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- S. Con. Res. in the Senate of the United States November 14, 1991 (legislative day). Mr. Pell, Mr. Wallop, Mr. Cranston, Mr. Durenberger, Mr. Kerry, Mr. Kennedy, Mr. Murkowaki, Mr. Simon, Mr. Dodd, Mr. Levin, Mr. Riegle, Mr. Helms, Mr. Biden, Mr. Wofford, Mr. Akaka, and Mr. D'Amato, submitted the following concurrent resolution; which was reported by Mr. Pell, condemning the Massacre of East Timorese civilians by the Indonesians Military | 2 pp.
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- Letter to Arnold Kohen from the United Methodist Office for the United Nations (01.03.1991)
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- Fax message for Ms. Ria Pugedo from Arnold Kohen (04.03.1991)
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- Letter to Mr. Myles McCabe, Executive Director of Peace and Justice Commission, Archdiocese of Louisville from Arnold Kohen (16.10.1991)
- Two pages for Lee Arrowood c/Sen. Wallop from Arnold Kohen (16.10.1991)
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- Fax message for Tina, Office of Mary McGory from Arnold Kohen (23.04.1991)
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Calendar No.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

November 14, 1991 (legislative day)

Pell, Mr. Wallop, Mr. Cranston, Mr. Durenberger, Mr. Kerry, Mr. Kennedy,

Mr. Murkowski, Mr. Simon, Mr. Dodd, Mr. Levin, Mr. Riegle, Mr. Helms,

Mr. Basser, Mr. Biden, Mr. Wofford, Mr. Akaka, and Mr. D'Amato.
Submitted the following concurrent resolution, which was

Reported by Mr. Pell

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION

Condemning the Massacre of East Timorese civilians by the Indonesia
Military.

(Insert title of concurrent resolution here)

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring),

(a) FINDINGS.- The Congress finds that -

(1) on November 12, 1991, Indonesian security forces killed 75 to 100, according to Department of State reports, and injured as many as 100 people when they fired on a Roman Catholic funeral procession in which demonstrators were attempting to place flowers on the grave of a youth killed by Indonesian troops on October 28, 1991, in Dili, East Timor;

(2) Indonesian soldiers also beat several foreign journalists, including two Americans from The New Yorker and Pacifica Radio, who were observing the procession;

(3) Indonesia, in violation of international law, illegally invaded East Timor in 1975, annexing the territory without consideration for the rights of self-determination enjoyed by the East Timorese;

(4) tens of thousands out of a population of approximately 600,000 died in the fighting, famine, and disease that followed Indonesia's invasion of East Timor;

(5) since Indonesia's invasion, a state of intermittent conflict continues to exist in East Timor and Amnesty International, Asia Watch, and other international human rights organizations frequently report human rights abuses, including torture, arbitrary arrest and repression of freedom of expression;

(6) the Government of Indonesia continues to restrict access by international organizations and foreign journalists to East Timor; and

(7) the United States and Indonesia have maintained close bilateral relations for the past twenty-five years, including a program of economic and military assistance which totalled \$50 million in FY 1991.

-2-

(b) **STATEMENT OF POLICY.-** It is the sense of the Congress that-

(1) the President should reassess immediately the International Military Educational Training program for the Indonesian government to ensure that these training programs are advancing effectively human rights;

(2) now that a U.S. embassy team has visited East Timor, the American ambassador to Indonesia should immediately seek to visit East Timor in order to investigate reports of the atrocity and reports of additional repression by Indonesian authorities;

(3) the President should request that a report be made available by the United Nations Special Rapporteur on Torture, who was in East Timor during the massacre, as soon as possible to the General Assembly;

(4) the President should support the immediate introduction of a resolution in the General Assembly instructing the United Nations Commission on Human Rights to appoint a Special Rapporteur for East Timor to assist in the resolution of the East Timorese conflict in pursuit of the right of self-determination by the East Timorese people;

(5) the President should request that the Government of Indonesia permit an investigation by the United Nations Special Rapporteur on Summary and Arbitrary Executions of the situation in East Timor;

(6) the President should encourage the Secretary General of the United Nations and the governments of Indonesia and Portugal, and the East Timorese to arrive at an internationally acceptable solution which addresses the underlying causes of the conflict in East Timor, and

(7) the President should request that the Government of Indonesia establish an independent commission to investigate the cause of the atrocity and to assist the prosecution of those responsible for the massacre.

and are an **Islamic** representing different subgroups of the country's large, central Hawiye clan from which the party draws its strength.

Aidid reportedly resents that Ali

and rocket attacks as the heaviest since Siad Barre was toppled in January. He fled the city after a month of fighting in which as many as 20,000 are believed to have died.

European Body Urges EC States To Cut Off Arms to Indonesia

By Peter Wise
Special to The Washington Post

LISBON, Nov. 21—The European Parliament today called on European Community governments and the United Nations to impose an arms embargo on Indonesia following the Nov. 12 killing of independence demonstrators in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor.

The resolution, approved 160 to 8 at the parliament in Strasbourg, France, was the latest in a series of international condemnations of Indonesia over the shooting. It is not binding on governments.

A U.S. delegation that visited East Timor last week was told that between 75 and 100 people probably were killed when Indonesian security forces opened fire on demonstrators. The Jakarta government says 19 were killed and 91 wounded.

East Timor's military command-

er today refused to yield to demands by the International Committee of the Red Cross for permission to visit those wounded in the shooting, the Reuter news agency reported from East Timor.

Meanwhile, in Jakarta, Indonesian armed forces commander Try Sutrisno, in a meeting with Indonesian editors, warned foreign countries not to interfere, Reuter reported.

East Timor, half of Timor island off northern Australia, was ruled by Portugal for 300 years until 1975. Indonesia invaded during civil strife later that year and annexed the territory in 1976. The United Nations does not recognize the annexation.

The Netherlands, the former colonial ruler of Indonesia, today suspended all new aid to Jakarta "until there's more clarity on the course of events in East Timor," a spokesman said.

