

From psmythe@globalnet.co.uk Mon Dec 21 10:13:29 1998
Return-Path: <psmythe@globalnet.co.uk>
Received: from sand2.global.net.uk (sand2.global.net.uk
[194.126.80.50])
by igc7.igc.org (8.8.8/8.8.8) with ESMTTP id KAA07272
for <askohen@igc.apc.org>; Mon, 21 Dec 1998 10:13:15 -0800
(PST)
Received: from client13da.globalnet.co.uk ([195.147.13.218]
helo=pat)
by sand2.global.net.uk with smtp (Exim 2.05 #1)
id 0zs9pO-0000QQ-00
for askohen@igc.apc.org; Mon, 21 Dec 1998 18:13:11 +0000
Message-ID: <001101be2310\$efe58d40\$da0d93c3@pat>
From: "Pat Smythe" <psmythe@globalnet.co.uk>
To: "Arnie Kohen" <askohen@igc.apc.org>
Subject: Source of Quote
Date: Wed, 9 Dec 1998 01:11:01 -0000
MIME-Version: 1.0
Content-Type: multipart/alternative;
boundary="-----_NextPart_000_000B_01BE2310.C9877820"
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X-Mailer: Microsoft Outlook Express 4.72.2106.4
X-MimeOLE: Produced By Microsoft MimeOLE V4.72.2106.4
Status: R

Content-Type: text/plain;
charset="iso-8859-1"
Status: O

Dear Arnie,

I have located this quotation in my files. It is within a very lengthy conversation conducted by an anonymous interviewer. The source details I have are as follows:

Date: Sun.2nd October 1994 10:21:36
From: Indonesia Publications/ Task Force Indonesia
<apakabar@igc.apc.org>
To: apakabar@clark.net
Subject: Transcripts of video interviews
Written 3.10am Oct.2nd 1994 by cnrmdg@pactok.peg.apc.org in
igc.reg.easttimor

The paragraph in which the quotation appears runs as follows:

"Q. Can you speak about religion in the lives of the people?
B. You know, even as animists the Timorese community have their vision, their beliefs, so that, even as animists, we call them here 'genteels', they believe in one God. They believe also in the eternal life of the

souls of
their relatives. And when they are presented with the opportunity
to become
Catholics I see that there is a similarity between the Catholic
faith and
the local religious beliefs. Many people feel that it is natural to
become
Catholics, and we see that our people have a simple faith, but are
very,
very profound in this faith. Not intellectual, not theoretical, but
a kind
of emotional faith, a living faith".

So - John Clark at Indonesia Publications may be able to provide
more info,
or CNRM; but this is all I have. No doubt the identity of the
questioner was
kept secret for security reasons. The interview would appear to
have been conducted
in Australia as the interviewer asks (later) for any message from
Belo to the Oz Govt.

I have sent Fr.Renaldo the photos today - thanks for his address.
I hope your hand operation went OK today.

I am thinking of putting in for a retainer from CIIR (and CAFOD)!

Ciao,
Pat.

-----Original Message-----

From: Arnold S. Kohen <humanitarian@igc.apc.org>
To: psmythe@globalnet.co.uk <psmythe@globalnet.co.uk>
Date: 21 December 1998 15:14
Subject: Re: Photos for Rhode Is. parish

>pat, a couple of things. one, the bio of belo will be available in
>april, the publisher says. two, catherine at ciir referred me to
you on
>this point:
>
> i am checking one of the last footnotes for the
book,
>and i need the source for this interview quote for belo. he was
asked,
>
>Q. can you speak about religion in the lives of people?
>
>part of his reply was this:
>
> ...our people have a simple faith, but are very, very
profound in
>this faith. Not intellectual, not theoretical, but a kind of

Congress of the United States

Washington, DC 20515

September 9, 1998

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President,

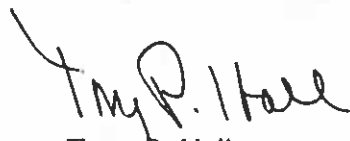
For many years there has been increasing concern in the United States Congress over the tragic plight of the former Portuguese colony of East Timor, which was invaded by Indonesia in 1975. It is an unfortunate fact that the invasion was carried out with American weaponry and diplomatic support. As many as 200,000 people, or a third of the population, have perished from the combined effects of the Indonesian presence. At this crucial juncture in Indonesian history, it is vital that the United States take a strong position in support of East Timor and call on the Indonesian Government to honor past resolutions enacted by the United Nations.


For the past decade, Bishop Carlos Felipe Ximenes Belo, who received a Nobel Peace Prize in 1996 and with whom you met last year, has stated that only through democratic means can a just and lasting political settlement be achieved in East Timor. There is now a great historical opportunity to achieve such a settlement based on the freely expressed wishes of the people of East Timor. The United States should work with its allies to make clear to the new government that a speedy resolution to the East Timor problem through the good offices of the United Nations would be to the benefit of all.

As an initial step, we believe that the new Indonesian government should enter into a serious dialogue with the people of East Timor. Bishop Belo has long stated that in order to minimize human rights abuses, there should be an immediate and substantial reduction in the Indonesian military presence in East Timor as well as the granting of freedom of speech and assembly. In its diplomatic exchanges with the Indonesian government, the United States should support these measures, as well as the release of all political prisoners, including resistance leader Xanana Gusmao. The United States should also augment its contributions toward the bolstering of food and medical supplies in East Timor during this uncertain period, which would help avert further harm to a land whose people have already suffered tremendously.


Thank you for your attention to this important matter.

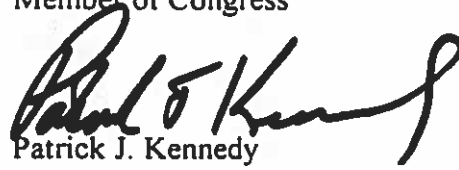
Sincerely yours,



Tony P. Hall
Member of Congress

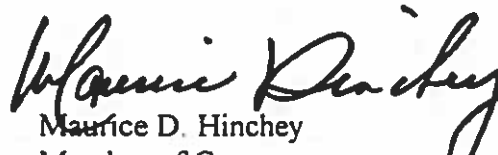

Frank R. Wolf
Member of Congress



Nita M. Lowey
Member of Congress


Tom Lantos
Member of Congress

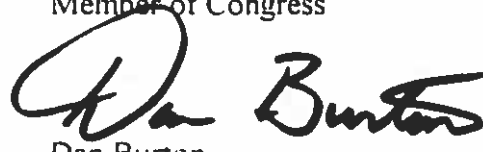

Patrick J. Kennedy
Member of Congress



Barney Frank
Member of Congress



Maurice D. Hinchey
Member of Congress


David L. Hobson
Member of Congress

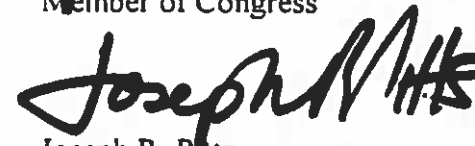

Sherrod Brown
Member of Congress

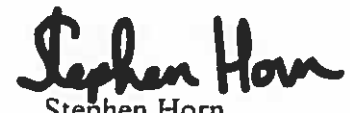

Dan Burton
Member of Congress


Michael R. McNulty
Member of Congress


Christopher H. Smith
Member of Congress



John Edward Porter
Member of Congress

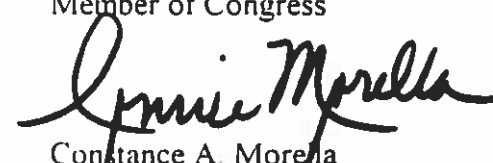

Joseph R. Pitts
Member of Congress


Stephen Horn
Member of Congress


Lloyd Doggett
Member of Congress


Carolyn C. Kilpatrick
Member of Congress


John W. Olver
Member of Congress


Constance A. Morella
Member of Congress


Fortney Pete Stark
Member of Congress

The President

September 9, 1998

Page 3



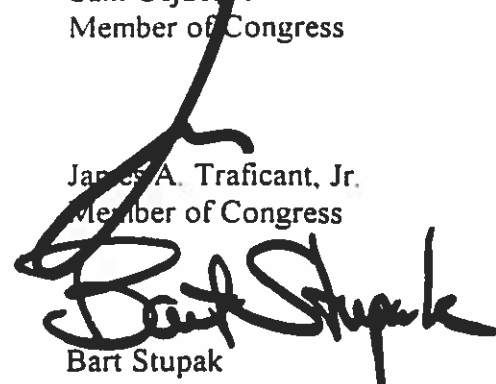
Bobby L. Rush
Member of Congress



Sam Gejdenson
Member of Congress




Sue W. Kelly
Member of Congress



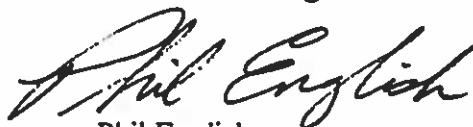
James A. Traficant, Jr.
Member of Congress



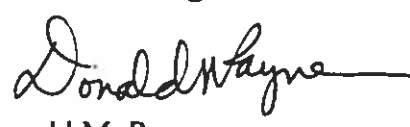
David Minge
Member of Congress



Bart Stupak
Member of Congress



Phil English
Member of Congress



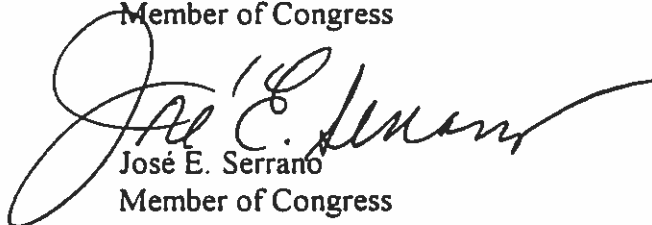
Donald M. Payne
Member of Congress



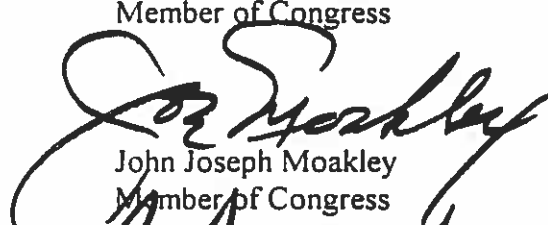
Nancy Pelosi
Member of Congress



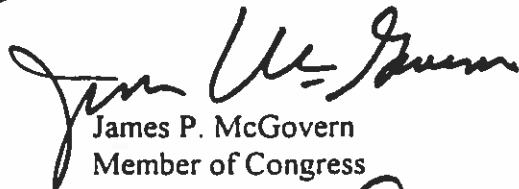
Richard W. Pombo
Member of Congress



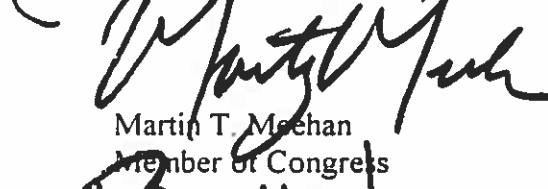
José E. Serrano
Member of Congress



John Joseph Moakley
Member of Congress



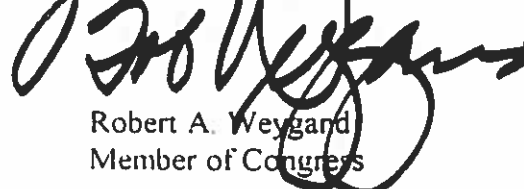
James P. McGovern
Member of Congress



Martin T. Meehan
Member of Congress



Brad Sherman
Member of Congress



Robert A. Weygand
Member of Congress



Luis V. Gutierrez
Member of Congress



Elizabeth Furse
Member of Congress



Bernard Sanders
Member of Congress



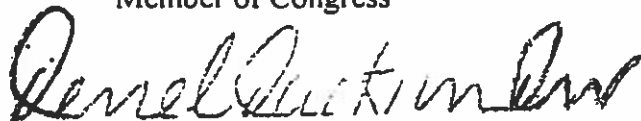
Bill Luther
Member of Congress



James C. Greenwood
Member of Congress



Sam Farr
Member of Congress



Jesse L. Jackson, Jr.
Member of Congress



Dennis J. Kucinich
Member of Congress



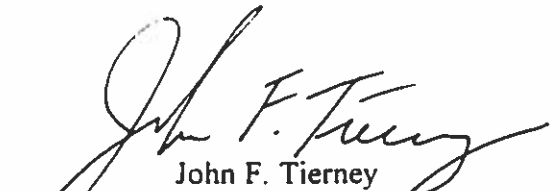
David E. Bonior
Member of Congress



Neil Abercrombie
Member of Congress



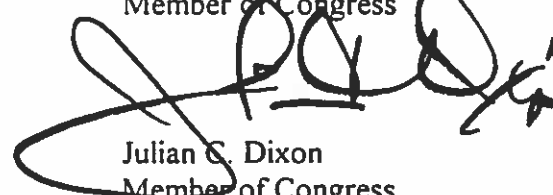
Eleanor Holmes Norton
Member of Congress



John F. Tierney
Member of Congress



Robert Menéndez
Member of Congress



Julian C. Dixon
Member of Congress



Lucille Roybal-Allard
Member of Congress



Brian P. Bilbray
Member of Congress



Thomas H. Allen
Member of Congress



Robert A. Underwood
Member of Congress



Henry A. Waxman
Member of Congress





Peter J. Visclosky
Member of Congress

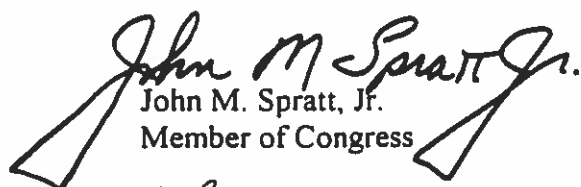
The President

September 9, 1993


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John Lewis
Member of Congress

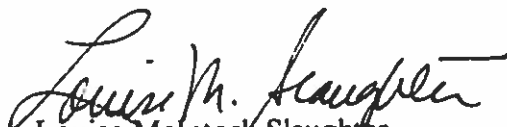

Steven R. Rothman
Member of Congress



John M. Spratt, Jr.
Member of Congress

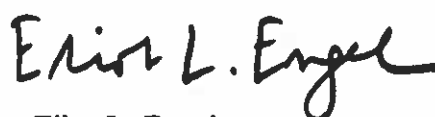

Loretta Sanchez
Member of Congress

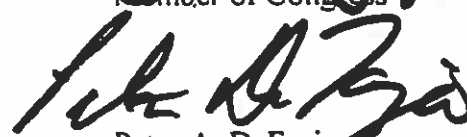

Lynn N. Rivers
Member of Congress



James L. Oberstar
Member of Congress



Louise McIntosh Slaughter
Member of Congress



John Conyers, Jr.
Member of Congress



Eliot L. Engel
Member of Congress



Peter A. DeFazio
Member of Congress

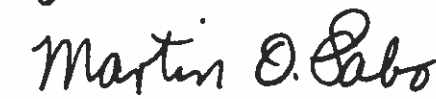

Carolyn B. Maloney
Member of Congress

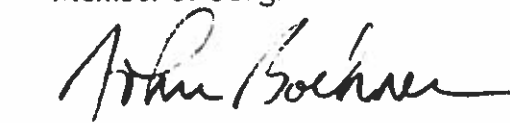

Lynn C. Woolsey
Member of Congress



William J. Coyne
Member of Congress


Harris W. Fawell
Member of Congress


Lane Evans
Member of Congress


Martin Olav Sabo
Member of Congress

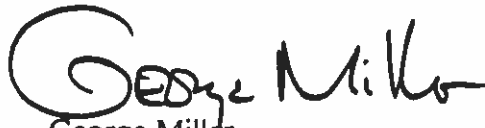

John A. Boehner
Member of Congress


William D. Delahunt
Member of Congress

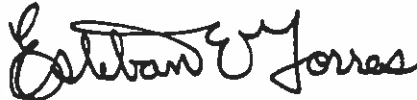
The President

September 9, 1998

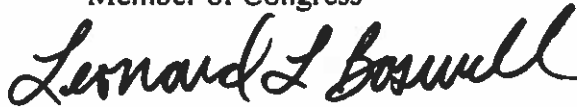
Page 6



George Miller
Member of Congress



Estéban Edward Torres
Member of Congress




Leonard L. Boswell
Member of Congress



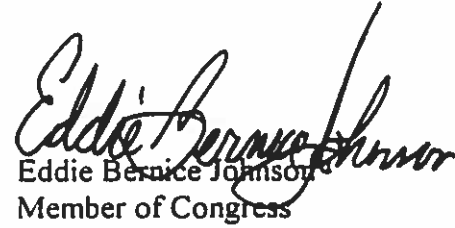
Ted Strickland
Member of Congress



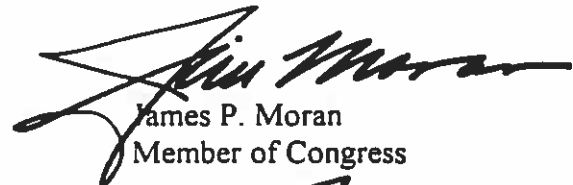
Howard L. Berman
Member of Congress



Scott L. Klug
Member of Congress



Eddie Bernice Johnson
Member of Congress



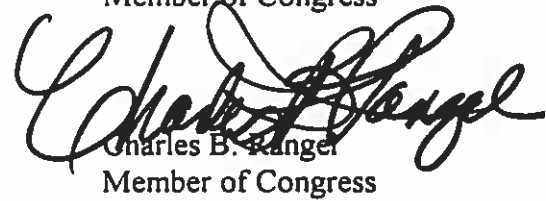
James P. Moran
Member of Congress



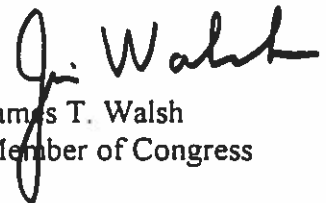
Michael P. Forbes
Member of Congress



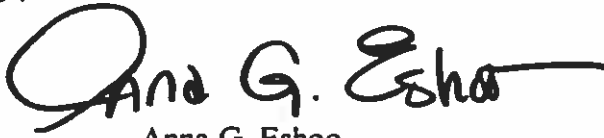
Barbara Lee
Member of Congress



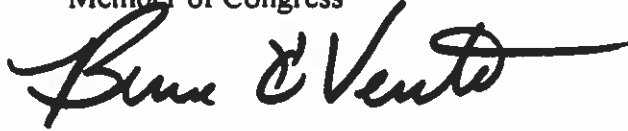
Charles B. Rangel
Member of Congress



James T. Walsh
Member of Congress



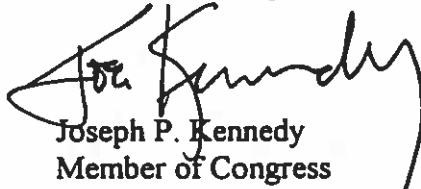
Anna G. Eshoo
Member of Congress



Bruce F. Vento
Member of Congress



Bob Clement
Member of Congress



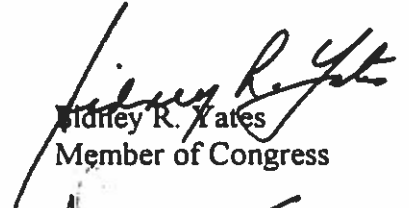
Joseph P. Kennedy
Member of Congress



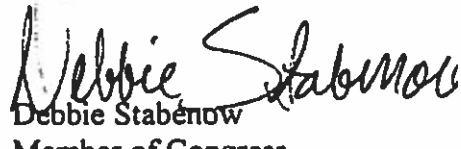
Bill Pascrell, Jr.
Member of Congress



Bennie G. Thompson
Member of Congress



Sidney R. Yates
Member of Congress



Debbie Stabenow
Member of Congress



Thomas J. Manton
Member of Congress

The President
September 9, 1998
Page 8



David E. Price
Member of Congress



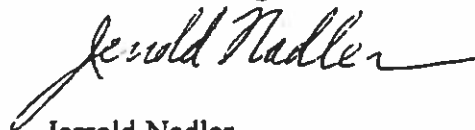
Robert Wexler
Member of Congress



Elijah E. Cummings
Member of Congress



Albert Russell Wynn
Member of Congress



Jerrold Nadler
Member of Congress



Robert E. Andrews
Member of Congress

CONGRESSMAN

TONY HALL NEWS

Thlrd District, Ohio

1432 Longworth House
Office BuildingWashington, D.C. 20515
(202) 225-6465FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE:
MAY 21, 1998CONTACT: MICHAEL GESSEL
(202) 225-6465**Hall Comment on Resignation of Indonesian
President Suharto**

WASHINGTON—Rep. Tony P. Hall (D-Ohio) made the following statement in response to the resignation of Indonesian President Suharto. Hall has been a long-time critic of Indonesia's policies in the former Portuguese territory of East Timor.

I welcome the political reforms taking place in Indonesia which could lead to a more Democratic nation. I hope that these steps will result in self determination for the people of East Timor and a resolution to the tragic human rights situation there.

###

-more-

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 6, 1998

Dear Tony:

Thank you for your letter regarding food shortages in East Timor resulting from severe drought. As you may know, Indonesian efforts to import sufficient food have been complicated by the financial crisis, and the United States, therefore, has explored ways we might be helpful.

Last month, a USAID assessment mission visited the region and reported that shortages from failed crops and delayed harvests appear to be the most severe in the eastern island provinces of Nusa Tenggara Barat, Nusa Tenggara Timur and East Timor. To address this problem, we recently announced a \$50 million food assistance package for Indonesia, of which a substantial portion will be for the eastern Islands. Our implementation of this assistance effort will be channeled through CARE, Catholic Relief Services and the World Food Program to target the food needs for the most vulnerable segments of the population. In addition, we will continue to monitor the situation and look for future opportunities to be helpful.

Thank you for your interest in this important issue.

