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Defense Plea of Xanana Gusmão

These are excerpts from the 28-page defense plea, hand-written in Portuguese, that East Timorese resistance leader Xanana Gusmão tried to read at the close of his trial in Dili on May 17, 1993. The court silenced him after the first two pages. Four days later, Gusmão was sentenced to life imprisonment. He is on a hunger strike, and his condition is deteriorating, although no outside visitors (not even his family or the Red Cross) have been allowed to see him. People are fasting in public places around the world on a rotating basis to support his action.

The defense plea was smuggled out of East Timor, translated, and published worldwide, including in the *Congressional Record*. Here are a few excerpts of special interest to Americans.

I am resistance commander Xanana Gusmão, leader of the Maubere resistance against the cowardly and shameful invasion of the 7 December 1975 and the criminal and illegal occupation of East Timor for the last 17 years.

On 22 November last year in Denpasar, I signed a document in which I affirmed that according to international law, I continue to be, like all Timorese, a Portuguese citizen and before my own conscience I am a citizen of East Timor.

It is in these terms that I reject the competence of any Indonesian court to try me, and particularly the jurisdiction of this court which has been imposed by force of arms and crimes against my homeland, East Timor.

I believe that the international press has not failed to notice the massive political stage-managing has occurred. In case this has gone unnoticed, I now want to draw the attention of everyone to the fact that I feel like a foreigner in my own land. In prison I am completely surrounded by Indonesians; officers from BAIS [the Strategic Intelligence Agency] and men from Kopassus [the red-beret elite troops] are my warders. I asked for a visit from the Bishop and they sent me an Indian priest who is a defender of integration. ...

The question of East Timor is the responsibility of the international community, a question of international law. It is a case in which universal principles are at stake, a case where the decolonisation norms of the UN have been manipulated, a case where Indonesia has disregarded the resolutions of the UN, a case therefore of the flagrant violation of the principles of the Non-Aligned Movement, and of the universal pattern of law, peace and justice.

The ones who should be standing before an international court are, in the first place,

- the Indonesian government for crimes committed in the past 17 years in East Timor;
- the U.S. administration which gave the green light to the invasion on 7 December and has since given military aid and political support for Indonesia's genocide in East Timor;
- the governments of Australia and Western Europe for their policy of complicity towards Indonesia;
- and finally, the Portuguese government for its grave irresponsibility in the decolonisation of East Timor.

The UN recognises as legitimate all means of opposition to the colonial presence in any part of the world where people are fighting for liberation. My struggle and the resistance of my people and of Falintil [the armed forces of the resistance movement] should be placed in this context, standing above Indonesian law.

Until this very moment, the UN does not recognise Indonesian sovereignty over East Timor, a sovereignty which was imposed by the means of force, by the practice of violence and the systematic violation of the most fundamental human rights.

Today, the Indonesian government can show the world its de facto control of the territory, and claims to be developing the territory which is occupying, while at the same time condemning the ones who were not able to do this, namely Portugal. Is it that because Portugal failed to develop East Timor for 400 years, we Timorese have had to pay for the errors of one colonizer while also paying for the crimes of the other colonizer?

Mr. Sudjono [the purported defense attorney] was appointed by BAIS and therefore by the Indonesian government. On 22 December, I read a letter to me from the LBH [the Legal Aid Institute, a non-governmental progressive Indonesian group, which offered to defend Xanana]. On 23 December I replied to that organisation, accepting a lawyer. But I was compelled to renounce it. On the 30 of the same month, I had to write a letter to the LBH refusing their offer. My initial letter which had been intercepted was returned to me.

On the day of my capture, in the meeting I had with General Try Sutrisno [commander of the Indonesian armed forces, who has since become Vice-President], I mentioned the question of dialogue with representatives of the people of East Timor. One of the twenty generals who were present and were congratulating each other for the imminence of their easy victory, asked me, furiously: "What people?" When I answered "Let's have a referendum," the Indonesian generals had to swallow their own arrogance. On the next day, 21 November - I was already in Denpasar - when the wife of the local military commander, surprised by the extent of the support I had, said, "after all, many people support him," a high-ranking officer said, "possibly all the people of East Timor."

Mr. Pieter Kooijmans was the rapporteur of the UN sent to East Timor with the agreement of Jakarta to investigate in loco violations of human rights in the territory, violations which had always been denied by Indonesia at the UN. During his visit [November, 1991], a massacre was perpetrated in cold blood.

The corpses have disappeared to this day or rather, were thrown into mass graves. Where? Only the forces of occupation know. Many of the murderers are present in this room, men from Kopassus, intel [intelligence] men, the men in whose hands the entire political life in East Timor and also of Indonesia rests.

What or who are the Indonesian forces of occupation afraid of? Of the defenceless population, of a population that you, gentlemen, say are satisfied with integration? Whom do you want to terrorise?

In the UN, Jakarta cannot suppress the fact that Portugal is an interested party in the solution of the problem. And so, Jakarta should also never forget that the Maubere people [the people of East Timor] have already demonstrated that the idea, the objective for which they have fought and resisted to this day can never die. People die but ideas stay alive.

On the first day and on the following days, they asked me whether I considered myself to be an Indonesian and I always replied in this way: If I say yes, the *bapaks* [the mock deferential word meaning 'fathers' by which the East Timorese address Indonesian troops] will not believe me. First they laughed but then they gritted their teeth.

The Indonesian generals do not care about the spirit, the conscience of the people. They are quickly satisfied when we just do what they want. I don't know if this is because of naivete or because of the culture of their military training.

I know that BAIS made the necessary arrangements for me to be spared the death penalty and if I were to praise integration, I would be acquitted.

I can never recognise the criminal occupation of East Timor only in order to be able to live for a few more years. My struggle is superior to my own life. The people of East Timor have sacrificed their lives and continue to suffer.

I continue to recall the need for dialogue, with the participation of the East Timorese. I have always said to all those who wanted to listen to me that the Maubere people don't like the word, '*peimbangan*' [development]. The problem is that it is not free. Freedom is what my people value, the aim of their struggle. Dom Ximenes Belo [the Catholic bishop of East Timor] put it very clearly when he wrote to the UN Secretary-General: "We are dying as a people and as a nation."

The Indonesian generals should be made to realise that they have been defeated in East Timor. Here, today, as the commander of Falintil, the glorious armed forces of national liberation of East Timor, I acknowledge military defeat on the ground. I am not ashamed to say so. On the contrary, I am proud of the fact that a small guerrilla army was able to resist a large nation like Indonesia, a regional power which in a cowardly fashion invaded us and want to dominate us by the law of terror and crime, by the law of violence, persecution, prison, torture and murder.

The moment has come for Jakarta to recognise its political defeat on the ground.

Who is afraid of a referendum? Why are they afraid of the referendum? I am not afraid of a referendum. And if today, under international supervision, the Maubere were to choose integration, I would make a genuine appeal to my companions in the bush to lay down their arms and I would offer my head to be decapitated in public.

Whoever is afraid of the referendum is afraid of the truth.

I appeal to the new generation of Indonesians to understand that the people of East Timor attach much more value to freedom, to justice and to peace than to the development which is carried out here with the assistance of Australia, the United States and other European countries who maintain close economic relations with Jakarta.

I appeal to the people of Indonesia to understand that according to universal principles and international law, East Timor is considered to be a non-autonomous territory in accordance with the norms that govern decolonisation. I appeal to the Indonesian people to understand that East Timor is not a threat to Indonesia or a factor threatening Indonesia's security. The story they tell you, that East Timor is communist, is stale. We don't want to dismember Indonesia. The fact is that East Timor was never part of Indonesia.

I appeal to the international community to understand that it is time to show that the New World Order is about to begin. This requires acts that will end the situation inherited from the past.

- I appeal to the European Community to be consistent with its own resolutions and also to be consistent with all the resolutions adopted regarding East Timor.
- I appeal to all the friends of East Timor, parliamentarians from Europe, America, Japan and Australia, to go on pressing their own governments to change the double standards applied to similar cases where systematic violations of UN resolutions occur, as in the case of Indonesia's behaviour regarding East Timor.
- I appeal to President Bill Clinton to reconsider the problem of East Timor and to press Jakarta to accept dialogue with the Portuguese and the Timorese in the search for an internationally-acceptable solution.
- I appeal to the Portuguese Government never to abandon its responsibility towards East Timor.
- I appeal to the Secretary-General of the UN to ensure that the solution he seeks for East Timor is based on universal principles and international law.
- Finally, I appeal to the government of Indonesia to change its attitude and to realise that the moment has come to understand the essence of the struggle in East Timor.

From today, I will start a hunger strike, as a practical way to appeal to the EC, the US government and the government of Australia.

To the Secretary-General of the UN, I would like to say that I am ready to participate in the negotiating process at any moment or in any place. I will however never accept to be a part of the Indonesian side in the negotiations because I am not willing to participate in the farce of integration and in the criminal repression of my people.

As a political prisoner in the hands of the occupiers of my country, it is of no consequence at all to me if they pass a death sentence here today. They have killed more than one third of the defenceless population of East Timor. They are killing my people and I am not worth more than the heroic struggle of my people who, because they are a small and weak people, have always been subjected to foreign rule.

Dili, 27 March 1993

(signed)

X. Gusmão

Member of CNRM, Commander of Falintil

Translation

Excerpts of Letter from Bishop Carlos Filipe X. Belo, Dili, East Timor, dated September 16, 1993

Yesterday I returned from my pastoral visit to Turiscai, Maubisse, Ainaro 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 places where I passed through I saw many Indonesian military control posts. At these control points they search everything, including wallets, briefcases and suitcases. They do not even allow people to transport their machetes and knives [note by translator: these are East Timorese agricultural tools, indispensable for survival] On September 5 in Dare 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:

- 1) "Batalyon Tempur", a combat battalion to fight FRETILIN;
- 2) "Batalyon Territorial", which, according to the Indonesians, is dedicated to development. But all it is doing is spying on people and beating them;
- 3) "Kodim", which consists of those soldiers who are in the counties, administrative centers and villages for military and social services, for control and intelligence-gathering;
- 4) "745" and "744" are special units consisting of Timorese and Indonesians whose task is to penetrate the bush and fight the guerrillas;
- 5) Police who are to be found everywhere;
- 6) Security troops, "Hansip" and "Ratih"; these consist of East Timorese civilians who are trained to collaborate and be the servants of the military;
- 7) Battalion of commandos, "Red Berets", who here in East Timor are known as "Nanggala." These are the worst, their task is to spy, capture and torture.

Page 2, Letter from Bishop Belo, Sept. 16, 1993

That is why when the Indonesians say that they already reduced their troops and withdrew the fighting battalion "Batalyon tempur", it is necessary to analyze well what the Indonesian tactic is...

The Indonesians are now fomenting a campaign against me, saying in all counties [of East Timor] that I organized the demonstration of September 5 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 the Catholics in order to keep the faithful away from the churches. This is really like a communist regime which needs to be dismantled through increased pressure from Washington.

I finish, thanking you for all your friendship, and I hope you will continue to pray for me.

Translation

Excerpts of letters from Bishop Carlos Filipe X. Belo, East Timor, dated September 8, 1993

...I would like to tell you a bit about what happened here in my residence in Lecidere on September 5, 1993. 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 a.m. 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 hiding in the rooms, bathrooms and kitchen to wait for the right time to demonstrate in front of the Congressional staff. There were about one hundred 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 p.m. I myself escorted them to the door of the residence. The problem was that the house was surrounded by the 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 had been in front of the door of my residence (about 50 of them) they were filmed by Indonesian intelligence. The next day, September 6, soldiers captured all these young people and took them to their headquarters, and these young people who had not even demonstrated before the Congressional staff were barbarously beaten and tortured.

... Repression continues. And young people are determined to organize demonstrations. ... The clandestine network is gaining strength. I ask you... to contact members of Congress so that they will continue to pressure Indonesia to withdraw its troops from Timor and give more freedom to the people.

... 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...

Translation

Excerpts of letter from Bishop Carlos Filipe X. Belo, East Timor, dated September 5, 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 of the occupier, by rigidly patrolling all of the city of Dili and its surroundings, Some youths who had barely been freed from prison were taken away in 5 military trucks and spread amongst various military units. On Sundays, the churches of Dili are guarded by well-armed Indonesian troops because they fear possible 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 personnel, this is purely and simply a military occupation and dictatorship.

...The Indonesians have been able to make the faithful afraid to talk with their bishop. On September 1 and 2 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 July 23, 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 the priests.

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

.....

Translation

Execerpts of a letter from Bishop Carlos Filipe X. Belo, Dili, East Timor dated August 6, 1993

...We are more or less well. The environment surrounding us is as always. All of us hope that the problem of East Timor will be solved...

The Apostolic Nuncio visited East Timor from July 20 to July 24. On the morning of July 22 we celebrated a special Mass for couples in the cathedral of Dili. At around 8.30 a.m. when we left the church, there were about 40 youths on the square before the church who were yelling "Viva East Timor" and "Viva Xanana Gusmao". They were all captured and spent some days in prison before they were set free. However, they do have to "report" to the police commander every single day. I am told that during the months June and July many young men were arrested, about 300 of them were arrested in Lospalos, among them some of the teachers of our school in Fuiloro. ...

The Indonesian military continue to kill civilians: on August 5, 1993, at about 7.00 p.m., two villages heads of Waigae, Vemassee (area of Baucau) were shot to death 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 August 7 that family members were able to get the bodies.

Translation

Extract of a letter from Mgr. Carlos Filipe X. Belo,
Apostolic Administrator, East Timor, dated July 10, 1993

...

Since my return [to East Timor] I have met with priests from various parishes. One of them came on purpose from the eastern part [of East Timor] to inform me that in Lautem they [the Indonesian 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 there they have captured more than 70 youth there (Lautem) and in Baucau, 120 young people. Therefore, you see that the persecution of young people in East Timor does not stop. They [the military] want to destroy the clandestine network using means of physical and psychological pressure. Another piece of information from another priest is that in Liquica they are building mosques without the support of the local people. In Viqueque they are distributing the book of the Koran, forcing people to convert to Islam

I ask you to alert American authorities to these recent facts.

Comment: Following is the gist of an article (in Japanese) in the September issue of "Higashi Timor Tsushin", the bulletin of the Kure YWCA East Timor Concerns Group (Jean Inglis)

Headline: East Timor Catholic Church (Bishop Belo) Nominated as Candidate for Nobel Peace Prize

The Catholic Church of East Timor (Don Carlos Filipppe Ximenes Belo) was nominated as a candidate for the 1993 Nobel Peace Prize, the winner of which is to be announced October 15.

The nomination was submitted in January by TAKEMURA Yasuko, a member of the House of Councillors of the Japanese Diet.

The Church and its leader, Bishop Belo, was nominated because it has provided "the sole source of spiritual and moral refuge for the Timorese" throughout 18 years of occupation by Indonesia. The "horrendous consequences" of the occupation, the nominating letter says, "have deeply disturbed people of conscience throughout the world. Resolution of the East Timor conflict in keeping with internationally recognized norms of justice is an urgent priority for the international community."

In her letter Representative Takemura lauds Bishop Belo's "humble and unswerving faithfulness to his people...in the face of repression."

Bishop Belo's letter of Feb. 1989 to then UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar calling on the UN to "initiate a genuine and democratic process of decolonization...through a referendum" is cited as an "outstanding contribution to the search for a peaceful solution to the East Timor issue" by bringing "into the light of day, and in the most appropriate forum, a crucial aspect of the East Timor issue which had previously been obscured."

Also mentioned is the Bishop's actions at the time of Pope John Paul II's visit to East Timor in 1989, when he attempted "to rise above...the seemingly insurmountable diplomatic complexities"...and to lay before the Pope the plight of his people."

For his defense of his people, Bishop Belo has come under severe intimidation by the the authorities. He has nevertheless sheltered in his own home "those fleeing from oppression and has visited the hospitals and prisons to intervene on behalf of the youth who are incarcerated or tortured for their political beliefs."