Salvador Limits Military Action

Associated Press

SAN SALVADOR, Nov. 21—The government tonight announced it was suspending aerial bombardments and the use of heavy artillery in response to a six-day-old guerrilla truce.


A government communique said the decision was "a demonstration of good faith" aimed at "the disappearance of all acts of violence, contributing in this way to a prompt accord on definitive cessation of hostilities."

were delaying by two days peace talks in Mexico City to protest military incursions into territory traditionally held by the guerrillas.

The rebel cease-fire took effect Saturday but the government immediately sent troops into Guazapa mountain and other areas north and east of the capital long held by the rebels. About 30 people—including insurgents, soldiers and civilians—have been killed or wounded this week.

The government said it was taking the action despite what it said was

P. Jeanne



11/22/91

DC Post

Timor: Europe Parl Resolution Text

From: Indonesia Publications/Task Force
Subject: Timor: European Parl Resolution Text

Nov 21, 1991

European Parliament adopts resolution with huge majority

The European Parliament today, 21 November 1991 adopted a resolution on East Timor by a massive majority. There were 167 votes for, seven against and four abstentions. The text of the resolution is as follows:

JOINT MOTION FOR A RESOLUTION ON THE MASSACRE IN EAST TIMOR
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[Continued] Topic 553 Timor: Europe Parl Resolution Text

[Tabled by Members of the Socialist Group, the PPE Group, the LDR Group, the ED group, the Green Group, the GUE Group, the Rainbow Group and the CG Group]

The European Parliament:

- A. Appalled by the reports of the killing and wounding of many mourners by Indonesian troops at a funeral in Dili in East Timor on 11 (sic) November 1991,
- B. whereas the Foreign Ministers of the Twelve, meeting in conclave in the Netherlands on 13 November, have utterly condemned the massacres,
- C. recalling that Amnesty International had previously asked for an inquiry into the shooting by the police of Mr Sebastio Rangel, the man whose funeral was taking place,

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[Continued] Topic 553 Timor: Europe Parl Resolution Text

- D. considering the reports that after the massacre at the funeral, the Indonesian military took out of prison between 70 and 100 witnesses of the massacre and killed them standing in front of a grave,

- E. whereas Indonesian soldiers recently attacked Catholic churches where young people had taken refuge; whereas these attacks caused deaths and injuries and political prisoners were cruelly tortured in order to make them reveal the names of bishops and priests who might have collaborated with the resistance,
- F. recalling that a planned visit by Portuguese parliamentarians has recently been postponed because the Indonesian authorities refused to allow a journalist to accompany the Portuguese deputies,
- G. recalling the history of mass murder and brutal
- Hit <RETURN> or <ENTER> for more (47% read) --
- Conf?

[Continued] Topic 553 Timor: Europe Parl Resolution Text

repression by the Indonesian Government since the occupation of East Timor in 1975.

- I. recalling its previous resolutions concerning East Timor,
1. Condemns the brutal murder of these latest victims of Indonesia's illegal occupation of East Timor and denounces and condemns the very serious violations of the most fundamental human rights;
 2. Urges the Indonesian Government to ensure that the occupying security and military forces refrain immediately from using violence and that those responsible for the massacre are brought to trial;
 3. Calls for and immediate, thorough, impartial
- Hit <RETURN> or <ENTER> for more (63% read) --
- Conf?

[Continued] Topic 553 Timor: Europe Parl Resolution Text

and internationally supervised investigation into the killings;

4. Asks for the release of those detained for their non-violent political activities or for their beliefs, and seeks assurances that those in detention will be treated humanely, and that lawyers, doctors and relatives will be allowed access to the detainees;
5. Calls on the ministers meeting in the EPC to take up this matter in the strongest possible way with the Indonesian Government and asks the EC and the United Nations to declare an embargo on the sale of weapons to Indonesia;

6. Calls on the European Council to make its position clearly known on this matter as soon as possible and to revise cooperation

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Conf?

[Continued] Topic 553 Timor: Europe Parl Resolution Text

agreements between Indonesia, the EC and Member States, as long as the situation has not changed;

7. Instructs its delegation to ASEAN to raise the gross violation of human rights in East Timor at the earliest opportunity;
8. In view of the decision of the subcommittee on human rights to hold a hearing on East Timor in Lisbon, decides to send a mission of its own there, to meet leaders of all the parties to the conflict;
9. Instructs its President to transmit this resolution to the Commission, the Council, the Ministers meeting in EPC, the Government of Indonesia, the Secretary-General of the UN and the Secretary-General of ASEAN.

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[Continued] Topic 553 Timor: Europe Parl Resolution Text

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COUNCIL
OF EUROPE



CONSEIL
DE L'EUROPE

Parliamentary Assembly
Assemblée parlementaire

AORD470.

Provisional edition

ORDER No. 470 (1991) (1)

on East Timor

1. While affirming its commitment to the protection of the human rights, freedom and democracy of peoples, the Assembly strongly condemns the massacre in East Timor on 12 November 1991 and the violence constantly perpetrated by the occupying Indonesian forces.

2. The Assembly would draw attention to its Resolution 966 (1991) on East Timor; given that the Indonesian Government is continuing with, and stepping up, its policy, of crime and genocide, it considers that the international community should take steps to ensure the establishment of conditions whereby the people of East Timor can exercise the right to self-determination and independence, a right which is recognised by the United Nations Charter and the resolutions of the United Nations Security Council and General Assembly.

3. For these reasons, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe again demands that the Indonesian Government:

- i. call a halt to all violence and all violations of international standards safeguarding respect for human rights and the right of peoples to self-determination and independence;
- ii. withdraw the armed forces from the territory of East Timor so that the governing authority can fulfil the mandate recognised by the United Nations and create the political conditions necessary for the free exercise of the right to self-determination.
- iii. immediately open up the territory of East Timor so that international humanitarian and human rights organisations can do humanitarian work there and assess the situation with regard to human rights violations;

-
1. Text adopted by the Standing Committee, acting on behalf of the Assembly, on 25 November 1991. See Doc. 6533, motion for an order presented by Mr Soares Costa

- 2 -

4. The Assembly supports the statements made by its President and his request, on 15 November 1991, for a detailed, impartial and internationally supervised inquiry into these highly regrettable incidents. It would also draw attention to the resolution adopted on 21 November 1991 by the European Parliament, which is prepared to send a parliamentary delegation to assess the situation in East Timor. The Assembly therefore calls on the Committee of Ministers to instruct the appropriate Council of Europe bodies to set up a joint committee of parliamentarians and human rights experts to assess the situation in East Timor on the spot, without constraints.

