Senator Claiborne Pell (D-RI), Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee today sent to the White House a letter signed by 30 Senators urging President Clinton to raise the issue of East Timor with Indonesian President Suharto at the Asian Pacific Economic Cooperation meetings in November.

The letter called on the President to follow on previous discussions with Suharto as well as Administration actions at the U.N. Human Rights Commission, and "to enlist our friends in the region" to convince Indonesia to end human rights abuses in East Timor and to support the demilitarization and the restoration of peaceful conditions in East Timor through negotiations under U.N. auspices.

A copy of the letter to the President is attached.

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510

October 5, 1994

Dear Mr. President:

We continue to be concerned over conditions in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor, invaded and occupied by Indonesia in 1975. Our concern has been heightened over recent human rights violations in East Timor, including torture, beatings, and acts of desecration and harassment toward the Catholic Church by Indonesian military and security personnel. A recent report by Human Rights Watch Asia observes that "East Timor remains a place where arbitrary detention and torture are routine and where basic freedoms of expression, association and assembly are non-existent."

We urge you to take the opportunity of your talks with President Suharto during the November meeting of the Asian Pacific Economic Organization in Indonesia to underscore U.S. support for disciplined, responsible action to end the human rights abuses in East Timor and for the demilitarization and the restoration of peaceful conditions through negotiations under United Nations auspices.

We understand that you have raised the issue of East Timor in previous meetings with President Suharto, and we appreciate the actions of your Administration at the U.N. Human Rights Commission in Geneva. Nonetheless, it is important that we continue to reiterate our concern. We also believe that the United States should enlist our friends in the region to convince Indonesia to cooperate with U.N. efforts to resolve this matter peacefully.

Our interest in the East Timor situation is motivated by pragmatic interests as well as concern for human rights and the even-handed application of international law. As some of us have emphasized in the past, we believe that a resolution of the East Timor conflict could create a better environment for American and Indonesian business interests and U.S.-Indonesia relations in general.

In 1945, after untold suffering by many of its people, Indonesia proclaimed independence from the Netherlands. Next year marks the 50th anniversary of Indonesia's successful drive for independence, facilitated and supported by the United Nations and the United States.

The President
The White House


The President
Page Two


In view of this history and the approaching anniversary, it would be fitting for Indonesia to use the occasion of the January 1995 session of U.N.-sponsored talks on East Timor to negotiate a peaceful and equitable resolution of the East Timor conflict. The United States, with its Asian allies, should give its strong support to the efforts of U.N. Secretary General Boutros-Ghali to bring peace an end to suffering to East Timor.

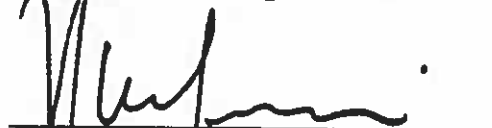
Thank you for your consideration of our concerns.

Sincerely,



Claiborne Pell

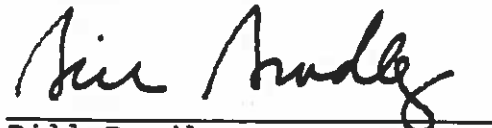

Malcolm Wallop


Tom Harkin


Paul Simon


Russell D. Feingold


Herb Kohl

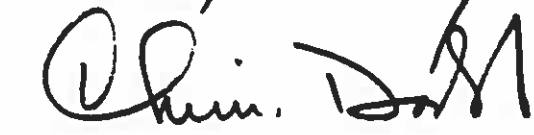

Bill Bradley


Alfonse M. D'Amato



Frank R. Lautenberg

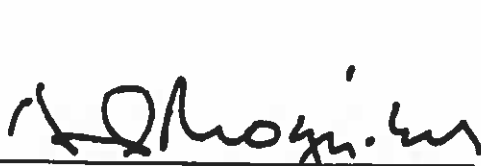

Mark O. Hatfield


Patrick J. Leahy


Christopher J. Dodd


Joseph I. Lieberman

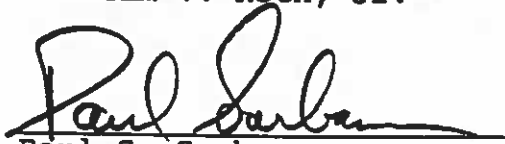

Edward M. Kennedy


Daniel Patrick Moynihan



Howard M. Metzenbaum



William V. Roth, Jr.

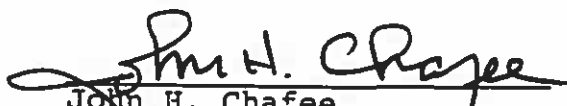

Carl Levin


Paul S. Sarbanes

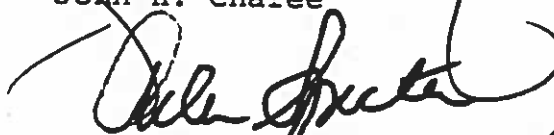

Frank H. Murkowski

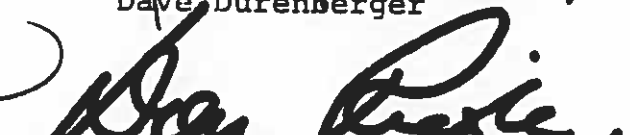

Paul Wellstone


Joseph R. Biden, Jr.