The nomination compares Bishop Belo to Nobel Peace Prize winner Archbishop Desmond Tutu as "one of the foremost peace activists of this century and as such...eminently worthy to be awarded the Nobel Peace Prize."

(In August 1990, Representative Takemura met with UN Under Secretary Ahmed Raffeudin to urge the UN to act on Bishop Belo's letter.)

1993
—

Arnold S. Kohen

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

Oct. 6, 1993

for Lorne Craner
IRI

Dear Lorne,

Attached are translations of excerpts of several letters I have received from Bishop Belo since July---most recently, a letter dated Sept. 16 received yesterday.

These letters underscore the need to re-focus Senate (and more general) attention on the human rights situation in East Timor.

I will be in touch shortly.

As always, thanks for your attention.



MESSAGE TO CHURCH AND HUMANITARIAN AGENCIES
AND PERSONS OF GOOD WILL

I am well acquainted with the work of the East Timor Research Project, which is based in the United States.

This project has done and continues to do essential work on behalf of the human rights of my suffering people. The East Timor Research Project is without doubt more necessary than ever. There is every reason to believe that this will remain the case in the foreseeable future. It is the unfortunate reality, a reality the world must not ignore.

The East Timor Research Project has played a highly significant role in bringing pertinent information on East Timor's situation to the attention of major institutions and important individuals in the United States and elsewhere. The Project also works to stimulate appropriate aid to East Timor by humanitarian agencies and church organizations. I firmly believe that the work of the East Timor Research Project has been and continues to be of benefit to the people of East Timor. I am also firm in my belief that the East Timor Research Project should be strongly supported in its efforts by church and humanitarian agencies as well as individuals of good will.

I have visited the United States and have observed the activities of the East Timor Research Project at first hand. I have been impressed by the Project's responsibility, prudence, vigor and effectiveness, and have developed great respect for its work on human rights and humanitarian matters, as well as its careful support for peace and justice in East Timor.


Carlos Felipe Ximenes Belo
Bishop of East Timor

June 1993

FOREIGN OPERATIONS, EXPORT FINANCING, AND
RELATED PROGRAMS APPROPRIATIONS BILL, 1994

JUNE 10, 1993.—Committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of
the Union and ordered to be printed

Mr. OBEY, from the Committee on Appropriations,
submitted the following

REPORT

INDONESIA AND EAST TIMOR

The Committee has commented on the situation in East Timor on a number of occasions in the past and continues to be concerned with the flagrant abuses of human rights to which the Timorese people are routinely subjected by the Indonesian military.

The human rights of the East Timorese continue to be routinely violated and the Indonesians have made no concessions at all to the principle of meaningful participation by the East Timorese population.

Secretary of State Warren Christopher in his confirmation hearings responded in writing to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that "the situation in East Timor deserves a fresh look by the Clinton administration." This was followed by United States support for a very strong resolution on the human rights situation in East Timor during the proceedings of the United Nations Human Rights Commission in March.

The Committee welcomes these measures but believes now that a first step that could bring real change to the human rights situation is to convince the Indonesian government to commit itself to carry out a phased demilitarization of the island. A second and parallel step would be for the Indonesians to permit participation by the Timorese in government by the holding of local elections in which all parties, including the guerrillas, could take part.

Since demilitarization also requires action by the guerrillas and since East Timorese would rightfully be wary of any elections unilaterally announced by the Indonesians, both steps should be negotiated through talks sponsored by the United Nations between Indonesia and the former colonial ruler, Portugal. Such talks could also be a forum for discussion between Indonesia and the East Timorese people. The Committee urges the Administration to give strong support to these talks and urges the Secretary-General to take a more personal and direct role in the talks.

The Committee strongly believes that the United States, Europe and Japan must unite behind a human rights policy that evolves from the more narrow human rights policy of the past and focuses on demilitarization and local self-rule in East Timor in the short term with a final settlement in the medium or long term based on a genuine act of self-determination in the form of a United Nations supervised referendum.

Arnold S. Kohen

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

July 28, 1993

Mgr. Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo
Apostolic Administrator of East Timor
Diocese of Dili
Jl. Gov. Alves Aldeia 26
Dili, East Timor

Dear Mgr. Belo,

We were delighted to receive your note of July 10, which arrived yesterday. I was already preparing a letter, so it was a wonderful coincidence to hear from you when we did.

I have enclosed some items of interest, including photos taken of you and my family, etc; some recent news in English; a note from our friend US Rep. Tony Hall; and a note from my wife Korinna, who will tell you about her visit to Brazil with young Maia.

I had a good visit with Father Vasconcelos, with whom I was staying the date of your letter, and we discussed the question of educational endeavours in your Diocese. Efforts to support these endeavours have been carried out or are being developed, and hopefully there will begin to be some concrete news on this matter in September, when people return from their holidays. As I am sure you are aware, it is very difficult to conduct business in the summer months in the Western countries. Some decision-maker is always away on holiday. Even Bishop Cummins has been away most of this month in Ireland.

We have heard of a visit to the cathedral in the capital of your Diocese on 22 July. A precise narrative of those events, and the names of those who may still be affected, would be very healthful.

Our new phone number as of August 9 will be: 301-585-3229. The fax will be 301-585-3288. Address: 7324 Baltimore Avenue, Takoma Park, Maryland 20912 USA.

With our highest regards and saudades, and good wishes for your health and well-being and that of your people,

I remain,

↓R

March 8, 1993

Ms. Monica Selter
Amnesty International USA
322 8th Ave.
New York, NY 10001

Dear Ms. Selter,

As a petition candidate for the Board of Directors of AI-USA, attached are petition forms, which contain 190 signatures. Attached to this note is my biography and ballot statement.

Under separate cover, additional petition signatures should be reaching you on March 9 from the Western regional meeting.

I can be reached at 202-363-1649 if there are any questions. My fax is 202-363-3658. I would appreciate a faxed confirmation of the validity of my petition signatures once that is confirmed. I questioned signers carefully as to the status of their AI-USA membership, and so there is little doubt that I have obtained at least 100 valid signatures out of the ones I have submitted.

Thank you for your attention.

Sincerely,

Arnold Kohen

Final

Petition Nomination for Board of Directors, 1993-95 term

Arnold Kohen
Washington, D.C.
Writer, Journalist

Ballot Statement:

1. Current interests: Having worked for NBC News and in close contact with other major media, I would like to use my professional experience to help expand AI's national and local media coverage in practical ways, with no additional cost to AI. I believe AI-USA must provide far better services to its local groups and membership. Since 1976 I have been involved in AI's work on human rights in Southeast Asia and want to increase the impact of U.S. media coverage on the human rights situation in this region and more widely.
2. Amnesty International experience -- Worked with AI Research Department and assisted Washington office of AI-USA and Co-groups with information, field interviews with refugees, and advice on Congressional and media strategies, 1978--present; Led efforts by AI's national and regional offices and local groups on numerous Congressional and press initiatives, including letters signed by majorities of the House and Senate in 1990 and 1991. Media consultant in AI Washington office, 1989, on United Nations Convention on Torture; devised materials, arranged editorial meetings at New York Times, Washington Post and others, resulting in commentary on the need for U.S. ratification of the Torture Convention.
3. Related Experience -- Consultant with the human rights organization Asia Watch, 1985-89; Asia specialist, with emphasis on Indonesia and East Timor, plus interests in human rights issues worldwide. Helped direct Washington-based human rights project on Indonesia and Timor; provided media access for people of the region, 1978 through present, in cooperation with religious and human rights organizations, including AI. I arranged and participated in meetings at The New York Times, The Washington Post, The Boston Globe and elsewhere with refugees from East Timor that produced strong editorials on largescale human rights violations there. Together with activities I arranged in Congress for AI, this helped lead to U.S. government pressure on Indonesia. According to experts, these activities helped bring about the release of hundreds of prisoners and other concrete improvements, and may have saved the lives of many people.
4. Question 1: I would like to make AI's work better known through more effective media outreach. I worked during a four year period

for NBC News, and have contacts throughout the electronic media, also with editors and reporters at some of America's largest newspapers.

Page 2, Petition Nomination, Arnold Kohen

I can combine my media background and knowledge of AI to significantly improve the organization's media exposure without additional expenditure by AI. Greater media exposure, in turn, would help AI enhance both its substantive impact and its fundraising activities. In addition, I have extensive professional experience working with policymakers in Congress and other branches of government that could be of use to AI.

5. Question 2: The strengths of AI-USA lie in its committed membership and wide range of experts among the organization's co-groups and staff. The expansion and diversity of AI-USA's membership gives the organization unprecedented potential for effective grassroots human rights advocacy in the 1990s.

AI-USA's potential has not been realized, however, in part because of a lack of services provided to local groups and membership, including a lack of widespread training in low-cost or no-cost ways of working with the news media. The skills and talents of many of the organization's experts, both on staff and in the volunteer movement, have been under-utilized. Staff and volunteers need to become more actively involved in the organization's media efforts, while the organization should provide greater support to the volunteer movement.



DIOCESE OF OAKLAND

2000 LAKESHORE AVENUE • OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA 94610-3697
510 / 893-4711 • FAX: 510 / 893-0945

May 28, 1993

Most Reverend John R. Roach
Archdiocese of St. Paul and Minneapolis
226 Summit Avenue
St. Paul, Minnesota 55102

Dear Archbishop Roach:

Since my visit to East Timor in 1990, at the request of our General Secretary, Monsignor Robert Lynch, I have been in touch with Mr. Arnold Kohen, a journalist from Washington, D.C. Mr. Kohen made a prime concern of his the situation in East Timor. I am sure he has been responsible for the continued efforts and editorials in some of the newspapers of the United States.

In the latest of our continued contact, Mr. Kohen told me that Bishop Carlos Ximenes Belo of Dili, in East Timor, will be in the United States in June. The visit will not be highly publicized. Apparently the Bishop has some intention of making some private contacts for the sake of building his seminary at home.

When I found out, however, that the visit was in June, I suggested to Mr. Kohen the advantage of coming during the days when the NCCB would be meeting in New Orleans. I suggested mutual benefit for both the Bishop and ourselves. Whether that contact would be an Executive Session or at a meeting with the Administrative Board or Executive Committee or possibly something less formal.

I am very appreciative of your interest. I also would like to be of what help I can.

Sincerely,

John S. Cummins
Bishop of Oakland

jf

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

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

1993

MEMORANDUM FOR ERIC SCHWARTZ
SUBJECT: VISIT TO WASHINGTON OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC
BISHOP OF EAST TIMOR< CARLOS XIMENES BELO

It is likely that the Roman Catholic Bishop of East Timor, Carlos Ximenes Belo, will visit Washington on June 22 and June 23. He is visiting the United States primarily to obtain support from the U.S. Catholic Bishops for East Timorese seminarians, and with attend the Spring meeting of the U.S. Catholic Bishops Conference in New Orleans from June 17-20. The U.S. Catholic Conference will also be arranging a number of meetings for Bishop Belo in Washington, and they have asked me to assist them in this process.

While I recognize this may be difficult, I would like to raise the possibility of a brief meeting between Bishop Belo and President Clinton. Especially in view of the very tense situation that exists at present, experts believe that such a meeting would afford Bishop Belo and his people a measure of protection that they do not have at present. It would be a crucial step in advancing human rights in East Timor.

Although this may seem like a difficult request, let me raise a precedent.

As I understand it, a 29-year-old human rights activist from Zaire named Floribert (a winner of last year's Reebok Human Rights Award, which a Timorese also won) saw President Clinton in April and was photographed with the President. I understand the meeting was arranged by The National Endowment for Democracy. Given Belo's stature as a highly-respected, 46 year old religious leader whose presence in America is being sponsored by the US Catholic Bishops Conference, a meeting with President Clinton would not be out of order. Adding to Belo's stature, I have also learned that Catholic organizations in Europe are in the process of setting in motion Belo's nomination for the 1994 Nobel Peace Prize.

In the attached April 24, 1993 profile of Bishop Belo from, the New York Times, Bishop Belo is cited as saying, "The people of East Timor need the help of President Clinton and the United States." There is no doubt that the Clinton Administration has begun to provide such help. But the chance for a personal meeting between Belo and Clinton is one that is not likely to be repeated anytime soon, probably not for years, if ever, given the difficulties Belo has in travelling. It should be carefully considered as a possibility.

TONY P. HALL
THIRD DISTRICT, OHIO

COMMITTEES

HOUSE COMMITTEE ON RULES
SUBCOMMITTEE ON RULES OF
THE HOUSE

2284 RAYBURN HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, DC 20515-3503
(202) 225-6465

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501 FEDERAL BUILDING
200 WEST SECOND STREET
DAYTON, OH 45402
(513) 225-2843

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515-3503

July 27, 1993

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

Dear Bishop Belo:

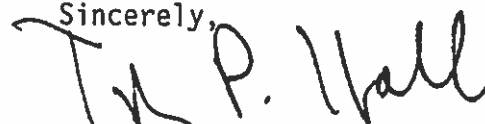
It was indeed an honor for me to meet with you when you were recently in Washington. For many years, I have followed your work for the people of East Timor. You have my ongoing admiration and support.

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

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

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

Sincerely,



Tony P. Hall
Member of Congress

TPH:msr

MESSAGE TO CHURCH AND HUMANITARIAN AGENCIES
AND PERSONS OF GOOD WILL

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

Arnold Kohen has done and continues to do essential work on behalf of the human rights of my suffering people. Utilizing a most responsible perspective firmly grounded in humanitarian concern and realism, Mr. Kohen has played a highly significant role in bringing pertinent information on East Timor's situation to the attention of major institutions and important individuals in the United States and elsewhere. I firmly believe that Mr. Kohen's work has been and continues to be of benefit to the people of East Timor. I am also firm in my belief that Mr. Kohen merits the confidence of church and humanitarian agencies, international organizations, and other major institutions.

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


Carlos Felipe Ximenes Belo
Bishop of East Timor

June 1993

CRS Report for Congress

Congressional Research Service • The Library of Congress

U.S.-Indonesia Relations And The Impact of The East Timor Issue: Summary of a CRS Seminar

Larry A. Niksch
Specialist in Asian Affairs
Foreign Affairs and National Defense Division

SUMMARY

At a CRS seminar on U.S.-Indonesian Relations And The Impact of The East Timor Issue on May 4, 1993, four panelists spoke on the issue from different perspectives: U.S. strategic and diplomatic interests in Indonesia; the conditions inside East Timor under Indonesian rule; Indonesian government and elite views of the East Timor problem, and U.S. economic interests in Indonesia. The panelists expressed different opinions on several points, but there was general agreement around eight themes, including agreement on some elements of U.S. policy strategy in dealing with the issue.

BACKGROUND

The Congressional Research Service had published a report on the same subject in December 1992.¹ The East Timor issue has been controversial in U.S. policy towards Indonesia since December 1975 after Portugal, the colonial ruler of East Timor, withdrew and civil war broke out in the territory. Indonesia promptly invaded and formally annexed East Timor the following year.

U.S. policy since 1976 has been to accept Indonesian sovereignty over East Timor but to acknowledge that the annexation was not a legitimate act of self-determination. American critics of this policy have called for U.S. pressure on Indonesia to allow self-determination.

¹ Indonesian-U.S. Relations And Impact of the East Timor Issue. CRS Report 92-983F, December 15, 1992.



On November 12, 1991, Indonesian military units opened fire and killed large numbers of anti-Indonesian demonstrators in Dili, the capital of East Timor. The Bush Administration reacted by calling for the Indonesian Government to punish military personnel responsible for the killings, and Administration officials reaffirmed the standing U.S. policy. Congress, however, passed resolutions calling for self-determination for East Timor. Congress also legislated a termination of the International Military Education Training Program (IMET) for Indonesia in fiscal year 1993.

THE SEMINAR

At the CRS seminar, the four speakers viewed the topic from different perspectives. Assistant Secretary of Defense William Pendley emphasized the broad scope and growing importance of U.S. interests in Indonesia. Arnold Kohen, an author and consultant on East Timor to Amnesty International and British television, talked about the attitudes of the East Timorese people toward Indonesian rule in the context of the killings of November 12, 1991. James Clad of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace analyzed Indonesian attitudes toward the East Timor problem, based on his several visits to Indonesia in the last three years. Anthony Albrecht of the U.S.-ASEAN Council discussed U.S. business and economic interests in Indonesia and the possible impacts on these interests of the East Timor issue in U.S. policy.