5. Lastly, the Assembly considers it necessary, and asks the international community:

- i. to introduce an immediate embargo on arms to Indonesia;
- ii. to suspend immediately military support for Indonesia;
- iii. to provide food aid and medical assistance for the East Timor population.

6. The Assembly requests its Political Affairs, Legal Affairs and Human Rights and Parliamentary and Public Relations Committees to monitor the situation that has existed in East Timor since the massacre on 12 November 1991 and report back as soon as possible.

↓R↓1

April 28, 1991

Ms. Mary McGrory
The Washington Post

Dear Ms. McGrory,

Thanks very much for meeting with Bishop Moore and the rest of us the other day on East Timor. Enclosed is the additional material I mentioned, including the blow-up of the photo that appeared worldwide when the Pope visited East Timor in 1989.

I understand that Vice President Quayle will visit Indonesian President Suharto somewhere between the 18th and 24th of May -- one possible news hook. That aside, I'll let you know as soon as I have precise information on Senator Wallop's planned letter in the Senate.

Sincerely,

Arnold Kohen

PS If you need any other information on this, let me know. For your knowledge, I did research and reporting for Jim Polk at NBC for two years on various trials and investigative projects, and also covered the Ollie North trial (for NBC), where I used to run into you. Thanks for your attention.

East Timor Research Project P. O. Box 32307 • Washington, D.C. 20007

Tel: 202 363 1649
Fax: 202 363 3658

11 June 1991

Message for Sergio Regazzoni, CCFD

Dear Sergio,

Once again, thank you for taking the time to meet with me in recent weeks. Have there been any further developments regarding the grant request of the Project, and other matters regarding East Timor? In our conversation you had mentioned that there would be a meeting around this time on these questions. If you could inform me about this via fax, it would be very helpful.

With best regards,

Arnold Kohen
Project Director

May 17, 1991

Ms. E.M. Adjali
UMOUN
777 UN Plaza
New York, NY 10017

Dear Mia,

Enclosed are several things, including:

- 1) the East Timor Research Project's latest request for funds. Until the new Timor Project raises any, requests will be submitted in their current form.
- 2) The Timor Project's new grant proposal, which Bishop Moore will be submitting to a few of his contacts soon.
- 3) A photo and caption from the New York Times of Sunday, May 12. Please note that the Pope raised the issue of human rights in East Timor once again. Also attached are wire service items related to that.
- 4) Some papers from the April 25-26 Social Science Research Council-- Ford Foundation conference on East Timor, which I coordinated at their request, in my journalistic capacity. All of the papers are interesting, but you might have a special interest in the paper on East Timor's church as well as the paper by Professor Anderson of Cornell, whom you met at UMOUN in 1986.

It was very good to see you last week, and I hope to see you again shortly.

With best wishes,

Arnold Kohen

Project Director

East Timor Research Project P. O. Box 32307 • Washington, D.C. 20007

Tel: 202 363 1649
Fax: 202 363 3658

5 May 1991

Message for Mr. Jef Felix, Broederlijk Delen

Dear Mr. Felix,

It is likely that I will visit Brussels again on May 29-30. Will you be available to meet at that time? If so, or if not, please inform me by fax, at the number given here. Perhaps it will be possible to meet with Ms. Savat as well.

With kind regards.

Arnold Kohen
Project Director



SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL

605 THIRD AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10158
(212) 661-0280 FAX 1-212-370-7896

July 12, 1991

Arnold Kohan
3812 Windom Place, NW
Washington, D.C. 20016

Dear Mr. Kohan,

Here is the list of expenses paid by the SSRC for the East Timor conference. These were the charges I found in the Southeast Asia budget book as of today, but there could be more (possibly many more) expenses not yet entered. Because I was not here when the conference took place, I cannot tell if these expenses are all inclusive or not.

I hope this is of some help to you!

Sincerely,

Yukie Ohta
Program Assistant
Southeast Asia Program



San Francisco State University
1600 Holloway Avenue
San Francisco, California 94132

Department of Anthropology

April 11, 1991

Arnold Kohen
Fax 202-363-3658

Dear Mr. Kohen:

I checked the cheapest fare for the flight round trip Vancouver and San Francisco in September. With 21 days in advance purchase of the ticket, round trip, including Saturday, return in 30 days, would cost 251.00 dollars. I can put her up over the weekend till her day of talk at least. I would like to coordinate with her convenience in setting up the schedule of her visit in September. Can you first send her a letter about the honorarium as we discussed? I will write to her as soon as I find out our schedule in September.

We will need at least the following amount:

round trip for the photographer	251.00 dollars
exhibit cost - paint and boards	100.00
opening reception	200.00
printing invitation	100.00
Total	651.00

I would also like to know if we need docents during the exhibition. i.e. Are you going to have some attendants watching the visitors during the exhibition at American University?

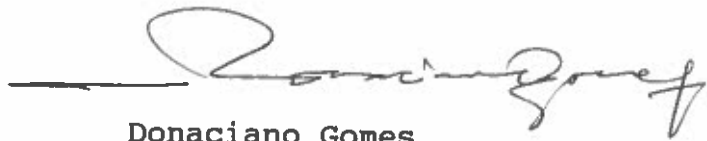
Good luck to your opening and I hope to hear from you soon.

Sincerely,


Miko Yamamoto

RECEIPT

Received from Arnold Kohen the sum of \$250.00 for the payment of my per diem and incidental expenses during the course of my stay in Washington, DC from April 24 -- May 1, 1991 to attend the Social Science Research Council Workshop on East Timor. The abovementioned sum includes payment for ground transportation to and from my home in Queluz, Portugal, from Lisbon airport. It also includes payment for transportation in Washington and payment for meals during this period.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'Donaciano Gomes', is written over a horizontal line.