John H. Chafee

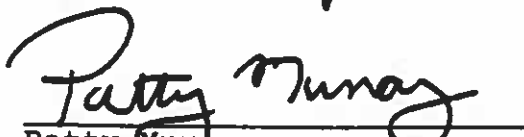

Dave Durenberger

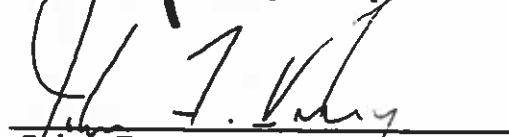

Arlen Specter


Donald W. Riegle, Jr.


Carol Moseley-Braun


Larry E. Craig


Patty Murray


John F. Kerry



Community of the Peace People

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0101 212 - 243 - 1432

11th November 1994

Arnold S. Kohen

Dear Arnie,

Thanks for the letter and draft article. *No changes - excellent!*

I enclose a copy of a letter of authorisation I have already faxed to the LA Times office. I hope this is in order.

Thanks for everything you and Prof. Anderson are doing for Indonesia and East Timor.

Sincerely,

Mairead

Mairead Maguire

STATEMENT ON EAST TIMOR

Small nations oppressed by larger neighbors often draw sympathetic responses from the world community, but seldom has a population as small, and as distant from us, as East Timor held our attention as that tiny community continues to do. A population of some 650,000 Timorese has, for almost twenty years, lived under the control, and the abusive, harsh and often violent treatment, of their Indonesian military overseers.

These people have survived the brutal invasion of December 7, 1975 and the subsequent policies which have been described by serious observers as nearly genocidal. More than 100,000 people--some estimates are much higher--perished in the early years as a direct result of Indonesian military rule. The massacre of unarmed and non-violent demonstrators at the Santa Cruz cemetery on November 12, 1991, captured in horrifying detail on film by a foreign filmmaker, is now etched in the consciousness of many. Repressive policies and actions directed especially against the young people of East Timor, and often against the Catholic church there, are a continuing reality.

We admire the people of East Timor for their bravery, their suffering and their determination to preserve their culture against overwhelming odds, but we also feel the special bond with them that comes from our shared Catholic faith. The Church of East Timor, led by Bishop Carlos Ximenes Belo, S.D.B., has become a source of hope and encouragement for all the people. It is instructive to note that, during the 400 years of Portuguese colonial rule, Catholics remained a relatively small minority among the largely animist population, whereas today over 90% of all East Timor is now Catholic. It is surely a testament to the fidelity of that local church to the Gospel of Jesus Christ and to the church's commitment to the defense of human rights and the dignity of every person.

East Timor continues to pose a political challenge to the community of nations. It presents a set of conflicting interests and rights not unlike other situations in the world today. Some of these areas of conflict, as in South Africa, the Middle East, and Central America, have witnessed extraordinary breakthroughs in just the last years; others, as in the Balkans and parts of Africa, remain apparently intractable. East Timor, it seems to us, represents a far less thorny problem than many others; it is a problem that can and should be solved.

The mechanism that is already in place, namely the ministerial meetings between the governments of Indonesia and Portugal under the auspices of the United Nations, is the appropriate vehicle to advance the negotiations. Ever since 1983, the U.N. Secretary General has been entrusted with the task of finding a settlement to the dispute. The recent meetings, held in Rome and New York last year and in Geneva this May, thus far without participation of Timorese representatives, appear not to be moved by a sense of urgency. It seems appropriate for the Secretary General to press for more vigorous action to come from these meetings, and we urge him to do so.

The United States and Indonesia are very important partners of one another. We recognize that our government has made a number of useful overtures to Jakarta concerning East Timor, for which we are grateful. We urge, however, that new initiatives be undertaken, to encourage both the resolution of the political crisis and full compliance on issues of human rights.

We recognize that differing proposals for resolving the region's status may exist among the people, some apparently favoring annexation, others full independence, and the rest calling for a process that would eventually lead to a referendum determining the relationship. Prior to any political resolution, however, all can agree that there must be an end to the kind of political and even religious persecution and violation of human rights that continue to plague that tortured community.

A year ago, Pope John Paul II expressed to the Indonesian foreign minister his wish that new talks on the future of East Timor might promote "the well-being of that people in respect of their rights and cultural and religious traditions." We invite our Catholic people to pray for the well-being of our Timorese brothers and sisters, that they may continue to grow in their rich cultural and religious traditions, free of outside pressures and coercion. And we express our fraternal solidarity with Bishop Belo and all the church of Dili, asking God's blessing on their ministry to the people of East Timor.