Major Themes

There were several issues of disagreement among the panelists. One concerned the wisdom and effectiveness of congressional action cutting off IMET to Indonesia. Another was over the effectiveness of Portugal's current policy on East Timor. Moreover, there was an implied difference of opinion on what would constitute the best solution to East Timor's status in relation to Indonesia. Nevertheless, there were eight key themes that were voiced by more than one panelist in which all appeared to agree at least to some extent. These themes were:

(1) The relationship with Indonesia is of growing importance to the United States. The Persian Gulf war has given new emphasis to the importance of U.S. naval access through the Indonesian straits connecting the Pacific and Indian oceans and Indonesia's attitude toward the U.S. military presence in Southeast Asia. Indonesian diplomacy on Cambodia, the South China Sea, and within the Non-Aligned Movement often have paralleled U.S. interests. It was pointed out that Indonesia was a key country in the Muslim world and was a positive influence in Muslim international organizations. U.S. business will have expanding opportunities for exports, investments, and the securing of over \$40 billion in contracts in Indonesia in the 1990s that will be extensive enough to affect the creation of new U.S. jobs.

(2) The nature of Indonesian rule in East Timor produces dissatisfaction among the East Timorese sufficient to draw U.S. and international attention. It was generally agreed that the killings of

November 12, 1991, had seriously worsened East Timorese views of the Indonesian Government and military and that unrest likely would persist. Panelists acknowledged the Indonesian Government's efforts to provide education opportunities for younger East Timorese and improve the economic and social infrastructure of East Timor. However, there was skepticism that such measures would alter the situation in a fundamental way. It was pointed out that a similar Dutch education policy in the East Indies in the 1920s and 1930s had produced the leaders of the Indonesian independence movement.

(3) Despite Indonesia's recent diplomatic achievements, the East Timor problem is an international embarrassment to the Indonesian Government. It was pointed out that East Timor weakens Indonesia's ability to speak out on civil conflicts and erodes its overall international influence. Indonesia's restrained diplomacy toward the plight of Muslims in Bosnia was cited as an example. This situation was seen as frustrating to President Suharto, the Indonesian Foreign Ministry, and informed Indonesians interested in foreign policy.

(4) The current state of Indonesian nationalism and broad attitudes within the Indonesian elite pose formidable barriers to fundamental policy changes by the Indonesian Government toward East Timor. Critical elements of nationalism and elite sentiments cited were: a strong concern over the unity of the many islands of the Indonesian archipelago and the fear of separatist movements and potential dismemberment; the historic role of the Army in winning Indonesian independence and in securing and maintaining territorial unity; and the dominant role of the Javanese in the society. All of these factors contribute to support for a highly centralized government, an aversion to federalism or local self-government, and the direct role of the military in governing the country. It was noted, however, that recently affluent, urban Indonesians had begun to criticize the Army's policies in governing and there has been related criticism of the Army's conduct in East Timor.

(5) A U.S. policy toward Indonesia of engagement seems inevitable given the importance of U.S. interests, but the East Timor issue should be a component of U.S. diplomacy. There was a general agreement that U.S. officials should stress human rights abuses in East Timor when discussing bilateral issues with Indonesian counterparts. There also was no dissent to the suggestion that the United States should, if necessary, raise the human rights issue in the United Nations, even if this embarrassed Indonesia further in the conduct of its foreign policy. The general view was that the November 12, 1991, incident escalated the importance of the issue enough to justify raising it frequently on the diplomatic level. It was felt that the U.S. interest in cooperating with Indonesia on other fronts should continue, but should not deter the United States from giving East Timor a diplomatic priority. On this point, there was no treatment of whether Indonesia might become sufficiently incensed with U.S. interference to impose trade and investment penalties on American companies. This issue, however, was taken up in the discussion of several other points (see points 7 and 9). The panelists seemed to

believe that the East Timor issue was important enough for the United States to run the risk of giving it priority in U.S. diplomacy toward Indonesia, both bilateral diplomacy and diplomacy in the United Nations.

(6) A U.S. dialogue with Indonesia over East Timor should include the Indonesian military. It was agreed that discussion of East Timor with just the Indonesian Foreign Ministry would not be adequate to influence Indonesian policy. Any effective U.S.-Indonesian dialogue should include the Indonesian military because of its prominent role in East Timor and its position as a primary institution in the governing of Indonesia. The panelists agreed that the cutoff of the IMET in 1992 would make such a dialogue more difficult. They disagreed, however, over whether the IMET termination was necessary to "send the Indonesian Government a message" over its conduct in East Timor, especially its handling of the investigation and prosecutions related to the November 12, 1991, incident. It was suggested that the U.S. Department of Defense might play a stronger role in the dialogue and that the U.S. military should use available contacts within the Indonesian military to raise the East Timor issue even without the IMET.

(7) The imposition of U.S. economic sanctions would not effectively coerce Indonesia regarding policy toward East Timor and would probably accomplish little and would reduce U.S. influence. The view was expressed that the Indonesian Government would regard economic sanctions as a confrontational act and would respond with retaliatory policies, including some that discriminated against American companies and thus benefitted competitors from Japan and elsewhere. It was pointed out that Indonesia was engaged economically with many nations, and this would continue in spite of U.S. sanctions. Thus, U.S. business would be more hurt by sanctions as much as the Indonesian economy.

(8) If the United States and Indonesia are to avoid increased controversy and confrontation in their relationship and if Indonesia hopes to avoid future international embarrassment and pressures, the Indonesian Government needs to reassess the way that it governs East Timor and grant meaningful self-government and autonomy. This was laid out by two of the panelists, without dissent, as the best way for Indonesia to deal with the East Timor dilemma. However, there was implied disagreement over where autonomy should lead—whether to internal self-government within Indonesia or to self-determination involving an option for independence. The first view expressed on the panel focused on a possible precedent of "special districts" created by Indonesia in its early history (the districts, it was pointed out, did not last long); the second view held that autonomy should lead to an "internationally acceptable settlement" (a kind of settlement that often is linked to self-determination). No one foresaw early movement in Jakarta toward this policy.

(9) The Clinton Administration should approach an open policy in support of self-determination with great caution at this time. There were predictions that an immediate change in U.S. policy in favor of self-

determination would produce a harsh confrontation with Indonesia, including Indonesian retaliation against U.S. businesses. The predominant view seemed to be that a change in the East Timor situation, whatever the ultimate outcome, would have to come in stages over time and that U.S. policy should work in that kind of process. Nevertheless, no panelist rejected outright a change in U.S. policy in support of self-determination in the longer term if Indonesia did not respond to U.S. initiatives with changes in its policy toward East Timor.

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

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Tel. 202-363-1649
Fax 202-363-3658

INFORMATION RECEIVED FROM AUTHORITY CHURCH SOURCES IN EAST
TIMOR, January 26, 1993

The sources say they are all but cut off from the outside world. These are hours of darkness and intense suffering, stemming from the capture of resistance leader Xanana Gusmao and the torturing of people who were arrested as a result. Imprisonment, interrogation, killings, disappearances continue all the time. There is indirect persecution of the Catholic Church.

The Indonesian try to distract the people with celebrations of this or that occasion, even as they continue to imprison and torture people. No journalists have been to East Timor recently, few tourists. The tourists who have been to East Timor recently have been wined and dined by the Indonesian authorities, while kept apart from the East Timorese.

Arnold S. Kohen

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Keynote Speech
to the International Symposium for Peaceful Settlement in East Timor

by OKAZAKI Tomiko,
Member of the House of Councilors, National Diet of Japan

March 2, 1998

Conference participants and guests, my name is Okazaki Tomiko, and I am a member of the House of Councilors in the Japanese Diet. It is a great honor for me to participate in this distinguished international symposium and to address you on behalf of the Diet Members Forum on East Timor, a supra-partisan parliamentarians' association.

To the organizers, my deepest respect for bringing about this symposium in spite of the many difficulties you faced. To all of the Indonesian participants, it is truly a pleasure to meet you. It would not be possible to discuss a just settlement of the East Timor conflict without your participation. And to all of the East Timorese participants, I would like to say that I learned first-hand of your suffering when I headed a supra-partisan delegation of Diet members to East Timor in 1994. At that time I also learned that there were Indonesians working to protect the human rights of the East Timorese. It is unthinkable that today, when the road to peace has been opened up in Palestine and Guatemala and other major conflict areas in the world, that East Timor should remain an exception.

There is only one thing that I want to say here. And that is to tell you how important we think it is that this symposium is being held, at this point in time, and in Asia.

Our forum, which was organized in 1986, called on the United Nations to set up a framework for fair negotiations on a peaceful settlement of the issue. At the time, the United Nations was convening discussions between Portugal, the former suzerain, and Indonesia, the present ruling power, but representatives of the East Timorese, the party most concerned in the conflict, were excluded from the talks. However, not long after that, two very important messages from East Timor reached the international community. One was the letter which Bishop Belo, the leader of the Catholic Church in East Timor, sent in 1989 to the Secretary General of the United Nations. The Bishop stated that "the people have not been consulted. Others speak in the name of the people," and he called on the United Nations to carry out a popular referendum. The other was the message sent in 1990 from the mountains of East Timor from Xanana Gusmao. Mr. Gusmao, who at the time was chair of the National Council of Maubere Resistance and the commander of the liberation army, FALINTIL, stated his desire for peace and his readiness to sit down at the negotiating table with Indonesia without preconditions, in order to achieve peace. Our Diet Members Forum called on successive UN Secretary Generals to respond to these messages and change the framework of the negotiations. In 1992, for example, 300 parliamentarians from Japan and the United States sent a joint letter to Secretary-General Boutros Ghali, asking him to convene negotiations that would include all the parties to the conflict and to establish a United Nations presence in East Timor to monitor the human rights situation.

What was most encouraging for us at that time was the heightening of concern about the East Timor issue in Asia. When, in 1989, the late Bishop Soma called on Catholic leaders in the Asia-Pacific region to support Bishop Belo's appeal to the United Nations, over 1200 (including 110 from bishops, archbishops and cardinals) responded. In 1992 the East Timor issue was one of the major themes discussed at a people's tribunal on human rights held here in Bangkok. In 1993, when the International Federation for East Timor was not allowed to participate in the Asia preparatory meeting for the UN World Conference on Human Rights because of the objection of the Indonesian Government, the network of Korean NGOs to the World Conference presented a paper, "Human Rights Under Foreign Military Occupation," in its stead. The same year, an East Timorese was invited to participate in a seminar in Nepal on rehabilitation for victims of torture.

Then in 1994 the Asia-Pacific Coalition for East Timor was established, growing out of the First Asia-Pacific Conference on East Timor that was held on the campus of the University of the Philippines, and efforts to deepen the understanding of the issue in the region were begun in earnest. We in Japan did our modest bit to assure the safety of the participants in the APCET meetings and the sponsoring organizations when they came under attack. Joint efforts with the East Timorese have also been developing in the area of "gender justice," with a view to the expected establishment of the International Criminal Court. Through participation in international conferences, East Timorese women have been learning, together with other Asian women, to speak out on the issue of violence against women, and that such violence should be punished as a crime; they have also been learning the importance of women taking part in the political process of conflict resolution.

As you are aware, in Asia we do not have the regional human rights treaties and regional mechanisms for protection of human rights that exist in Europe, Africa and Latin America. Nor do we have any permanent mechanism for dealing with regional conflicts. In Asia there have been no collective state actions such as those undertaken in Africa by the OAU: Organization of African Unity to settle the conflict in Western Sahara, or the undertakings by Mexico and Columbia in the peace process of Guatemala. So the Asian efforts for peace in East Timor have been efforts from the ground up by people of the region. While attention has focused in recent years on the conflicting views in Asia and the West on the concept of human rights and the way of protecting human rights, I think we can say that the cooperation that has developed among Asian people on the East Timor issue has opened up new ground in the field of the practice of human rights.

With the awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize to Bishop Belo and Mr. Ramos-Horta, the East Timor issue is now at a critical juncture. The three-stage peace plan announced by the National Council of Maubere Resistance in 1992 is still sitting on the shelf. On the other hand, shortly after his appointment, the new UN Secretary-General, Kofi Annan, indicated the importance of the East Timor issue by appointing former UN Ambassador of Pakistan, Jamsheed Marker, his special representative. President of South Africa Nelson Mandela has also offered his services in cooperation with the UN and has requested the Indonesian Government to release Xanana Gusmao and allow him to participate in negotiations. The problem lies with the attitude of the Indonesian Government.

Indonesia is in the throes of a deep financial and economic crisis and faces its last chance with President Suharto in office to opt for "a peace with honor" with regard to the East Timor issue. If, some day soon, President Suharto were to agree to a peace settlement, and were to announce that the huge expenses for maintaining troops in East Timor would be diverted to the basic needs of the Indonesian people, this decision would be talked about for generations to come. Today, many groups in Indonesia are calling for democratization and political reform. Among their ranks are people who have supported, in difficult circumstances, the right of the East Timorese to self-determination. Against this background, I look forward with great interest to the ideas and proposals that will be discussed at this conference on how the governments and people of the Asian region, including Japan, should contribute to the building of the East Timor peace process.

Thank you.

Tomiko Okazaki

Member of the House of Councilors

Vice-President of the Democratic Party of Japan

Convener of the Diet Members Forum on East Timor

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Ms Mary Robinson
United Nations High Commissioner on Human Rights

January 23, 1998

Dear Ms Robinson,

Allow us to extend a heartfelt welcome to Japan.

We serve as president and general-secretary respectively for the Diet Members Forum on East Timor, a supra-partisan association of Diet Members from both the House of Representatives and the House of Councilors. A brief summary of our work to date may give you an idea of our concerns.

The activities of the Forum since its establishment in 1986 have been geared to finding a just solution to the issue of East Timor, a solution that respects the wishes of the East Timorese, a people who have endured occupation by the Indonesian military for over two decades. Members of the Forum undertook a fact-finding trip to East Timor in 1994, and we have sent members on several occasions to petition the United Nations Special Committee on Decolonization. Our members have met with then UN Secretary-general de Cuellar and Secretary-general Boutros-Ghali and with your own predecessor. In 1992, together with colleagues in the U.S. Congress, we sent a joint letter signed by three hundred parliamentarians to then Secretary-general Boutros-Ghali, in which we called on the Secretary-general to launch such initiatives as convening negotiations that include all parties to the conflict and the setting up of a human rights monitoring mechanism in the territory.

What has weighed on us most, however, is the lack-luster performance of our own government. In this regard, we would like to take this opportunity to acquaint you with the kinds of steps we are now asking our government to support to help alleviate the situation in East Timor

We feel that an urgent priority is the setting up of effective, on-the-spot measures to deal with the human rights abuses that routinely occur in the territory. An example might be the kind of advisory

service on human Rights which was set up in Cambodia. In fact, when your predecessor stated his wish to establish an office of the High Commission in East Timor we immediately concurred and lost no time in requesting our government to give its political and financial backing to realize this. The plan had to be subsequently changed, but we still support the alternative plan for a member or members of your staff to be placed at the UNDP office in Jakarta with free access to East Timor guaranteed, and we are again calling on our government to back this plan up both politically and financially.

Another priority, we believe, is a strategy for achieving the long-range goal of establishing lasting peace in East Timor. As you are aware, for several years now the United Nations has been convening "all-inclusive" talks among Timorese on an irregular and preliminary basis in parallel with the bilateral Portuguese-Indonesian ministerial talks. As a matter of fact, it was in response to this Forum's urging that the Japanese Government began providing financial support for these talks. Not that we are by any means satisfied with the amount being contributed (approximately 5 million yen). For we are well aware that in the past year alone our Government provided economic aid to the Indonesian Government to the tune of 214 billion.