Donaciano Gomes
May 1, 1991

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

3812 Windom Place, NW

Washington, D.C. 20016

Tel. 202-363-1649

Fax 202-363-3658

Oct. 7, 1991

Fax message for Hilary Coulby
Oxfam
Asia Desk

Dear Hilary,

Thanks for your note of Oct. 2.

I'm still hoping for a last minute cancellation of the Portuguese mission. The Summary of World Broadcasts on Oct. 3 had a report saying that Indonesian troops were conducting mopping-up operations in advance of the Portuguese mission. One wonders if this kind of thing will be the main (if not the only) outcome of the visit if it does in fact come off...

In any case, the introductory material for your visit is being prepared and should reach you over the next week or so. Incidentally, the friend who is providing the introduction asked if you or Richard speak Portuguese. Or will anyone else going with you to Timor?

Regarding our meeting in Oxford, would December 4 be a possibility or is that too soon after your return? Let me know, and then I will follow things up with your administrator.

With best wishes,



Arnold S. Kohen
Project Director

ONE HUNDRED SECOND CONGRESS

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CHAIRMAN

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U.S. House of Representatives

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WASHINGTON, DC 20515-6408

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FAX (202) 225-2637

December 19, 1991

Mr. Arnold Kohen
Project Director
The Timor Project
3812 Windom Place, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20016

Dear Arnold:

I want to thank you for all of your help during the ongoing crisis in East Timor. Over more than a decade, you have done more than any individual I know to call attention in the United States, both in Congress and more generally, to the plight of the people of East Timor.

Your work during the current situation has been exemplary. For example, the editorial comment and reporting in some of our major newspapers clearly has reflected your long-term efforts and expertise in gathering information under difficult circumstances and disseminating it through the mainstream news media. Your latest efforts have been particularly crucial in light of the continuing reports of atrocities since the massacre in Dili on November 12, 1991 -- reports that would not have received the prominence they have without your work and that of your colleagues. As you know, the situation remains extremely dangerous for the East Timorese, but there are preliminary signs that Indonesia is sensitive to the well-placed attention that you have played a key role in generating. You should find this most gratifying.

I look forward to working with you in public education efforts in the New Year to build upon the growing Congressional and media interest in the East Timor tragedy. You deserve to be strongly commended for your unselfish endeavors to advance this human rights issue before the media, the Congress, and a host of other important institutions.

Again, thank you for your efforts. I hope that you will be able to continue your work on behalf of the suffering people of East Timor with added vigor in the critical months ahead. In addition, as I have said before, I hope to work with you and with the Chairman of The Timor Project, Bishop Paul Moore, on a host of other human rights and humanitarian issues in the years to come.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,


Tony P. Hall
Chairman

TPH:msr

East Timor Research Project P. O. Box 32307 • Washington, D.C. 20007

Tel: 202 363 1649
Fax: 202 363 3658

Dec. 7, 1991

For Jack Panozzo, CCODP — 17 Pages

Dear Jack,

I wanted to bring the Dec. 6 column by Anthony Lewis to your attention. And the attached Senate letter, etc.

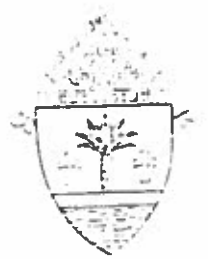
I will call you on Monday.

Hope you're well.

Amused
All the best,

Catholic Commission for Social Advocacy
Ministry of Christian Service

9401 Biscayne Boulevard
Miami Shores, Florida 33138
Telephone: (305) 754-2444
Telefax: (305) 754-6649



October 18, 1991

Hon. Bob Graham
United States Senate
241 Dirksen Senate, Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Senator Graham:

I write to urge you to support Senator Wallop's efforts to get President Bush to use his good offices to improve the human rights situation in East Timor.

With kind regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Bryan O. Walsh". The signature is fluid and cursive, with the first letters of the first and last names being capitalized and prominent.

Monsignor Bryan O. Walsh
Executive Director

enc.

cc: Arnold Kohen ✓



The Right Reverend
Paul Moore Jr.
December 16, 1991

Mr. J. Grimmond
International Editor
The Economist

⑦ Pages

Dear Mr. Grimmond,

Attached is a copy of an important letter sent by Rep. Stephen Solarz to the Indonesian Ambassador last Friday. It has not yet been made public.

I understand that there will be additional material from Congress over the next day or two.

Also attached is an item from Reuters on Dec. 15.

The most recent contact with church officials in Dili indicates that there is extreme fear in the wake of the two most recent statements of General Sutrisno. This is particularly so in light of the season: with the West understandably turning its attention to the holidays, problems like Timor may be forgotten and pressure eased.

I will forward additional information as it becomes available.

Thank you for your courtesy,

Sincerely,

ak for PM

The Rt. Rev. Paul Moore Jr.

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

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

Dec. 18, 1991

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

for Dr. Peter Carey
Trinity College

6 pages

Dear Peter,

The activity continues -- see the attached press release of today.

Yesterday there was an interesting seminar in New York - see attached guest list. The head, Mr. Tarnoff, said openly that CFR is prepared to have Jose Ramos Horta address their membership early in the New Year -- quite a breakthrough.

I will try to phone you soon.

In haste,

All the best,

Arnold

*Please note important
Reuter items, attached.*



The Right Reverend
Paul Moore Jr.

December 18, 1991

Mr. J. Grimmond
International Editor
The Economist

Dear Mr. Grimmond,

Thank you for your note. I, too, have seen far more material on this tragic subject than I ever imagined I would when I travelled to East Timor two years ago.

Attached is a significant one-page item from the Congress today, which I trust will be of interest, plus a few additional items.

Thank you for your courtesy,

Sincerely,

AK for PM

The Rt. Rev. Paul Moore Jr.

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

Dec. 18, 1991

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

Karl E. Meyer
The New York Times
Editorial Page

⑤ Pages

Dear Mr. Meyer,

Attached are additional items from Reuters that
should be of interest.