Bishop Daniel P. Reilly, Chairman
Committee on International Policy
United States Catholic Conference

July 26, 1994



ACTION ACTION ALERT

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

EAST TIMOR

BACKGROUND: Now, almost three years since the massacre of some 150 to 275 peaceful marchers at the Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili, severe human rights abuses continue in this Indonesian-occupied territory. In recent communications, Bishop Carlos Ximenes Belo of Dili has called for genuine peace talks to alter a situation that he has termed a hell. "Christians are constantly being arrested, beaten and intimidated by police," he said in July. In incidents described by international news media as the most serious since the 1991 Santa Cruz killings, Indonesian troops injured many young East Timorese protesting official harassment and acts of desecration directed against the local church.

The US Administration has taken some further steps to address the situation in this largely Catholic former Portuguese colony whose population has been decimated since the 1975 Indonesian invasion. In July 1993, President Clinton raised the issue of human rights in East Timor in a meeting with Indonesian President Suharto and, in mid-1994, the Administration banned the sale of certain kinds of US arms that could be used by Indonesian forces for repressive purposes. The government has also provided encouragement for the UN-sponsored talks between Indonesia and Portugal on human rights and the political status of East Timor.

USCC POSITION: On July 26, 1994, Bishop Daniel Reilly, Chairman of the Committee on International Policy, issued a statement of solidarity with the Church in East Timor, expressing renewed concern over the difficulties being experienced by many in that area, and calling for intensification of the UN discussions, which the Holy See has also and repeatedly encouraged.

ACTION REQUESTED: In mid-November, President Clinton will visit Indonesia for the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation summit, to be followed with a formal state visit with Indonesian President Suharto. Dear Colleague letters are now circulating in the House (initiated by Reps. Hall and Wolf) and in the Senate (Sens. Pell and Wallop), inviting Members to sign on to letters urging Mr. Clinton to press President Suharto on the matters of human rights violations and the intimidation of Catholic leaders, and on the pressing need for steps leading to reconciliation and a UN-sponsored settlement of the conflict in East Timor. Letters to UN Secretary Boutros-Ghali are also circulating in both Houses.

PLEASE CALL/FAX YOUR SENATORS AND REPRESENTATIVES URGING THEM TO CO-SIGN BOTH LETTERS. DEADLINE IS THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 10, 1994

For further information, call Tom Quigley: (202) 541-3184 9/94

Developments In Indonesia and U.S. Policy

Members and professional staff are cordially invited to a CRS workshop and luncheon on the developments in Indonesia.

DATE: FRIDAY, MARCH 18, 1994

TIME: Morning Session 10:15 - 11:45 a.m.

Luncheon 12:00 - 1:30 p.m.

Afternoon Session 1:45 - 3:15 p.m.

PLACE: West Dining Room - LM-621
James Madison Building, The Library of Congress

This three-part workshop is being co-sponsored by the Committee on Foreign Affairs, and the Asia Foundation's Center for Asian and Pacific Affairs.

Morning Session - 10:15 - 11:45 a.m.

This session will cover recent developments in Indonesia of interest to the U.S. Panelists and the areas they will be discussing are: *Political Developments*: William Liddle, Ohio State University; *Economic Matters*: Farrukh Iqbal, World Bank; *Political-Economic*: John Bresnan, Columbia University; *Foreign -Security*: Donald Weatherbee, University of South Carolina. Moderator will be Dick Nanto, Specialist in Industry and Trade, Economics Division, CRS.

Luncheon Session - 12:00 - 1:30 p.m.

Ambassador Paul Wolfowitz, Dean, Johns Hopkins School for the Advancement of International Studies (SAIS), will be the guest speaker. A buffet lunch will be provided.

Afternoon Session - 1:45 - 3:15 p.m.

The afternoon session will focus on alternative U.S. policy approaches toward Indonesia. Presenters will be Thomas Hubbard, Department of State; Douglas Paal, Asian Pacific Policy Center; Sidney Jones, Human Rights Watch, and Frances Seymour, World Wildlife Fund. Larry Niksch, Specialist in Asian Affairs, Foreign Affairs and National Defense Division, CRS, will be moderating.

If you wish to attend, please return through INSIDE MAIL the form at the bottom of the page to CRS/PGM (7230), LM-209 or FAX to 7-4446. If accommodations for people with disabilities are needed, call the Office of Special Programs at 7-7904 or TDD 7-7154 at least seven days before the program. If you have any questions, please call the CRS Office of Special Programs, 7-7904.

Sincerely,



Daniel P. Mulhollan, Director
Congressional Research Service

(Please detach and return this form through INSIDE MAIL to CRS/PGM, LM-209 or FAX to 7-4446)

Yes, I will attend the CRS three-part workshop, **Developments In Indonesia and U.S. Policy**, on Friday, March 18, 1994, in the West Dining Room (LM-621), James Madison Building, The Library of Congress.

Please check which session(s) you will be attending:

_____ Morning Session
10:15 - 11:45 a.m.

_____ Luncheon
12:00 - 1:30 p.m.

_____ Afternoon Session
1:45 - 3:15 p.m.

CONGRESSIONAL OFFICE _____

NAME(S) _____

OFFICE ADDRESS _____ PHONE _____