Sincerely,

Bin

The Honorable Tony P. Hall
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

United States Senate

June 12, 1998

The Honorable Bacharuddin Jusuf Habibie
President of the Republic of Indonesia
c/o Ministry of Foreign Affairs
[REDACTED]

Dear Mr. President:


As you know, for many years there has been increasing concern in the United States Congress over the tragic plight of East Timor. Recent events in Indonesia raise that concern to a higher level, along with hopes for change in East Timor.

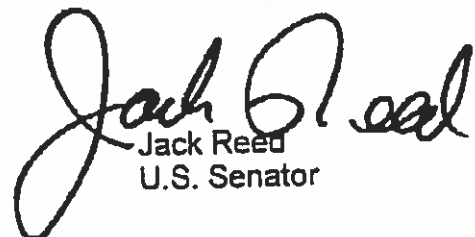
We have noted with interest your recent offer to grant "special status" to East Timor and your release of some East Timorese political prisoners in exchange for an end to resistance by the people of that region. However, we believe the time is ripe for more significant steps.

In keeping with your announced commitment to political reform in Indonesia generally, there is now a great opportunity for your government to enter into a serious dialogue with the people of East Timor, including Bishop Carlos Felipe Ximenes Belo and other Timorese leaders. Bishop Belo has long stated that in order to minimize human rights abuses, there should be an immediate and genuine reduction in the Indonesian military presence in East Timor. We believe that such a gesture, along with a demonstration of respect for Timorese freedom of speech and assembly, can have a great impact if carried out soon. Of course, the most important gesture you can make is the release, without pre-conditions, of all East Timorese prisoners, including resistance leader Xanana Gusmao.

Finally, but most importantly, there is a great historical opportunity to achieve a just political settlement on East Timor. A speedy resolution to the East Timor problem, based on the freely expressed wishes of the people of East Timor through a referendum under United Nations supervision, would be in the best long-term interests of the people of Indonesia and East Timor and Indonesia's relations with the world community.

Sincerely,


Russell D. Feingold
U.S. Senator


Jack Reed
U.S. Senator



News From: _____

U.S. Senator Russ Feingold

716 Hart Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510-4904
(202) 224-7323

<http://www.senate.gov/~feingold>

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
June 12, 1998

Contact: Mary Bottari
202-224-8657

FEINGOLD WORKS FOR PROGRESS ON EAST TIMOR *Calls for referendum and talks between Habibie and Belo*

Washington, D.C. -- U.S. Senators Russ Feingold and Jack Reed (D-RI) today called upon Indonesia's new President, B.J. Habibie, to initiate a referendum under the auspices of the United Nations to determine the political status of East Timor.

"We have noted with interest your recent offer to grant 'special status' to East Timor and your release of some East Timorese political prisoners in exchange for an end to resistance by the people of that region. However we believe the time is ripe for more significant steps," the Senators wrote in a letter to the Indonesian leader.

Recent riots and a student-lead occupation of the Indonesian Parliament resulted in the ouster of long-time ruler Suharto and the installation of Habibie, who recently signaled a willingness to reconsider the status of East Timor.

"For over two decades, the people of East Timor have been subjected to Indonesian occupation, with the loss of thousands of lives, the continuous suppression of free speech and countless incidents of torture and brutality," said Feingold. "The recent events in Indonesia represent a historic opportunity for progress on the question of East Timor. The United States must press for a free and fair referendum under the auspices of the United Nations to allow the Timorese to determine their own fate and their relationship to Indonesia."

The Feingold-Reed letter called upon Habibie to enter into talks with Timorese leaders, including Nobel Peace Prize Winner Bishop Carlos Felipe Ximenes Belo, and called for a reduction in Indonesia's military presence in East Timor, respect for freedom of speech and assembly, the release of Timorese prisoners as well as the referendum. Feingold and Reed have also introduced a resolution, S. Res. 237, which calls on the Indonesian government to enact political reforms and protect human rights and on the U.S. to work actively for self-determination for the East Timorese.

Indonesia invaded and began occupation of East Timor in 1975. That same year and in 1976, the United Nations Security Council called for Indonesia to withdraw from East Timor, and for the recognition of East Timorese self-determination. An estimated 200,000 people, or one-third of the population of the tiny territory, have been killed during the occupation.

8383 Greenway Blvd.
Middleton, WI 53562
(608) 828-1200

517 E. Wisconsin Ave.
Milwaukee, WI 53202
(414) 276-7282

317 First St., Room 107
Wausau, WI 54403
(715) 848-5660

425 State St., Room 232
La Crosse, WI 54603
(608) 782-5585

1640 Main Street
Green Bay, WI 54302
(414) 465-7508



WORLD AFFAIRS COUNCIL of Greater Cincinnati

1923-1998

75 years of making the region more
globally informed and involved

December 2, 1998

Bishop Carlos Belo
East Timor Action Network
PO Box 1182
White Plains, NY 11602-1182

Dear Bishop Belo:

We have been working with Dr. Jose Ramos-Horta and a number of other Laureates to realize a dream. The creation of a Nobel Laureates Foundation. In the process, other interesting and worthwhile ideas have emerged. One is below and we encourage you to give it consideration.

You may be in Paris and you may want an opportunity to relax and enjoy several days. If so, you are cordially invited to an exciting and pleasant event on Friday, December 11 and Saturday the 12th. Dr. Cynthia Goodman writes, regarding the casting of the largest bell in the world, the World Peace Bell, in Nantes:

"It is my pleasure to invite any of the Nobel Laureates who might in Paris for the Universal Declaration of Human Rights Celebration the week of December 7, 1998, to join us in Nantes, France for the casting of the World Peace Bell on Friday, December 11, 1998. This ceremony is dedicated to the 50th Anniversary of the signing of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The bell is also dedicated to this anniversary and will be so inscribed.

Weighing 66,000 pounds and measuring 12 feet high and 12 feet wide, the World Peace Bell will be the largest free-swinging bell in the world. The Millennium Monument will commemorate the most significant achievements of mankind over the last thousand years, and the World Peace Bell is a major feature of the monument. The Bell is decorated with a number of designs representing this vision as well as highlights of the last millennium. In the center surface of the Bell, for example, three children from different cultures holding each other's hands, stand on a depiction of the world, symbolic of the harmony critical to our future.

Our Kentucky delegation is being led by Governor Paul E. Patton, his wife Judi, and Secretary of Tourism, Ann Latta. The United Nations, the Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute, the French Millennium Mission and the French government will also be represented at the casting ceremony.

a member of the World Affairs Councils of America

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Telephone: 513/621-2320 • Fax: 513/562-4964 • E-mail: world1@mindspring.com

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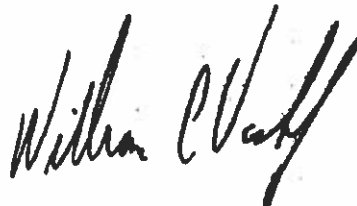
Our delegation will leave Paris for Nantes on the morning of Friday, December 11, via the TGV train. Upon arrival in Nantes, we will first have a luncheon at the Cite de Congres for all the guests with an explanation and video presentation of the bell-making process. Then the guests will be transported to the Fonderie de l'Atlantique at 2:30 p.m. The dramatic casting, when 66,000 pounds of molten bronze will be poured, will begin at 3:00 p.m. Guests will be transported from the building at approximately 4:30 p.m. A reception will follow at the Nantes City Hall hosted by Mayor Jean-Marc Ayrault who will also attend the casting ceremony. In the evening, a celebratory dinner will be held.

If any of the Nobel Laureates would like to join us they are cordially invited. We would gladly provide them with transportation to and from Paris and Nantes on the TGV train, as well as put them up for the evening with us and Governor Patton's party in Nantes. We would also love to have them address our guests, if they choose, at what the Director of the United Nations in Paris, Mr. Hassen Fodha, has described as a "historic occasion dedicated to the noble ideal of peace." Their participation would enforce this message to the utmost."

If you are interested in participating in the pouring of this fascinating emblem, please be directly in touch with, Dr. Cynthia Goodman, Vice President of Communications, Millennium Monument, 403 York St., Newport, KY 41071, 606-655-9500 tel, 606-655-9577 fax, email cgood5474@aol.com.

Thank you for your consideration. We look forward to working with you on many worthy projects.

Sincerely,



William C. Vocke, Jr., Ph.D.
President and Executive Director



PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH (USA)

OFFICE OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY

**RESOLUTION ON STANDING IN SOLIDARITY WITH THOSE WHO ARE
OPPRESSED IN EAST TIMOR**

**Adopted by the 207th General Assembly (1995)
Presbyterian Church (U.S.A)**

Resolved, That the 207th General Assembly (1995):

1. Raise its voice of concern, not only to speak to our own government or to the government of Indonesia, but also, by the rights and duties of partnership, to challenge Indonesian partner churches to stand in solidarity with those who are oppressed in East Timor.
2. Acknowledge that the international community does not accept as legal the de facto Indonesian military occupation of East Timor, and that the United Nations, not recognizing the claim of annexation, continues to hold talks on the political status of East Timor and monitors the human rights conditions.
 - a. Reject the argument that economic development of East Timor is justification for Indonesian control, pointing out that current development patterns are used to marginalize the indigenous people and weaken their language and culture.
 - b. Affirm that economic aid to East Timor should meet the stated needs of East Timorese and help develop the necessary educational and technical capacity for present and future development.
3. Call for the participation of the East Timorese themselves in the resolution of the political problems with Indonesia as essential to their liberty and to the stability of the entire region.
4. Call on the United States government to cease military aid and to place an embargo on the sale of arms to Indonesia.
5. Support the application of the Christian Church of East Timor (CKTT) for membership in the World Council of Churches and other ecumenical bodies in order for the East Timorese church to have an independent voice.

1) Making available through general boards and agencies resources regarding East Timor to assist United Methodist congregations in initiating programs in education, mission, witness and advocacy;

2) Working to increase awareness of the on-going crisis in East Timor among US policy-makers, the general public, and United Methodist congregations through general boards and agencies and ecumenical bodies;

3) Supporting the East Timorese, both within East Timor and in exile, who are struggling to end the Indonesian occupation and attempting to achieve self-determination in their land.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that we urge the United States government and other governments to:

1) Take legislative and administrative action to pressure Indonesia to comply with the United Nations resolutions on East Timor, to withdraw its military occupation forces from East Timor, and to cooperate with the United Nations in a process bringing about self-determination for East Timor, and

2) Send copies of this resolution to the Secretary General of the United Nations, the President of the UN General Assembly, the President of the United States, all U.S. Senators and Representatives and all appropriate ecumenical colleagues.

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN THE USA**RESOLUTION ON EAST TIMOR**

Adopted by the General Board, November 17, 1995

WHEREAS the National Council of Churches of Christ (USA), as part of its long commitment to human rights, has continually advocated the rights and protection of peoples to self-determination; and

WHEREAS Indonesia's brutal invasion of East Timor in 1975 and subsequent occupation caused the deaths of approximately 200,000 people, fully a third of the population; and

WHEREAS neither the United Nations nor the international community has recognized East Timor as being an integral part of Indonesia; and

WHEREAS through its program of "transmigration" the Indonesian government has encouraged thousands of Indonesians to settle in East Timor, resulting in a gradual, yet alarming marginalization of the indigenous East Timorese by taking away jobs and land; and

WHEREAS the physical development which has taken place under Indonesian rule has done little to benefit the East Timorese and is resulting in the destruction of their culture; and

WHEREAS human rights organizations and independent observers have documented a continued pattern of severe human rights abuses against East Timorese including beatings, torture, rape, abductions, and extrajudicial executions; . . .

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED,
THAT THE GENERAL BOARD OF
THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF
THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN
THE USA, meeting in Oakland, California,
November 17, 1995:

DEPLORES the continuing occupation of East Timor and the resultant abuse of human rights and climate of oppression;

SUPPORTS the rights of the East Timorese to self-determination and calls for the full participation of the East Timorese people in the just resolution of the political status of East Timor;

URGES the United Nations Secretariat to intensify efforts to resolve the political status of East Timor;

SUPPORTS the East Timorese people and the East Timorese churches who struggle for justice, dignity, freedom from fear and the preservation of their ethnic and cultural identity; . . .

ENCOURAGES, in the spirit of partnership, the Indonesian churches and the Communion of Churches in Indonesia to stand in solidarity with those who are oppressed in East Timor; and to support the East Timorese in the globally recognized right of all people to self-determination;

CALLS on the United States government to cease military aid, including military training, and the sale of arms to Indonesia as long as it continues its defacto military occupation of East Timor . . .

The General Conference of the United Methodist Church is an international body that meets once every four years. As the supreme legislative body of the church, resolutions approved by the General Conference become the policy of the United Methodist Church. This Resolution on East Timor passed the legislative committee by a vote of For: 114; Against: 0. It was then placed on the consent calendar and passed unanimously by the General Conference on April 20, 1996. — Rev. John Chamberlin, National Coordinator for East Timor Religious Outreach

UNITED METHODIST CHURCH RESOLUTION ON EAST TIMOR

East Timor is part of an island on the far eastern end of the Indonesian archipelago, only 300 miles from Darwin, Australia. It had been under Portuguese control for some three centuries, unlike the other islands of present day Indonesia which were all Dutch colonies. During 1974-1975, following a coup and change of government in Portugal, East Timor was in the process of decolonization. There was a brief civil war between the newly formed political parties, which was subsequently won by Fretilin, the party favoring independence. But hardly had Fretilin declared independence for East Timor when, on December 7, 1975, Indonesia launched a massive invasion and annexed the half island. (Ninety percent of the weapons used by Indonesian armed forces were US made weapons.) Twenty years later, Indonesia continues to occupy East Timor in spite of repeated United Nations Resolutions deploring the invasion, affirming the right of the East Timorese to self-determination and calling on the Indonesian government to withdraw its troops.

The events in East Timor went unnoticed and unreported in the outside world because it was closed off to foreign presence until 1989. However, during the invasion and subsequent occupation over a third of the population died from killing, starvation or disease. Timorese culture was suppressed, local languages were discouraged and the majority of population living in the mountains and forests were forced to come out and re-settle in planned villages built by the Indonesian army.

World attention was finally brought to the plight of East Timor when, on November 12, 1991, Indonesian troops massacred between 50 and 250 peaceful demonstrators at the Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili, East Timor. The number of dead has never been determined because many people who disappeared on that day have not been found. This tragedy was witnessed by western journalists whose reports, especially videotape taken by British journalist Max Stahl, helped to stimulate international efforts to bring about a just resolution to the problem of East Timor. In protest of the massacre, in 1992 the United States Congress eventually cut off military training (since reinstated by the Clinton administration in 1994), and instituted a ban on small arms sales to Indonesia.

In January 1995, a delegation from the National Council of Churches of Christ, USA, and a representative of the Canadian Council of Churches visited East Timor to express solidarity with the churches and people of East Timor. The region is 90% Christian, predominantly Catholic with a small Protestant minority. The population has come to identify being Catholic with being patriotic and supporting the East Timor cause. The Roman Catholic Bishop Carlos Ximenes Belo is recognized and respected as the leader and spokesperson of the East Timorese people. It has been said that relations between

Catholic and Protestants have not been good. The National Council of Churches of Christ/Church World Service and Witness (CWS&W) delegation found this to be exaggerated, however, and witnessed many examples of Catholic/Protestant cooperation. The main Protestant church, the Christian Church of East Timor, has begun to find its voice and recently received membership in the World Council of Churches. Previously, it had been represented in religious fora only through the Indonesia Communion of Churches which always spoke on its behalf.

Human rights groups such as Amnesty International, as well as individual observers, have reported continued serious human rights abuses against the East Timorese, including beating, abductions, torture, rape, extrajudicial killing, and imprisonment for any acts of political expression. In addition, the Indonesian government has encouraged thousands of Indonesians from more crowded islands to migrate to East Timor. These transmigrations have displaced many East Timorese from their traditional homes and land, taken over much of the trade and filled many of the civil service jobs. This has exacerbated the unemployment problem, particularly among the youth, and has created social tension which has provided the military with justification for further repression.

Following its visit to East Timor, the NCC/CWS&W delegation recommended an advocacy effort which calls for the demilitarization of East Timor and supports a process which would lead to the determination of the political status of East Timor, with the full participation of the East Timorese people.

Therefore, be it resolved, that The United Methodist Church, its members, local churches, annual conferences, central committees and agencies:

Deplores the continuing occupation of East Timor and the resultant abuse of human rights and climate of oppression.

Support the witness of the Christian Church of East Timor and the Roman Catholic Church, and other groups in their commitment to human rights, peace and restoration of the East Timorese national identity.

Support the rights of the East Timorese to self-determination and call for the full participation of the East Timorese people in the just resolution of the political status of East Timor.

Urge the United Nations to intensify efforts to resolve the political status of East Timor.

Support the East Timorese people and the East Timorese churches who struggle for justice, dignity, freedom from fear and the preservation of their ethnic and cultural identity.

Celebrate the membership of the Christian Church of East Timor in the World Council of Churches and its participation in ecumenical bodies in order that this East Timorese Church may have an independent voice.

Encourage, in the spirit of partnership, the Indonesian churches and the Communion of Churches in Indonesia to stand in solidarity with those who are oppressed in East Timor.

Call on the United States government to cease military aid, including military training, and the sale of arms to Indonesia as long as it continues its de facto military occupation of East Timor.

Call on the United Methodists to make efforts in mission, education, witness and advocacy to alleviate the plight of the East Timorese by:

RESOLUTION ON EAST TIMOR

WHEREAS Indonesia continues to occupy East Timor illegally in defiance of repeated United Nations resolutions; and

WHEREAS Indonesia's brutal invasion of East Timor in 1975 and subsequent occupation caused the deaths of approximately 200,000 people, fully a third of the population; and

WHEREAS through its program of "transmigration" the Indonesian government has encouraged thousands of Indonesians to settle in East Timor, resulting in a gradual, yet alarming marginalization of the indigenous East Timorese by taking away jobs and land; and

WHEREAS the physical development which has taken place under Indonesian rule has done little to benefit the East Timorese and has resulted in the destruction of their culture; and

WHEREAS human rights organizations and independent observers have documented a continued pattern of severe human rights abuses against East Timorese including beatings, torture, rape, abductions and extrajudicial executions; and

WHEREAS in January 1995 a visiting delegation from Church World Service and Witness learned that the situation in East Timor had not improved over the past decade but was, in fact, getting worse; and

WHEREAS in March 1995 the United Nations Human Rights Commission expressed its "deep concern over the continuing reports of violations of human rights in East Timor";

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the United Church Board for World Ministries

1. Deplores the continuing abuse of human rights and the climate of oppression in East Timor;
2. Acknowledges that neither the United Nations nor the international community has recognized Indonesia's annexation of East Timor;
3. Supports the rights of the East Timorese to self-determination and calls for the full participation of the East Timorese people in the just resolution of the political status of East Timor;
4. Supports the East Timorese (both within and outside East Timor) and the East Timorese churches in their struggle for justice, dignity, freedom from fear and the preservation of their ethnic and cultural identity;
5. Supports the application of the Christian Church of East Timor (GKTT) for membership in the World Council of Churches and other ecumenical bodies in order that the East Timorese church may have an independent voice;

6. Encourages, in the spirit of partnership, the Indonesian churches to stand in solidarity with those who are oppressed in East Timor and resolves to continue to advocate for the East Timorese with the churches of Indonesia;
7. Calls on the United States government to cease military aid, including military training, and the sale of arms to Indonesia as long as it continues its de facto military occupation of East Timor; and
8. Work within the UCC and with other religious bodies and concerned groups to increase the awareness of the on-going crisis in East Timor among U.S. policy-makers, the general public and local congregations.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the Executive Vice President of the UCBWM be requested to send copies of this resolution to the President of the United States, all U.S. Senators and Representatives and all appropriate ecumenical colleagues.

Passed at the 186th Annual Meeting of the United Church Board for World Ministries
November 1995

[Handwritten signature in red ink]

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the CCAR call upon the government of Indonesia to end its military occupation of East Timor and immediately cease human rights violations such as extrajudicial killings, torture, arbitrary arrests, detentions and harassment of the civilian population; and its suppression of freedom of speech and assembly within East Timor and permit free access to representatives of recognized human rights and welfare organizations and UN-designated observers.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the CCAR further urge the Indonesian government to cooperate in a plan leading to a referendum among the Timorese people to freely decide upon their own government and leadership, such as the plan outlined in the Nobel Peace Prize address of Jose Ramos Horta;

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the CCAR call upon Indonesia to immediately end its policy of forced translocation of native Timorese people away from their home areas and the systematic relocation of Indonesian emigrants into expropriated Timorese territories in violation of the fourth Geneva Convention and UN Resolution 35/118. Without an immediate end to this transmigration policy, the prospect of genuine Timorese self-determination will quickly be rendered meaningless.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the CCAR call upon the US government to immediately cease weapons sales and all forms of military support to the Indonesian government while the occupation of East Timor continues. The US-Indonesia treaty of 1958 explicitly forbids the use of US-supplied weapons for an "act of aggression" and limits their use to "legitimate self-defense." Nonetheless, while Indonesia has not in the past and does not now face any external threats to its own security, there is direct evidence that US weapons have been used against the civilian population of East Timor, and continue to be used there.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the CCAR call upon the United States government to insist that Indonesia comply with repeated UN Security Council and General Assembly resolutions affirming the "inalienable right of the people of ET to self-determination;" to make such compliance a further condition for all forms of US military and economic support.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the CCAR express its admiration for the continuing courage of the people of East Timor in their struggle for justice and self-determination in the face of relentless brutal oppression. The CCAR extends its warm congratulations to Bishop Carlos Ximenes Belo, Catholic Bishop of East Timor, and to Jose Ramos Horta, co-recipients of the 1996 Nobel Peace Prize, for their selfless dedication to the cause of their people. The CCAR commends the many human rights activists and organizations around the world for their efforts to inform the world of the human rights abuses in East Timor and to mobilize people of conscience to action on behalf of the East Timorese.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the CCAR call upon its rabbis to educate themselves and their congregations on the situation in East Timor; and encourages them to add their voices and energies to those seeking to avert the total annihilation of the East Timorese people and culture. We urge them to make this an issue that will not go away until it is peacefully and justly resolved.