It is our earnest wish to see set in motion in East Timor a peace process such as was realized in Palestine and Guatemala. We are convinced this is not an idle dream. We are witnessing the emergence, for instance, of more and more voices in the democratization movement in Indonesia calling for a peaceful settlement. The day is coming when the voices of the masses in Indonesia calling for democratization will converge with the voices calling for peace in East Timor and swell into a powerful current for change. We are in solidarity with the Indonesian people and are prepared to stand by them if they are threatened because of their movement for democracy. Furthermore, Indonesia is now caught up in a serious financial crisis, so that if there ever was an appropriate moment for accepting peace and calling back the occupation forces that are draining the nations resources and eroding its social fabric, that time is now. We therefore strongly encourage you to impress upon the government officials you will be meeting here in Tokyo the desirability of Japan taking an honorable stand and contributing actively to a peaceful solution of the conflict in the region.

Finally, we wish you good health and success in your important work. We are looking forward to meeting you in person at the Diet.

Sincerely yours,

竹 村 泰 子

Sen. Yasuko Takemura, President

金 田 誠 一

Rep. Seiichi Kaneta, General-secretary



Congressional Research Service • The Library of Congress • Washington, D.C. 20540-7000

April 27, 1993

Mr. Arnold Kohen
3812 Windom Place, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20016

Dear Mr. Kohen:

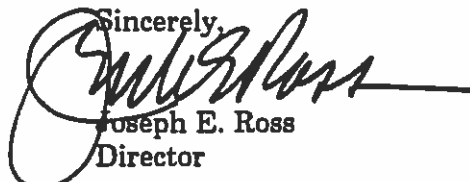
Thank you for agreeing to participate in the Congressional Research Service sponsored seminar, **U.S.-Indonesian Relations and the Impact of the East Timor Issue** on May 4, 1993 from 12:00—2:00 p.m. in Dining Room A (6th Floor) of the James Madison Building.

As you know from our preliminary discussion, we would like you to speak for about 15 minutes on **East Timor's future status and the self-determination question**. We have also asked **William Pendley, Assistant Secretary of Defense; James Clad of the Endowment for International Peace, and Anthony Albrecht of the U.S.-ASEAN Council**. They will discuss **U.S. Policy toward Indonesia, Indonesian attitudes towards the East Timor issue, and U.S. economic interests in Indonesia**.

The mission of the Congressional Research Service is solely to support the Congress. We are mandated to provide the Congress with information and analysis that is non-partisan, objective, and balanced. To that end, we invite CRS seminar speakers or panelists holding different views on the legislative initiatives or policy options under consideration. Seminars such as the one in which you have been invited to participate are conducted for the purpose of conveying information to Members of Congress and congressional staff who share an interest in these topics. We have not invited members of the press. We are planning to audio tape the seminar for a possible CRS summary of the seminar.

If you have any further questions, please contact **Larry Niksch** who is coordinating this seminar. He may be reached at **202.707.7680**.

We are looking forward to your presentation on May 4.

Sincerely,

Joseph E. Ross
Director

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

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

July 9, 1993

for Tessa Piper and Victoria Forbes Adam

Dear friends,

Check out the attached editorial from the Washington
Post.

With best wishes,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Arnold", with a horizontal line underneath.

Feb. 9, 1993

for Tom Quigley

Dear Tom,

Attached is the draft ideas for a letter, plus other items, including the written reply from Christopher to Senate questions.

I will try to call you soon, and will be back on the 16th. Clare and others at casa Filochowski send their best, as do I.

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

Translation

Letter from Msg. Carlos Filipe X. Belo dated November 30, 1993 to Arnold Kohen

I was in East Timor in 1974. I left Lisbon on September 4, 1974. On September 9 "leftist" Timorese students arrived from Lisbon in East Timor who transformed the "Timorese Social Democratic Association" into the Fretilin. Some of these students were in Lisbon and on May 20 of that year, they held a meeting in the "Casa de Timor" in Lisbon with the goal of adopting a strategy for East Timor after the 25th of April. One of the resolutions was to request the resignation of the governor at that time, Mr. Alves Aldeia. I was present at this meeting as a simple observer as I was a seminary student, but I noted that things were not going well for East Timor.

In 1975 I worked at the Fatumaca school (area of Baucau) . I met some of these students who went from village to village to spread political propaganda. The senior leaders of Fretilin were overtaken by the young people who had come from Lisbon. On the other side, UDT, which was created by well-placed mixed blood people and by Timorese, wanted to stay linked with Portugal. Ideologically they were opposed to Fretilin. The two parties did not understand each other. They were in a war of words and propaganda and of mutual criticism... All this led to physical confrontations between members of the two parties in the villages.

I carried out my work as a school teacher and saw that the students were also excited and divided. In the middle of all this appeared Apodeti with its propaganda of integration and further complicated the situation. In Venilale a teacher asked me in October 1974 what the destiny of East Timor in the midst of all this confusion would be. I only responded that "It is difficult to answer this question. But the truth is that Indonesia is very interested in annexing East Timor, if the political parties do not understand each other to search jointly for the common good." It was said and it happened. There was the coup of August 11, then the counter coup by Fretilin... and then the Indonesian invasion. In August 1975 I fled to Atambua and from there I went to Macau.

From Macau I accompanied the landing of Indonesian parachutists in Dili via the radio. I told myself that on that day East Timor lost forever the possibility of being independent. But the people of East Timor needed to survive with their culture and their religion. That is why I decided, after completing my theology studies, to return to East Timor to help the people survive with my work as a priest and a Salesian, dedicating myself first of all to the young people who had survived the horrors of war. Back in 1974 many of the Timorese students did not want me to return to East Timor. In



On the side of people in need

Romero Close, Stockwell Road, London SW9 9TY

Telex: 893347 CAFOD G Fax: 071 274 9630

Telephone: 071 733 7900

TELEFAX COVER PAGE

Date: Feb. 3, 1993
For the attention of: Margaret O'Grady
Company Name: Christian Aid
Re: Timor Project
Total number of pages (including this page) 8
If you do not receive all the pages, please contact us as soon as possible.
Thank you

To help Steve get this to you, I
came over here to get a chunk of
the pertinent information from the file.
The first 7 pages answer a number
of the questions that need to be answered.
The last page is the 1990 financial
report. The 1991-92 report will
reach Cafod by end of February.
I will fax additional information
on project plans for '93 plus project
board members, on Friday. Thanks for
your patience. Anne

From: Arnold Cohen

Nov. 24, 1993

Maura Leen
TROCAIRE

Dear Maura,

Thanks for your second fax. Tomorrow is the start of the 4 day Thanksgiving national holiday, and I am rushing to get some other tasks out of the way today to which I was previously committed; therefore, I will send the requested information early next week.

In the meantime, attached is some recent press and Congressional material.

I will look forward to talking with you, and hopefully meeting, on Dec. 13.

With best wishes,

Arnold Kohen
Project Director

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

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

October 27, 1993

for Paul Valentin----3 pages
Asia Desk
Oxfam

Dear Paul,

Attached is an additional letter, more detailed from the Senate letter I sent you earlier, that just began circulation in the US House of Representatives in connection with the Seattle meeting I mentioned.

I thought you should have it as part of your dossier.

Arnold

Nov. 22, 1993

Dear _____,

At the suggestion of Margaret O'Grady of Christian Aid, we are writing to you to explore the possibility of financial support for The Timor Project. Margaret O'Grady has told us to say that before you reject the following request, please contact her for more information.

The Timor Project, founded by students and scholars of the Indonesian region in 1976, has been based in Washington since 1979. The Project, directed by a former journalist for one of the largest television networks in the United States, works closely with the US Congress, the international news media, major church institutions, international human rights and humanitarian organizations, and many others, to raise awareness of the East Timor tragedy and promote concrete assistance as well as a longterm political solution for the people there. We have worked closely with authoritative church figures within East Timor and elsewhere since the late 1970s and collaborate closely with them on an ongoing basis. A wide variety of experts believe that our Project has had a major impact over time.

We are writing to you now because of the increasing urgency of the East Timor situation as it has developed in the two years since the Santa Cruz massacre. Authoritative sources report tightening repression, at the same time that the Indonesian government is spending millions of dollars on public relations efforts in the United States, Europe and elsewhere. It is vital that our Project, on which the Timorese people depend, has the financial means to expand our activities during this crucial period.

Should your agency be interested in pursuing this matter, we can send a full proposal and additional information, plus references. While travelling to Europe on other matters, I would also be available to meet with you in ----- in early 1994.

We recognize that this request is an unorthodox one, coming as it is from an American-based group. However, please give it your fullest consideration, in view of the circumstances that exist. Attached are a number of examples of the influence of our work.

Yours Sincerely,

Arnold Kohen, Project Director

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

FAX

609-757-6487

3812 Windom Place, NW

Washington, D.C. 20016

Tel. 202-363-1649

Fax 202-363-3658

Feb 10, 1993

To Roger Clark - (7) Pages

Dear Roger -

Here is another short

letter for you ^{to do} - I'm serious. Newsweek
(International) ran the attached piece on
Feb. 1. They seem to equate E. Timor's
legal status with all the others. That's
obviously wrong, but they need
to have this pointed out to them. By
you. The fax number of their
letters page is 212-350 4120. I've
included a page of it to give you
an idea of the length.

Best,
Anie

FEB. 9, 1993

For Mr. Lee Arrowood
c/Sen. Wallop

Dear Lee,

Attached is the draft letter, for your comments, changes, etc. I ran it by Amnesty International while I was in London this week, and they thought it hit the mark. I spoke for several hours with the Amnesty researcher on the area, who just returned from Indonesia.

If you could put it through the process in your office over the next week, to get a preliminary reaction, it would be great. As I mentioned, Rick Kessler has indicated the likelihood that Pell will want to circulate it with Sen. Wallop, but it is best that the draft reach Rick through your office.

I am also attaching a few other items, and Amnesty may send you a press release of theirs that I seem to have run out of. Two pages attached here are questioned answered by Warren Christopher, one of them in writing in response to Senate questions.

I will be back on Feb. 16 and give you a call on the 17th to see how you want to proceed. Needless to say, I am prepared to provide any other info you need, together with Amnesty, et al.

Thanks for your help.

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

June 3, 1993

Ms. Cora Weiss
The Samuel Rubin Foundation
777 UN Plaza
New York, NY 10017

Dear Ms. Weiss,

It was very good to see you late last year, although it was such a sad time, in light of the death of Petra Kelly.

The following material is intended for submission to the next Foundation meeting that you find convenient.

For many years, this project worked to develop a network of contacts in the news media, Congress, the religious community, the international human rights organizations and in East Timor itself. In the crisis of the past 18 months, we have seen this network of contacts come to fruition in a manner that few ever could have anticipated.

Since the late 1970s, in no major country in the world has there been as much sustained activity in the media and the Congress on the Timor situation as there has been in the United States. This activity played a heavy role in the turnaround in the U.S. position at the U.N. Human Rights Commission vote on East Timor in March 1993, which in turn has helped begin to shift the international climate on the issue: Japan and other nations are beginning to reassess their positions, something that would have been nearly unthinkable a short time ago. There are now better prospects than ever of a United Nations-brokered peace settlement, and if that happens, the shift in the U.S. position will have played a crucial role in the process.

By dint of its support for this endeavor since 1983, the Samuel Rubin Foundation has played an important role in our arriving at this crucial juncture. The typical argument over the years was that the Timor situation was a tragic but impossibly lost cause, and that nothing could be done to change that. For its part, the Project argued for a decade-and-a-half that one day a major event could draw unusual international attention to the Timor situation and change the equation. This happened with the massacre of Nov. 12, 1991,

Arnold S. Kohen

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

December 22, 1993

for Dr. Peter Carey
Trinity College

Dear Peter,

I spoke at length with John Pilger yesterday and finally he seemed to agree it would be a good idea if I reviewed his script. He also volunteered that he would send me an advance copy of the film itself before it is finalized. Hopefully he will follow through.

Thanks again for all your help and hospitality. I was glad to have the chance talk with you last Wednesday morning, and hope that we can stay in close touch in the new year. At some point, I would like your assessment as to the short and longterm impact of the whole Feingold Amendment episode, for example, because this would help us decide how to approach things in 1994.

After we met, I took a walk over to MOMA, saw John Leslie, and then rode into London with Chrissie and Astrid of MOMA as well. It was a rather pleasant day, in fact.

Thanks again for all your hospitality and encouragement. I appreciated your Humboldt paper, and can only hope that the situation in Timor will change before long. To that end, your advice in 1994 on the diplomatic front will be most welcome.

With best holiday greetings to you and your family.

All the best,

PS The Lopes obit is attached. The
91 Observer piece should have
reached you by now. If not, let me
know.

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

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

July 4, 1993

for Mr. Anthony Goldstone
8 pages

Attached is some material of interest, especially the one pager
of July 3. Guess who wrote it. Never would have been possible in
your time...

With best wishes,

Arnold

December 8, 1993

The Rt. Rev. Paul Moore Jr.
55 Bank Street
New York, NY 10014

Dear Paul,

Attached are copies of the Senate and House letters to which I referred in the draft memo to Winston Lord and Peter Tarnoff.

In this note I will talk about a more immediate concern, namely the situation of the dozen or so East Timorese who are serving long prison sentences stemming from events surrounding the Nov. 1991 massacre, and their families.

The situation of these prisoners is mentioned in both of the enclosed Congressional letters, of course, and that is positive. But in the short run, at least, this does them little concrete good. Or so it seems. Charged with peaceful political activity, they have received sentences that Asia Watch has characterized as "savage." While the Timor situation has received much more notice over the past two years, the situation of these prisoners has been largely forgotten.

Amnesty International's Geoff Robinson told me that two of the prisoners -- Gregorio Saldanha (serving a life sentence) and Saturnino da Costa Belo (15 years, I believe) have situations that are especially poignant. Gregorio, a medic by profession, had been the sole support of his family before his arrest; Saturnino, an orphan whose brother was killed not long ago, has no family members left to send him packets of food, etc, in jail (many prisoners in Indonesian jails manage to get by only with family help). Another. Francisco Branco, whose parents I met in Portugal while assisting Amnesty on a research mission in 1992, is doing 15 years, essentially for being in the wrong place at the wrong time; Branco, a man about 42, left a wife and 5 kids behind in Dili. The cases go on like this.

Some aid has been sent via the East Timor Church. Dr. Peter Carey, who put on the conference we attended at Oxford three years ago as I write, has sent about US \$2,000 through Father Cardoso (the Rhode Island priest who came with me to Stonington in July), earmarked for Gregorio and Saturnino.

Page 2, A. Kohen to Bishop Paul Moore Jr.

I have just sent a check for \$1,000 to Father Cardoso to be sent to East Timorese priests for Christmas distribution to the neediest of the families of the aforementioned prisoners, with need to be determined by trusted East Timorese priests. The families who have the greatest need will get most of the help; those who have less need will get small presents as a token for their missing loved one.

When Bishop Belo was here you mentioned that you would be willing to donate the cost of our New York expenses, which amounted to about \$650. But our small project does not need this amount. The people mentioned here need it far more, and I believe you will agree that there are few better ways to share the (ecumenical) holiday spirit. I would respectfully request that if your offer is still open, that you donate whatever you are able to "Women's Division, United Methodist Church", earmarked for "East Timor Fund" and send it to Ms. Mia Adjali, UMOUN, 777 UN Plaza, New York 10017. Send me a copy of your note to UMOUN, for my records.

Thanks very much for whatever you can do. You have already done so much with such dedication that I am reluctant to approach you with more things, but I thought that this one would appeal to you.

I look forward to seeing you and Brenda early in the New Year.

With all best wishes for the holiday season and 1994,

PS I will be away from Dec. 13-18, but I will receive messages throughout.

December 9, 1993

Mr. Vincent McGee
c/o The Aaron Diamond Foundation
1270 Avenue of the Americas
New York, NY 10020

Dear Vincent,

I am sorry that it has taken me so long to follow up our June phone conversation regarding your generous pledge of \$1,000 toward the travelling expenses of the distinguished clergyman from East Timor that we discussed.