Thank you for your attention,

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

December 29, 1991

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

For Ms. Lee Arrowood
c/o Office of Senator Wallop

(10) Pages

Dear Lee,

Attached are some recent press items, etc. I will try to
contact you on Monday.

All the best,

Arnold

We had a 30-hr hunger strike in front of the foreign ministry Dec 12~13. a delegation met with a for. min. official. He said the for. min. is very afraid the investigation commission's report will not be satisfactory and that Japan will be put on the spot to take a strong stand. (Perish the thought!)

Finally, I have a
FAX NO: 81-823-22-2684

The old number is now
my phone number only.

Jean Inglis

Free East Timor

Japan Coalition

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

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

early a.m. Dec. 12, 1991

for Dr. Peter Carey — 13 Pages
Trinity College

Dear Peter,

Attached is the copy of the letter sent by Bishop Moore to Mr. Grimmond. I attach Bishop Moore's previous letters for your reference, plus a few of the other pages that I don't recall having sent you (bad syntax at this late hour?). Many thanks for your help.

I spoke with Yorkshire TV, and will work with them to get the material to the right people -- including you.

We will be keeping this up with editorial writers throughout Europe, Japan, Australia, etc, and of course here, with editors and TV as well.

I'll offer more thoughts soon. Hopefully the overall effort will bear fruit, and there will be a settlement by the time MOMA-Oxford has its exhibit. Vain hope?

All the best,

Arnold

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

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

Dec. 21, 1991

Message for Peter Gordon -- Five pages follow
Yorkshire Television

Total of Six

Dear Peter,

As I said on the phone today, I found the script rivetting and poetic. I'm confident it will be a blockbuster.

Anthony Goldstone (one of my closest friends), Indonesia-East Timor researcher for Amnesty International from 1979-85, and head of Asia Research in 1985 at AI before joining the Economist Intelligence Unit (where he is now head of Asia Research, too) received a copy of the script from me today, and was as impressed as I was. His home phone number is 081-341-0632, work number 071-4936711. He has followed the Timor matter for 17 years from the time he was Indonesia correspondent for The Guardian and the Far Eastern Economic Review, wrote Amnesty's major report on it in 1985, and has spent much time over the years dealing with official and unofficial attempts to discredit this or that Timor news story or report. Anthony will fax you his comments separately by Sunday afternoon, and will be reachable on Sunday.

After reading through this gripping piece of work, which captures the situation in a way that no one has come close to achieving, both of us want to do even more to help assure that there is not a single factual matter that Yorkshire can be nailed on.

In my comments, I will concentrate on matters I know best, Anthony will do the same, and there may be a little bit of overlap.

Once again, congratulations on a great effort. I will be at home on Sunday if you need to reach me.

Best wishes,

Arnold

P. 3: One must qualify the "for 16 years" paragraph. For 13 years the territory was certainly effectively closed to outside scrutiny. except in relatively brief snatches. Since 1989 things have been a little more complicated (at least until Nov. 12).

From 1976 through 1988, outsiders (including most Indonesian civilians) could visit only by prior arrangement. This changed in 1989, when the Indonesians began to allow many (though not all) outsiders to visit East Timor without receiving permission in advance. There was no Bishop Moore, no Allan Nairn, no Amy Goodman, no Chris Wenner -- nor any Peter Gordon nor Kirsty Sword - who just decided they were going to visit East Timor during those years and actually did so without prior permission from the Indonesian regime. (Technically, that's wrong: there may have been one French journalist in 1977 who managed to sneak in through the border area without prior permission, and a handful of enterprising reporters who got around somewhat --- a relative handful in the 13 years before 1989. Many if not most of the other visiting journalists were tailed so tightly and controlled so effectively that one of the main journalistic debates on East Timor during those years usually centered on precisely this surveillance and control.

Whatever the problems from 1989 on, this period has been a veritable Golden Age compared with the situation that existed in the 75-88 period (at least until November 12, of course, and it could easily revert to the pre-89 mode, if one listens to Indonesian Foreign Minister Alatas, who said the other day that the no-visa rule in East Timor may be revoked). As bad as things clearly are now, the distinction must be made between 1976-88 and 1989-- Nov. 12, 1991 (otherwise the Foreign Office of someone like that will nail you for overgeneralizing, inaccuracy, etc, etc: I can see it all now), all the while alerting the viewer to the surveillance, atmosphere of fear, other tight controls, etc.

I also would change what you said about "reporting ban" (which can't really be characterized that way: Reuter was there the other day, so many others have been, the Foreign Office and the State Dept. can cheerfully produce long lists of journalistic visitors to demonstrate that there is no "reporting ban"), replacing it with something that describes the extremely tight restrictions (surveillance, etc), on independent reporting that exist and that Yorkshire -- the first international TV company to do so -- managed to penetrate.

p. 5: E. Timor was a Portuguese colony for 450 years, more or less, not 500.

Page 2, Yorkshire Script

p. 5, [05.08] After we spoke I checked through the best source books and then chatted with John Taylor, author of the recent Zed book (not telling him why I wanted to know, by the way), on the question of the 1975 local elections you mention. John said one shouldn't overplay them: they weren't party elections as such, were only very preliminary steps in an electoral process the Portuguese hoped to carry out. They indicated a certain popularity of Fretilin candidates, but they aren't considered by any means to have had the force of a proper referendum. They seem to have been held in some (not all) East Timor localities as a kind of experiment/preliminary step toward decolonization. Don't let your script give it that appearance. Someone will nail it.

(i.e. of a referendum)

P. 5: Fretilin declared independence in a desperate attempt to get the attention of the UN at a time when Indonesia was escalating the covert cross-border invasion that preceded the fullscale Dec. 1975 invasion.

P. 6: Indonesia did plenty to instigate the civil war.

P. 9: It might be worth inserting something about XaNana and the fact that he disassociated himself from Fretilin in favor of a general non-party resistance, Fretilin's own renunciation of any form of Marxism, etc, here. John Taylor would be well worth calling: he's very well-informed on these things but also skeptical and tough. 081-847-0204.