THE BOOK of RESOLUTIONS OF THE UNITED METHODIST CHURCH

East Timor

East Timor is part of an island on the far eastern end of the Indonesian archipelago, only 300 miles from Darwin, Australia. It had been under Portuguese control for some three centuries, unlike the other islands of present-day Indonesia, which were all Dutch colonies. During 1974-1975, following a coup and change of government in Portugal, East Timor was in the process of decolonization. There was a brief civil war between the newly formed political parties, which was subsequently won by Fretilin, the party favoring independence. But hardly had Fretilin declared independence for East Timor when, on December 7, 1975, Indonesia launched a massive invasion and annexed the half island. (Ninety percent of the weapons used by Indonesian armed forces were US-made weapons.) Twenty years later, Indonesia continues to occupy East Timor in spite of repeated United Nations resolutions deploring the invasion, affirming the right of the East Timorese to self-determination, and calling on the Indonesian government to withdraw its troops.

THE WORLD COMMUNITY

The events in East Timor went unnoticed and unreported in the outside world because it was closed off to foreign presence until 1989. However, during the invasion and subsequent occupation, over one third of the population died from killing, starvation, or disease. Timorese culture was suppressed, local languages were discouraged, and the majority of population living in the mountains and forests was forced to come out and resettle in planned villages built by the Indonesian army.

World attention was finally brought to the plight of East Timor when, on November 12, 1991, Indonesian troops massacred between 50 and 250 peaceful demonstrators at the Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili, East Timor. The number of dead has never been determined, because many people who disappeared on that day have not been found. This tragedy was witnessed by Western journalists whose reports, especially videotape taken by British journalist Max Stahl, helped to stimulate international efforts to bring about a just resolution to the problem of East Timor. In 1992, in protest of the massacre, the United States Congress eventually cut off military training (since reinstated by the Clinton administration, in 1994) and instituted a ban on small arms sales to Indonesia.

In January 1995, a delegation from the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. and a representative of the Canadian Council of Churches visited East Timor to express solidarity with the churches and people of East Timor. The region is 90 percent Christian, predominantly Catholic, with a small Protestant minority. The population has come to identify being Catholic with being patriotic and supporting the East Timorese cause. The Roman Catholic Bishop Carlos Ximenes Belo is recognized and respected as the leader and spokesperson of the East Timorese people. It has been said that relations between Catholics and Protestants have not been good. The National Council of the Churches of Christ/Church World Service and Witness (CWS&W) delegation found this to be exaggerated, however, and witnessed many examples of Catholic-Protestant cooperation. The main Protestant church, the Christian Church of East Timor, has begun to find its voice and recently received membership in the World Council of Churches. Previously, it had been represented in religious fora only through the Indonesia Communion of Churches, which always spoke on its behalf.

Human rights groups such as Amnesty International, as well as individual observers, have reported continued serious human-rights abuses against the East Timorese, including beatings, abductions, tor-

ture, rape, extrajudicial killing, and imprisonment for any acts of political expression. In addition, the Indonesian government has encouraged thousands of Indonesians from more crowded islands to migrate to East Timor. These transmigrations have displaced many East Timorese from their traditional homes and land, taken over much of the trade, and filled many of the civil service jobs. This has exacerbated the unemployment problem, particularly among the youth, and created social tension that has provided the military with justification for further repression.

Following its visit to East Timor, the NCCC/CWS&W delegation recommended an advocacy effort that calls for the demilitarization of East Timor and supports a process that would lead to the determination of the political status of East Timor, with the full participation of the East Timorese people.

Therefore, be it resolved, that The United Methodist Church, its members, local churches, annual conferences, central conferences, and agencies:

1. *Deplore* the continuing occupation of East Timor and the resultant abuse of human rights and climate of oppression;
2. *Support* the witness of the Christian Church of East Timor and the Roman Catholic Church, and other groups, in their commitment to human rights, peace, and restoration of the East Timorese national identity;
3. *Support* the rights of the East Timorese to self-determination and call for the full participation of the East Timorese people in just resolution of the political status of East Timor;
4. *Urge* the United Nations to intensify efforts to resolve the political status of East Timor;
5. *Support* the East Timorese people and the East Timorese churches who struggle for justice, dignity, freedom from fear, and the preservation of their ethnic and cultural identity;
6. *Celebrate* the membership of the Christian Church of East Timor in the World Council of Churches and its participation in ecumenical bodies in order that this East Timorese church may have an independent voice;
7. *Encourage*, in the spirit of partnership, the Indonesian churches and the Communion of Churches in Indonesia to stand in solidarity with those who are oppressed in East Timor;
8. *Call* on the United States government to cease military aid, including military training, and the sale of arms to Indonesia as long as it continues its de facto military occupation of East Timor; and

9. *Call* on the United Methodists to make efforts in mission, education, witness, and advocacy to alleviate the plight of the East Timor by:

(a) making available through general boards and agencies resources regarding East Timor to assist United Methodist congregations in initiating programs in education, mission, witness, and advocacy;

(b) working to increase awareness of the ongoing crisis in East Timor among U.S. policymakers, the general public, and United Methodist congregations through general boards and agencies and ecumenical bodies; and

(c) supporting the East Timorese, both within East Timor and in exile who are struggling to end the Indonesian occupation and attempting to achieve self-determination in their land.

Be it further resolved, that we urge the United States government and other governments to:

1. Take legislative and administrative action to pressure Indonesia to comply with the United Nations resolutions on East Timor, to withdraw its military occupation forces from East Timor, and to cooperate with the United Nations in a process bringing about self-determination in East Timor; and

2. Send copies of this resolution to the Secretary General of the United Nations, the President of the UN General Assembly, the President of the United States, all U.S. Senators and Representatives, and all appropriate ecumenical colleagues.

ADOPTED:

See Social Principles, ¶ 69.

For more information contact:
East Timor Religious Outreach
 1600 Clay St., San Francisco, CA 94109
 Telephone/Fax: 415-474-6219

EAST TIMOR

*Adopted by the 108th Annual Convention of the
Central Conference of American Rabbis
June, 1997*

Background

Since Indonesia's brutal invasion and occupation of East Timor in late 1975, more than 200,000 civilians – approximately one third of the entire population – have been killed outright or lost their lives through enforced starvation and other deprivations at the hands of the Indonesian military. No people on earth has seen a greater portion of its population perish under tyranny since the nightmare of the European Holocaust. Despite world outrage over these events, and despite the United Nations resolutions calling for immediate Indonesian withdrawal from East Timor, the occupation, and the cruel abuses of human rights attendant upon it, continue to this day.

For more than twenty years East Timor has now lived under a brutal military occupation. Arbitrary arrests, torture and extrajudicial executions are everyday occurrences, as are programs of compulsory relocation, confinement in concentration camps, and systematic starvation. The occupying forces have deprived the Timorese of the most basic freedoms of expression and assembly; the Timorese language, Tetum, has been suppressed and many forms of cultural expression banned. Political opposition is punished by detention, torture and death. Contact with the outside world has been severely restricted, and were it not for the courage of the several foreign journalists who witnessed the event, even the appalling massacre of more than two hundred peaceful Timorese demonstrators at a Dili cemetery in 1991 would have gone unrecorded and unprotested.

The unfolding human disaster in East Timor has been possible only because Indonesia has been able to conceal its deeds from the eyes of the world. The award of the 1996 Nobel Peace Prize to two leaders in the East Timorese struggle has drawn significant attention to the plight of their people; but to have moral consequence, that attention must be informed by a knowledge of what is happening in East Timor and what individuals and collective actions can be taken to halt this continuing tragedy.

The United States and other governments, as strategic allies, investment partners and suppliers of weapons to Indonesia, share a measure of responsibility for the tragic situation in East Timor. Ninety percent of the weapons used in the invasion of East Timor were supplied by the United States, which continues to be a major provider of arms and military aid to Indonesia. These governments hold the power to speed an end to the suffering in Timor.

The profound gravity of the crimes committed against the Timorese people constitutes an attempt to commit genocide, by the terms outlined in the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, to which the United States is a signatory and to which we as Jews bear a special relation and witness.

A number of religious bodies have taken positions in support of the people of East Timor, and condemning Indonesia for its flagrant, brutal and ongoing violations of human rights in East Timor. The CCAR joins these voices of faith with our own. To that end,

BE IT RESOLVED, that the CCAR join with the United States Catholic Conference [July 1994], the Presbyterian Church (USA) [207 General Assembly July 1995]; the National Council of Churches of Christ [November 1995]; General Conference of the United Methodist Church [April 1996] and individual voices of conscience from the Jewish, Christian and Muslim communities, in deploring the continuing occupation of East Timor by Indonesia, its ongoing abuse of human rights there, and its denial of the fundamental right of self-determination to the Timorese people

PRO : JOSE CARDOSO
EX : TONY JENKINS
DATELINE : DILI, EAST TIMOR, 04 JUNE
STORY NO : 98-043
SLUG : THE POLITICAL GAME BEGINS

SEND TO:

800 686 8630

The streets of Dili were strangely deserted on Thursday night. Even more so than usual. The regular military patrols were nowhere to be seen. The traffic of motorbikes and trucks that usually roars along the road near the Governor's offices and past the harborfront until long after midnight had disappeared. You couldn't even hear screams coming from the Kopassus interrogation center.

Given the helicopter crash earlier in the day which killed Maj. Gen. Yudomo, the Commander-in-Chief for the Indonesian military region which includes Bali and East Timor and Col. Slamet Sidiyutur, the top commander in Dili, as well as 13 other soldiers, this was not surprising. In a town whose life blood is rumours, voices immediately started to suggest that the crash was not accidental as the army insists, but rather the product of a guerrilla attack or even a bomb planted by disaffected officers. Moreover the deaths left Brig. Gen. Willem da Costa as the senior officer in command in the embattled province. Da Costa earned a reputation as a brutal killer in East Timor in the 1980's and as recently as Monday he had declared that the release from prison of Xanana Gusmao would provoke a civil war, which struck many as more a threat than a prediction. Amidst fears of reprisals, an early retreat to bed behind bolted doors seemed the wisest and most cautious approach.

But even the nervous uncertainty caused by the crash could not disguise the real news in Dili this week: the long awaited opening of a public political debate on East Timor's future, following the resignation on May 21st of Indonesia's long-time dictator Suharto. The process in fact started last Saturday evening at a youth festival in the grounds of the Montael church at the western end of the port, when Bishop Carlos Ximenes Belo spoke over the heads of his audience and appealed to the security forces. "On this occasion, Senhores Officials do Governo who are here watching, I suggest you abandon your suspicions towards our youth." On seven previous occasions, he complained, youths returning from such meetings had been harassed, arrested and spied on. "The reforms in Jakarta must also affect the young people of East Timor," he demanded. His comments were repeatedly interrupted by gasps and roars of approval from the thousands in his audience who clearly responded to his words as if someone had suddenly lifted a suffocating blanket. "It was incredible to hear these words spoken in public that we all feel in hearts," one youth told the Expresso the next day.

On Monday came the student demonstration that everyone has been anticipating for months. While every other university in Indonesia has been convulsed by political ferment since the start of the year, the University of Timor (UNTIM) stayed quiet. So quiet indeed that students at the University of Gajah Mada in Yogyakarta recently sent a package of lipstick and women's clothes to the UNTIM student leaders with a note explaining that they must obviously all be cowardly women. The Timorese shrugged off the insult, saying that the political problems in the rest of Indonesia were not their issue, but by last weekend they had clearly had enough.

Last Sunday the Rector of UNTIM, Father Theo Balella, summoned three student leaders to his office and pointed out that there had been no graduation ceremony for three years and he begged them to postpone their action. Claiming he had won their assent, he posted notices around the campus warning that the demonstration had been prohibited. By Monday morning all the notices had disappeared and a crowd of several hundred students had gathered in front of his office. He tried to order them back to their classes and they refused amidst growing shouts demanding radical action, including a march on the provincial Parliament. From the army post next door military and intelligence officers surveyed the scene through binoculars, evidently ready to intervene if necessary. Finally Balella gave up and cancelled all classes for the day.

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At that point the student leaders were able to control the hot heads -including agents provocateurs who were clearly hoping to create the justification for military reprisals- by persuading the students not to take to the streets but rather to gather in the central courtyard on campus to conduct an open dialogue. 20 students spoke and they proceeded to list their key demands: the release of Xanana Gusmao and all political prisoners; a referendum for self-determination for East Timor; independence; the withdrawal of the Indonesian army; an end to arbitrary arrest, torture and disappearances and so on. Each speech was greeted with cheers, laughter and applause. Amazingly the troops stayed in their barracks and at the end of the meeting the demonstrators dispersed without incident.

Afterwards a group of about 30 students, all of whom insisted on remaining anonymous, gathered to explain their actions to the Expresso. "The Rector tried to block us again, but this time we had to impose our will. It was time to act, time to be brave," one said. "We know we are watched, we know some of us could be disappeared, they could come to our houses tonight to arrest us. Even as we speak to you now there are some in this group who are spies, we know who they are, but we are ready to die for this cause," said another. The students have established a coordinating committee, which meets secretly, and they now appear determined to create a political space by organizing further actions. Indeed less than 48 hours later the Dili branch of the Indonesian National Youth Committee invited Manuel Carrascalao to address them. Carrascalao, brother of former East Timor Governor marlo Carrascalao, recently founded the Movimento de Reconciliacao e Unidade do Povo Timorene.

Still this is not enough for Monsenhor Belo. In an interview with the Expresso on Wednesday, Belo displayed a growing impatience and even irritation with the leaders of the many different East Timorese political factions. "Let the political leaders take their role in society, let the lay people do politics, there should be no more paternalism," he said in answer to a question about the pressures on him to make political statements. "I am not a teacher, not a master to give political orientation to the people. The East Timorese leaders must be more active. In the past they made an effort, but behind them were dark forces that made them too afraid, too divided, too suspicious. They must be more brave and it is not just the courage to receive Rupiahs. To talk to me is the wrong thing. They must play their role otherwise they are still children."

Artindo Marcol, leader of the much smaller Protestant church in East Timor expressed much the same sort of frustration. "It is time for the Timorese political leaders to seize this moment. If not we may not have such an opportunity for another 30 years. It is time for the students to demonstrate and they must press for new elections much faster than the government is now offering," he said in an interview.

What explains the delay? A senior leader of the Falintil's clandestine cell in Dili gave the Expresso several of the well-rehearsed reasons that have been voiced in recent weeks; "The world's attention was focused on events in Jakarta, it would have been a waste of energy to try to attract attention at such a time. If we had reacted precipitously we could have made mistakes. And we wanted to show that we could be disciplined, we wanted to show that even as all Indonesia erupted we could be calm and patient, we wanted to display the maturity of the East Timorese people and to show that we are willing to guarantee a climate of peace while we negotiate a process of change," he said.

But the explanation that made the most sense, and was refreshing in its honesty, was another. "We were not prepared for the sudden fall of Suharto, it caught us by surprise. We thought the Indonesian student movement would lead to a long clandestine struggle against Jakarta and that was what we were preparing for."

In the vacuum, and despite his evident reluctance, it is Bishop Belo who continues to speak out most openly. Asked his reaction to President B.J. Habibie's statement on Wednesday that there will be no change in policy towards East Timor because "East Timor is an integral part of the Republic of East

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Timor," the Bishop was almost rude; "It is the statement of an unintelligent President. It shows he doesn't understand the real problem of East Timor, nor do the people around him. Before saying that he should have come here and talked to the people of East Timor. Who is he to say there will be no change? The people speak and it is their choice, their will that must be heard." The Bishop also argued that the Indonesian armed forces (ABRI) will not be able to block change and that they must be prepared to confront the divisions in their own ranks that any concession over East Timor is likely to provoke. "As soldiers they are supposed to be brave, let them have the courage to face this issue with cool heads, not with bullets."

Ironically, just four days before his death, Col. Slamet SidiButar had given indications that he was prepared to do just that, although, in a brief interview with the *Expresso* last Saturday he had vowed that "The ABRI will never leave East Timor, never, never, never." Nevertheless he told one influential Timorese figure who insisted on anonymity, that he supported the reform process and believed it should affect the ABRI too. He said he was prepared to consider a special autonomous status for East Timor which the ABRI has always rejected in the past, and he said he had ordered his troops to moderate their actions, "OK let them demonstrate, let them call for Xanana's release, let them shout Viva Xanana in the streets. Just stop the guerrilla attacks," this source reported Col. SidiButar as having said.

His successor may not be so willing to make concessions. Nevertheless the Colonel raised an interesting point; is the Falintil prepared to offer a temporary unilateral cease-fire as a gesture to help encourage a process of negotiation and demonstrate good will? Strangely Bishop Belo does not believe they should. "The government doesn't recognize the Falintil as an institution or as having any strength, so why should the Falintil offer a unilateral ceasefire? Why not the Indonesian army? It should be a mutual process in which the Indonesian army should take the first step. I don't know how many guerrillas there are, but we all know how many ABRI there are, they are everywhere, let them make the first move"

Nevertheless a senior Fretilin representative in Dili assured the *Expresso* that the Falintil is discussing the idea of a unilateral ceasefire and that such a gesture "is possible." The Falintil leader Matan Ruak is reported to be contacting various different Timorese figures to obtain their comments on such an idea and others.

truck

Even Abilio Soares, the corrupt former ~~tax~~ driver who now serves as Governor of East Timor, has given indications of being prepared to accept political change. On Wednesday he summoned two student leaders to his office and tried to persuade them to moderate their call for independence and to accept autonomy instead. The student leaders turned him down flat, but the meeting was an extraordinary about-face for a man who has never before been anything but a stooge for Jakarta.

Manuel Abrantes, Director of the Catholic Church's Commission of Justice and Peace, confirmed that the climate of repression had been reduced over the last three weeks. He said that he had not received a single report of an arrest or disappearance since May 20th, the first time he has ever experienced such an extended period of calm. Abrantes also down-played the idea that the poisoning of 53 prisoners in Becora jail this week was deliberate and he denied that 2 prisoners had died. "I visited the prisoners in hospital myself and noone died," he said. "That does not mean that nothing has happened," he hastened to stress, "There may well have been incidents in the interior of which we have not yet heard, but Dili is definitely calmer and I take that as a signal."

Others have seen the sign too and today (Saturday) should witness the next step in the process of forcing political negotiations about East Timor's future out into the public sphere. Earlier this week Ambassador Lopes da Cruz, Jakarta's international messenger boy on the East Timor issue, tried to persuade former Governor Mario Carrascalao to join him in signing a declaration stating that the Timorese people support

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integration. Carrascalao insisted that he would not sign anything without consulting the Timorese people. The two men agreed to travel to Dili, where they arrived on Friday. Lopes da Cruz no doubt hopes to confine the discussion to a select group of people who have received formal written invitations, including Francisco Xavier Amaral; Antonio Parada; Clementino Reis do Amaral and Salvador Ximenes, none of whom are exactly radical supporters of independence. But Mario has also asked his brother Manuel to informally invite a cross-section of Timorese representatives, including members of Fretilin and of the foreign press, to attend the debate. Lopes da Cruz may be walking into a political ambush.

TONY JENKINS
CHARACTERS: 11,002
ENDS

Timor misadventure</h2>

<I>The world has long known about the East Timorese death toll. Now retired Lt-Col SUBIYANTO speaks out about Indonesian casualties.</I>

<P>In early 1976, retired Lt-Col Subiyanto refused to be sent back to East Timor. We met him in an East Javanese town.

<P>Why did some Indonesian soldiers refuse orders?

<P>Because we read a bit about East Timor. Though colonised by the Portuguese for 350 years, no mass killings ever took place. But after the Indonesian government sent Abri there, Abri massacred the East Timorese.

<P>Was Abri doing wrong?

<P>In my opinion, it robbed the East Timorese of their sovereignty, because they were already independent at that time. So why should Abri go to East Timor with the express purpose of occupying their territory?

<P>Did you go to fight against Fretilin?

<P>Against the East Timorese. I didn't know anything about Fretilin. I just knew they were East Timorese.

<P>How was Fretilin depicted?

<P>East Timorese who escaped into the forest when Indonesian soldiers attacked were called Fretilin.

<P>What did your colleagues say?

<P>Friends who had been there disapproved. There were so many dead. They were people just like us. Whether you wanted to or not, you were ordered to go in. Then it was too late, we had to defend ourselves. It was difficult. We were from the city, and had to go into the forest.

<P>What happened when you refused to go again?

<P>For three or four years I got no promotion.

<P>Wasn't that an unpatriotic act of yours?

<P>You can call it unpatriotic. Abri has to follow orders. But once I knew a little about the history, I thought if I go I'll just be killing ordinary people. Sure, we have to follow orders, but you're not allowed to do that. We are human beings.

<P>What about Abri dead?

<P>If you count them from the beginning until now, wow, you wouldn't get just one or two thousand. It could be 5,000, or 10,000, or even more. At that time when one company was completely wiped out, another one came, and it too would be wiped out, and so on. That's not counting the East Timorese themselves.

<P>Did the Indonesian soldiers realise how many East Timorese had died?

<P>Yah, they realised it. Our enemies were supposed to be only Fretilin, not the ordinary farmers. But at that time we were total strangers to one another. All the East Timorese were thought to be the same as those who had gone into the forest.

<P>What happened to those who came back?

<P>Even if they managed to return home alive, many were disabled. But that was kept a secret by our government. If there was a chance they would survive, they were taken from Dili back to Indonesia. But not even their family was allowed to know about it. Only the superior would know which hospital they were in.