I did not go into great detail on this matter at the time we spoke, but the trip was centered around the Roman Catholic Bishop of East Timor, Carlos Ximenes Belo (see attached New York Times profile). Indonesia has new laws that can bar its citizens from re-entry for vaguely-worded offenses like "embarrassing the state" while travelling abroad, and so Belo's visit by necessity was of a relatively quiet nature, though it turned out to be extremely productive nonetheless.

Bishop Belo has been nominated for a Nobel Peace Prize (the writer of the attached Times profile finds it "a plausible nomination), and it would not be surprising if he were to receive the prize over the next few years. It is an exciting prospect, one that I would like to discuss with you in person in the New Year.

Your donation can be sent, as before, to Mia Adjali at UMOUN, 777 UN Plaza, New York 10017, and made to "Women's Division, United Methodist Church" and earmarked for "East Timor Fund."

Thanks again.

With best wishes for a happy new year,

Sept. 10, 1993

for Father Reinaldo Cardoso

LETTER RE: X

Dear Representative (or Senator):

I urge you to work for the unconditional release of Mr. Xanana Gusmao, the leader of the resistance movement in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor, who was recently moved from an East Timor prison to one more than a thousand miles away on the island of Java, Indonesia.

Experts such as Amnesty International fear for Mr. Gusmao's health, well-being and safety. Neither the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) nor his family have been allowed to meet with Mr. Gusmao since he was condemned to a long prison sentence in May. A senior Indonesian official recently confirmed that Mr. Gusmao had been on hunger strike.

Pressure by the US is urgently needed on this matter so that ICRC personnel and his family may be allowed to meet with Mr. Gusmao regularly. Beyond these urgent goals, it is vital that the United States work for the unconditional release of Mr. Gusmao and his inclusion in talks currently taking place on the subject of East Timor at the United Nations in New York.

August 4, 1993

TO: Eric Schwartz

FROM: Bruce Cameron

SUBJECT: Negotiations on East Timor between Portugal and Indonesia
on September 17

The bottom line is the following: the Clinton Administration has accomplished much that is new on East Timor and deserves credit. To build on the record now and to move the process further, the Administration should communicate, in the appropriate diplomatic manner, clear support for the talks that will take place in New York on September 17th between Portugal and Indonesia. Most important is a strong word to the Secretary-General that the U.S. supports the talks, has a strong interest in them, and wants them to proceed in a direction that will provide immediate relief to the people of East Timor, e.g. rapid movement toward autonomy.

The Clinton Record

1. Secretary of State Warren Christopher in his confirmation hearings wrote to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that "(t)he situation in East Timor deserves a fresh look by the Clinton Administration." (As far as I know there has been no organized fresh look to date.)
2. This was followed by U.S. support for a very strong resolution on the human rights situation in East Timor during the workings of the United Nations Human Rights Commission in

March.

3. The Administration appeared to qualify its interest in reviewing its policy when Assistant Secretary of State for East Asia designate Winston Lord wrote to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee promising only a "fresh look at our human right policy toward Indonesia." He also stated that the previous policy of recognizing the incorporation of East Timor into Indonesia "has served us well". Lord then wrote correctly and without apparent irony, "The human rights situation in East Timor remains grim and unacceptable."

4. The Administration has apparently turned down a request from Jordan to sell Indonesia reconditioned, U.S. built F-5s.

5. On July 7 in a meeting with President Suharto in Tokyo, President Clinton raised the East Timor situation and other human rights issues in a very pointed way, sufficient to cause a journal in Asia, citing local diplomats, to claim that the President had insulted Suharto (see attached).

CONGRESSIONAL ACTION

1. The House Appropriations Committee prohibited IMET to Indonesia and placed Indonesia on the notification list for all economic aid. In addition, the Committee called upon the "Administration to give strong support to (the talks between Portugal and Indonesia) and urge(d) the Secretary-General to take a more personal and direct role in the talks (see attached).

2. The House Foreign Affairs Committee echoed this strong

support and also called for consideration "for example...(of) a significant reduction of the (Indonesian) military presence on East Timor and the establishment of greater degree of local governmental autonomy through elections in which all parties could take part" (see attached).

3. On June 30, 1993 43 Senators sent a letter to President Clinton urging him to raise human rights issues in his meeting with President Suharto and to "facilitat(e) serious negotiations at the United Nations" (see attached).

4. In September Senator Feingold is planning to introduce legislation in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee mark-up that would effectively ban all military sales to Indonesia (see attached).

In summary, based on prior Administration actions and all the moves in Congress, it makes sense for the Administration to try to push the September talks into high gear. Toward this end, it would be helpful if, prior to September 1, two and one-half weeks before the talks begin, a very clear, high-level expression of U.S. interest for serious talks that make rapid progress were conveyed to the Secretary-General.

INDONESIA AND EAST TIMOR

The Committee has commented on the situation in East Timor on a number of occasions in the past and continues to be concerned with the flagrant abuses of human rights to which the Timorese people are routinely subjected by the Indonesian military.

The human rights of the East Timorese continue to be routinely violated and the Indonesians have made no concessions at all to the principle of meaningful participation by the East Timorese population.

Secretary of State Warren Christopher in his confirmation hearings responded in writing to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that "the situation in East Timor deserves a fresh look by the Clinton administration." This was followed by United States support for a very strong resolution on the human rights situation in East Timor during the proceedings of the United Nations Human Rights Commission in March.

The Committee welcomes these measures but believes now that a first step that could bring real change to the human rights situation is to convince the Indonesian government to commit itself to carry out a phased demilitarization of the island. A second and parallel step would be for the Indonesians to permit participation by the Timorese in government by the holding of local elections in which all parties, including the guerrillas, could take part.

Since demilitarization also requires action by the guerrillas and since East Timorese would rightfully be wary of any elections unilaterally announced by the Indonesians, both steps should be negotiated through talks sponsored by the United Nations between Indonesia and the former colonial ruler, Portugal. Such talks could also be a forum for discussion between Indonesia and the East Timorese people. The Committee urges the Administration to give strong support to these talks and urges the Secretary-General to take a more personal and direct role in the talks.

The Committee strongly believes that the United States, Europe and Japan must unite behind a human rights policy that evolves from the more narrow human rights policy of the past and focuses on demilitarization and local self-rule in East Timor in the short term with a final settlement in the medium or long term based on a genuine act of self-determination in the form of a United Nations supervised referendum.

House Foreign Affairs Comm
report language
FY '94
p. 94
June 11, 1993

Indonesia

Indonesia is an emerging power in the East Asia region, with a vibrant economy and an increasingly influential political role. Its co-chairmanship of the Paris Peace Conference on Cambodia is but one example of the constructive role that the country can play in promoting peace and regional stability. By providing base access rights for U.S. military forces, the Government of Indonesia has demonstrated the benefits that accrue to the United States from enhanced relations with Indonesia.

It is therefore with some regret that the committee observes that human rights abuses by the Indonesian government remain a significant obstacle to a fully constructive relationship. Problems include torture and other mistreatment of detainees, arbitrary interference with individual liberties, and restrictions on civil and political rights. Of particular concern, moreover, are continuing violations of human rights in East Timor. In the wake of the November 1991 Dili incident, the number of demonstrators who were tried exceeded the number of military personnel who were court-martialed, and the charges and sentences affecting the former were much more severe than those for the latter. More recently, independent observers who attended the trial of Timorese leader Xanana Gusmao concluded that the proceeding was characterized by a denial of due process. With respect to the Timor issue, the committee urges the parties concerned to consider seriously ways to reduce underlying tensions between the Indonesian government and its opponents on the island. Discussions sponsored by the U.N. Secretary General between Indonesia and Portugal, the former colonial ruler of Timor, are a promising venue for formulating such tension-reduction measures. Consideration should be given, for example, to a significant phased reduction of the military presence on East Timor and the establishment of greater degree of local governmental autonomy through elections in which all parties could take part.

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510

June 30, 1993

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

Dear President Clinton:

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


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

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

The Honorable William J. Clinton
June 30, 1993
Page 2

We believe that resolutions to these problems would benefit Jakarta over time. We recognize the long term friendship between the United States and the Republic of Indonesia. We note that bipartisan action taken by the United States Senate in 1949 is generally recognized to have hastened Indonesia's independence from The Netherlands. It is in the spirit of this long friendship and historical link that we make these suggestions on the East Timor situation.

Sincerely,


Malcolm Wallop

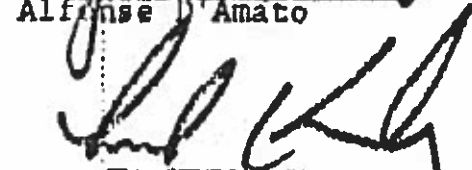

Claiborne Pell

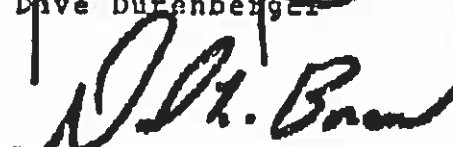

John McCain



Russ Feingold


Alfonse D'Amato

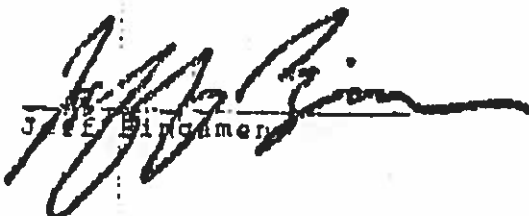

Dave Durenberger


Edward M. Kennedy


David L. Boren


Paul Simon


Byron L. Dorgan


J. Bennett Johnston


John D. Rockefeller, IV

Senate letter on East Timor, July 1993

1. Wallop (R-Wyoming)
2. Pell (D-Rhode Island)
3. McCain (R-Arizona)
4. Feingold (D-Wisconsin)
5. Boren (D-Oklahoma)
6. Kennedy (D-Massachusetts)
7. Bingaman (D-New Mexico)
8. Chafee (R-Rhode Island)
9. Simon (D-Illinois)
10. Dorgan (D-North Dakota)
11. D'Amato (R-New York)
12. Durenberger (R-Minnesota)
13. Rockefeller (D-West Virginia)
14. Moynihan (D-New York)
15. Kohl (D-Wisconsin)
16. Boxer (D-California)
17. Roth (R-Delaware)
18. Wofford (D-Pennsylvania)
19. DeConcini (D-Arizona)
20. Lautenberg (D-New Jersey)
21. Robb (D-Virginia)
22. Leahy (D-Vermont)
23. Dodd (D-Connecticut)
24. Bryan (D-Bryan)
25. Levin (D-Michigan)
26. Metzemaum (D-Ohio)
27. Graham (D-Florida)
28. Sarbanes (D-Maryland)
29. Hathews (D-Tennessee)
30. Kerry (D-Massachusetts)
31. Wellstone (D-Minnesota)
32. Grassley (D-Iowa)
33. Bradley (D-New Jersey)
34. Lieberman (D-Connecticut)
35. Akaka (D-Hawaii)
36. Biden (D-Delaware)
37. Harkin (D-Iowa)
38. Sasser (D-Tennessee)
39. Daschle (D-South Dakota)
40. Mikulski (D-Maryland)
41. Craig (R-Iowa)
42. Riegle (D-Michigan)
43. Hatfield (R-Oregon)

FEINGOLD Amendment on Indonesia

At the appropriate place in the bill insert the following:

SEC . CONDITIONS ON ARMS SALES TO INDONESIA

(a) IN GENERAL - Except as provided in subsection (b) the President may not --

(1) sell defense articles, defense services, or design and construction services, under the Arms Export Control Act to the Government of Indonesia; or

(2) issue licenses pursuant to Section 38 of such Act with respect to a sale of defense articles and defense services to such Government.

(b) WAIVER -- The President may waive the prohibition contained in paragraph (1) or (2) of subsection (a) for a fiscal year if the President determines and reports to the Congress for that fiscal year that --

(1) the Government of Indonesia is permitting immediate and unrestricted access in East Timor to international human rights and humanitarian organizations;

(2) the Government of Indonesia has ended all forms of inhumane treatment (including torture) in East Timor; and

(3) such Government is in compliance with United Nations Security Council Resolutions 384 and 389 relating to --

(A) the immediate withdrawal of Indonesian armed forces from East Timor; and

(B) the respect by such Government to the right of self-determination for the population of East Timor.



Congressional Research Service • The Library of Congress • Washington, D.C. 20540-7000

April 27, 1993

Mr. Arnold Kohen
3812 Windom Place, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20016

Dear Mr. Kohen:

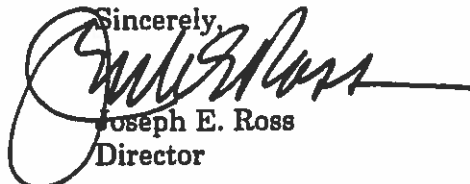
Thank you for agreeing to participate in the Congressional Research Service sponsored seminar, **U.S.-Indonesian Relations and the Impact of the East Timor Issue** on May 4, 1993 from 12:00—2:00 p.m. in Dining Room A (6th Floor) of the James Madison Building.

As you know from our preliminary discussion, we would like you to speak for about 15 minutes on **East Timor's future status and the self-determination question**. We have also asked **William Pendley, Assistant Secretary of Defense; James Clad of the Endowment for International Peace, and Anthony Albrecht of the U.S.-ASEAN Council**. They will discuss **U.S. Policy toward Indonesia, Indonesian attitudes towards the East Timor issue, and U.S. economic interests in Indonesia**.

The mission of the Congressional Research Service is solely to support the Congress. We are mandated to provide the Congress with information and analysis that is non-partisan, objective, and balanced. To that end, we invite CRS seminar speakers or panelists holding different views on the legislative initiatives or policy options under consideration. Seminars such as the one in which you have been invited to participate are conducted for the purpose of conveying information to Members of Congress and congressional staff who share an interest in these topics. We have not invited members of the press. We are planning to audio tape the seminar for a possible CRS summary of the seminar.

If you have any further questions, please contact **Larry Niksch** who is coordinating this seminar. He may be reached at **202.707.7680**.

We are looking forward to your presentation on May 4.

Sincerely,

Joseph E. Ross
Director

July 27, 1993

for Tessa Piper

Dear Tessa,

Thanks for your nore re: the W. Post letter, plus the other material, which is always very helpful. I asked our friend to get in touch with his church friends. He said he has been trying, but has been unable to reach his main contact. He will keep trying. Meanwhile, a letter posted on 21 July and sent via express mail from Java arrived today from Bishop Belo. It is on thinnish paper that wouldn't fax well, so herewith I send a translation of the relevant extract. The original will follow. I am sending him a letter through a British Catholic Bishop who is leaving London on Monday Aug. 2 (if you want to send anything, let me know), and will ask for more precise information on the July 22 events.

If you receive any other news, please send it on.

Arnold S. Kohen

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

October 12, 1993

for Robyn Lieberman
c/Sen. Feingold

③ Pages

Dear Robyn,

Thanks for the re-draft. I've added a couple of things here to your text re: human rights, etc, also have briefly clarified a few things.

Please call me when you are ready to discuss this.

Thanks much.

A

PS Repetition of what the Senate said in Nov. 1991 is very important viz: the Indonesians and the U.N. The other human rights matters are quite new.

REVISED Draft Letter to Clinton on APEC Meeting

President William J. Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, DC 20520

Dear Mr. President:

As you prepare for the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation summit meeting in Seattle from November 17-20, we are writing to urge you to take the opportunity to underscore the need for serious action to resolve the tragic conflict in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor, which was invaded by Indonesian in 1975 and has been the scene of widespread and severe human rights abuses ever since. We believe that a just resolution to the problems in East Timor could create a better atmosphere for both American and Indonesian business interests and US-Indonesian relations in general.

We applaud your Administration's actions on behalf of human rights in East Timor. We are grateful that in your discussions with President Suharto during the G-7 meeting you raised the issue of East Timor. We also appreciate the position taken by your Administration at the United Nations Human Rights Commission in March, when the United States co-sponsored a resolution strongly condemning human rights abuses there and calling for greater U.N. involvement in the conflict.