P. 12: The remark by Indonesian Foreign Minister Malik in early 1977 should read "stated" or something like that instead of "acknowledged." It was an outburst, something he stated, rather than acknowledged. They will nail you with "acknowledge."

Is there a difference between "incendiary bombs" and "napalm", or are they one and the same? The priest from the Azores I mentioned described firebombs, though maybe there is no difference.

p. 17: The Lacluta incident was in 1981. Will this be indicated?

P. 19: As AI's man during this period, Anthony will explain the death figures to you. I can only add that State Dept. officials, from 1979 through earlier this year, have privately cited figures ranging from 100,000 to 200,000.

P. 20: What has been absolutely established, based on 1977 State Dept. testimony in Congress, is that "roughly 90 percent" of the arms available to the Indonesian military at the time of the 1975 invasion were US-supplied (rather than, "90 percent of the weapons used")

P. 21: What Jose Ramos Horta said here is only part of the story. I discussed this at length with Anthony Goldstone today, and this has been well-covered amongst specialists over the years. In addition to economic interests, there were strategic and political interests as well, and Western loyalty to Suharto after he liquidated the Indonesian Communist Party in 1965-66, loyalty to a staunch anti-communist regime.

P. 38: Sebastiao.

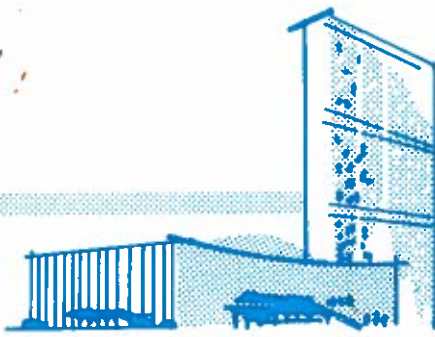
P. 41: it's more accurate to say that the visit was indefinitely postponed.

P. 43: Sebastiao

P. 45: check spelling of Jose Quintan. Isn't it "Quintao"?

P. 46: It seems to be two weeks -- until Nov. 25 -- rather than three, but in any case, the Red Cross is still restricted in plenty of other ways. Are you sure it was three weeks rather than two?

It is important to state that there have been other reports of atrocities and an atmosphere of mayhem since Nov. 12, aside from the report of the execution of 80 witnesses. The source, asks your boss? Dec. 9 editorial in the Washington Post, attached.



UNITED METHODIST OFFICE
FOR THE UNITED NATIONS
777 UNITED NATIONS PLAZA NEW YORK, N.Y. 10017-3585
212-682-3633

Department of Peace and World Order
GENERAL BOARD OF CHURCH AND SOCIETY

Women's Division
GENERAL BOARD OF GLOBAL MINISTRIES

March 1, 1991

Fax 212-682-5354

Arnold Kohen
2225 Observatory Place
Washington, DC 20007

Dear Arnold:

Greetings from one just back from Australia, and the World Council of Churches assembly.

José came over for one day. I met Alfredo Pires from Melbourne the day before. Then, we had lunch with them, and one other guy who's name I did not get. Alfredo was doing most of the lobby work with delegations.

There were a couple good folks there. One was a Tongan working in New Zealand, another was the regional Council of Churches Director. Both tried to get Timor and Irianjira listed specifically in the resolutions. Each time one of the many (Alfredo said, "Do you know, there are seventy!") Indonesians would get up and loudly protest. Privately, they would say, "We know about these violations and we are working internally." They fooled many of the delegates. I kept telling people they were only getting their reentry visas stamped, and we ought tell them we understand and then get on with the business.

The result was that, although neither area was mentioned in the documents, Timor did appear in a footnote as an area on which the Central Committee is to have interest.

Therefore, I think you need to make a list of Central Committee members and furnish them with materials. There are four UMC members out of 145 worldwide members.

I clipped the enclosed for you. This stuff was all in the parliament while we were there. It was obvious nothing was going to change. Hawke started as a Labor leader, and ended up breaking the unions. Also, the foreign minister was meeting with Ali Alitas to determine rules on the Timor Gap Treaty. They were lifting toasts (do the Indonesians toast?) to each other in profusion, at least by complements.

East Timor Research Project P. O. Box 32307 • Washington, D.C. 20007

Tel: 202 363 1649
Fax: 202 363 3658

October 10, 1991

Dear Social Action Director,

Last year, at the suggestion of Robert Hennemeyer, then director of the United States Catholic Conference Office of International Justice and Peace, I wrote to you regarding a letter by Rep. Tony P. Hall (D-Ohio). With the help of many of you, the letter ultimately was signed by 223 members of the U.S. House of Representatives -- a majority of that body -- and was an important milestone in the effort to advance human rights in East Timor, the predominantly Roman Catholic former Portuguese colony that has been the scene of intense human suffering since 1975.

At the suggestion of Father Drew Christiansen, S.J., the new director of USCC's Office of International Justice and Peace, I am currently writing to you regarding a letter being circulated in the United States Senate by Sen. Malcolm Wallop (R-Wyoming). This letter follows a new statement by Pope John Paul II on human rights in East Timor in May 1991. As you are aware, the Holy Father visited East Timor in 1989 and spoke out on the human rights situation at that time; in 1987, East Timor was the subject of a statement by the US Catholic Conference.

We hope that you will encourage both US Senators from your state to co-sign the letter by Sen. Wallop if they have not already done so. Such efforts will help to advance the important goals in the areas of human rights and humanitarian concerns as outlined in the enclosed material.

Should you need further information, please contact me at the telephone and fax numbers listed above. Father Christiansen can be reached at 202-541-3198.

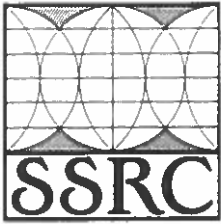
In any case, to provide you with additional, updated information on the Wallop letter, I will be in contact by telephone shortly.

Thank you for your concern.