<P><I>Extracted and translated from the Radio Netherlands documentary
'Tragedi Timor Timur 1975-1995', part III, 21 December 1995. The documentary
was published as 'Jejak-jejak darah', Inham & Pijar, 10 December 1996.</I>

USAID/INDONESIA EAST TIMOR OVERVIEW

USAID has the largest donor assistance program in East Timor, Indonesia's youngest and most politically troubled province. (Population, 1996 projection: 867,700 with 40% Non-Timorese) Between 1991 and 1996, USAID directed almost \$11 million to Indonesian and U.S. non-governmental organizations (NGOs) for rural development and income generation activities. Many recipients were NGOs directed and staffed by East Timorese. The Timorese NGO network is still new. The biggest constraint in expanding or maintaining assistance levels to East Timor is the limited capacity of NGOs to absorb more funds.

Disaster Relief In February 1998, U.S. Ambassador Stapleton Roy used his disaster relief authority to provide \$25,000 in emergency food and medical supplies for Atauro Island off the coast of East Timor. Supplies were distributed through CARE.

USAID has programmed 7,280 metric tons (MT) of rice through PL480 Title II emergency relief program. Some 10,000 East Timorese households (about 50,000 persons) will benefit from this assistance. The first shipment of 1,900 MTs has arrived in Dili for distribution by CARE. The total value of the relief food destined for East Timor is over \$2.6 million.

Existing Grants Receiving Additional Funding in FY98 - In FY1998, USAID allocated nearly \$2 million for new and continuing health, sanitation, nutrition water and human rights activities through existing grants.

Salesian Missions - USAID grants to the Salesian Missions since August 1989 total \$3,186,540. Since August 1989, USAID has supported the U.S.-based Salesian Missions to improve the living standards of orphans in East Timor by improving existing education and training programs, initiating new programs and providing equipment and institutional support for orphanages. Three orphanage buildings in Los Palos, Laga and Venilale, respectively, have been constructed with USAID assistance. The Salesians also have a technical training school for youth. USAID financed a grant to support a computer and secretarial training center based at Dili. USAID signed a new grant with the Salesians in September 1996 to build a technical training workshop emphasizing electronics and installation. USAID has given significant support to the Salesian Mission for 300 farm families through an improved professional extension program of the Don Bosco Agricultural School in Fuiloro. In FY 1997, USAID extended its support to this agricultural college by providing a follow-on grant of \$400,000 for two years. The school provides farm equipment, extension services and improved farming technology to the relocated farmers. Also in FY1997, USAID provided \$240,000 for three years to support the Commission for Peace and Justice, which had been funded by Bishop Belo. This grant continues to support civil rights work in East Timor.

Duta Bina Bhuana (a national NGO based in Bali) established a counterpart Timorese NGO, Yayasan Bina Sejahtera Lestari, in 1994. It provides loans to micro-entrepreneurs and provides practical business skills training for individual borrowers and borrower organizations. The board of directors is comprised of leading East Timorese businessmen

with three East Timorese staff members. Through a USAID grant which began in 1995 and concludes at the end of FY98, they established a revolving loan fund of Rp.30 million and made 36 loans ranging from Rp.150,000 up to Rp. 1 million.

Bina Swadaya, a national Jakarta-based NGO, was financed to provide institutional development for local NGOs in East Timor. After a difficult start they successfully assisted five NGOs to form and train 46 community self-help groups. There was a Rp. 15 million revolving loan fund available to these self-help groups for establishing micro-enterprises. This activity was completed in June 1996. As a result of the training provided, two local NGOs successfully developed proposals and elicited funds from other international funding sources. This NGO successfully convinced the Provincial government to work with the staff of the local NGOs, to implement the Government's poverty reduction program.

The Asia Foundation's role in East Timor has been to strengthen the management and planning capabilities of Dili's Suara Timor Timur, the only local newspaper in East Timor. Business and journalism training is being provided to ensure that the newspaper is profitable, or at least self-sufficient in the near future, and more professional in its content. They have also furnished the new East Timor branch office of the Human Rights Commission.

The National Cooperative Business Association (NCBA) received over \$6 million in USAID grants to expand and strengthen producer cooperatives in the eastern islands, especially East Timor. NCBA's efforts contributed to the break up of an Indonesian military coffee monopoly. Nearly 40 percent of all East Timorese farmers depend on coffee production for income. About 5,500 farmers were assisted by NCBA's agricultural activities in coffee, while 230 farmers in vanilla production and 410 in cattle raising have also been helped. These farmers received extension training to double their cash incomes from the sale of their organic coffee.

The USAID Mission is in the process of approving a new health activity in East Timor. This would be a \$1.2 million grant amendment to the National Cooperative Business Association to start up a managed care program in the coffee growing region of East Timor. This program is expected to provide basic preventive and curative health and family planning services to 8,000 coffee producer families who are members of the coffee cooperative. The basic health services would be provided through a network of six family doctor clinics. The anticipated completion date of this activity is September 30, 2000.

The USAID Housing Guaranty (HG) program is a loan fund to the Indonesian government for the financing of urban environmental infrastructure. In East Timor it has provided critically needed investments in shelter, water supply, and sanitation. Since 1991, USAID and the Government of Indonesia have provided approximately \$12 million of investments eligible for HG to East Timor.

UNTIM - Human resource development is critical to the development of a more competitive, participatory economy in East Timor. Through a grant to Georgetown University, USAID is devoting resources from a bilateral education project to improve curriculum and train staff in the areas of English language and animal husbandry at the University of East Timor

(UNTIM) where the faculty is both underdeveloped and understaffed. UNTIM is the only university in East Timor. It offers higher education to Timorese to prepare them for employment in the province and in the region. This grant will end in late FY98.

ETADEP - Much of USAID's NGO work in East Timor is basic grassroots economic development and community empowerment. ETADEP, a leading Timorese NGO, started with USAID funds in 1982. USAID funding ended in March 1998. It established an institutional and human resources center in Dili to teach skills essential to the institutional development of local NGOs. ETADEP also established rural branches of its credit union, drills wells for clean drinking water and worked with smaller local NGOs to provide hands-on training in microenterprise, credit systems, water catchment systems, and family health systems. In Raimate, E. Timor, ETADEP worked with farmers to open 200 hectares of previously swampy and unirrigated land. ETADEP plays an important advocacy role for the rural farmers, recently convincing the provincial government to include extra regions in its 5 year Electrification Plans. ETADEP's influence with three key sectors, the East Timor community, the Government of Indonesia and foreign governments make it an important player in the resolution of the continuing conflicts in this troubled province. Recently, in the aftermath of religious rioting, it coordinated a round-table discussion with the Justice and Peace Commission on "Religious Pluralism in East Timor". It was attended by national religious leaders from Indonesia's principal religions, senior provincial government officials and senior military officers. The provincial government formulated a policy on religious pluralism as a result of the discussions.

U:\esapub\docs\indonesi\etimor, 7/6/98

C O V E R**S H E E T****FAX**

To: Arnold S. Kohen
Fax #: (301) 585-3288
Subject: Meeting Yesterday with USAID Administrator Brian Atwood
Date: July 8, 1998
Pages: 8, including this cover sheet.

COMMENTS:

Arnold,

Thanks for your call. I'm sending to you some of the information from the meeting yesterday. It was well attended. Brian Atwood gave the briefing. The Congressional staff was myself, Anne Huiskes w/Rep. Wolf, Dan Martz w/House Subcommittee on Asia Majority Staff, Rick Kessler, John Shank w/ Appropriations Subcommittee on Foreign Operations, two staffers from Rep. John Porters office, many AID people and two congressional staffers who I did not recognize.

I raised the two issues we talked about. I stated that I had gotten word that Bishop Belo was saying "that more people are dying of Malaria than starvation" and how the cases of Dengue Fever were increasing. Brian Atwood responded by saying how these things are interrelated. (I also pointed how these health issues were not mentioned on there handouts. John Shank of the Appropriations Committee agreed with me on why this was important and why the House Subcommittee focused on the Child Survival and Disease Account.

Finally, I sent the fax today to Alan Berger and it went through so you can follow-up with him if you need to.

From the desk of...

Robert Zachritz
Senior Legislative Assistant
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**Embargoed for release:**

00:01 GMT September 8, 1998

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NEW REPORT SAYS OFFICIAL DENIALS OF INDONESIAN RAPES HINDER INVESTIGATION

Human Rights Watch today called on senior Indonesian government officials to immediately cease efforts to discredit reports of rapes of ethnic Chinese women during riots in Jakarta in May. Instead, they should work to create a climate where victims of sexual violence might be more willing to come forward. In a new report titled "The Damaging Debate On Rapes of Ethnic Chinese Women," the organization said the debate raging on whether or not rapes had occurred was obscuring other issues, including the extent to which the May rioting was organized, the fact that sexual violence other than rape occurred, and the need to make Indonesia a society where people of all ethnicities felt secure.

The government statements are based on the fact that to date, not a single victim of the May rapes has reported an attack to the police, despite reports of rights advocates that more than 100 rapes took place. Advocates say the women in question are traumatized by the assaults themselves and subsequent intimidation, and, in some cases, have fled the country. Officials accuse nongovernmental groups of fabricating their data. Human Rights Watch said those accusations would only serve to further discourage any witness from giving testimony to a government-appointed fact-finding board.

"If it was difficult to persuade victims, their families, or their doctors to come forward before, it's going to be almost impossible now," said Sidney Jones, Asia director of Human Rights Watch. "Who would want to testify, thinking no one was going to believe them anyway?"

The Human Rights Watch report notes that ethnic Chinese women have many reasons for not going to the police, including a long history in Indonesia of police extortion of ethnic Chinese and a widespread belief that security forces were involved in the May violence. It also notes that reports of rape of women in Aceh, in northern Sumatra, during military operations there in 1990-91 are only now coming out now, seven years or more after they took place.

Human Rights Watch acknowledges that there have been problems with some of the data collected because of the chaotic circumstances in which reports came in but said rights groups were doing additional verification and going back, where possible, to the original source. It said that once verification was complete, the numbers would probably drop below the figures initially reported. The organization stressed, however, that the key issue was not numbers, but how and why violence occurred and how it can be prevented in the future. It also called on the Indonesian government to invite the United Nations Special Rapporteur on Violence Against Women to visit Indonesia to meet with officials and rights advocates and explore these issues further.



Subject: Fw: Mensagem teologan sira iha Flores halo aksi
Sent: 11/3/98 7:26 AM
Received: 11/3/98 11:18 AM
From: Alves Martins, jalaves@planalfa.es
To: Domingos Cunha, ddacunha@earthlink.net

-----Mensagem original-----

De: Xavier High School <xhs@mail.fm>
Para: jalaves@planalfa.es <jalaves@planalfa.es>
Data: Terça-feira, 3 de Novembro de 1998 6:54
Assunto: Fw: Mensagem teologan sira iha Flores halo aksi

To Arnold Kohen

>>
>> Caro Pe. Martins,
>> Mando-lhe essas noticias actual de Flores
>> Um grande abraço e amizade sempre no Senhor nosso Salvador
>> Venancio
>>
>>>
>>>> **CATHOLICS CONFESS COLLABORATION IN SUHARTO REGIME**
>>> An astonishingly frank admission of Catholic compromise with the
>>> discredited "New Order" regime of General Suharto, which came to
>an
>>> end in
>>> May, has been made by a group of church leaders. They called for
>a
>>> formal
>>> act of repentance and for the formation of a Truth and
>> Reconciliation
>>> Commission to investigate abuses since 1966.
>>>
>>> The pastoral consultation, at St Paul,s Seminary in Flores,
>>> Indonesia, last
>>> week (19-24 October), involved 32 priests and three laymen, and
>>> included
>>> vicars general, directors of pastoral centres, diocesan
>secretaries
>>> and
>>> representatives of higher education institutes.
>>>
>>> They produced a damning report about the collusion of "prominent
>>> Catholics"
>>> with the regime which governed Indonesia for 32 years. Suharto,s



>>> regime
>>> "has left the darkest shadows and bloodiest memories in the
>history
>>> of the
>>> Indonesian Republic", declared the document. An "all-embracing
>>> culture of
>>> fear" had been generated in the country by "the gathering of all
>>> power into
>>> a single hand".
>>>
>>> There had been "ideological indoctrination" and "myriad means of
>>> intimidation and terror". There had been "mass murder from Aceh
>in
>>> the
>>> extreme west to East Timor and Irian in the east". In the
>economic
>>> sphere,
>>> "poverty and destitution" had resulted from the "corruption,
>>> collusion and
>>> nepotism" of the oligarchy.
>>>
>>> Catholic involvement in these horrors could be seen at every
>level,
>>> from
>>> "prominent Catholics who held important positions in the New
>Order
>>> government at the centre of power, right through to the
>>> administration of
>>> local districts, through church institutions and organisations
>> which
>>> accepted the state ideology as their single basis, and through
>the
>>> support
>>> given the Suharto regime by church leadership".
>>>
>>> The report goes on to say that the "cosy relationship" between
>the
>>> Church
>>> and Suharto was supported by "the Church,s structure itself",
>which
>>> "in
>>> many ways parallels the structure of the New Order regime", which
>> was
>>> "hegemonic and authoritarian, without any democratic legitimation
>>> from the
>>> people".



>>>

>>> In the midst of "this depressing situation", however, "there has

>>> always

>>> been a glimmer of light shining from the midst of the faithful

>like

>> a

>>> host

>>> of small, flickering candles burning themselves out in order to

>> emit

>>> the

>>> light of truth, justice, peace, community and love".

>>>

>>> Turning to practical recommendations, the report calls for a

>> "formal

>>> act of

>>> repentance". It says: "For this, we need to create a Truth and

>>> Reconciliation Commission whose membership would come from the

>>> (uncompromised) leadership of the Church and society." The

>> commission

>>> would

>>> need to explore as far back as 1966, when the regime began with

>the

>>> mass

>>> slaughter and the KOMOP Act of Terror, and the bones of the

>victims

>>> would

>>> need to be dug up and re-buried with religious rites "for the

>sake

>> of

>>> true

>>> reconciliation".

>>>

>>> It would also be necessary "to build a monument engraved with the

>>> thousands

>>> of names of the victims, or build a museum which records the

>cruel

>>> acts of

>>> the Suharto regime ^ symbols which touch the conscience of the

>> people

>>> and

>>> remind us that such brutality must never be committed again".

>>>

>>> Within the Church, "basic communities" needed to be developed,

>> which

>>> would

>>> start as "communities of faith through common prayer, the reading



>> and
>> > sharing of the biblical Word, and so develop into wider and
>> authentic
>> > communities of life". They could co-operate with credit unions,
>and
>> > be a
>> > focus for raising awareness of health, gender and land problems,
>as
>> > well as
>> > human rights. They would relate "vertically with parish and
>> diocesan
>> > leadership", though at a horizontal level they could collaborate
>> with
>> > "neighbours from other religions" and other groups.
>>
>> > To support this work, "pastoral agents need to be prepared
>> throughout
>> > their
>> > basic formation to become sensitive to the situation of the
>people
>> > and
>> > become professional pastoral servants. To this end, the final two
>> > years of
>> > education in the major seminary needs to be re-evaluated".
>>
>> > Finally, the report speaks of the importance of "networks of
>> > collaboration"
>> > in the Nusa Tenggara region ^ that is, the islands of Flores,
>Timor
>> > and
>> > Sumba ^ where 35 per cent of Indonesian Catholics live.
>>
>> > The Tablet,
>> > 31 October 1998
>>
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>>
>>
>>

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CONGRESSMAN

TONY HALL NEWS

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE:
SEPTEMBER 9, 1998

CONTACT: MICHAEL GESSEL
(202) 225-6465

More than 100 Members of Congress Urge Clinton and Indonesian President Habibie to Ease Concerns in East Timor

WASHINGTON—A bipartisan group of more than 100 Members of Congress sent two separate letters to President Clinton and Indonesian President Habibie calling for a just solution to the tragedy in East Timor, where as many as 200,000 people have perished from the combined effects of a war in that island territory.

The letters were originated by Rep. Tony P. Hall (D-Ohio) in an effort to help bring about a lasting settlement to the longstanding conflict in East Timor, which Indonesia invaded in 1975.

"At this crucial juncture in Indonesian history, it is vital that the United States take a strong position in support of East Timor and call on the Indonesian Government to honor past resolutions enacted by the United Nations," the lawmakers said in the letter to Clinton.

Both letters to Clinton and Habibie urged ending human rights abuses through "an immediate and substantial reduction in the Indonesian military presence in East Timor as well as the granting of freedom of speech and assembly."

The lawmakers called for the release of political prisoners, including Xanana Gusmao, the Timorese resistance leader who has been compared with Nelson Mandela.

The letters also underscored the need for a speedy resolution of the East Timor problem through the good offices of the United Nations, "based on the freely expressed wishes of the people of East Timor."

The letter to Clinton pointed out, "Bishop Carlos Felipe Ximenes Belo, who received a Nobel Peace Prize in 1996...has stated that only through democratic means can a just and lasting political settlement be achieved in East Timor."

According to Hall, there has been more openness in East Timor's capital city in recent months since the fall of President Suharto.

"It is vital to continue the momentum that has been generated thus far, and there would be no better way to do that than to improve the human rights situation, withdraw troops, and release all political prisoners, especially Xanana Gusmao, who is crucial to any long-term solution to the problem," stressed Hall.

The lawmakers noted in their letter to Clinton, "It is an unfortunate fact that the invasion was carried out with American weaponry and diplomatic support."

"The United States should work with its allies to make clear to the new government that a speedy

-more-

TIMOR LETTERS
PAGE 2

resolution to the East Timor problem through the good offices of the United Nations would be to the benefit of all," the lawmakers told Clinton.

In addition to Hall, key supporters of the letters were Reps. Frank Wolf (R-Va.), Nita Lowey (D-N.Y.), Chris Smith (R-N.J.), Tom Lantos (D-Calif.), John Edward Porter (R-Ill.), Patrick Kennedy (D-R.I.), Joseph Pitts (R-Pa.), and Barney Frank (D-Mass.).

The text of the letters follow:

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

For many years there has been increasing concern in the United States Congress over the tragic plight of the former Portuguese colony of East Timor, which was invaded by Indonesia in 1975. It is an unfortunate fact that the invasion was carried out with American weaponry and diplomatic support. As many as 200,000 people, or a third of the population, have perished from the combined effects of the Indonesian presence. At this crucial juncture in Indonesian history, it is vital that the United States take a strong position in support of East Timor and call on the Indonesian Government to honor past resolutions enacted by the United Nations.

For the past decade, Bishop Carlos Felipe Ximenes Belo, who received a Nobel Peace Prize in 1996 and with whom you met last year, has stated that only through democratic means can a just and lasting political settlement be achieved in East Timor. There is now a great historical opportunity to achieve such a settlement based on the freely expressed wishes of the people of East Timor. The United States should work with its allies to make clear to the new government that a speedy resolution to the East Timor problem through the good offices of the United Nations would be to the benefit of all.

As an initial step, we believe that the new Indonesian government should enter into a serious dialogue with the people of East Timor. Bishop Belo has long stated that in order to minimize human rights abuses, there should be an immediate and substantial reduction in the Indonesian military presence in East Timor as well as the granting of freedom of speech and assembly. In its diplomatic exchanges with the Indonesian government, the United States should support these measures, as well as the release of all political prisoners, including resistance leader Xanana Gusmao. The United States should also augment its contributions toward the bolstering of food and medical supplies in East Timor during this uncertain period, which would help avert further harm to a land whose people have already suffered tremendously.

Thank you for your attention to this important matter.

The Honorable Bacharuddin Jusuf Habibie
President of the Republic of Indonesia
Jakarta, Indonesia

Dear Mr. President:

As you know, for many years, there has been increasing concern in the United States, as elsewhere in the world, over the tragic and complex issue of East Timor.

In keeping with your commitment to reform, we believe the time is ripe for the new Indonesian government to enter into a serious dialogue with the people of East Timor, including Bishop Carlos Felipe Ximenes Belo. Bishop Belo has long stated that in order to minimize human rights abuses, there should

-more-

TIMOR LETTERS
PAGE 3

be an immediate and substantial reduction in the Indonesian military presence in East Timor as well as the granting of freedom of speech and assembly. We urge you to carry these measures out, as well as release of political prisoners, including resistance leader Xanana Gusmao, with whom the government might also hold a dialogue.

Finally, but most importantly, there is a great historical opportunity to achieve a just and conciliatory settlement on East Timor. A speedy resolution of the East Timor problem through the good offices of the United Nations, based on the freely expressed wishes of the people of East Timor, would be to the benefit of all. Such a solution would be in the long-term interests of Indonesia's relations with the world community as well as the people of East Timor. It is important to remember, that the United Nations played an important role in Indonesia's struggle for independence in the 1940s and can now play an important role in the East Timor situation.