Nevertheless, we have received authoritative information that the human rights situation in East Timor continues to deteriorate. There are consistent and reliable reports of torture of East Timorese detainees, harassment of the Roman Catholic Church, and arbitrary arrests of East Timorese opposed to Indonesian occupation. In fact, during a September visit of Congressional aides, at least 53 young people were "invited to attend guidance courses" while the delegation was visiting the island. Many were reportedly tortured. Moreover, Jakarta has still not accounted for 66 people missing after the Dili massacre of November 1991, nor have the civilians convicted in connection with the peaceful demonstration of Nov. 12, 1991 been treated in accordance with international human rights standards.

When you and members of your Administration meet with President Suharto and other high-level Indonesian officials at the APEC conference, we hope that you will raise our concerns and reiterate the need for an authentic long-term solution to the Timor tragedy under the auspices of the United Nations. Such a solution should be "in pursuit of the right of self-determination" for East Timor,

as endorsed by the United States Senate in a Nov. 1991 resolution. We emphasize our support for the United Nations talks between Indonesia and Portugal. We were encouraged by the September 17 joint United Nations communique between Portugal and Indonesia calling for specific steps to be taken to secure the human rights of the East Timorese such as freer access for international humanitarian and human rights groups. Implementation of this agreement and other moves, such as withdrawal of Indonesian troops, release of East Timorese political prisoners and the granting of meaningful autonomy to East Timor could help foster an environment of peace and reconciliation in East Timor.

We recognize the long-term friendship between the United States and the Republic of Indonesia, dating back to the strong support of the U.S. Senate on behalf of Indonesia during its struggle for independence from The Netherlands in the 1940s. It is the spirit of this historical link in which we ask for your continued support for East Timor, human rights, and prosperous trade relations between our two countries.

July 23, 1992

REF: TIM91001- A0122

Maura Leen
TROCAIRE

Dear Maura,

Hello!! I heard from your Tom Hyland last week. He is really on the way to becoming the 8th wonder of the world. I will look forward to seeing all of you when I make it over -- in all likelihood in September. When I am sure about dates I will be in touch.

Attached is the project proposal. Attached to it are two letters of endorsement from Bishop Belo. All of this should be for the internal use of TROCAIRE only, for the security of all concerned...

Should you have any questions, please let us know. I have tried to be concise, but the urgency is clear.

Stay in touch in general, and please acknowledge receipt of this material.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

Arnold Kohen
Project Director

December 22, 1993

for Maura Leen
TROCAIRE

Dear Maura,

Seasons Greetings and many thanks for your note yesterday. I will forward the information to Bishop Belo.

Speaking of Tom Hyland: I was speaking with Dr. Peter Carey of Trinity College, Oxford, last week. Peter has long been very sympathetic and active on the Timor question, and did a 12 day sponsored walk through Ireland last summer with Timor one of the main themes. (In the end, the walk generated more than US \$1,200 for the neediest of the Timorese prisoners jailed as a result of the Santa Cruz events). He told me that Tom Hyland and others evidently have done quite a good job in raising awareness (either that or a combination of television, radio, etc), because when Peter and his son would visit the most remote places, many people had heard about Timor.

I send our best wishes to you and others in Trocaire, as well as to Tom Hyland and his colleagues. Please send us news of his Christmas day action. Let us hope that 1994 brings changes toward a peaceful and just solution to the Timor tragedy.

With best wishes,

Arnold Kohen
Project Director

PS Would you happen to have an address for Marian Cadogan?

Arnold S. Kohen

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

October 15, 1993

for Alex ("Sandra") Arriaga
Congressional Human Rights Caucus

(4) Pages

Dear Alex,

Thanks for meeting with Bishop Moore and I last night. It was very good to have a chance to talk and get your impressions. We must continue the conversation very soon.

Attached is the draft "Dear Colleague" letter that Marty is working with. Marty will be back in the office on Monday.

Because of time pressure, the letter will need to circulate starting next week.

I would like to touch base with you, so I will be in contact shortly.

Thanks again for your good work.

All the best,

Arnold

Send
evaluation

Asia/Pacific Desk
SR/CM/653.93



Comité Catholique contre la Faim et pour le Développement

Paris, 22nd June 1993

EAST TIMOR RESEARCH PROJECT
Mr. Arnold Kohen
P.O. Box 32037
WASHINGTON D.C. 20007
USA

Dear Mr. Arnold Kohen,

We are pleased to inform you that the C.C.F.D. Project Selection Commission of May 1993 has agreed to grant the amount of:

FFR. 50,000 (FIFTY THOUSAND FRENCH FRANCS)

to project no. "344.00.12/93 entitled: "East Timor Research Project -Lobbying action".

Please consider this grant as exceptional: Even though C.C.F.D. highly appreciates the information given and your lobbying activities for the Timorese people, the Commission has considered that such a support given to action in the USA did not fit our criteria, as funds should be raised in North-America.

We are today giving order to our Bank in Paris to transfer the above-mentioned amount to your account at National Capital Bank of Washington. Once it is credited, please send back to CCFD-Asia Desk the enclosed form, duly filled in.

Receive our full solidarity and friendship,

Sincerely yours,

Claude BAEHREL
General Secretary

Encl. 1

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

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

Alamat Kantor : CÂMARA ECLESIASTICA, Jl. Gov. Alves Aldeia, 25 Dili 88.001 — Tel. 21665

No. 4.532 / UDD / 1993

Dili, 9 de Agosto de 1993

Inre :
Perihal :
Your Ref. :

Rev. Senhor
Padre Reinaldo M. Cardoso
Rhode Island
USA

Senhor Padre Reinaldo:

Os meus melhores cumprimentos.

Aproveitando a vinda do Bispo Auxiliar de Londres, aproveito para lhe enviar as minhas saudações.

Antes de tudo, muito obrigado por tudo o que tem feito por nós. Desde que regresssei, o trabalho não tem faltado. No dia 2 do corrente estive na sua antiga Paróquia Suai, para abrir uma nova comunidade de Religiosas que vão dirigir ali um Hospital Católico. Este hospital está pronto, e tem a capacidade para receber 70 pessoas, para começar. As Irmãs são filipinas e indonesias. Além desta comunidade, existe a Comunidade das Irmãs Canossianas que desenvolvem a sua acção na Paróquia e nas Escolas.

Nós os sacerdotes (do Clero secular), tivemos o nosso retiro anual em Dare, dirigido por um pregador Calretiano, vindo de Madrid.

Das notícias que recebo de Lautém, que por lá foram presas muitas pessoas, ao longo dos meses de Junho e Julho. Todas elas foram interrogadas e como sempre, apanham pancadaria, antes de serem libertas.

Espero que o Sr. Arnold continue a mexer os cordelinhos aí em Washington para pressionar os Indonésios a acabarem de uma só vez os abusos dos direitos humanos.

Reza por nos.

Com votos de muita estima

mt. dedicado ao Senhor



Dr. Filipe X. Belo, SDB
Administrador Apostólico de DILI

NB/ Recebo a notícia do Pároco de Baucau, que na semana passada, os Soldados Indonésios, do Batalhão 301, mataram dois homens, sem nenhuma razão especial. E que na zona de Baucau corataram a orelha um jovem, anti-integração.

ALGUMAS INFORMACOES

Com as varias pressoes do Mundo Internacional em relação a violação dos Direitos Humanos em TL, a inteligencia Indonesia procura novas formas de continuar a eliminar pacificamente todos os que lutam pela justica e libertacao do Povo de TL.

Novas tacticas que a inteligencia Indonesia pretende realizar ate o dia 17 de Setembro de 1993, data do encontro para a solucao do problema de TL em Nova York e o seguinte :

Criar no seio do Povo, grande movimento e divertimentos como feiras, concorrências de bicicletas, para no meio dessa confusao raptar os elementos perseguidos.

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

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

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

No.4.563 /UDD/ '93

Dili, 8 de Setembro de 1993

Inre : Abuso de direitos humanos

Perihal :

Your Ref. :

Senhor Arnold S. Kohen

7324 Baltimore Avenue

Takoma Park

Maryland 20912-USA

Senhor Arnold:

Os meus melhores cumprimentos para si e para toda a família.

Com est quero contar um pouco aquilo que aconteceu no dia 5 passado, aqui em minha casa, em Lecidere. Nesse dia, estava programada a visita de 3 congressistas americanos. Logo de manhã, os militares tomaram providências para evitarem todo o tipo de demonstração dos jovens. Entretanto, pelas 6.00 h de manhã, tivemos a missa no pátio da minha Residência, visto, ser muito elevado o numero de fieis, e a capela ser pequena. Nessa missa notou-se uma assistência numerosa, visto estarem muitos jovens. Depois da missa alguns deles meterem-se nas salas, nos balneários, na cozinha, a esperar da hora para fazerem a demonstração diante dos congressistas. Eran perto de cem jovens. Durante o dia, vinham chegando mais chovens. Aqueles que foram vistos por mim, pessoalmente, foram expulsos da minha casa. Porem um bom grupo ficou escondido nos balneários. As 17.00 tive de pegar numa vassoura e expulsei a todos até ao portão da casa. O problema foi que a nossa casa foi toda cercada de militares, polícias e "bufos", perto de 200 pessoas. Depois de muita discussão com os jovens, decidi leva-los pessoalmente numa camioneta e deixei-os nos respectivos lugares. Assim que não houve demonstração. No entanto, quanto os jovens estavam diante do portão (cerca de 50), foram filmados pela Inteligência. E no seguinte, dia 6, os soldados foram apanhar todos estes jovens, leva-los para o sítio deles, e estes jovens que nem sequer fizeram a demonstração diante dos americanos foram barbaramente espancados, batidos e torturados.

Senhor Arnold: o que eu noto é que a repressão continua. E os jovens também estão decididos a organizarem demonstrações. Portanto, isto parece, a cereja puxa cereja...

Daquele primeiro grupo que os militares mandaram para o interior da Ilha, alguns já voltaram, mas outros ainda ficam por lá.

No entanto, a rede clandestina, vai-se fortificando.

Peco ao Senhor Arnold para contactar com os Congressistas para continuar a pressionar a Indonesia, a fim de retirar as tropas de Timor, e dar mais liberdade as populações.

Peco ao Senhor para continuar a enviar informações sobre Timor e se for possível, os topicos das conversações, em New York, entre Portugal e a Indonésia.

Rezem por mim, pois agora, tenho de enfrentar os dois lados: a Indonésia e a Juventude (Povo de Timor). E as vezes é difícil satisfazer a todas as partes.

Os soldados continuam a acusar-me que eu e que fomento as demonstrações, e os jovens acusam-me de estar já vendido aos Indonésios, porque não permito fazer demonstrações em Lecidere.

So isto e que tenho a transmitir, e vou mandar esta carta através do Cafod.

Adeus, do Bispo de Alentejo uuuuu!

Ciao

Mgr. Carlos Filipe

Administrador Apostólico

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

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

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

No. 4560 / UDD / 1993

Dili, 5 de Setembro de 1993

Inre :
Perihal :
Your Ref. :

Ex.mo Sr. Arnold Kohen
7324 Baltimore Avenue
Takoma Park, Maryland 20912
USA

Os meus melhores cumprimentos para toda a Família, na nova residência. Recebi as duas cartas. Uma enviada por meio da Senhora Sharon Waxman, e a outra (fax), através do Sr. Steve Alston, da CAFOD.

Devo dizer-lhes que estiveram na minha Casa, a Senhora Waxman com os seus colegas, e também o Sr. Steve com a Senhora Catherine Scott.

A situação é a mesma. Sempre o mesmo ambiente do terror. Exemplo: a anteceder a visita dos Senadores e Congressistas, os Indonésios demonstraram a sua força militar de ocupação, fazendo patrulhamento muito rígido em toda cidade de Dili e arredores. Alguns jovens, que mal saíram das cadeias foram levados em cinco(5), dizem, camionetas da tropa para serem distribuídos pelas diferentes unidades. Aos domingos, as Igrejas de Dili, são guardadas pelas tropas indonésias, bem armados, com medo de possíveis demonstrações. O que eu vejo é que a Indonésia tem medo dos jovens, tem medo da População Timorense. Enquanto não houver redução militar, ou redução dos efectivos militares, isto é uma pura e simples ocupação e ditadura militar.

Quanto à visita do Dignatário em 22-24 de Julho passado, a visita foi para abrir e fechar o Seminário sobre a Família, e celebrar a Eucaristia para os casais na Igreja Catedral. Quanto à divisão da Diocese, nada de concreto. O assunto está em Roma e aguarda resolução dos Dicasterios competentes.

Eu escreverei ao Senhor Bispo Moore. O meu problema é que terei primeiro de escrever em Português e depois procurar alguém para traduzir em Inglês. Mas, mas no silêncio recordo-me de todos.

Uma coisa que peço ao Senhor Kohen para anotar e estudar com os especialistas, é o seguinte: Os Indonésios fizeram de tal maneira que os fiéis têm medo de falar com o Bispo. Nos dias 1-2 de Setembro estive na Paróquia de Maliana e Bobonaro, e os cristãos do Suco (Desa, em Bahasa) de Saborai, não foram permitidos, pelos militares de participarem a Eucaristia. Quando foi da visita do Nuncio Apostólico a Bobonaro, em 23 de Julho, os alunos da Escola da Agricultura, não foram a Missa, porque o comandante militar os proibiu de irem, bem como algumas famílias. Criou-se um medo tal entre os cristãos, que os católicos têm agora medo de se aproximarem do Bispo e dos padres.

Os jovens estão sob a contínua vigilância, e eles estão tensos, e creio que algum dia, a coisa pode explodir.

O Senhor Abílio Araújo, de Lisboa, convidou-me para ser intermediário nas conversações entre Timorenses, mas eu recusei e recuso, porque ninguém me encarregou disso, e depois a Fretilim verdadeira (Ramos Horta) não está envolvida. Já falei muito e vou terminar. Envio saudosos cumprimentos e abraços.

Vosso amigo (Bispu de Atentejo)


Carlos Filipe X. Belo
Administrador Apostólico de Dili

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

Alamat Kediaman : Uskupan Lcidere (Bidau) - (P.O.Box) Kotak Pos 1.250 - Dili 88.012 - Tel 21 331
Alamat Kantor : CÂMARA ECLESIÁSTICA, 11, Gov. Alves Aldeia, 25 DILI 88 001 - Tel. 21665

No. 4.564 / UDD / '93

Inre :
Perihal :
Your Ref. :

Dili, 16 de Setembro de 1993
Senhor Arnold S. Kohen
7324 Baltimore Avenue
Takoma Park
Maryland 20912-USA

Senhor Arnold, Senhora Korina e Senhorina Maia:
Os meus melhores cumprimentos.

Eu estou mais ou menos. Voltei ontem da minha visita pastoral a Turiscai, Maubisse, Ainaro e Aileu. Fui a Turiscai para erigir uma nova Paróquia. Como sabem Turiscai é a terra do fundador e antigo Presidente da Fretilim Francisco Xavier do Amaral, agora em Jakarta, vivendo com os militares.

Nesses lugares ouvi muitas queixas das populações: que eles estão sob a contínua vigilância. Na região de Alas, Fatuberliu, as pessoas não podem sair para as hortas para além de dois quilómetros; em Alas e Natarbora, os Indonésios vão estabelecer mais famílias de java, "transmigrasi"; em todos os sítios por onde passei vi muitos postos de controle dos militares dos indonésios. Nestes postos de controle revistam tudo, mesmo incluindo as carteiras e as pastas e as malas. Não admitem que as pessoas levem Katana (parão) e facas. Em Dare, no dia 5 do corrente, bateram um jovem até quase a morrer. Em Dili, no centro dos Komandos, em Kolmera, continuam a torturar os jovens com choques eléctricos.

Como vêem, o ambiente que vivemos aqui é de terror e de pressão.