Sincerely,



Arnold S. Kohen
Project Director



SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL

605 THIRD AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10158

(212) 661-0280

FAX 1-212-370-7896

TOBY ALICE VOLKMAN, Staff Associate

September 10, 1991

Arnold Kohen
3812 Windom Place, NW
Washington, DC 20016

Dear Arnold,

Thanks so much for your reports and also your patience. I've requested that SSRC's finance office send you a check for \$1,786.79, as per your July 24 letter. You should have this in about two weeks.

Please now send a simplified budget report in which you summarize expenditures in general categories, e.g. hotel, travel, consultant's fees, meals, exhibition costs, photocopying and telephone, shipping and insurance, etc.

Attached is what we spent, so you can incorporate these figures in the final budget. You need not specify which portions SSRC or Kohen spent, as long as it all adds up.

Please also send a copy of your narrative report by regular mail- so it will look more elegant than the fax.

With best wishes,

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

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

Fax message for Miko Yamamoto
Sept. 29, 1991

Miko, here are the biographical sketches (I don't have cvs, sorry) for Traube, the Formans, and Ms. Horta. As Dr. Traube is the only one of the four to have won her doctoral degree through work in East Timor, I suggest that her work somehow be highlighted. I hope that copies of the literature or printed matter of whatever kind you put out on this be sent to Prof. Traube and the others.

Over the next few days you will receive a \$400 check for the exhibition expenses.

(I am very sorry that it appears unlikely that I will be able to get to San Francisco for the event. I will still try to do so, but will also try to line up my friend, David Hinkley (former board chairman of Amnesty International USA, former director of the Western region, same organization, now based near San Francisco) to be a speaker should it become impossible for me to attend.)

Elizabeth Traube is a professor of Anthropology at Wesleyan University. Ms. Traube lived in East Timor from 1972 through 1974 during the course of her fieldwork on the Mombai people. Her research in East Timor formed the basis of her doctoral dissertation at Harvard University. Dr. Traube is the author of the book "Cosmology and Social Life: Ritual Exchange Among the Mombai of East Timor." (The University of Chicago Press) Based on her experience in East Timor, Ms. Traube has presented testimony in the US Congress and the United Nations.

Leona Forman is a journalist and photographer who lived in East Timor in 1973 and 1974.

Shepard Forman conducted field research amongst the Makassae people in East Timor in 1973 and 1974 while on leave from the department of Anthropology at the University of Michigan and is the author of scholarly articles on the subject. Currently the head of the international affairs division at the Ford Foundation, Dr. Forman has testified in the US Congress on the situation in East Timor.

Korinna Horta, an economist and expert on international affairs with the Environmental Defense Fund in Washington, D.C., lived and taught in East Timor from 1972 through 1974.

That's it for now. Please do not hesitate to contact me if you need any more information or have any particular questions. Otherwise, I will phone you over the next few days.



22 COLEMAN FIELDS
LONDON N1 7AF ENGLAND

FAX COVER SHEET

TO..... ENVIRONMENTAL DEFENCE FUND.....
ATTENTION..... KORINNA HORTA.....
FROM..... ROBERT ARCHER.....
DATE..... 21 / 01 / 91.....
NUMBER OF PAGES (INCLUDING THIS SHEET)..... 02.....

IF YOU DO NOT RECEIVE ALL THE PAGES LEGIBLY, PLEASE CONTACT US
IMMEDIATELY BY PHONING
071-354 0883 (NATIONAL)
+4471 3540883 (INTERNATIONAL)
OUR FAX NUMBER IS 071-359 0017/+4471 359 0017.

Dear Korinna

Arnold send love and asked me to fax
this report about Neam Chomsky's speech
through to you.

Hope the house move goes as well in
Arnold's absence.

Bob.

MESSAGE CONFIRMATION

DATE:21/01/91 TIME:10:28

ID:CATHOLIC INSTITU

DATE	TIME	TX-TIME	DISTANT STATION ID	MODE	PAGES	RESULT
21/01	10:26	02'10"	01191228228471	G3-S	002	OK

Mr. Irvin Horowitz
Obituary News
The New York Times
Fax 212 556 4603

Attached is the London Guardian piece that confirms the date of death of the former acting bishop of East Timor, Martinho da Costa Lopes. At the end of the piece, it notes his death in a Lisbon hospital.

Thank you for your attention. My phone number is 202 363-1649 (fax is 202 363 3658) should you need to be in contact.

Arnold S. Kohen
on behalf of Bishop Paul Moore
March 4, 1991

Message for Ms. Ria Pugeda
from Arnold Kohen--Hope this is ok--call if you need more. Thanks.
March 4, 1991

East Timor

East Timor, a former Portuguese colony, was invaded and occupied by Indonesia in 1975 in violation of the territory's internationally-recognized right to self-determination. More than 100,000 people, or at least one-sixth of the population, have been killed as a result of the Indonesian assault. Human rights abuses have been rampant, including summary execution, torture and severe beatings, arbitrary arrests and disappearances. Brutal military operations continue, together with extortion of peasants and government expropriation of lands that are given to Indonesian settlers.

In a forum on East Timor sponsored by Pax Christi-International last February 6, the Right Rev. Paul Moore, Jr., Episcopal Bishop of New York (retired), said that the "spirit, spontaneity and sensitivity of the Timorese" is so marked even in the atmosphere of terror and fear that pervades the country (which Bishop Moore and his wife, Brenda, visited in late 1989). The Pax Christi forum marked the second anniversary of a letter from the Bishop of East Timor, Carlos Ximenes Belo, to U.N. Secretary General Perez de Cuellar. Bishop Belo wrote, "the process of decolonization of Portuguese Timor has not yet been resolved by the U.N. the people of Timor must be consulted about its future through a plebiscite...Indonesia declares that the people of Timor have already chosen integration, but (we) never said so; Portugal wishes that time will take care of the problem. Meanwhile, we are dying as a people and as a nation."

Bishop Moore appealed to NGOs to help the people of East Timor by intensifying national and international efforts on the question. Last Nov. 19, 223 U.S. Representatives -- a majority of the House, led by Rep. Tony Hall (D-Ohio) -- wrote to Secretary of State Baker called for American pressure on Indonesia on human rights in East Timor and for peace talks on the issue. But increased activity is needed in Congress to pressure the State Department, as well as added work within the churches.