Tony P. Hall
Frank R. Wolf
Nita M. Lowey
Christopher H. Smith
Tom Lantos
John Edward Porter
Patrick J. Kennedy
Joseph R. Pitts
Barney Frank
Stephen Horn
Thomas Allen
Maurice Hinchey
Dennis Kucinich
Lloyd Doggett
Robert Underwood
David Hobson
Niel Abercrombie
Carolyn Kilpatrick
Henry Waxman
Sherrod Brown
Eleanor Holmes Norton
John Olver
Peter Visclosky
Dan Burton
John Lewis
Constance Morella
Steve Rothman
Michael McNulty
John Spratt
Fortney Pete Stark
Loretta Sanchez
Bobby Rush
Lynn Rivers
Sam Gejdenson

James Oberstar
Sue Kelly
Louise Slaughter
James Traficant
John Conyers, Jr.
David Minge
Eliot Engel
Bart Stupak
Peter DeFazio
Phil English
Carolyn Maloney
Donald Payne
Lynn Woolsey
Nancy Pelosi
William Coyne
Richard Pombo
Harris Fawell
Jose Serrano
Lane Evans
John Moakley
Martin Olav Sabo
James McGovern
John A. Boehner
Martin Meehan
William Delahunt
Brad Sherman
George Miller
Robert Weygand
Eddie Bernice Johnson
Luis Gutierrez
Esteban Edward Torres
Elizabeth Furse
James P. Moran
Bernard Sanders

Leonard L. Boswell
John Tierney
Micheal P. Forbes
Bill Luther
Ted Strickland
Robert Menendez
Barbara Lee
James Greenwood
Howard L. Berman
Julian Dixon
Charles B. Rangel
Sam Farr
Scott L. Klug
Lucille Roybal-Allard
James T. Walsh
Jesse Jackson, Jr.
Anna G. Eshoo
Brian Bilbray
Bennie G. Thompson
David Bonior
Bruce F. Vento
Sidney R. Yates
Bob Clement
Debbie Stabenow
Joseph P. Kennedy, II
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Jerrold Nadler
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Robert E. Andrews

###

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AT:**

FAX: 301-585-3288

FROM: Andrew Miller

RE:

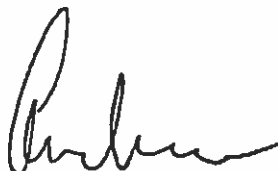
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Dear Arnold,

As promised, here is the permission form for the photograph. Sorry to get off the phone so quickly today, but the lunch was an urgent one.

Best wishes,



/* Written 5:28 AM Sep 14, 1998 by pet@web.net in
igc:reg.easttimor */
/* ----- "LUSA: Belo calls for setting-up Uni" ----- */
From: "Sharon R.A. Scharfe" <pet@web.net>
Reply-To: "Sharon R.A. Scharfe" <pet@web.net>
Subject: LUSA: Belo calls for setting-up United Front

14 SET 98 - 11:30

East Timor: Bishop Dom Ximenes Belo calls for setting-up
United Front

Jakarta, Sept. 14 (Lusa) - East Timor's Nobel Peace
Prize

co-laureate, Roman-Catholic Bishop Dom Ximenes Belo, has called
for
the setting-up of a "united front" representing all the people
of
the occupied territory.

The bishop reportedly made the appeal during a
closed-door
meeting with some 50 East Timorese representatives last week,
according to Agence France Press.

However, the armed wing of the East Timorese resistance,

FALINTIL, was not represented at the meeting. FALINTIL has
waged a
guerrilla war on the Indonesian occupation forces since 1975.

The governor of East Timor appointed by Jakarta, Abilio
Osorio, also failed to take part in the meeting called by the
highly
respected bishop, who is the apostolic administrator of the
diocese
of Dili, capital of East Timor.

Lusa/Fim

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Arnold S. Kohen

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

May 30, 1998

Bernt Gulbrandsen
Caritas Norge

Dear Bernt,

I would like to confirm our meeting for June 17/18.
On June 1 I must finalize my booking for Oslo (I am now scheduled
to be there from June 16-20), and so I would be grateful to hear
from you.

With best wishes,

Arnold

→ ARNOLD

DEAR ARNOLD

WELCOME TO OSLO!

DUE TO MY SCHEDULE, I WOULD PREFER
TO MEET YOU 18 JUNE, SAY 1000 AM IN
OUR OFFICE, AND ENJOIN WITH LUNCH.

THIS SHOULD BE OK WITH BERNT. TOO.

IS THIS POSSIBLE FOR YOU?

BEST REGARDS

ERNST BASIL ROANDEN

4/6/98

FOR
Ernst
Basil
FINE

TOTAL P.01

Arnold S. Kohen

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

May 13, 1998

Bernt Gulbandsen

Dear Bernt,

My trip to Oslo in May has been cancelled, but I hope to visit in the second half of June. Please let me know what dates are good for you.

With best regards,

Arnold



Arnold S. Kohen

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

May 13, 1998

Dr. Geoffrey Hull

Dear Geoffrey,

Forgive my temporary silence. I have been working madly to meet my deadline.

I am very thankful to you for all your help. I have a small, and perhaps obvious question: What is the meaning of the word "Ramelau" in Tetum?

I will be seeing Bishop Belo, the old Lusophile, when he receives an honorary doctorate at the University of Evora on May 20.

With best regards,

Arnold

PS I was very
amused by your
descriptions of your
"feral" compatriots...

Arnold S. Kohen

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

May 13, 1998

Dr. Benjamin Corte-Real

Dear Dr. Corte-Real,

I am very thankful to you for all your help. I have a small, and perhaps obvious question: What is the meaning of the word "Ramelau" in Tetum?

I will be seeing Bishop Belo when he receives an honorary doctorate at the University of Evora on May 20.

With best regards,



GOLD, LEINS & ADOFF

CERTIFIED PUBLIC ACCOUNTANTS

DONALD GOLD, CPA
CHARLES R. LEINS, CPA
STANLEY ADOFF, CPAMEMBERS OF THE
AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF
CERTIFIED PUBLIC ACCOUNTANTS

TO: ARNOLD KOHEN FAX NO: 301-585-3288
FROM: JIM MAGNO DATE: 10/22/98
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From the desk of...
Cora Weiss
777 United Nations Plaza
New York, N.Y. 10017

212-697-8945
Fax: 212-682-0886

to: Natacha Meden,
fax#: 011 351 1 886 3791
re:
date: 1/14/98
pages: 1, including this cover sheet

Dear Natacha,

Thank you for your fax.

I have called a lawyer whom I do not know personally, but who knows the Bruderhof. He is a decent person. This is what he said:

The Bruderhof are a Christian sect, they dress like the Amish, they came from Germany in the 1930's fleeing the Nazis. They are a Hutterian sect of the Anabaptists. I don't know a thing about those two. They have a history of persecution and running from persecution. They live communally as a fundamentalist group in New York State and Pennsylvania. They are modelled after the Israeli kibbutz movement. They have developed successful business skills and own the largest children's wooden blocks toy company, which he thinks is Creative Playthings. (They are very big and good) They also own Lear jets, train their children to be pilots and fly celebrities around. They are a distinct commercial success. They have been associated with getting rid of the death penalty in the US and with some projects in Africa, although he didn't know which ones.

He suggested a call to a woman who works with them, Sybil Sender, at 1 914 339 6680. I have not called her and won't unless you ask me to. My impression is that they have money, they do some very good works, and stay away from their religious fundamentalism. What do they want to do for you?

Good luck,
Cora

28/4/98
Pontificio Collegio Portoghese
Via Nicolò I, 3 - Rome

To
Mr. Ronald Kohan

Fax: 1-301-585-3288

Senhor Amande
B. Roma

My best greetings. I have to return early to East Timor. My Superior here told me that I must be present on the opening of the Youth Assembly in Dili on 26th May. Therefore, the trip for Oslo is cancelled. I will write to Prof. Gunnar Staalsett. Anyhow I will see you in Lisbon.

Yours sincerely
+ Carlos Belo
Bishop of Hili

SENT BY:

8-25-93 : 2:12PM :

HON. TONY HALL-

202 363 1649: 1/ 1

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 ECLESIÁSTICA, Jl. Gov. Alves Aldeia, 25 DILI 88.001—Tel. 21665

No. 4.534 / UDD / '93

Dili, 10th August 1993

Inre :
Perihal :
Your Ref. :

Dear Mr. Tony P. Hall
Member of Congress

Mister Tony Hall,

I take this occasion to thank you for your letter and for the support which the Congress of the United States/House of Representatives extends to the Church and the people of East Timor.

Despite all forces against us, we continue to hold and disseminate that the only solution to the East Timor conflict is political and diplomatic one, and this solution should include the respect of religious, cultural and social traditions of East Timor.

I take this opportunity to appeal to your good offices to keep on insisting with the American Government, and the Clinton Administration to press the Indonesian Government in order to give a special status (autonomy) to East Timor.

With sentiment of admiration

I remain Yours sincerely



Carlos Filipe X. Belo
Carlos Filipe X. Belo, SDB
Apostolic Administrator of Dili
East Timor

INDONESIA: USAID'S CRISIS RESPONSE AN OVERVIEW OF PROGRAM CHANGES

1. ECONOMIC GROWTH: Increased International Competitiveness and Domestic Competition

- Increased emphasis on *domestic competition issues* which are at the heart of the economic crisis (e.g., competition law; removing barriers to market entry; elimination of monopolistic practices)
- New Area: monetary and fiscal policy and banking sector reform issues
- **\$17.6 million** in FY98 and prior year funds

2. DEMOCRACY AND GOVERNANCE: Improved Institutions Supporting Democracy

- Increased support to Indonesian NGOs for advocacy on civil society development
- New Area: NGO efforts to draft revised laws on elections, political parties and presidential selection as part of dialogue on political transition
- New Area: Training for journalists regarding reporting on economic and political transition issues
- New Area: Election-related activities such as civic education; information dissemination; political dialogue
- New Area: Expanded labor union development activities
- **\$13.2 million** in FY98 and prior year funds

3. NATURAL RESOURCES MANAGEMENT

- *Increased focus on forest policy issues* with much broader application and significance to economy:
 - assistance with elimination of plywood cartel
 - assistance with elimination of export tariff on logs and sawn timber -- tariff was key factor in subsidizing logs going to plywood mills owned by Soeharto cronies
 - institution of forest royalty (i.e., resource rent tax)
 - assistance to put Reforestation Fund (formerly off budget government slush fund) on budget within regular budget process
- Change from strengthening government's management of parks to *strengthening the respective roles of private sector, community groups and government in park management*. Prior USAID efforts helped GOI develop framework for shared park management. The debt crisis eliminated the GOI's capacity to cover costs of protected area management and opened up more opportunities for increased involvement of private sector and community groups in park activity

management.

- **New Area:** support *debt for nature swaps* by funding costs of feasibility studies and persuading key actors in the GOI to endorse the concept
- Continued support for decentralization of NRM with increased emphasis on governance issues in local communities
- **\$17.25 million** in FY98 and prior year funds

4. **URBAN ENVIRONMENTAL MANAGEMENT**

- ***Developing social safety nets*** by providing technical assistance to design projects to generate employment while improving urban infrastructure services (e.g., drinking water, sanitation)
 - Coordination with the World Bank (WB) and Asian Development Bank (ADB) to design community-based infrastructure projects to be supported by WB and ADB loans.
 - Development of a Social Safety Net program for water utilities with falling revenues to sustain basic drinking water services to low income households.
- Release of \$25 million in Urban and Environmental Credit (UEC) loan guarantees to support labor-intensive employment generation through the construction of urban water and sanitation infrastructure (*focus changed from larger scale projects to small scale labor-intensive ones*)
- Better public participation in decision-making on the choice of urban services and how they are financed
- Privatization and restructuring of the national electric utility, PLN
- New procurement procedures for the privatization of urban infrastructure to increase transparency in decision-making and reduce opportunities for corruption in government contracts
- Increasing the transparency of power purchase contracts with private power producers
- Coordination with the World Bank, Asian Development Bank, and bilateral donors to assist the GOI in its efforts to restructure the power sector
- **\$43.42 million** in FY98 and prior year funds (includes UEC guarantees)

5. **HEALTH AND FAMILY PLANNING**

- **New Area:** Existing funds reprogrammed to finance **\$10 million in commodities**; additional \$3.5 million in similar commodities may be provided later based on need
 - \$7.4 million in contraceptives (IUDs and Norplant)
 - \$2.5 million in medical supplies such as disposable

- syringes, latex gloves, reagents for hemoglobin testing; kits for nurses and midwives (e.g., for IUD and Norplant Insertion and HIV-AIDS and pregnancy test kits)
- **New Area:** Existing funds reprogrammed to *fund basic operational expenses (i.e., recurrent costs)* critical to maintaining service delivery, such as
 - costs for doctors to travel to field to monitor quality of service delivery
 - costs for maintaining data collection process based on monthly travel to field (e.g., tracking information about family planning use and discontinuance)
- **New Area:** Funding to *assess effects of the crisis on the health status of the population* (e.g., are there increases in infant mortality; ability to pay for drugs and contraceptives)
- New assistance areas are based on specific appeal from the Ministry of Health and coordinated with other donors
- **\$27.66 million** in FY98 and prior year funds

6. **FOOD ASSISTANCE**

- **New Area:** **\$25 million in PL480 Title II emergency food aid** committed in February 1998 for food-for-work (FFW) and maternal and child feeding targeted to drought-affected areas in Eastern Indonesia; first shipment arrived in Indonesia on June 28
- **New Area:** **Additional \$25 million Title II committed in June 1998** during Atwood visit to Indonesia; targeted to urban areas based on need
- **Possibility of additional food aid if needed**
- Use of \$3 million in FY98 funds to support NGO food distribution efforts
- **\$53 million** in FY98 funds and emergency food assistance

7. **DISASTER ASSISTANCE**

- **New Area:** Through a US private voluntary organization (PVO), **\$248,200 for a seeds distribution program in Irian Jaya** in response to drought-related needs
- **New Area:** Through a US PVO, **\$100,000 for air transport of food, seeds and other relief materials** into disaster-affected areas of Irian Jaya
- **New Area:** Through the ICRC, **\$150,000 for medical supplies** for vulnerable populations in Irian Jaya
- **New Area:** Through a US PVO, **\$25,000 to enhance an ongoing**

- *drought assistance program* in East Timor
- New Area: Through a consortium of Indonesian NGOs, \$22,500 for the purchase of rice seed for planting upon resumption of rain
- \$545,700 in FY98 funding

TOTAL USAID CRISIS RESPONSE: \$172.67 MILLION

u:\repub\docs\Indonesia\review.mrx:07/07/98

On the weekend of July 11 and 12 there were reports that the feared Prabowo had returned to East Timor to lead efforts to end the growing pro-independence demonstrations that have become a feature of life since Suharto resigned. (In fact, it was unclear if this was true.) There also were reports of the distribution of weapons to pro-integration groups. At the same time, there were accounts in the Indonesian press of a mass exodus of Indonesian settlers from East Timor, supposedly under pressure from pro-independence people: this last report was seen as a possible pretext for a military crackdown.

At the same time, there were rumours of an assassination attempt by Timorese vigilante squads created by Indonesian forces against Bishop Belo in a remote border village around July 12. Reached in Dili on July 15, Belo said the rumours were false. The spreading of false reports was reminiscent of the situation in 1975 in the months leading up to the initial Indonesian invasion of East Timor: at that time, the false reports were designed to present a picture of chaos to justify military action by Indonesian forces.

What is true at present, Bishop Belo said, is that Dili is like it was in 1980, full of Indonesian soldiers who have encircled the city. Troops are entering houses at night, the bishop said, and every day people are going to churches to take refuge.

A visit by the United Nations special envoy, Jamsheed Marker, is slated to take place after July 16. Bishop Belo, fearing violence, would like to see the visit postponed. Diplomatic sources fear that pro-government elements might provoke a violent incident.

If Habibie and his military allies truly intend to take action to relax the situation and implement the measures called for by East Timor's bishops in their June 23 letter, there can be no better time than now. International pressure on Jakarta is vital.

Letter given to President Habibie by East Timor's Bishops:

ENCOUNTER WITH THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA,
JAKARTA (24 JUNE 1998)

We, the bishops of East Timor; Mgr. Basilio do Nascimento Pr, Apostolic Administrator of the Diocese of Baucau, and Mgr. Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo SDB, Apostolic Administrator of the Diocese of

Dili, are thankful for the intervention through the Minister for Religious Affairs to meet personally with the President of the Republic of Indonesia. Apparently the purpose of that meeting is closely connected with the problem of the territory of East Timor, where we are in charge of pastoral care for the faithful.

In the context of the spirit of reform, the President has expressed the official standpoint of his government regarding the political question of East Timor, without belittling of course the different opinions which are still launched by several political leaders within Indonesia itself.

Motivated by the spirit of ever better service to the faithful, whose pastoral care has been entrusted to us, we are pleased to comply with the honourable invitation of Your Excellency the President, in the hope that Your Excellency will listen to what we have to say in relation to the political question of East Timor, which seems to be endless. In this encounter we don't have the slightest pretension of forwarding concrete solutions for the political problem of East Timor. Nonetheless, making use of the opportunity, which is offered to us, we kindly ask Your Excellency and Your Government, the cabinet, in search for the best possible strategy towards a definitive solution of the political problem of East Timor.

Considering that a conflict situation and political instability are prevailing in the territory of East Timor for more than 22 years;

Considering that an atmosphere of tension, suspicion and hostility are wide spread between civilians and members of the Armed Forces (ABRI), as a result of behaviour and extremist acts of security -- personnel, either collectively, or -- in most cases -- personally.

Considering that families have been broken up as a consequence of the conflict and that families have the sincere desire of becoming reunited again with their children and relatives in order to start a new life in East Timor:

I: We, the bishops of East Timor have taken the following standpoint with regard to the above mentioned consideranda and BELIEVE:

--- That the political question of East Timor has an international dimension because it is still part of the agenda of the UN and is still debated between Portugal and Indonesia.

--- That the most competent forum is the UN. Through that international forum a solution can be arrived at that is fair, peaceful and honourable as well as internationally acceptable.

--- That the effort to achieve a solution of the political question by the use of the security approach -- as has been practised for more than 22 years -- is no longer relevant in this era of reform.

An approach by using diplomatic channels is the best way. In this context we believe that authoritative bodies for handling the problem of East Timor are the Department of Foreign Affairs and the Congress/Parliament and House of Representatives of Indonesia.

--- That it is urgently needed within a short time that a mechanism be erected that collects the aspirations of the entire society of East Timor, including guerillas and people living in the diaspora. Through this mechanism the Central Government can listen to, and will know, the opinions of the 'political options' which are alive among the people and society of East Timor.

II. With reference to the improvement of living conditions of the people of East Timor, we, the Bishops, PROPOSE:

--- To guarantee the rights, and acknowledge the freedom of the indigenous population to go and stay wherever they want, without restricting their space of movement, and without compelling them to live in settlements which are being built along the main roads in order to make it more easy for security personnel to control them.

--- To guarantee the right and acknowledge the freedom of opinion and the right to express their thoughts even when these are of a political nature.

--- To decrease the effective number of combat and territorial troops, as well as the Special Forces troops (Kopassus), such as units of Rajawali, Saka, Halilintar, Garda Paksi and others. In other words, the status of the territory of East Timor must be changed from 'operations status' to 'normal territory.'

--- Free access into East Timor must be given to international organizations such as the United Nations Commission for Human Rights, Amnesty International, etc, in order to guarantee credibility which will have a positive impact on all sides, both Government of Indonesia and the people of East Timor.

III In the spirit of reform, we, the bishops of East Timor, APPEAL:

___ That more opportunity be given and a climate be created, which is conducive to sincere and open dialogue between East Timorese themselves with the Central Government;

--- That the spirit of reform in the form of eliminating corruption, collusion and nepotism be extended to East Timor also, by replacing or transferring the civil servants and members of ABRI, who have been involved in those practices, and returning those civil servants and military personnel, who already for more than 22 years have been employed in East Timor, to their respective units they have originally come from;

___ That the liberation of political prisoners from East Timor,

that happened some time ago, be followed up by granting clemency and amnesty to all political prisoners, both in East Timor and outside;

--- In order to preserve the culture of East Timor, the Central government should formally allow the teaching of the Tetun language in Elementary and Junior Middle Schools, and the teaching of Portuguese in Senior Middle Schools and Institutes of Higher Education throughout East Timor;

--- In order to help the ending of the economic crisis, the harbour of Dili should be declared commercial freeport, not only for Indonesian ships, but also for foreign ships and ships from neighbouring countries.

These are some of our opinions, proposals and appeals, which we forward to Your Excellency the President and Your Reform Cabinet, in an effort to help creating a climate of calmness and peace in East Timor.

Dili, June 23, 1998

Ep. Titularis of Settimuncia
Apostolic Administrator of
Baucau

Ep. Titularis of Lorium
Apostolic Administrator of Dili

(Mgr. Basilio do Nascimento Pr.)

(Mgr. Carlos Filipe Ximenes
Belo, SDB)

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Notes

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Epilogue

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Page 22, "And some Vatican officials",: see, for example Thomas J. Reese, Inside the Vatican, Harvard University Press, 1996, page 265. The reference here is to "the world community," but privately some Vatican officials have implied that the most powerful nations in the world bear a special responsibility.

Chronology

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NEWS BULLETIN: JULY 14, 1998

A number of developments in recent weeks have caused confusion. First, there was the meeting on June 23, 1998 between President B.J. Habibie and Bishop Carlos Ximenes Belo. In the immediate aftermath of this meeting in Jakarta, Bishop Belo praised the Indonesian president. Reached shortly after his return to Dili, Bishop Belo told Oxford University Indonesia specialist Peter Carey that he felt quite positive about the encounter. Belo stressed that he and his fellow bishop, Basilio do Nascimento, had submitted a letter (the English translation, provided by Bishop Belo, follows) to Habibie containing about 25 requests, including withdrawal of Indonesian troops and the freeing of political prisoners. The two bishops were not taking a position on the status of the territory, but leaving that to the UN, "the most competent forum" to reach a solution "that is fair, peaceful and honourable as well as internationally acceptable."

A key source at the Catholic Commission on Justice and Peace of the Diocese of Dili noted that Bishop Belo felt that the reception he received from Habibie was markedly different from the past. But the crucial factor at work was the fear of the two bishops, expressed by Belo on numerous occasions since the Santa Cruz massacre in 1991, that without concrete improvements in East Timor and a demilitarization of the territory, there could be a renewal of largescale violence. In Belo's view, any opportunity to make such gains must be seized upon as an indispensable step toward peace, if only a transitional one.