Os Indonésios dizem que já retiraram de Timor, os batalhões, mas não é verdade. Ao contrário, estão a multiplicar as presenças de pelotões de militares em todos os sítios. Para o vosso conhecimento em Timor, existem estes batalhões:

- 1- "Batalyon Tempur" - Batalhão de guerra, para fazer frente a Fretilim
- 2- "Batalyon Territorial", segundo os indonésios, para fazer o desenvolvimento. Afinal só para espiar as pessoas e bater nelas;
- 3- "KODIM", constituído por aqueles soldados que estão nos Concelhos, e Apostos Administrativos e Sucos, para os serviços militares, sociais e de controle e de inteligência'
- 4- "745" e "744", são unidades especiais de timorenses e indonésios para o avanço para o mato, contra os guerrilheiros;
- 5- Polícia, que está em todos os sítios;
- 6- Tropas de segurança - "HANSIP" e "RATIH"; que são civis timorenses treinados para colaborar e serem criados dos militares'
- 7- Batalhão dos Komandos, "Red Barrets", que aqui em Timor são conhecidos por Nanggala. São os piores e são os que espiam, prendem, e torturam.

Portanto, quando dizem que já mandaram reduzir a tropa e mandaram retirar os "Fighting Batalyon" - "Batalyon tempur", é preciso analisar bem a tática dos indonésios. Mas creio que o Prof. Anderson explicará melhor a constituição do exército indonésio.

Os militares estão agora a fomentar uma campanha contra mim, dizendo em todos os concelhos que eu é que organizei a demonstração do dia 5, aquando da vinda dos Congressistas (quando não houve sequer demonstração) e que eu escondi os dícticos da demonstração (manifestação). Uma campanha de descrédito no meio dos católicos contra o Bispo, para afastar os fiéis das Igrejas. Isto é autêntico regime comunista e é preciso desmontá-lo através de mais pressões em Washington.

Termino agradecendo toda a vossa amizade, e peço continuem a rezar por mim.
Vosso, sempre ao dispor,



Mgr. Carlos Filipe X. Belo
Administrador Apostólico

Arnold S. Kohen

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

Nov. 14, 1993

Mgr. Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo
Bisipo de Dili

Dear Senhor Bisipo,

I hope you are well and enjoying your visit to Australia. How does it compare with the Alentejo??

I was unable to send you a letter until now because there was no one available to carry it to you in Timor and I heard you were visiting Australia in November. Please forgive this.

Your previous letters were transmitted to the proper authorities.

I also have been waiting for word from Bishop Cummins regarding the seminary, but still there is no definite news. I saw him here last night (the first time since we were together in New Orleans), we discussed various possibilities, and I will see him again tomorrow night. Hopefully something will materialize, and I intend to exert all possible pressure to assist this process here.

President Clinton will meet with Suharto in Seattle, Washington late this week. I will send you some documents later this week.

Greetings from Dona Korinna and Menina Maia, who send saudades, and Father Vasconcellos, who sends the usual sort of thing.

I hope to speak with you soon, when you get an opportunity.

With warmest regards,

Your friend,



Arnold S. Kohen

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

August 23, 1993

Phil Shenon
Bangkok Bureau
The New York Times

Dear Phil,

Here is some information on at least two Congressional staff groups that will be visiting East Timor in the near future:

1. On Sept. 1, a group of mainly Senate aides under the auspices of the US-Asia Institute (a group apparently linked closely with the Indonesian government) will spend one day in East Timor (That's what I'm told).

2. Around Sept. 5, a group of aides from the House Foreign Affairs Committee will be there -- again, for one day.

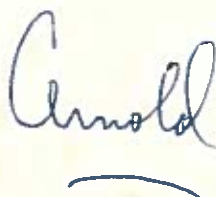
It doesn't seem as if any Senators or Representatives themselves will make the trip, which is the first by any Congressional people (to my knowledge) since the Nov. 12, 1991 massacre.

I have had two letters from Bishop Belo in recent weeks, the latest dated Aug. 6-7; another letter dated Aug. 9 reached a priest in Rhode Island (the one I mentioned, who was Belo's high school teacher). All of them speak of tough Indonesian repression, which, according to Belo, is taking place now because this is the time leading up to the Sept. 17 United Nations talks on the Timor question between Indonesia and Portugal. It sounds as if Belo might like a visit from you or, if that is not possible, a phone call.

Please note that I have moved. Telephone: 301-585-3229.

My wife translated an excerpt, attached, from Belo's earlier letter. The others haven't yet been translated, essentially because of the house move. Let me know if you want them, however.

With best wishes,



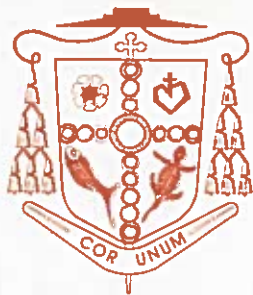
8 October 1993

Nobel Committee
Nobel instituttet
Dramensvein 19
0255 Oslo 2
NORWAY

We would like to recommend Bishop Carlos Filipe X. Belo
of East Timor for the 1994 Nobel Peace Prize.

During his 10 years as Apostolic Administrator of the Roman Catholic Church in the Indonesian-occupied former Portuguese colony of East Timor, Carlos Filipe X. Belo has been a tireless advocate of peace, non-violence and reconciliation in a situation marked by high tension, grim atrocities and an atmosphere of terror.

quotes from NYT, WP, etc
get his c.v. out, his various letters, other relevant historical material;
get notes out
finish this by Nov. 1, 1993



CATHOLIC DIOCESE
OF DARWIN

DIOCESAN OFFICES

1st Floor, 90 Mitchell Street, Darwin N.T. 0800. G.P.O. Box 476, Darwin N.T. 0801
Telephone: (089) 41 1244 Facsimile: (089) 41 2101

Darwin, 5th Dec. 1993

Senhor Arnold:

Os meus sinceros cumprimentos.

Estou em Darwin. Aqui vivem cerca de 3.000 Timorenses. Os Timorenses na Austrália são mais de 12.000. Como é habitual estão divididos, politicamente, em Frelim e UDT. Ainda passam quer ser um contributo para a união dos Timorenses, através da dimensão religiosa. Porim, não me encontro somente com os Timorenses. Encontro-me também com a comunidade Indonésia, com o Consul Português e com o Consul Indonésio.

Regresso dia 6 à Dili, via Bali-Semprasar. Levo as vossas saudações.

Ouvi dizer que neste princípio de Dezembro, está a decorrer a Conversação de reconciliação entre Timorenses. É verdade? Queria uma pequena informação. Renovo os meus cumprimentos.

Vosso amigo

"Bispo de Plentijo"

+ O arcebispo X. B. B.
Arcebispo Apostólico de Dili

East Timor Research Project

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

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

Nov. 23, 1993

Maura Leen
TROCAIRE

Dear Maura,

Rather than burden you with press and Congressional material at this juncture, I will limit this communication to the items I sent you in August. I am also including a copy of the August 19 letter you sent me that prompted my reply. Your letter seems to cover a good deal of the same territory included in the fax you sent today. We would be happy to convey whatever else you might need once you have had a chance to examine these items.

The next year will be quite critical, given the fact of the APEC meeting in Jakarta, which will be an unusual opportunity for world attention for East Timor and, I am convinced, a chance to help bring about a just settlement. All of this will require an extensive discussion and I will look forward to seeing you in Dublin in February, and hopefully speaking by phone in London on Dec. 13.

I will phone you early next week to follow up the subject of your fax, etc.

On behalf of all of those involved in this endeavor, many thanks for your support.

With best regards,



Arnold Kohen
Project Director

August 29, 1993

for Maura Leen----five pages
TROCAIRE

Your Ref: TIM00007 - A0112

Dear Maura,

Greetings from the tropics. I received your letters of 13 and 19 August and thank you for them.

Regarding my travel plans: It appears that Bill Clinton will be having another meeting with Suharto, this time in the U.S. at Seattle, Washington State, in November, at the scheduled economic summit between U.S. and Asian leaders. We already have commitments for a major Congressional initiative, but the whole enterprise will mean a huge amount of work for our Project between now and November and I don't anticipate that I will be able to travel abroad until early December at the soonest. I will keep you posted as to what my plans are, but as you know, my next trip will have Ireland on the agenda and I look forward to getting to Dublin again. The actions of Tom H., et al, re: Keating are to be welcome: wish I could be there to see Keating's face.

Thank you for the recommendation being made to your committee on 8 September. Let me clarify what is involved, regarding your questions of 19 August:

To facilitate understanding on the questions of secretarial services and consultancies, I am faxing a copy of our 1992 financial report. There it is stated that the fair market value of all such services last year -- "Temporary Secretarial, Research Consultants, Media Consultants and Translation" was about US \$50,000, but that the actual cash outlay was roughly one-third of that amount, or just under US \$17,000, all told. [We were advised some time ago to make clear to supporters that our temporary secretarial help and consultants are working at rates well below prevailing market value.] Typically, a major event comes about (emergency activity in the wake of the Santa Cruz massacre, the Clinton-Suharto meetings in Tokyo and Seattle in 1993, the visit of Bishop Belo to the US in 1993, earlier visits by Belo's late predecessor, to cite some examples), and the Project hires two to four individuals on a short-term basis for spurts of activity, for periods ranging from a week to roughly two months, usually involving fees ranging from \$400 to \$3,000, plus expenses, to assist with urgently needed tasks like media outreach, distribution

Page 2, Maura Leen, TROCAIRE

of information, canvassing of Congressional offices, translation, accompanying of visitors, and support work for these and related tasks. The average cost per consultancy is about \$1,500 plus expenses. Given our financial limitations, we have found that this is the most efficient and effective way to make the most of the resources we do have. If you have any further questions, do ask.

Regarding the matter of "international research" (including consultations), this covers a wide variety of subjects and issues, including human rights, and assisting major international organizations in carrying out programs in this area; the position of the church and church development agencies; and the need for new and ongoing humanitarian aid programs and development projects. Having made close contact with Bishop Belo in recent months, it is anticipated that in 1993-94 we will be making a special point of having one or more visits to East Timor to pursue matters of common interest that were raised during Belo's recent visit to the US, having to do with human rights observance, the need for educational and developmental advances, and local autonomy. It is hoped that Project people will accompany Congressional visitors on one or more visits so as to maximize the possibilities posed by the aforementioned challenges. As in past years (see 1992 financial report, for example, where US \$9,822 was spent), actual Project expenditures on international research will be considerably lower than originally estimated. Given the new possibilities of travel to Timor itself, coupled with existing commitments to European-based human rights and development agencies, travel costs in 1993-94 will be higher than in 1992, however.

In addition, here are up-to-date details on the 1993-94 amounts of funding committed:

1. CAFOD, 15,000 pounds sterling (US \$22,000)
 2. Christian Aid, 15,000 pounds sterling (US \$22,000)
 3. CCODP, C \$15,000 (US \$12,000)
 4. Belgian Catholic agencies, US \$7,000
 5. CCFD, FF 50,000 (US \$8,000)* [* not necessarily renewable]
 6. US PRIVATE FOUNDATIONS: US \$30,000
- TOTAL: US \$101,000

REQUEST TO TROCAIRE: 12,000 Irish Pounds or US \$16,000

I hope all of this is useful. I would only add that the Project's need for support is even more pronounced at this time, especially in light of the unprecedented nature of the two Clinton meetings with Suharto in 1993 coupled with our new and more direct ties with the Timorese church, which provide new and exciting opportunities that must be addressed.

↓R

Page 3, Maura Leen, TROCAIRE

at [fax] (301) 585-3288. I will look forward to hearing from you,
and seeing you later on. Thanks again.

With best regards and best wishes to all,

Sincerely,

Arnold Kohen
Project Director

East Timor Research Project

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

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

November 30, 1993

Maura Leen
TROCAIRE

(2) Pages

Dear Maura,

Attached is a breakdown of the temporary staff category for 1992.

An extensive audited accounting of 1992 expenditures will be sent later, as you suggested. The Project has had an overwhelming workload over the past two years since the Santa Cruz incident, as I am certain you can appreciate, and as the documentation surrounding our work attests. Some routine tasks have been delayed as a result.

Should you have any questions or need any further information, please contact me.

I will look forward to meeting or speaking with you on the phone on December 13, to provide some perspective on what promises to be an exciting year ahead of us.

With very best wishes and thanks,

Annie

Arnold S. Kohen
Project Director



TRÓCAIRE

The Catholic Agency for World Development

19 August 1993

sent 8/20/93

169 Booterstown Avenue,
Blackrock, Co. Dublin, Ireland

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

Arnold Kohen
East Timor Research Group
P O Box 32307
Washington DC 20007
U S A

Our Ref: TIM00007 - A0112

Dear Arnie,

Greetings from Dublin.

As you know we are presenting your request for continued support to the ETRP to our 8 September, 1993 Projects Sub-Committee with a grant recommendation of IR£12,000 for a one year period.

To help facilitate this please clarify for us what is included under secretarial services (number of persons) and under consultancy services (including the average cost per consultancy). Also please specify what is meant by international research (ie. the key subjects/issues being covered).

All this will assist our Committee in its decision-making. Please also provide up-to-date details on the amount of funding committed to date.

As you know, Paul Keating visits Ireland from 19 to 22 September, 1993 so a campaign is being organised by the ETISC around this. If you are planning a journey to Europe around then, it would be a good time to visit us.

Let me know your thoughts on this,

With very best regards,

Yours sincerely,

pp 
Maura Leen
Projects Officer

PLEASE QUOTE OUR REFERENCE NO. IN ALL CORRESPONDENCE



TRÓCAIRE The Catholic Agency for World Development
13 August 1993

169 Booterstown Avenue,
Blackrock, Co. Dublin, Ireland

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

Arnold Kohen
East Timore Research Group
P O Box 32307
Washington DC 20007
U S A

Our Ref: TIM00007 - A0112

Dear Arnie,

Greetings from Dublin.

This is just a short note to advise you that your request for assistance is being presented to our Projects Sub-Committee on 8 September, 1993. We shall be in contact with you shortly after that with the result of their deliberations.

Concerning your proposed visit to Ireland, Tom Hyland has organised a programme around the visit of Paul Keating in September. It is hoped that Max Stahl will be here along with Carmel Budiardjo and Shirley Shackleton (the widow of the Australian journalist killed in East Timore in '75 and an active campaigner in East Timor).

Various media and other events will be timed to coincide with Paul Keating's visit. If you are coming this way in September, I would suggest this as being an optimal time in terms of awareness raising work.

Let me know your thoughts on this. Thanks for the information materials. I have shared them with Tom.

Best wishes from all here. Donnacadh is in the Philippines at the moment doing some consultancy work.

With very best regards,

Yours sincerely,

pp 
Maura Leen
Projects Officer

PLEASE QUOTE OUR REFERENCE NO. IN ALL CORRESPONDENCE

United States Senate
Washington, DC 20510

November 6, 1993

President William J. Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave, NW
Washington, DC 20520

Dear Mr. President,

As you prepare for the Asia Pacific Economic Conference (APEC) economic summit in Seattle from November 17-20, we are writing to urge you to take the opportunity to underscore the need for serious action to resolve the conflict in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor, which was invaded by Indonesia in 1975, and has been the scene of widespread and severe human rights abuses ever since. We believe that a just resolution in East Timor would create a better atmosphere for both American and Indonesian business interests, as well as U.S.-Indonesian relations in general.

We applaud your Administration's actions on behalf of human rights in East Timor. We are grateful that in your discussions with President Suharto during the G-7 meeting, you raised the issue of East Timor. We also appreciate the position taken by your Administration at the United Nations Human Rights Commission in Geneva in March, when the United States co-sponsored a resolution strongly condemning human rights abuses in East Timor and calling for greater U.N. involvement in the conflict.

Nevertheless, the State Department and several human rights organizations continue to report that the human rights situation in East Timor is deteriorating. There are consistent and reliable reports of torture of East Timorese detainees, harassment of the Roman Catholic Church, and arbitrary arrests of East Timorese opposed to Indonesian occupation. In fact, during a September visit of Congressional aides at least 53 student activists were "invited to attend guidance courses" while the delegation was visiting the island. Moreover, Jakarta has still not accounted for the 66 individuals missing after the Dili Massacre of November 1991, nor have civilians convicted in connected with the peaceful demonstration of November 12, 1991, been treated in accordance with international human rights standards.