But events in the days after Bishop Belo returned to Dili in late June raised questions as to Habibie's ability to deliver on promises of a more relaxed situation. Two Timorese were shot and killed by security forces in separate incidents during the Troika visit of European Union ambassadors, acts denounced by Bishop Belo in strong terms. Some diplomatic observers say these incidents may have been provoked by Timorese elements under Indonesian military control, specifically those linked to the former Special Forces Commander, Major General Prabowo Subianto, the son-in-law of Suharto.

The next set of developments raised further questions. East Timor's governor and military commander supervised the distribution of documents presented as United Nations proposals for a solution to the East Timor problem, calling for autonomy under Indonesia, not independence. But these documents were not official UN proposals, only points that had been discussed in talks between the Indonesians and the Portuguese in their meetings under UN auspices. The United Nations denounced this misrepresentation of their position, and Bishop Belo criticized those in East Timor who had tried to mislead the public.

On the weekend of July 11 and 12 there were reports that the feared Prabowo had returned to East Timor to lead efforts to end the growing pro-independence demonstrations that have become a feature of life since Suharto resigned. (In fact, it was unclear if this was true.) There also were reports of the distribution of weapons to pro-integration groups. At the same time, there were accounts in the Indonesian press of a mass exodus of Indonesian settlers from East Timor, supposedly under pressure from pro-independence people: this last report was seen as a possible pretext for a military crackdown.

At the same time, there were rumours of an assassination attempt by Timorese vigilante squads created by Indonesian forces against Bishop Belo in a remote border village around July 12. Reached in Dili on July 15, Belo said the rumours were false. The spreading of false reports was reminiscent of the situation in 1975 in the months leading up to the initial Indonesian invasion of East Timor: at that time, the false reports were designed to present a picture of chaos to justify military action by Indonesian forces.

What is true at present, Bishop Belo said, is that Dili is like it was in 1980, full of Indonesian soldiers who have encircled the city. Troops are entering houses at night, the bishop said, and every day people are going to churches to take refuge.

A visit by the United Nations special envoy, Jamsheed Marker, is slated to take place after July 16. Bishop Belo, fearing violence, would like to see the visit postponed. Diplomatic sources fear that pro-government elements might provoke a violent incident.

If Habibie and his military allies truly intend to take action to relax the situation and implement the measures called for by East Timor's bishops in their June 23 letter, there can be no better time than now. International pressure on Jakarta is vital.

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NEWS ITEM: JULY 20, 1998

As in the previous bulletin, Bishop Belo feared that a visit to East Timor by the United Nations special envoy, Jamsheed Marker, might spark demonstrations that could result in violence, and wanted to see the visit postponed. In the end, the bishop and Marker arranged for the visit to be switched to the airport at Baucau, East Timor's second largest city. Marker and a colleague flew there on July 19, where they met with both of East Timor's bishops and others local leaders.

Meanwhile, Bishop Belo was in Jakarta from July 16-18, where he spoke out on the need for a referendum and described the trauma to which East Timor has been subjected, apparently winning sympathy from a range of political and religious leaders. He also met with Foreign Minister Ali Alatas as well as imprisoned resistance leader Xanana Gusmao, who reportedly agreed that large demonstrations should be avoided in East Timor at this time.

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NEWS BULLETIN: JULY 14, 1998

A number of developments in recent weeks have caused confusion. First, there was the meeting on June 23, 1998 between President B.J. Habibie and Bishop Carlos Ximenes Belo. In the immediate aftermath of this meeting in Jakarta, Bishop Belo praised the Indonesian president. Reached shortly after his return to Dili, Bishop Belo told Oxford University Indonesia specialist Peter Carey that he felt quite positive about the encounter. Belo stressed that he and his fellow bishop, Basilio do Nascimento, had submitted a letter (the English translation, provided by Bishop Belo, follows) to Habibie containing about 25 requests, including withdrawal of Indonesian troops and the freeing of political prisoners. The two bishops were not taking a position on the status of the territory, but leaving that to the UN, "the most competent forum" to reach a solution "that is fair, peaceful and honourable as well as internationally acceptable."

A key source at the Catholic Commission on Justice and Peace of the Diocese of Dili noted that Bishop Belo felt that the reception he received from Habibie was markedly different from the past. But the crucial factor at work was the fear of the two bishops, expressed by Belo on numerous occasions since the Santa Cruz massacre in 1991, that without concrete improvements in East Timor and a demilitarization of the territory, there could be a renewal of largescale violence. In Belo's view, any opportunity to make such gains must be seized upon as an indispensable step toward peace, if only a transitional one.

But events in the days after Bishop Belo returned to Dili in late June raised questions as to Habibie's ability to deliver on promises of a more relaxed situation. Two Timorese were shot and killed by security forces in separate incidents during the Troika visit of European Union ambassadors, acts denounced by Bishop Belo in strong terms. Some diplomatic observers say these incidents may have been provoked by Timorese elements under Indonesian military control, specifically those linked to the former Special Forces Commander, Major General Prabowo Subianto, the son-in-law of Suharto.

The next set of developments raised further questions. East Timor's governor and military commander supervised the distribution of documents presented as United Nations proposals for a solution to the East Timor problem, calling for autonomy under Indonesia, not independence. But these documents were not official UN proposals, only points that had been discussed in talks between the Indonesians and the Portuguese in their meetings under UN auspices. The United Nations denounced this misrepresentation of their position, and Bishop Belo criticized those in East Timor who had tried to mislead the public.

30/58/ 3285

1 July 1998

DAILY PRESS BRIEFING OF OFFICE OF SPOKESMAN FOR SECRETARY-GENERAL

A statement had been put out yesterday on East Timor, said Mr. Brandt. The statement had generated a number of questions about whether the United Nations had proposed a solution for the question of East Timor within the framework of the tripartite talks under the Secretary-General's auspices. No proposal had been submitted by the United Nations for the resolution of that dispute, and any reports of such a proposal were unfounded. The United Nations and the Secretary-General remained completely committed to the continuous facilitation of the dialogue and were looking for a solution. There was no particular proposal at the moment.



United Nations

Press Release Secretary-General

Department of Public Information • News Coverage and Accreditation Service • New York

SG/SM/6620
30 June 1998

SECRETARY-GENERAL CONCERNED BY EAST TIMOR VIOLENCE, URGES
RESTRAINT, TOLERANCE AND PEACEFUL DISCOURSE

The following statement was issued today by the Spokesman for Secretary-General Kofi Annan:

The Secretary-General is concerned by recent violent incidents in East Timor which have resulted in the death of innocent civilians. While he welcomes the atmosphere of greater openness that has created wider possibilities for a discussion of the future of East Timor, he urges all sides to exercise maximum restraint and to ensure that such discourse is carried out in a peaceful manner, with full respect for basic human rights and tolerance for differing views.

The Secretary-General calls on the Indonesian authorities, as well as the political, religious and community leaders in East Timor, to exercise their responsibility and influence in easing tensions and encouraging peaceful and orderly conduct as people exercise their right to free expression.

The Secretary-General remains closely engaged, personally and through his Personal Representative for East Timor, Ambassador Jamsheed Marker, in intensified efforts to find a comprehensive, negotiated settlement of the question of East Timor.

YH

HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH

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**FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE****July 2, 1997****For Further Information:****Sidney Jones (New York)****(212) 972-8400, ext. 290 [w]****(718) 788-2899 [h]****Mike Jendrzeczyk (Washington)****(202) 371-6592 ext. 113 [w]****INDEPENDENT INVESTIGATION NEEDED IN EAST TIMOR**

(New York, 2 July 97) Given the sharp deterioration of human rights in East Timor over the last month, Human Rights Watch/Asia is calling for a full, public accounting of all East Timorese arrested since May 29, 1997 and their current whereabouts; immediate access to those detained throughout the territory; full disclosure of information relating to the death of East Timorese guerrilla commander David Alex on June 25; and an independent investigation into all incidents of violence since May 29 by an impartial human rights body. The wave of arrests was precipitated by a series of guerrilla attacks on polling stations and military and police posts on the eve of the May 29 parliamentary elections in Indonesia. The guerrilla organization FALINTIL claimed credit for the attacks in Dili, Baucau, Ermera and Los Palos, although there have been allegations that intramilitary disputes may have led to military involvement in at least one of the assaults.

"The lack of clarity on events in which more than fifty people have been killed and more than 150 arrested since the end of May in itself underscores the need for an independent investigation," said Sidney Jones, executive director of Human Rights Watch/Asia. "Neither Indonesian military sources nor the armed opposition has provided reliable information on the violence, and the government's ban on foreign journalists traveling around East Timor further reduces the possibility of an independent assessment. It also suggests the government has something to hide." Jones said it remains unclear who was responsible for the May 31, 1997 attack in Quelicai, Baucau in which sixteen policemen and one soldier were killed, and the circumstances surrounding David Alex's death remain murky.

Even though FALINTIL has publicly claimed responsibility for the Quelicai attack in which soldiers wearing military uniforms lobbed a grenade into the truck carrying over two dozen soldiers and police, some unconfirmed reports have linked it to a dispute within the military and retaliation for the death on October 24, 1996 of Juliao Fraga, head of a counterinsurgency unit called the Saka Forces (Pasukan Saka). More than fifty people have been arrested in the Baucau area since May 29, with many held for questioning and then released. Some two dozen are believed to have been formally charged, and the arrests were said to be continuing.

BRUSSELS HONG KONG LONDON LOS ANGELES MOSCOW NEW YORK RIO DE JANEIRO WASHINGTON

Baucau was also the site of the killing under mysterious circumstances of David Alex, a man in his late forties who was the deputy chief of staff of the East Timorese guerrilla forces. His *nom de guerre* was Dai Tula. Alex was reportedly arrested in the village of Caibada, near Baucau, together with Jose Antonio Belo, a former political prisoner and student activist; Manuel, also known as Loke Matan; Guilherme dos Santos, known as Gil; and one other person. Alex was accused of being behind the attacks in late May in Baucau, and indeed, a report from the resistance dated June 3 claimed that forces under his command were responsible for the burning of polling stations on May 29 in the Laga, Ossu, Baguia, and Baucau, all in Baucau district, and in Viqueque district.

Several different accounts of the death have emerged: sources close to the opposition say the men were captured by an Indonesian military patrol as they were going into a village to seek medicine for Alex, who was ill. The soldiers shot Alex twice in the leg, but the injuries were not serious, according to these sources, who concluded he must have been killed in the hospital in Dili. (The five others captured with him were reportedly put in a military vehicle and driven to Baucau, where they were later reported to have been seen in cells run by Kopassus, the army special forces.) Reuters quoted the new military commander of East Timor, Col. Slamet Sidabutar, as saying Alex was shot in the leg in an armed clash between soldiers and guerrillas and died while he was receiving a blood transfusion. He said the army had no reason for wanting him dead because he could have supplied valuable information about the resistance. Agence France Presse quoted another military source as saying he died of gunshot wounds in a military helicopter en route to a hospital in Dili from Baucau. When asked why Alex was flown to Dili rather than being treated in Baucau, Indonesian army sources said the facilities in Baucau were inadequate for treatment of injuries as severe as Alex's. The military reported he was buried in Dili on Thursday, June 26 in a ceremony attended by family members, but relatives in the capital said they had never been told of the funeral. The body was not made available for autopsy before burial and as of July 1, there had been no access by outsiders to the five men arrested at the same time.

After some initial doubts about who carried out the May 28 attack on the house of a teacher named Castelo, in the village of Irara, Los Palos, in which seven civilians were killed, the guerrilla forces under the National Council of Maubere Resistance (CNRM) publicly took responsibility on June 27. Killed in the attack were Castelo himself, aged forty-two, an elementary school teacher; three of his children; another teacher named Gregorius Kedang, aged thirty, from the province of Nusa Tenggara Timur; and Gregorius's wife and adopted son. Three other teachers were wounded in the attack, including Agus Berek, forty-one, also from Nusa Tenggara Timur; John Minesa from Irian Jaya; and Hengky from Menado. While the government immediately blamed the killings on "GPK" (the initials for "security disturbers," the official euphemism for guerrillas), sources close to the guerrillas initially claimed that the army must have been responsible for the killings because Castelo himself had once been suspected of being part of the clandestine network. It then transpired that Castelo was known locally as a "nafa-nafa," someone who had surrendered to Indonesian forces and who had then gone back on their behalf to infiltrate the resistance. In their June 27 statement, CNRM alleged that Castelo had been working for Indonesian intelligence. Human Rights Watch/Asia, in a press release of June 4, condemned the attacks on civilians as a clear violation of humanitarian law.

Given the current situation, Human Rights Watch/Asia reiterates its call on all parties to the conflict in East Timor to observe international human rights and humanitarian law standards. It calls on the Indonesian government to allow immediate access to all those detained, in accordance with the Indonesian Criminal Procedure Code; to allow an independent investigation into the death of David Alex, to include an autopsy, in order to address concerns that he may have died an unnatural death; to

lift the ban on journalists; and to allow access to East Timor by human rights monitors as recommended by the U.N. Human Rights Commission in a resolution passed earlier this year.

Human Rights Watch/Asia also called for an independent investigation into the October 24, 1996 death of Sgt. Juliao Fraga, given conflicting reports about whether he was killed by guerrilla forces or by elements within the military. The Indonesian National Human Rights Commission sent a team to East Timor in mid-November to investigate the shooting of Fraga, who in addition to commanding the 300-strong Saka Forces was also acting subdistrict commander of Baguia, Baucau. Commission members said they had received reports that Fraga had not been killed by guerrillas as the military had claimed, but their findings were not publicized. Nine young men from the Baucau area were arrested and detained in late October and early November in connection with the Fraga death, and it was not known as of June 1997 how many remained in detention. There has been speculation in East Timor that the killing of two election officials in Baguia on May 27, a police sergeant, Abdullah Syukur and an army sergeant, Sitepu, were also linked to the Fraga death, but Human Rights Watch/Asia has no independent verification of this.

Human Rights Watch/Asia

Human Rights Watch is a nongovernmental organization established in 1978 to monitor and promote the observance of internationally recognized human rights in Africa, the Americas, Asia, the Middle East and among the signatories of the Helsinki accords. Kenneth Roth is the executive director; Cynthia Brown is the program director. Robert L. Bernstein is the chair of the board and Adrian W. DeWind is vice chair. Its Asia division was established in 1985 to monitor and promote the observance of internationally recognized human rights in Asia. Sidney Jones is the executive director; Mike Jendrzeczyk is the Washington director; Robin Munro is the Hong Kong director; Patricia Gossman is senior researcher; Jeannine Guthrie is NGO Liaison; Zunetta Liddell and Paul Slusher are research associates; Paul Lall and Olga Nousias are associates; Mickey Spiegel is a research consultant. Andrew J. Nathan is chair of the advisory committee and Orville Schell is vice chair.

Web Site Address: <http://www.hrw.org> Gopher Address: <gopher://gopher.humanrights.org:5000/11/int/hrw>
Listserv address: To subscribe to the list, send an e-mail message to majordomo@igc.apc.org with "subscribe hrw-news" in the body of the message (leave the subject line blank).

From tapol@gn.apc.org Mon Aug 4 05:34:04 1997
Return-Path: <tapol@gn.apc.org>
Received: from mail.gn.apc.org (gn3.gn.apc.org [194.202.158.47])
by igcb.igc.org (8.8.5/8.8.5) with ESMTP id FAA05473
for <askohen@igc.apc.org>; Mon, 4 Aug 1997 05:33:41 -0700
(PDT)
Received: from gn.apc.org.gn.apc.org by mail.gn.apc.org
(8.8.6/Revision: 2.06 03 December 1996)
id MAA15388; Mon, 4 Aug 1997 12:41:29 GMT
Message-Id: <199708041241.MAA15388@mail.gn.apc.org>
X-Sender: tapol@gn.apc.org (Unverified)
X-Mailer: Windows Eudora Version 1.4.4
Mime-Version: 1.0
Content-Type: text/plain; charset="us-ascii"
Date: Mon, 04 Aug 1997 13:34:53 +0000
To: askohen@igc.apc.org
From: tapol@gn.apc.org (Tapol)
Subject: any light on the muddle about M's letter
Status: RO

Dear Arnie,

You probably haven't heard the latest, perhaps having just got up. Jakarta now says that NM's letter to Suharto asking for XG's release was mistakenly sent to the Portuguese mebassy, instead of the Indonesian embassy, that the Portuguese deliberately failed to pass it on and leaked it to the press. That, as a result, the Portuguese ambassador has been ordered to leave.

My contact at the P embassy here told me the ambassador there is due to leave on 19 August to take up a new post in Brussels.

Now, reports filed from Cape Town say that according to 'govt sources', the ambassador has been ordered to leave - or has already left, having been given 48 hours notice. Neither the South African government nor the Portuguese govt is confirming anything.

Horta just told me that the P ambassador in Capoe Town has left on vacation and is about to be tranferred to Brussels. But until I phoned him just now, he knew nothing about these extraordinary developments.

Did the S Africa people do a cock-up? If so, Jakarta is making mincemeat of this, to scupper the Mandela initiative.

I've passed the stuff on to Steve, as requested. I'll see him tomorrow.

I'm at a loss to know what to post on the conferences, the whole thing is so bizarre. If so, it's just as well Belo was a bit laid back.

Carmel

From askohen Mon Aug 4 06:41:33 1997
Return-Path: <askohen>
Received: (from askohen)
by igc6.igc.org (8.8.5/8.8.5) id GAA21263;
Mon, 4 Aug 1997 06:41:32 -0700 (PDT)
Date: Mon, 4 Aug 1997 06:41:32 -0700 (PDT)
Message-Id: <199708041341.GAA21263@igc6.igc.org>
From: "Arnold S. Kohen" <askohen@igc.apc.org>
To: tapol@gn.apc.org
Subject: for Carmel
Cc: askohen@igc.org
Status: R

Dear Carmel,

Yes, it is bizarre, and I were in your shoes I would avoid posting anything until there is some clarity, i.e. a public statement by the South Africans or Portuguese.

Only last night I sent a note to Steve reflecting on Belo's situation. It would have had enormous implications in terms of building up local hopes in East Timor had he immediately jumped on a plane for South Africa when all of this was first suggested. If Belo had the feeling that it was clearly an initiative with a strong likelihood of bringing concrete results, I am certain he would have jumped at it. Without clear indications of that, I am certain it was his instinct to wait and see. If things now are messed up because of the newly reported development, that lends weight to his initial reluctance, as you pointed out.

It's good to be in touch again. Let's do it more often.

I hope you're well.

Arnie

for Tamrat
Samuel

/* Written 6:06 PM Jul 27, 1997 by andrew@ozramp.net.au in
igc:reg.easttimor */
/* ----- "ABC: Bishop Belo/Mandela" ----- */
Source: Radio Australia

[ABC International News]

EAST TIMOR BISHOP REJECTS INVITATION FROM SOUTH AFRICA'S
PRESIDENT.

Sunday 27 July, 1997 (10:46am AEST)

East Timor's Bishop Belo says he is declining an
invitation to South Africa to meet President
Nelson Mandela.

He says he has a lot of work to do in his diocese
and such a journey would be a waste of time.

Bishop Belo says that if President Mandela wants
to talk about the politics of East Timor then he
should talk to the Indonesian generals.

However, he did make some concessions to the
President's interest in finding a settlement for
the problem saying his recent meeting with jailed
East Timor independence leader Xanana Gusmao
during a visit to Indonesia was a positive event.

Mr Mandela held talks in Pretoria on Friday with
East Timor activist Jose Ramos Horta, who shared
last year's peace prize with Bishop Belo, as part
of a new initiative by U-N Secretary-general Kofi
Annan to resolve the East Timor situation.

>

- 1996 Australian Broadcasting Corporation



Department of Social Development and World Peace
3211 4th Street N.E. Washington, DC 20017-1194 FAX (202)541-3339



January 2, 1998

Catherine Scott
Asia Policy Officer
CIIR
London

FAX: 441-71-359 0017

Dear Catherine,

Apologies, first off, for not having responded to your faxed letter of 3 November (although Arnold and I have spoken about it and he, I believe, has spoken with you). Greetings, secondly, for the New Year, with all hopes that it will be one of much peace for you and some progress for the people of East Timor in their quest for justice and freedom.

Now, as to U.S. representation on the CCET, I would of course be delighted to play a somewhat more active role with the Coalition, if that were really feasible, BUT, at the moment at least, it simply is not. Since I alone (and I don't mean me and my assistant/intern/secretary--I mean I alone) handle all the USCC business on Latin America and the Caribbean AND on East and South Asia (thank God there is someone else who follows "West Asia"--essentially Iraq and the Middle East), my ability to do more than write the occasional letter/statement on East Timor is severely limited. Without Arnold, I couldn't do even the limited amount I do.

And, for us at this time, Arnold ("USCC consultant on East Timor") has been and continues to be our principal vehicle for outreach and representation. Few if any others have the same relation with Bishop Belo that he does and, for us as an episcopal conference, that counts for a great deal. I would be content to continue regarding his participation in the CCET meetings as representing USCC. However, if it is important that you have someone directly associated with the churches in the US, it may be best that Tankersly or someone else from NCC fill that slot.

I would of course treasure the opportunity of popping over to meet with y'all when next you do meet--"almost certainly this coming January"?--but (truth in packaging) my ability to deliver is limited indeed. You may by now have settled the matter (see apologies supra) and I hope all goes well with you and all my friends at CIIR, from Ian all the way up to the top!

Um abraco,

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

Thomas E. Quigley
Policy Adviser
East Asian Affairs

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

DRAFT TO PRESIDENT CLINTON

Dear Mr. President,

As you know, for many years there has been increasing concern in the United States House of Representatives over the tragic plight of the former Portuguese colony of East Timor, which was invaded by Indonesia in 1975. It is an unfortunate fact that the invasion was carried out with American weaponry and diplomatic support. As many as 200,000 people, or a third of the population, have perished from the combined effects of the Indonesian occupation. At this crucial juncture in Indonesian history, it is vital that the United States take a strong position on behalf of East Timor.

We believe that the new Indonesian government should enter into a serious dialogue with the people of East Timor, including Bishop Carlos Felipe Ximenes Belo, who received a Nobel Peace Prize in 1996. Bishop Belo has long stated that in order to minimize human rights abuses, there should be an immediate and genuine reduction in the Indonesian military presence in East Timor as well as the granting of freedom of speech and assembly. In its diplomatic exchanges with the Indonesian government, the United States should support these measures, as well as the release of all political prisoners and an end to all human rights abuses. The United States should also contribute toward the bolstering of food and medical supplies in East Timor during this uncertain period, which would help avert further harm to a territory marked by catastrophic war-induced famine from 1978-80.

Finally, but most importantly for the future of this beleaguered territory, there is a great historical opportunity to achieve a longterm political settlement on East Timor in the wake of the resignation of President Suharto. The United States should work with its allies to make it clear to Jakarta that a speedy resolution to the problem through the good offices of the United Nations, based on the freely expressed wishes of the people of East Timor through democratic elections under United Nations supervision, would be to the benefit of all.

AS Bishop Belo has long stated over the past 10 years and with who you met a year ago. I think the US should work with the new gov. through a democratic process.

USCC
98

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

DRAFT TO PRESIDENT HABIBIE


The Honorable Bacharuddin Jusuf Habibie
President of the Republic of Indonesia

Dear Mr. President,

As you know, for many years there has been increasing concern in the United States House of Representatives over the tragic plight of East Timor.

The time is ripe for the new end gov to in heeding w/ your comm. to reform.
We believe that the new Indonesian government ~~should~~ enter into a serious dialogue with the people of East Timor, including Bishop Carlos Felipe Ximenes Belo. Bishop Belo has long stated that in order to minimize human rights abuses, there should be an immediate and genuine reduction in the Indonesian military presence in East Timor as well as the granting of freedom of speech and assembly. We believe that such measures should be carried out, as well as the release of all political prisoners and ~~an end to human rights abuses.~~

Finally, but most importantly, there is a great historical opportunity to achieve a just political settlement on East Timor. A speedy resolution to the East Timor problem through the good offices of the United Nations, based on the freely expressed wishes of the people of East Timor, would be to the benefit of all. Such a solution would be in the longterm interests of Indonesia's relations with the world community.



happened. At the same time, the Bush Administration immediately came under strong bipartisan Congressional pressure, led by Hall, Wallop and Republican Rep. Frank Wolf of Virginia, to make diplomatic representations to Indonesia to stop the killing that continued in the weeks after the Santa Cruz massacre. According to church sources within East Timor, these actions had some impact. (Bush himself later expressed sympathy for the plight of the East Timorese.) And within months of Rep. Hall's conversation with Fascell, whose staff remembered well their exchange with Dom Martinho, the House of Representatives voted to cut off United States military training to the Indonesian Armed Forces. The Senate followed suit. The terms of debate had shifted, at least to some extent, because of the horror that was Santa Cruz.

Until the mid-1980s, Lisbon did little about the problem on an international level, despite occasional rhetorical flourishes. Foreign Ministry sources say that the situation began to change in 1985, when Mario Soares, then the Prime Minister, met Carlos Ximenes Belo at a luncheon at the residence of the Papal Nuncio in Lisbon. Soares, who was elected to the first of two terms as President of the Portuguese Republic in early 1986, was said

to have been extremely impressed with the young Timorese prelate. and convinced by this experience that his previous impressions of the East Timor issue were mistaken.

Belo's meeting with Soares could not have come at a better time. Only the year before, the Portuguese Foreign Ministry prepared a draft paper calling for recognition of the Indonesian claim to East Timor in return for some minor concessions. A 1984 transcript of an internal discussion between Soares and his advisors indicates the poor level of information with which the highest levels of the Portuguese government had been working, not to mention the low level of commitment to achieving a longterm solution in line with the East Timorese right to self-determination. It was only the firmness of the Portuguese Council of State, which had veto power over such initiatives (Portugal's 1976 Constitution stipulated that Portugal had an obligation to achieve self determination for East Timor) that prevented the Foreign Ministry's proposal from going through.

Portuguese policy changed dramatically after Santa Cruz. While the footage taken by Max Stahl had an appreciable impact in the U.S., direct historical links with East Timor were minimal, despite America's responsibility for military aid and diplomatic support for Indonesia. But no country in the world had a stronger human connection with East Timor than Portugal. The sight of East Timorese praying in Portuguese and cowering in terror in a cemetery

05/20/98

Por favor

entregar ao Senhor Arnold Kohen

2 Paginas

Fax 011-351-1.396 6472

Arnie,

Hope you had a good trip to Evora... Attached is a little news item from today's NYT.

Maya says the documents are in folders just when you enter the apartment there are some shelves and supposedly, this is where they are.

The camera is upstairs. There are chests with drawers and it is in the far back corner of one of the drawers.

I'm about to go to the airport to pick up Pepa.

Have been nurturing your tomatoe plants in your absence. Missing you.

Until Sunday... let me know when you arrive, I could come pick you up.

Give my best to the Bishop.

Korinna

FACSIMILE TRANSMISSION

From: Benjamim Corte-Real
Univ. Timor Timur
Dili - East Timor
Fax: 62-390-24337

TO : Mr. Arnold Kohen
7324 Baltimore Avenue
Takoma Park, Maryland 20912
Fax: 1-301-585-3288

Dear Mr. Kohen,

Enclosed is a map of the orographic stretch of Mount *Hoh Mai Nam Tu* (*Tat Mai Lau*), by Mr. Joao Nunes. Please compare the text, also by Mr. Joao Nunes, that I sent you earlier on, with the map: all the names of the mountains are cited in the text, in couples. The name "Ramelau" that appears in most documents so far is actually the Tetun version of its Mambae equivalent "Raem Lau" (the tip of the arrow) to indicate the configuration of the peakness of a mount which is not the highest in the territory, hence, not meaning particularly a supremacy in height. This only belongs to *Hoh Mai Nam Tu* (old mount the big thing) or *Tat Mai Lau* (the peak of the *eldest man*) around which the legends have developed.

The discrepancy lies in that outsiders point to a wrong name when referring to the highest mountain in the territory, while insiders know their orographic surroundings deictically unmistakably.

Raem Lau became more widely known and referred to because it appeared frequently in the reports by missionaries who, travelling or going in procession after the statue of the Virgin Mary from Atsabe to Ainaro, went through Raem Lau. This lent the audience the thought that it was 'the highest', instead of 'the proximity of the highest' mountain that was being travelled through.

Mr. Joao Nunes already discussed this discrepancy in an article written in Tetun and published in the local Church bulletin - a *Seara* - of a few months ago. I wonder if you're interested in having a copy of it? Hope to hear from you.

Dili, 13-May-98

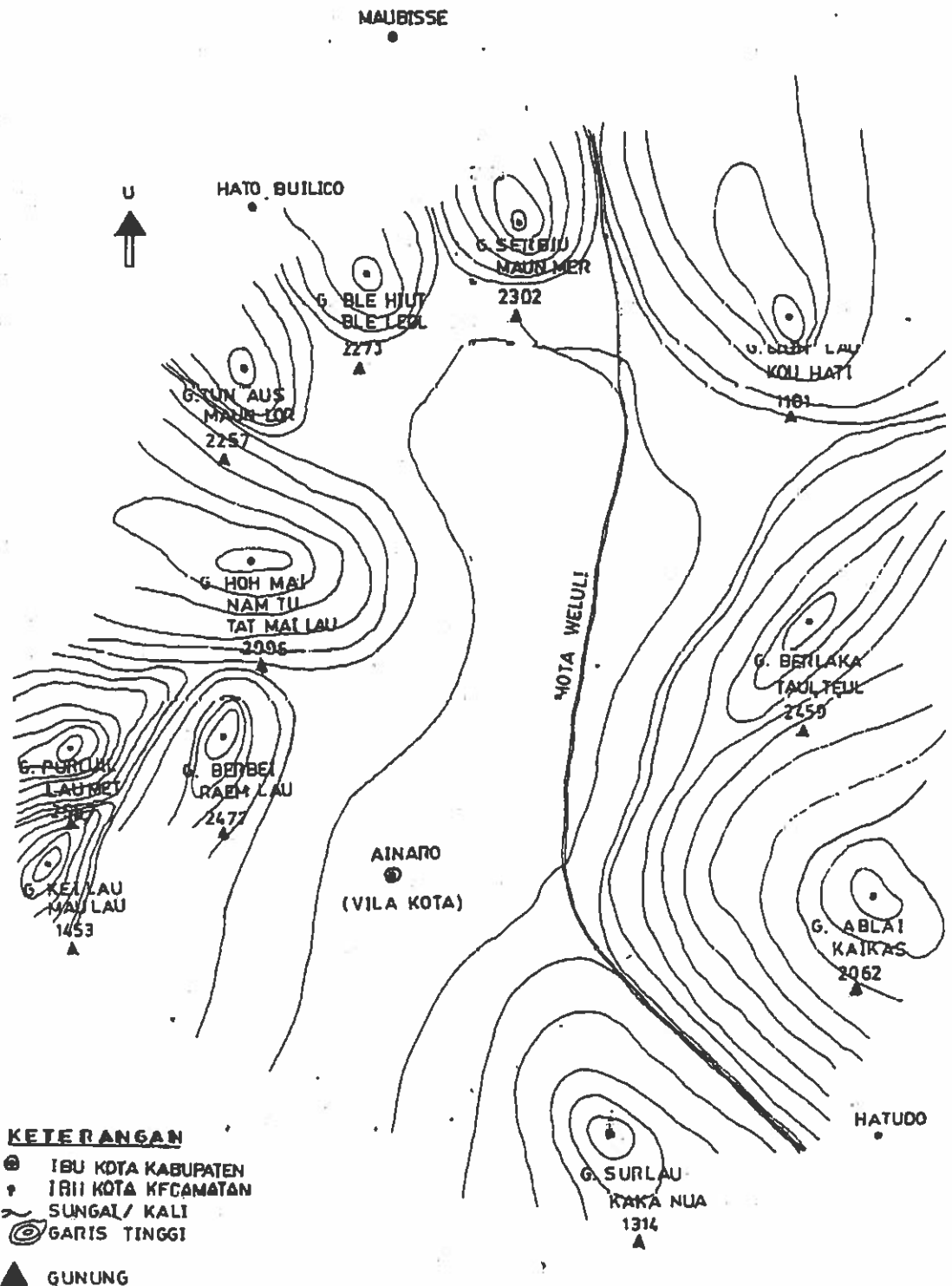
My best regards,
Benjamim Corte-Real



TO MR. A. Kohen

NB: Hoi Mai Nam Tu (TAT MAI LAU) is the actual mountain mistakenly named Ramelau (which is a lower mountain, part of the whole stretch. "Ramelau" derived from orographic "Raem Lau".

'Tip of the Arrow'



~~12/10~~ NB : 1/10

Dear Mr Kohen,

The song (poetic text) below refers directly to a particular spot leading to the peak of Mount Lamelau. It is a funeral song, performed at the end of the most dramatic play known to the Suru-Ainoro Community - the so-called "Lor-Sai". This genre of verbal art performance is the core of my Ph.D. ^{thesis} analysis. And the material sent to you is taken out of that thesis entitled:

"Mambai and its verbal art genres, a cultural reflection of Suru-Ainoro, East Timor".

Please note that my thesis has been submitted last February 15th and is now under examination. And the text ^{below} were obtained from a word-master ("Lia-Nai") and performer called João Nunes.

TEXTO DE MUSICA FUNERARIA

La mana resa nei bae?

coro

La mana resa nei Haturiti

(Where would you go and say your prayers)
(It would be in Haturiti)

Riti turilolo, manu turilolo.

(Riti of hilly Turi, Brave hilly Turi)

La mana luku nei bae?
coro

(Where would you go and wash your hair?)

La mana luku nei Hatu Riti
Riti turilolo manu turilolo

(It is in Hatu Riti)

(Riti of hilly Turi, Brave hilly Turi)

I a mana pre nei han?
coro

(Where would you go and pray/read?)

La mana pre nei Hatu Riti
Riti turilolo manu turilolo.

(It would be in Hatu Riti)

(Riti of hilly Turi, Brave hilly Turi)

NR :

Mr. Kohen, you would be amongst the first outsiders to be told that in fact the real name of the mountain is Tatamailau or Hoh-mai-Nam-Tu rather than Ramelau which is already widely used.

I'll tell you the full story at a later time.

BAL

3/
10

12

Example (from Mr. Joao Nunes' notes) :

Solo recital :

(1)

Lel-ble teul, (Three shining stars)

Rae-tama pat, (Four land marks) (check with above)

Hoh-bote teul, (Three big mountains)

Rae-bou pat, (Three small mountains)

Au troub nei es-nipa, (I am trapped amidst thorns)

Au kol nei tail mata, (I am fallen into a rope ambush)

Es-nipa limnairua, (Seven thorns)

Tail-mata limnairua (Seven rope traps)

Hoho-ubu, rae-ubu, (Patrons of Mountains and of the land)

Suru-lau, Kak-knua (Names of mountains - nm)

Ablai, Kai-Kasa (nm)

Berlaka, Taul-teul, (nm)

Liuha-lau, Kou-hati (nm)

Sirbiu, Maun-mera, (nm)

Ble-Hiut, Ble-Leol (nm)

4/10

Tun-Assu, Maun-Lor (nm)
Hoho-Mai, Nam-Tu (nm)
Pur-luli, Lau-Met (nm)
Berbei oh Raem-lau (nm)
Nei-lau Mau-Ul-lau (nm)

La nahai kidia, (Today right here)
La leio kidia (on this day)
Au tuk la im, (I request you)
Au kbin la im, (I beg you)
Du nei au ulu-tutu, (Come down on top of my head)
Sae nei au oe-lau, (Rise up to my feet)
Ne blere ma (Provide me with the sharp)
Au ol, (I hold on my shoulders)
Ne hatsi ma (Give me the cutting edge)
Au sid, (I'll slide under my belt)
Muin nei au ahe, (Forestep me)
Au ahe pun benu, (To crowdin my forestep)
Dud nei au hoho, (Follow me)
Au hoho pun hogo, (To thicken my backstep)
Au oe oid lehe, (To lighten my legs)
Au lima oid blab, (To flex my arms)
Au oid fo haut-laun, (So I can burst the rocks)
Au oid sae rae-boun, (So I can reach out the mountains)
Rae-bou pedu pe naru, (Mountains however high)
Rae-bou rema, (Will be dashed flat)
Haut-gua pedu pe lori, (Rocks however thick)
Haut-gua apo (/kafo), (Will be cracked)
Au toi man muu, (I burst him like a banana-tree)
Au baus man teuha, (I crashed him like a sugar-cane)
Au sui ni gluta, (I sweep his brain out)
Au sir ni lama, (I tear his tongue off)
Oid buis au manu-hulu, (To decorate my feather-crown)
Oid loeh au lad-bau, (So to loose off my 'tadbau' foot wear)

5/10

Text from Mr. João Nunes, my own uncle,
and the way I analysed it in my thesis -
Taken out of my thesis
Hope you find it useful!

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7. Text Seven: a. Rationale of Selection

The text below is another melodic type of *ulik*, performed by Mr. Joan Nunes, using the Mambae typical of the area of Nun(u)-Mog(e), known as Lekteti Dadia, and Hat(u)-Builiku, also known as "Ble hiut, Ble leul". Mr. Nunes belongs to Lekteti Dadia from his maternal line, to Mai-Tas (Kol-Udu) from his father's side, to Dukar Lat Tua by adoption by his uncle Ananias, a heir of the lineage of Bukar.

Of all invocations, this is the most generic as it geographically includes the whole kingdom. It appeals to all the mountains contouring the territorial sovereignty of Suru-Ainaro; its textual composition contracts the people's animist belief and their territorial hegemony.

The Surunese depart for the battlefield fully confident of their immunity as a result of the protection of the spiritual patrons of the land, and of the souls of their ancestors. From there derive their eagerness to fight, their determination and conviction of victory

6/10

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over the enemy.



please ignore this blank space



See next page

7/10

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Following the naming of the most sacral entities in his creed *lel ble teul* and *rae lama pat*, the text describes the state of suffering the warrior finds himself in, his cry in desperation for being trapped and unable to free himself. He then continues to appeal to the other lower rank spiritual patrons of the land by calling on the mountains surrounding the territory for help, protection and for provision of power, courage and means to face the risks and crack them down once and for all.

The courage of the Surunese is often derived from their mythical view of the world, rather than from logical account of their real and physical capabilities. This often results in phenomenal events, inexplicable by human logics⁶.

The performance consists of raising the right hand pointing to the heights, signalling the altitude of the dwelling of the spirits, and showing the respect and devotion that they deserve. The melody is one of interchange between a high-tone in one line and a low-tone in the next, repeated throughout the text. It resembles a cry calling out for help - the target being the spirits of the land. Mr. Joao Nunes recites the belligerent *ulik* of Suru-Ainaro:

⁶ Among the warriors one would encounter stories of the so-called *mer* (bullet-proof) as a result of the protection they get from a token of immunity - *bir*; also, stories of *mar-hel*, literally, 'to deviate the eyes' of the enemy, which would presumably allow the warrior to escape any attack from the enemy.

8/10

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b. Thematic Moves - Ideological Thematic Realisation

Lel ble teul, (*Three shining stars*)

Rae tama pat, (*Four land marks*) (check with above)

Hoh bote teul, (*Three big mountains*)

Rae bou pat, (*Three small mountains*)

→ Spiritual patronage of the kingdom

Au troub nei es nipa, (*I am trapped amidst thorns*)

Au koi nei tail mata, (*I have fallen into a rope ambush*)

Ee nipa limnairua, (*Seven thorns*)

Tail mata limnalrua (*Seven rope traps*)

→ Difficulties as test of stoicism

Hoh-ubu⁷, (*Patrons of mountains*)

Rae-ubu, (*and of the land*)

Surlau-Kakma (*Names of mountains - nm*)

Ablai-Kaikasa (*nm*)

Berlaka - Taul teul, (*nm*)

Liuhlau-Kouhati (*nm*)

Sirbiu-Maunmer, (*nm*)

Ble hiut - Ble leol (*nm*)

Tun Ass - Maun lor (*nm*)

Hoh Mai - Nam Tu (*nm*)

Purluli-Laumet (*nm*)

⁷ - The territory of Suru-Ainaro is almost completely encircled by mountains, each of which has a special name representing the post of self-defence of the dwellers; the order of mention above is from Southeast to East, North, Northwest, to West. It is an open door facing the South coast, towards Australian Northern Territory. Mr. Francisco do Rosario mentions in his case the sea-borders between Suru and Australia (Appendix III).

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Berbei o Raemlau (*mm*)

Keilau Maulau (Mau-UI-Lau) (*mm*)

--> Mountains as spiritual patrons of the land

La nahai kidia, (*Today right here*)

La lelo kidia (*On this day*)

Au tuk la im, (*I request you*)

Au khin la im, (*I beg you*)

Du nei au ulu tutu, (*Land on my head*)

Sae nei au oe lau, (*Climb atop my feet*)

Ne blere ma (*Provide me with the sharp*)

Au ol, (*I hold on my shoulders*)

Ne hatsi ma (*Give me the cutting edge*)

Au sid, (*I'll slide under my belt*)

Muin nei au ahe, (*Forestep me*)

Au ahe pun benu, (*To crowd-up my forestep*)

Dud nei au hoho, (*Follow me*)

Au hoho pun hogo, (*To thicken my back*)

Au oe oid lehe, (*To lighten my legs*)

Au lima oid blab, (*To flex my arms*)

--> Bravery and belligerence as resources of stoicism

Au oid fo haut laun, (*So I can crack down the rocks*)

Au oid sae rae boun, (*So I can reach out the mountains*)

Rae bou pedu pe naru, (*Mountains however high*)

Rae bou rema, (*Will be dashed flat*)

Haut gua pedu pe lori, (*Rocky-caves however thick*)

Haut gua apo, (*Will be cracked*)

Au toi man mua, (*I burst him like a banana-tree*)

Au baus man teuha, (*I crashed him like a sugar-cane*)

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Au sui ni ghita, (*I sweep his brain out*)

Au sir ni lama, (*I tear his tongue off*)

→ Belligerence and triumphalism

Oid buis au manu hulu, (*To decorate my feather-crown*)

Oid loeh au tadbau, (*And to untie my 'tadbau' (foot wear)*)

Oid sre : (*To honour*)

Lel ble teul, (*The three shining stars*)

Rae lama pat. (*And the four land marks*)

→ The land and its spiritual patrons as the ultimate reasons for the struggle

c. **Synopsis:** Metaphysical patronage as the guiding force of the social order, assisting the people's stoicism, belligerence, triumphalism, and sovereignty of their own kingdom

Facsimile Transmission

Att.: Mr Arnold Kohen

(from Geoffrey Hull, 23 April 1998; 1 page)

Dear Arnold,

Thanks for your fax. I'm glad that the information I've sent has been useful, and thanks for contacting Chomsky on my behalf.

I wouldn't worry about the Catholic organization representative. I'm too cynical a person to think much of these high-flying professional moralists who are in fact no less political in their mentality and bureaucratic in their ways than the 'bad guys' they oppose with the presumed odour of Christian sanctity and, of course, maximum publicity from the international media. (Have you noticed how many of these types are remarkable for their humourlessness?) More qualified to tell you things about the Timorese are those who have devoted their lives to work among them and help them on their own terms, and who are practically always media-shy.