When you and members of your Administration meet with President Suharto and other high-level Indonesian officials at the APEC conference, we hope that you will raise our concerns and reiterate the need for an authentic long-term solution to the Timor tragedy under the auspices of the United Nations. Such a solution should be "in pursuit of the right of self-determination" for East Timor, as endorsed by the U.S. Senate in a November 1991 resolution.

We emphasize our support for the United Nations talks between Indonesia and Portugal. We were encouraged by the September 17 joint United Nations communique between Portugal and Indonesia calling for specific steps to be taken to secure the human rights of the East Timorese, such as freer access for international humanitarian and human rights groups. Implementation of this agreement, as well as the withdrawal of Indonesian troops, release of East Timorese political prisoners, and the granting of meaningful autonomy to East Timor, would help foster an environment of peace and reconciliation in East Timor. Hopefully, negotiating an agreement will be a matter of priority.

association. He told an exhibition in Jakarta last week an increase in quality is largely responsible for the growth. The Indonesian computer industry now exports to 32 countries. That view was echoed by Suparno Prawiroadiredjo, director-general of another trade group embracing all electronics industries. "The quality of domestic computers is much better and I encourage businessmen to increase investments in this field," he said. Total Indonesian electronic exports last year earned US\$865 million. Three-quarters went to other Asian countries, a fifth to the European Community and the rest to the United States and elsewhere, government figures show. Suparno told the exhibition opening ceremony the world computer trade is worth some US\$600 billion, and suggested Indonesia would be doing well to snare just 0.5 percent of that market. While praising the improvements already made, he urged local firms to adopt ISO-9000 quality standards to enhance the attractiveness of their products abroad. The ISO series is used by nearly 100 countries worldwide and is becoming a "must" for many.

Xinhua, Jakarta, Oct 27 - Czech (sic) offered military products to Indonesia. The Czech-made military products are softwares including first-warning system and hand guns. Czech Ambassador Jaroslav Olsa made the offer at a press conference here today to welcome Czech national day on October 28. The newly-appointed ambassador said his country expected Indonesia to make contact on the possibility of trade on such commodities. The offer was made in response to Indonesia's efforts to seek other suppliers than the United States. Indonesia has decided to shift its dependence on the traditional U.S. military equipment after the U.S. linked sales of its military products to human rights records in Indonesia. Czech was previously well known as an heavy military equipment producer, but now it only produces softwares and hand guns. Indonesia exported raw materials for industries to Czech while Czech exports diesel aggregates, hydroelectric power stations and other products to Indonesia.

Dear John:

After hearing more about the circulation of the "spy" story I'd appreciate it if you'd consider posting the following note. Perhaps it could be attributed to "a source with first hand knowledge of the events leading up to November 12 and of the parties concerned.":

There are statements circulating about November 12 which are entirely erroneous.

The army did not encourage or direct the demonstration, and Constancio Pinto is not an army agent. He had, in fact, become, in the time leading up to the massacre, a prime army target, second only to Xanana himself. In an attempt to aid their hunt and sow confusion in the underground, Col. Gatot Purwanto began to pass the word that Pinto and others were working for him. He continued these statements after the massacre. Some Timorese heard and believed these stories, but, as Gatot knew and said to others: they were disinformation, they were not true.

The army was indeed aware in advance of the November 12 demonstration, as were many in Dili. It was an open secret in political circles at the time.

The army did decide to let the demonstration go forward. They had made advance preparations as to how they would respond.

There is nothing curious about the army's failure to produce Pinto at the trials, because he was not available for them to produce. The Intel began an intensive search for Pinto two weeks before November 12. They have experienced deep frustration due to the failure of their efforts.

The circulation of these false stories is most unfortunate.

happens, I later met the LBH lawyer (when he came for the Lawyers' Committee dinner) and he told me that neither he nor his clients had any basis for believing that Constancio had been an agent! It was all essentially a product of misinterpretation and incompetence by the ICJ, but some of the effects may linger on. I don't know the details of how this has played out among the exile community, but its important to know that its just not true.

I last saw Constancio the night before the massacre, for fifteen minutes in a sealed room lit by a single candle. He was on the run and had a dozen young men sitting in the trees and standing lookout for him outside. Part of his face was frozen from the effects of an army beating, and he was extremely pressed and grave. Somehow, he has held up under everything that has happened since. He makes you realize what it means to be truly good, and, at the same time, truly strong.

Allen

March 26, '93

Arnold:

I wanted to give you some background on Constancio. He was the leader of the civilian underground and a very close associate of Xanana. He was also a teacher (of religion and English) at the Externato Sao Jose and worked on the staff of Belo's diocesan office. He is very close to Ricardo, Cunha and Leao (as well as being a friend of Donaciano). His manner is extremely modest, but he is tough as nails, and though you might not know it from hearing him talk about himself, he is a major leader who, inside Timor, is widely known and deeply respected.

After the massacre he became the subject of an intense army manhunt. Last summer, while in hiding, he contacted me, at a time when it was widely thought he was captured or dead. He was in Jakarta, hanging on by a thread. The army had publicly named him as the main "delinquent" they were seeking in connection with Nov. 12. I had Geoff Robinson try to contact him there to offer help either in staying or trying to escape. Though Geoff made contact with other Jakarta Timorese (during his visit there late last summer), the Timorese decided that, given the heat, a face to face meeting with Constancio would be too risky, though the message was passed on to him. After some escape plans had to be aborted, Constancio did eventually make it out, but not before the Australian ICJ published their false "double-agent" report.

As you may remember, the report implied that Constancio was an Intel agent who had organized the march on the army's behalf. It received major press play in Australia, and was a disaster on many fronts. It slandered Constancio in a way that probably can never be fully corrected, as well as inflaming backbiting among the (especially exile) Timorese, and, without doubt, further endangering Constancio and his family. Ironically Col. Gatot had begun spreading that rumor in hopes of confusing and demoralizing the Timorese and of shaking loose clues to Constancio's whereabouts. The ICJ did his work in a document utterly without substance: it had no basis -- which the author now admits. I at first sent out a notice of refutation to Pat Walsh, Ramos Horta, TAPOL, McDougal, Charlie, and others, and had it posted on the E-mail (copy enclosed). I then got in touch with the ICJ author, Rodney Lewis, and even given the limits of what I could tell him on the phone, he came close to admitting that perhaps a retraction was in order; I then sent him the enclosed detailed confidential memo; he then issued a public retraction, which, inevitably, got less press than the original charge. Lewis had based his speculations on some statements by the LBH lawyer in the trial of the Dili Timorese. As it

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

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

March 15, 1993

for Maura Leen (10) Pages
TROCAIRE

Dear Maura,

As you may have heard, we have had some very good news from Geneva.

The United States did a total turnaround in its policy on East Timor. The previous position was summed up nicely in the March 5 Boston Globe editorial, attached here. Britain and other EEC nations also supported the resolution. Incredible, isn't it?

Articles from yesterday's New York Times and Washington Post give an account of the change that took place.

On a more grave note, see the information we received directly from Timor this past weekend. It is clear that there is much more to be done.

I will send more news as it becomes available. I hope to hear from you soon.

It is possible that I will be in Rome when the CIDSE Asia group people meet in April. Will you be there then?

With best wishes,

Arnold

PS If you would like a copy of the Geneva resolution, let me know!

28 36 022

May 31, 1993

for Maura Leen--3 pages
c/ TROCAIRE

Dear Maura,

Thought you would want to see this NY Times editorial. Whatever its errors (the "separatist" thing is really sloppy and galling and someone will be talking to them about it), it is nonetheless very important, as is the other one from Boston.

There are numerous things going on, as is clear from the attached alone, and the demands on our small project have been building.

Last year, as you know, TROCAIRE was able to take up our project in October. Given the situation as it is likely to be in the coming months, it would be extremely helpful if TROCAIRE were able to consider the Project somewhat earlier than scheduled. Is this a possibility? If so, when is the earliest time that the Project may be considered? We can get all necessary materials, etc, to you right away.

We would not be making this kind of request without careful consideration, especially given the pressures that exist on all ends. However, you would be aware of the way in which things have been developing in recent months and I believe it is growing increasingly clear that special opportunities exist at this time and that they must be seized.

Looking forward to hearing from you.

With best regards,
Arnold
Arnold Kohen
Project Director

East Timor Research Project

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

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

4 October 1993

Mr. Jef Felix---8 pages
Broederlijk Delen

Dear Jef,

I am sorry I have been out of touch in recent months. Things have been extremely busy on a number of fronts.

We have been working very closely with East Timor's Bishop Belo in recent months, since he made a quiet visit to the USA in mid-June. As you can see from the attached letters that Belo gave to the East Timor Research Project and to me as an individual, we got along very well and are now doing quite a number of things for him and expect to do a great deal more to assist him, both in the USA and elsewhere.

Please keep the attached Belo letters for the confidential use of Broederlijk Delen only.

Enclosed are some items of interest from the Clinton meeting with Indonesian President Suharto at the July G-7 meeting in Tokyo. Additional materials (plus more permanent copies of the attached) will be sent soon by post as well. And there will be still more, because Clinton will meet once again with Suharto at the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation forum in Seattle, Washington State, USA, in mid-November, all of which makes for a great deal of activity.

I hope that you are well, that we will see each other in Brussels over the next several months.

One question: Should we send you another document/proposal regarding the East Timor Research Project's activities for the coming year(s)? When would you need to receive this?

With best wishes to you and your colleagues,

Sincerely,


Arnold S. Kohen
Project Director

/From apakabar@access.digex.net Fri Nov 19 21:00:33 1993
Received: from access.digex.net by igc.apc.org (4.1/Revision: 1.116)
id AA04834; Fri, 19 Nov 93 21:00:25 PST
Received: by access.digex.net id AA15036
(5.67a8/IDA-1.5 for askohen@igc.apc.org); Fri, 19 Nov 1993 11:17:19 -0500
From: "John A. MacDougall" <apakabar@access.digex.net>
Message-Id: <199311191617.AA15036@access.digex.net>
Subject: Arnold - your posting sent
To: askohen@igc.apc.org
Date: Fri, 19 Nov 1993 11:17:17 -0500 (EST)
X-Mailer: ELM [version 2.4 PL21]
Mime-Version: 1.0
Content-Type: text/plain; charset=US-ASCII
Content-Transfer-Encoding: 7bit
Content-Length: 293
Status: R

... to reg.indonesia, reg.easttimor, easttimor list, and
soc.culture.indonesia. Last takes some time to make it way from
site to site.

Pls no more more phone calls today. Too busy, must concentrate.
Will be away most of Saturday.

Have a good weekend.

Email me if you need anything.

John

From askohen Sat Nov 20 07:44:32 1993
Received: by igc.apc.org (4.1/Revision: 1.116)
id AA19093; Sat, 20 Nov 93 07:44:24 PST
Date: Sat, 20 Nov 93 07:44:24 PST
From: Arnold S. Kohen <askohen>
Message-Id: <9311201544.AA19093@igc.apc.org>
To: apakabar@access.digex.net
Subject: thanks
Cc: askohen
Status: R

john, thanks for everything. I strongly believe that the only thing we can real.

ML/OF **The Catholic Agency for World Development**

6/28/93

Arnold Kohen
East Timor Research Project
P O Box 32307
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U S A

169 Booterstown Avenue,
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Our Ref: TIM91001 - A0122

Dear Arnie,

Greetings from Dublin. I hope you are well and am sure you are busy with the recent developments in East Timor. The Indonesian Ambassador presented his credentials to the President. Tom Hyland staged a demonstration at the Conrad (about 50 people attended) and got national TV coverage. He also attended the Human Rights Conference in Vienna and is holding a two day fast strike outside the British Embassy on 24 and 25 June, 1993.

Mary Sutton is now in Washington. Arnie will you be coming to Ireland this year, if so, be sure and let me know so we can arrange some publicity.

I look forward to receiving your project proposal soon. We need to receive it by mid-August at the latest for our September Projects Sub-Committee.

Until then,

With very best regards,

Yours sincerely,



Maura Leen
Projects Officer

PLEASE QUOTE OUR REFERENCE NO. IN ALL CORRESPONDENCE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

say the best results will flow toward those who are best prepared in terms of research, a wide network of support and strategic sense.

The Project is under enormous pressure to meet these research needs in a thoroughgoing manner. The need to provide additional protection for the East Timorese is especially urgent after the appearance of two trenchant first-hand reports in the New York Times on April 21 and 24, 1993.

Drawing on its 17 years of experience and expertise, the East Timor Project is crafting a well-focussed programme of information and analysis so that the new American policymakers will be in a good position to address the pertinent humanitarian issues and ultimately help enable appropriate development assistance to reach the people of East Timor. The Project continues to work closely on such international informational efforts with British agencies such as CAFOD, Chistian Aid and CIIR.

Additional possibilities to gain significant attention for the humanitarian problems of East Timor will come at the World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna and at the United Nations in Geneva.

The Project has facilitated the participation in Vienna of a recent exile from East Timor in a series of events highlighting survivors of torture. This programme is directed by a former Argentine political prisoner under the rubric of the American section of Amnesty International. To complement this, the Project will distribute "documentation packets" in Vienna consisting of pertinent press editorials and articles, and related US Congressional material. This will be an important way to raise awareness of the Timor tragedy amongst international opinion-makers in the area of human rights.

The Project will also conduct follow-up activities in Geneva by arranging for distribution of similar documentation packets there. International humanitarian specialists have affirmed that the distribution of such documentation -- rather than in-house newsletters or materials of a similar nature -- has had an important impact over time in raising awareness of the degree of high-level American support for appropriate humanitarian responses to the Timor situation.

A supplementary request is being made to Oxfam for US \$3,000 for research and related costs linked to efforts to inform the new American Administration; \$1,500 for airfare and accommodation for one person to attend the World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna in June; \$1,000 for airfare and accommodation for one visit to Geneva in 1993; \$1,000 for printing costs; \$1,000 for postage, telefax and telephone for costs associated with dissemination of information and research.

The Timor Project

Project Director:
Arnold S. Kohen

REPORT TO THE J. RODERICK MACARTHUR FOUNDATION

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* Organizations listed for
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HIGHLIGHTS OF 1993-1994

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1. Partial 1993 Research consultancy for Project Director Arnold Kohen:
\$15,000

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

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

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

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

TOTAL: \$20,000

Project Statement for Entraide et Fraternite, February 23, 1993

The East Timor Research Project greatly appreciates the assistance provided by Entraide et Fraternite in the aftermath of the November 12, 1991 massacre at Santa Cruz Cemetery in Dili, the capital of East Timor. The East Timor Research Project, founded in New York in early 1976 by scholars and students of the Southeast Asian region, and based in Washington since 1979, has played a role of substantially increased responsibility in recent years. This increased responsibility has grown out of the Project's longstanding expertise and experience on the East Timor issue as well as experience in working with the news media and major church and secular institutions. The Project, directed by a trained journalist with experience at one of America's leading television networks, provided major assistance to the British television company that was present in East Timor on the day of the Santa Cruz massacre, both before and after that tragic event; similarly, the Project assisted the two American journalists who also witnessed the massacre and were beaten by Indonesian troops; continues to assist numerous media contacts and major institutions, both religious and secular, throughout the United States and internationally.

Because of its increased responsibility, the Project has been forced to turn to a wider range of institutions, not only for financial support but also for practical assistance in reaching the news media in their respective nations. In recent years, Broederlijk Delen has provided financial assistance to the Project and is now ready to consider some cooperative approaches to the Belgian news media. Similar cooperative approaches with Entraide et Fraternite would be most welcome, especially in light of the role Belgium plays in European institutions.

It is worth noting that international financial support for the Project was originally proposed in the early 1980s by a distinguished Jesuit priest who was familiar with the Project's record of activities. Over the years, church agencies in Britain, Canada, Ireland, France, Belgium as well as the US have supported the Project because of its unusual combination of experience and expertise. In addition, for quite some time most European agencies felt unable to carry out much activity on East Timor within their own nations, and supported work in the United States precisely because this was an efficient way to bring influence to bear on the situation. While to some extent this remains the case, it is vital that all forms of support for the Timor cause be increased at this critical hour.