I think you've got it perfectly right about the political motivations of the East Timorese élite. They stuck to the Portuguese (and became integral members of the Lusophone world) precisely because the Portuguese provided the best deal: laissez-faire. The Timorese, being highly conservative and mostly inward-looking, just want to be left alone. I'm amazed how impervious they are to ideas and customs not consonant with their own culture. That's why I'm sceptical about the 'Portuguese colonial domination' argument. The Timorese were always the hardest people in the Empire to govern: it was the *only* colony of Portugal where a native dialect (Tetum) and not some form of Portuguese emerged as the lingua franca, used by Europeans as well as indigenes.

A harsh environment has made the East Timorese a tough, stubborn people. The Timorese chose to become Portuguese, not the other way round. (Similarly *they* chose to become Catholic in the late 1970s; they certainly didn't have the religion imposed on them given the Pancasila smörgasbord of options, and the alacrity with which they have taken to it shows that it serves their socio-political ends as much as their spiritual needs). The historical feudalism due to the polyethnicity of the island has made the East Timorese politically a very astute people, good at shopping around for deals and making alliances, and masters in passive and active resistance. You can sell them a thing only if they really want to buy it, for their own reasons. My own dealings with individuals and groups have confirmed this image. They've also shown me that the way to 'sell' something to the Timorese is to treat them with respect; a little bit of old-fashioned courtesy and humility go a very long way in East Timor; first-world style familiarity and brashness will make them diffident and secretive (though they will remain superficially charming to the offenders). This is a lesson some of my more idiotic compatriots (especially the feral species of nun) mulishly refuse to learn, then they marvel that the Timorese are so elusive and hard to deal with.

As you know, the Timorese responsible for the colonial and ecclesiastical domination and Dom Boaventura—national hero myths were a group of students who were sent to Lourenço Marques (Maputo) in Mozambique to study at the university in the early 70s and imbibed all the Marxist anti-colonialist rhetoric which they applied willy-nilly (and, like all theory-crazed idealists, mostly incorrectly) to the unique situation at home. It's time to demythologize East Timor!

Good luck with the writing,



Subject: Amien Rais accepts referendum in East Timor
May 13, 1998

The leader of the second major Muslim organization of Indonesia, Mr. Amien Rais, told that he is "sure that the right of East Timor to self-determination should be respected in the true sense of the word." Mr. Amien Rais was giving an interview to "Diario de Noticias", one of the most important newspapers published in Lisbon, Portugal. The interview, two pages long, was published last Sunday, 10th May, in Lisbon.

"If after two or three years, my sisters and brothers of Timor still insist in having a state, they could effectuate a referendum under the supervision of the United Nations", said Mr. Rais invited by the journalist Fernando Sousa to explain is thought about the delicate subject of East Timor. When the journalist asked him if that period of two or three years should be counted after the change of power in Jakarta, Mr. Rais simply answered "yes". Mr. Rais also told the journalist that he will do a great effort to persuade the people of East Timor to remain under the Indonesian flag, But, if after that period of time the people of East Timor still wants to follow his own way, he will let them go. "If a majority wanted to separate from Indonesia, having his own country, this should be respected", said Mr. Rais.

Mr. Rais shows willingness to have talks with the Bishop Ximenes Belo.

Talking about the situation in Indonesia, Mr. Amien Rais said that it was very critical. According to his point of view, the statement of Suharto telling that reforms will come only in 2003 is ridiculous. "His removing by the people is a matter of time". In spite of his preference by a peaceful process of change, Mr. Rais didn't not exclude a revolution with popular support as a possible way to achieve political changes in Indonesia.

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May 13, 1998

Amien Rais, Indonesia's leading opposition figure and head of the 26-million strong Muhammadiyah, said on Portuguese Radio this morning, Wednesday, that he supports the holding of a referendum in East Timor. He said that all sides should undertake to accept the results, whatever they are.

He also told Portuguese radio that he was ready to take on the mantle of the Indonesian presidency in the current crisis in Indonesia.

His interview followed an interview the previous day with Australian radio (or television) during which he also expressed support for the holding of a referendum, under UN auspices, in East Timor.

Arnold S. Kohen

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

JULY 4, 1998

FOR

MR. MANUEL ABRANTES

DEAR MANUEL,

I HOPE YOU ARE
WELL. WOULD YOU LIKE TO
HAVE DINNER WITH MYSELF
AND KORINNA OVER THE NEXT
DAYS? CALL ME AT THE NUMBER
ABOVE.

BEST WISHES,

ARNOLD

—

From steve_a

From: "Steve Alston" <steve_alston@hotmail.com>
To: askohen@igc.apc.org
Content-Type: text/plain
Date: Sun, 12 Jul 1998 05:37:32 PDT
Status: R

... I thought it important to pass this on to you from the Student Council in UN TIM. Paticularly they ask for info on UN Sponsored Referendum. I wondered if you could get abything from UN sources (or others) and send back with Manuel??

FROM UN TIM:

"We are discussing about Referendum now in ETSSC. But it is very hard to find references. I heard UN had held a lot referendums. Can you help find a reference related to it for us? Especially about the how they hold a referendum, necessities (how much funds and were there UN peace keeping force), the impacts after referendum, etc. We would like to design a referendum process in order to present to the people and the opposite. That is why these things are very important.

Everyone speaks about creating Transitional Government. It is important that this transitional government should be created by the people through an election process.
I want to discuss this more with everyone.

Best Wishes,

Nito

Facsimile Transmission

Att.: Mr Arnold Kohen

(from Geoffrey Hull, 21 April 1998; 2 pages)

Dear Arnold,

I've written a couple of paragraphs containing ethnic vignettes *for* your last chapter. I can't come up with anything better than what follows without exaggeration: the truth is that differences between the different groups are (language apart) minimal. If you like it feel free to use all or all part of it without acknowledgement.

I'll post you today from the University two copies of my funding application. If you could pass on one to Professor Chomsky with a strong recommendation I'd be most grateful.

Best wishes,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read 'Geoffrey', written in dark ink.

For the attention of Tom Quigley,
US Catholic Conference., DSDWP, CPPJ,
3211 Fourth St., NE
Washington DC 20017-1194 USA

(Fax.00 1 202 541 3339)

Dear Tom Quigley,

I am a Parish Priest in the RC Diocese of Leeds, UK.

I have been studying part-time at the University of Leeds for higher degrees in Theology, an MA achieved in 1995, and currently for a PhD.

The subject of my work has been the response of the Church to the Indonesian invasion and occupation of East Timor which I have twice visited. During the last two years I have undertaken research trips for my PhD to Indonesia (and West Papua), Portugal and Australia. This September I want to pursue this research in the United States. I can leave UK August 25th, to return by October 1st.

I want to meet with Church personnel who are engaged in this issue - bishops, priests, religious, laity - and come to an enhanced appreciation of the various kinds of efforts that will be being undertaken on behalf of the Timorese people and to achieve a just and lasting settlement of the tragic and long-lasting conflict of interests over the territory.

I am seeking further information as to whom I could usefully and conveniently meet to discuss this matter.

I will also need to avail of whatever hospitality can be offered me as I am not being funded for this work and, as you will know, our income as parochial clergy is not great.

I am informed by secular NGO agencies with whom I am in contact that I should try to visit New York, Washington, and San Francisco. I am told that there is also interesting work being undertaken in other locations such as Boston, Detroit, Austin and Chicago where the Bishops have been particularly supportive of this cause. I would be grateful for your advice in this matter, and for any further contacts you could suggest both for interview and accommodation purposes.

I realise that we approach a particularly busy time in the Church's year, but I would be grateful for assistance at your earliest convenience so that I can begin to firm up a practical schedule.

With every good wish.

(Fr.) Pat Smythe.



PS. I attempted to email you at <sdwp@aol.com> but the message was returned. If your address has changed please advise me.

Rev. P.A. Smythe M.A., St. Boniface Church, 31 Robin Lane, Bentham, via Lancaster LA2 7AB, England.
Tel. (00 44) 15242 61315; Fax. +44 15242 61315

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April 22, 1998

Dr. Geoffrey Hull

Dear Geoffrey,


I thank you very much for everything you have sent, though I confess that you have me in a mood where I am crying out for more! Any special comments you might add on the mental acuity and traditional wisdom of Timorese people would be most welcome. I am furious!!! Only yesterday someone from a "progressive" CATHOLIC (of all things!) organization in Europe had the audacity to tell me that this or that Timorese (exile, of course, the only civilized ones) was one of the only smart Timorese he had ever met. Mind you, this "progressive" (not a great admirer of Bishop Belo, needless to say) has been to East Timor perhaps 10 times since 1990, but of course speaks not one word of any local (or imported) language and thinks that Bahasa Indonesia would suffice if he ever gets around to it. The poor dumb natives...

I have spoken with Noam Chomsky, and he is passing me on to a colleague of his who specializes in threatened languages. Sooner or later I hope something will work, if not with Chomsky, then with Tessa Piper or other friends. Once my manuscript is done I will have more of a chance to pursue things.

I find the analyses of Dom Boaventura intriguing. It is possible, then, the Bishop Belo's grandfathers, far from being toadies of the Portuguese, might have been making a calculated gamble as to the lesser of two evils.

I will be in touch soon.

All the best,



XXXX

Date: Tue, 05 May 1998 16:08:06 +0200
To: "Arnold S. Kohen" <askohen@igc.apc.org>
From: Gunnar Staalsett <gunnar.stalsett@teologi.uio.no>
Subject: Re: Bishop Belo May 23-25

Dear Arnold,

Hope everything is on track for the Bishops and your visit to Norway.

This is just to alert you that I was approached this morning by Mr. Erik Solheim of the Storting with a request that the bishop be available for a meeting with the Foreign Policy Committtee.

There would certainly also be others, like the Foreign ministry and may be even the Prime Minister.

On Monday in the afternoon there will be a reception in honour of the bishop at the Nobel Institute.

If you have special requests for meetings etc. do not hesitate to contact me. The details of the program will be in the hands of the Secretariat of the Church of Norway Council on Foreign Relations. But you may continue to use my mail address for easy contact.

Yours,

Gunnar S.

Arnold S. Kohen

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May 12, 1998

Mr. Bob Zachritz
c/o Rep. Tony Hall

Dear Bob,

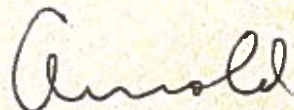
I believe that it is extremely important that Rep. Hall take the opportunity to visit East Timor at this time.

Rep. Hall's participation in the East Timor matter has been central over the years. As you know, he sent one of the key letters nominating Bishop Belo for the Nobel Peace Prize, and even more importantly, has been a constant advocate in the effort to alleviate hunger and disease on the island as well as in support of human rights and, eventually, a just political settlement.

All of these issues are of crucial importance at the moment, and his first-hand impressions would be vital in helping Rep. Hall to play a central role in the debate over East Timor and Indonesia at this critical historical moment. The respect he commands in the Congress would lend an indispensable ingredient to the debate. At the same time, it would also be of great help to Bishop Belo's spirits to have Tony as a visitor.

Please let me know if I can be of any assistance.

With best regards,





APOSTOLIC NUNCIATURE

54 PARKSIDE
LONDON, SW19 5NE
TEL.: 0181-946 1410
FAX.: 0181-947 2494

Prot. 644/98

London 7th May 1998

Dear Rev. Dr. Harvey,

Immediately after your telephone call and your letter dated the 10th April, I contacted the Secretariat of State of His Holiness about the invitation sent by Westminster Abbey to the Bishop of Timor, for the service for ten 20th century Martyrs.

I can now inform you that the Holy See has no difficulties with the invitation and it is a personal matter for Bishop Belo.

With every good wish
Yours faithfully

Archbishop Pablo Puente
Apostolic Nuncio

The Revd. Dr A E Harvey
Sub-Dean of Westminster
3 Little Cloister
Westminster Abbey
London SW1P 3PL

Arnold S. Kohen

7324 Baltimore Avenue
Takoma Park, Maryland 20912
Phone: 301-585-3229
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May 6, 1998

Bispo Carlos Felipe Ximenes Belo

Senhor Bispo,

A certain bishop told his people on November 16, 1996 that "I already have forgiven everything because the Lord told me to forgive 70 times, that is, to forgive things."

I hope you are well.

With best regards,

X TK

East Timor after the August 1998 UN Talks: What is the real situation?

There has been a flurry of activity and announcements on East Timor since the resignation of Indonesian President Suharto, most recently with regard to the United Nations talks in New York on August 4 and 5. Many headlines greeted news of a possible autonomy agreement with enthusiasm. An August 10, 1998 editorial in the New York Times (attached here) was entitled, "Breakthrough in East Timor" -- a very well-intentioned piece of writing, though perhaps over-optimistic in terms of where matters actually stand at present: for one thing, diplomats involved in the talks say insist that "breakthrough" is much too strong a word to describe what has happened thus far. But the Times editorial only reflects a view that has received widespread attention in many places.

Nonetheless, Bishop Belo and other reliable sources in Dili said on August 20, 1998 that the situation in East Timor remains substantially unchanged. Asked if he saw any concrete results after the UN talks, the bishop said firmly, "Not yet." Two weeks earlier, Belo stated, "There is still intimidation and terror."

In late July there was a widely-publicized announcement of Indonesian troop withdrawals from East Timor, with about 100 foreign journalists brought there for the occasion. In its editorial, the New York Times called it "a partial troop pullout," and again, the Times was far from alone in taking this announcement at face value.

The problem is that there is every indication that it is not true. Bishop Belo stated on August 20 that the troops were actually shifted to the western side of the island and brought back to East Timor in 24 trucks.

"We must denounce this," Bishop Belo said on August 20.

A highly-qualified independent observer was also in East Timor on August 20. This source said that on the surface in Dili, the situation is unlike anything it has ever been, with an appearance of openness. But reliable local people have told this observer that such appearances are deceptive. And in East Timor's countryside, there has been no change: "in the interior, no one has told the army about 'reformasi', the source added.

In light of the lack of change on the ground, one must be especially careful to avoid over-enthusiasm in one's approach to the results of the UN talks. On the one hand, it is encouraging that for the first time in the 15 years of talks under the auspices of the UN Secretary General, there is at least the possibility of substantial gains. On the other hand -- and this has been Bishop Belo's position for 15 years -- it is necessary to see concrete

progress, not simply public relations gestures.

The August 5 communique outlining the results of UN-brokered talks between Indonesia and Portugal (reproduced below) said that the two sides had agreed to "wide-ranging autonomy" for East Timor, (which might be concluded by year's end) "without prejudice" to "basic positions of principle." This last part leaves open the possibility of an eventual referendum on independence.

These are positive elements, but it is necessary to be vigilant, not only on the ground in East Timor but also in assessing the overall political context.

The fall of the Suharto government and the ongoing financial crisis in Indonesia have increased pressure on the Indonesian government to boost its tarnished international image. What is certain is that Indonesia needs all the international good will it can muster. East Timor has been an irritant in its relations with the United States and many other nations, especially since Indonesian troops massacred more than 250 people at Santa Cruz cemetery in the East Timor capital in 1991 and after the Nobel Peace Prize in 1996. Indonesia will need at least \$70 billion in foreign loans to begin rebuilding its financial house, and will need continued heavy support in the years to come.

Close observers of the diplomatic scene in Jakarta say that the official Indonesian position on East Timor may be in the process of shifting -- although the word "breakthrough" is too strong a way to describe it, some well-regarded diplomats say we may be at a turning point -- but until there are concrete changes, it is hazardous to put one's faith in this or that signal. Foreign Minister Ali Alatas recognizes that a show of flexibility wins praise from foreign governments whose good will is vital. Announcements of troop withdrawals are similarly helpful, even if the number of troops remaining behind is so large that the withdrawals are meaningless in practical terms.

Alatas has pushed the view that autonomy is a final status for East Timor, not an interim status. The problem is that the parts of Indonesia that have been granted "special status" have received almost nothing of substance.

As stated before, it is unrealistic to expect that a transitional government like President Habibie's would be able to do more at this time: Going any further would antagonize the all-powerful military. On the more positive side, some observers believe that in time, an elected government (elections are slated for 1999) with political legitimacy, might be able to agree to real concessions, even a referendum.

If the process were to end where it is now, it would be a devastating blow for the people of East Timor, who, according to Bishop Belo, are overwhelmingly in favor of a referendum to decide their own future, even if it takes years.

The first order of business is to implement the points outlined in the U.N. agreement, which call for release of political prisoners and consulting the East Timorese in the UN negotiations. There is growing pressure to release resistance leader Xanana Gusmao, reflected most recently in an August 20 statement by Australia's foreign minister.

There also must be a strong push to demilitarize East Timor as quickly as possible, and establish a U.N. presence to protect human rights. Until such measures are in place, any claims of progress can have little credibility. And there is a strong need to monitor closely conditions on the ground.

Much depends on what happens in Jakarta in the coming months. People closest to the scene, both in the diplomatic arena and within East Timor itself, emphasize that Indonesia is unlikely to make major concessions unless pressed to do so: Maximum international pressure is needed if an end to East Timor's long nightmare is to be finally realized.

Contrary to popular belief, the United Nations has little power to bring about change in East Timor in the absence of international support, which is urgently needed. It is to be hoped that people of good will can join together for this purpose.

August 20, 1998

The Humanitarian Project
Project on East Timor
P.O. Box 32307
Washington, D.C. 20007 USA
Phone: 301 585 3229
Fax: 301 585 3288

New e-mail address: humanitarian@igc.apc.org

5 August 1998

FOREIGN MINISTERS OF INDONESIA AND PORTUGAL CONCLUDE TWO-DAY MEETING ON EAST TIMOR QUESTION

Meetings, Held at United Nations Headquarters,
"Took Place in an Open, Cordial, Constructive Atmosphere",
Communique States

The following communique was issued today by the Office of the Spokesman for the Secretary-General:

"On 4 and 5 August 1998, the Secretary-General held meetings in New York on the question of East Timor with the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Indonesia and Portugal, Mr. Ali Alatas and Mr. Jaime Gama.

"The meetings took place in an open, cordial and constructive atmosphere. The following points emerged from the two-day talks:

-- The Ministers agreed to hold in-depth discussions on Indonesia's proposals for a special status, based on a wide-ranging autonomy, for East Timor without prejudice to their basic positions of principle. For this purpose, they have requested their senior officials to intensify their discussions under the chairmanship of the Secretary-General's Personal Representative and to report to the Ministerial meeting at an early date. It is hoped that an agreement could be reached on this issue before the end of the year.

-- The Ministers agreed to involve the East Timorese more closely in the search for a solution. In this connection, they welcomed the Secretary General's intention to intensify his consultations with East Timorese representatives in East Timor and outside, individually or in groups, in order to take into account their views and to keep them abreast of developments in the tripartite talks.

-- The Ministers also discussed other aspects of the East Timor issue. They took note of the recent positive developments in Indonesia with respect to the question of East Timor, in particular the Indonesian Government's intention to further gradually reduce the level of its military presence in East Timor and to expedite the release of the East Timorese political prisoners. They agreed to continue consideration of these and other related aspects of the East Timor question.

-- The Ministers agreed that the All-inclusive Intra-East Timorese Dialogue (AIETD) should resume by October 1998.

-- The Ministers agreed to establish interest sections in friendly embassies in each other's capitals by the end of 1998 and to relax their visa policies towards each other's nationals.

"The next Senior Officials' Meeting of the two sides under the chairmanship of the Personal Representative of the Secretary-General will take place in New York by the end of September 1998."

Date: Sun, 03 May 1998 10:14:30 +0900
From: "Geoffrey C. Gunn" <nag-gunn@net.nagasaki-u.ac.jp>
To: askohen@igc.org
Subject: re Japanese statement
X-Mailer: AL-Mail 1.12
Status: R

Dear Arnold Cohen,

As far as I know, the Japanese government did not issue any public statement on the Belo/Horta Nobel, as they did, for example, with the 1997 award, obliged as they were to offer quick PR on why Japan still keeps landmines in its arsenal. I often check the Japanese Foreign Ministry's (Gaimusho) Home page for any mention of ET, but the result is invariably zero.

>From my records I posted a piece on reg.easttimor, "Nobel Prize in the Japanese Media" (11-10-1996). In short Japanese media response was fairly good for once, but no official comment, or otherwise I surely would have mentioned.

So part of Horta's angst when he next visited Japan for a short speaking tour (I think early February 1997) was that he was snubbed by senior Japanese officials. Apparently he was invited by Gaimusho at a very junior level only, felt offended, and cancelled the meeting. He pointedly mentioned this snub in a speech he gave at Osaka which I attended.

Next stop was Macau where he told the media that he would press ET's claim for Japanese war compensation and for "comfort women". You have obviously seen reference to this report.

Well, it also happens that the Portuguese language Macau newspaper, "Futuro de Macau" (15 January 1997) published a front page article on "comfort women" citing myself as source or at least a letter which I penned to the Portuguese Embassy in Tokyo in which I asked, inter alia: "Well, this may sound like a question better addressed to the Fund [Japanese government funded Asian Women's Fund], but if the Embassy of Portugal in Japan is not the concerned supplicant

in this case [case of claims on behalf of comfort women in East Timor], then who is?

I should add that this letter was prompted by various Indonesian claims to these funds, even on behalf of the Timorese.

There is much more, but as Futuro de Macau determined, the Embassy claimed not to have received the letter.

All of this reached the ears of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Lisbon and, in response to their request, on 26 June 1997, I sent a counterfoil of the original letter to Lisbon.

I have not heard any more on this question from any quarter.

It may not be entirely irrelevant that on 16 April 1996 Futuro de Macau ran with a one page story "Gunn propoe Ximenes Belo" concerning my joint nomination of Belo and Wei Jingsheng for Nobel. It carries a photo of Belo with the caption "O academico Geoffrey Gunn oficializou a candidatura do Bispo de Dili ao premio Nobel da Paz".

Hope this is helpful. Get back in touch for further clarifications. Wish your book great success.

Geoffrey Gunn