For more information, contact: Pax Christi--UN Office,
777 UN Plaza, New York, NY 10017 (212) 687-5340.

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

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

Message for Robert Archer
March 20, 1991

Dear Robert,

Thanks for your willingness to call Sergio at CCFD regarding the possible visit to East Timor with Jess Agustin of CCODP. If you could ask him to contact Jess as soon as possible, it would be much appreciated.

Should you visit East Timor, here are some of the humanitarian matters we would like you to look into. Steve Alston will undoubtedly be able to supplement this agenda.

Please note that this information may be used by a highly influential US Senator who is a friend of Bishop Moore's and requested a very specific agenda to press ahead with.

Is childhood immunization going on? What more needs to be done in this regard? What more can be done to reduce infant mortality? What is the status of medical services in general? What more needs to be done? The more specifics we have, the better? What about child nutrition and nutrition in general? Endemic tuberculosis? What drugs are needed? Who can distribute them? Where are the bottlenecks? In other words, what are the Indonesians preventing from happening? How about malaria? What more needs to be done? What other concerns do people have? Obviously we are hardly limited to the abovementioned questions. Anything else would be welcome.

The more we know about things from as many credible sources as possible, the better. Perhaps Belo can be of help here, if Wanandi is not sitting on top of him too hard. Also, there is a special interest in any kind of persecution of Belo and the church, individual priests and nuns, etc, should this be a factor at present.

Let's talk about all of this. Meanwhile, I'll get working on your letter of introduction.

All the best. And best to Francis.

2 September 1991

Message for Dr. Peter Carey
Trinity College

Dear Peter,

Intelligence reports I've received from a couple of sources indicate you have just returned from holiday. I had a good meeting with Bill Bachle on Cambodia Trust and related matters the other day, will join Bill for a meeting at the State Dept on Sept. 9, etc. Some longterm ideas on this front are starting to take shape. What is more, before too long you will even have the Timor conference materials, on which I am working, so that you can write your preface -- but let us not jump ahead of ourselves. There is a slight immediate problem that needs fixing.

I just received a fax from Joao Boavida regarding shipment of the photographic exhibition to San Francisco State University. It seems that the airline service he is using to ship the photos has a rule concerning acceptance of "pay on delivery" shipments: this is only done on an institution-to-institution basis. All Joao needs is someone in Oxford to designate this an institutional shipment. Because Kirsty is on her way to East Timor and Nick is on holiday, there is no one to do that at RSP. So we turn to you for guidance. Can you give Joao the authority to designate this an institutional shipment?

All of this was delayed because the Social Science Research Council took a few weeks to ascertain that there was money left in the budget to pay for the San Francisco event and related costs, and we only received confirmation the other day. In any event, they have in fact guaranteed payment of shipping, etc.

Joao leaves for a visit to Portugal on Sept. 5, so he must take the exhibit to Gatwick before that. The shipment needs to reach San Francisco soon so they can assemble things for the Sept. 20 opening. (Also on the subject of the exhibition, I received a nice note from John Leslie at the Museum of Modern Art some weeks ago. Have you heard anything further from them on their interest?)

I will be in touch soon. The coming of autumn means long-promised projects are completed, new ones get launched, etc. It looks like I will visit Oxford at some point in October as well. Hope you are well and that your holidays were restful.

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

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

July 16, 1991

Message for Bishop Paul Moore Jr.

Room 902 - Sheraton
Phoenix

Dear Paul,

In brief, here are the pertinent facts regarding the call I would like you to make to Senator Wallop. I understand that he will be in his office this week (202-224-6441).

First, let me stress that, according to his aide, Wallop is quite keen on doing things on Timor, and, if anything, feels that things are moving too slowly -- which he blames on his staff and yours, meaning me. I'll take all of the blame that need be taken, but I also feel that we can make use of this by your saying to Wallop that during this period we were lining up church groups around the country who are now ready to support his letter, which is in fact true. However, these church groups need several weeks to make sure that support for the letter in the Senate is maximized, given the bureaucracies involved.

Wallop needs to be asked for two things:

- 1) As mentioned, he needs to be asked to instruct his staff to give us several weeks to garner support for the letter throughout the country. That is, should the letter begin to circulate in the Senate over the next couple of weeks, we will need until, say, late September to complete the project. Of course, we will try to complete it as soon as possible, but added leeway would be helpful.
- 2) Wallop should be asked to bend his office rule about releasing the letter to the press. Because of East Timor's relative lack of prominence, and the sad nature of the situation, the letter needs all the public attention it can get. Whatever skill you can bring to bear on him on this point will be crucial.

Be sure to thank him profusely for what he is doing. Whatever the reason, he has clearly decided to take up the Timor issue, and that is quite something.

I have attached the draft of what Wallop plans to send out, which is a slightly edited version of what I gave his staff. I will keep trying to phone you, as I may be hard to reach. Hopefully we can speak before you speak with Wallop.

All the best,

Arnold

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

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

Dec. 29, 1991

for Richard Barber, ACFOA — 16 Pages

Dear Richard,

First off, spell my name right!!

Second, for your convenience, I've attached a dozen pages -- the last 12, that is, from the Dec. 27 Washington Post piece to the end -- that should go into the packet to the US journalists, with a cover note explaining what it's all about.

The journalists:

1. Lawrence McQuillan, Reuters
2. Helen Thomas, UPI
3. Terrence Hunt, AP
4. Ann Devroy, The Washington Post
5. Maureen Dowd, The New York Times
6. John Cochran, NBC News (TV)
7. Brit Hume, ABC News (TV)
8. Randall Pingston, CBS News (TV-- CBS have done a piece on the NOV. 12 incident)
9. Charles Bierbauer, CNN (TV)
10. Brian Naylor, National Public Radio
11. Bob Twigg, USA Today
12. Charles Green, Knight-Ridder News Service
13. Ann McFeatters, Scripps-Howard News Service
14. Glenn Dyer, Fox Broadcasting (TV)
15. Jim Gerstenzang, Los Angeles Times

Crucial that they all get material. Throw in a copy of the Nov. 12 video if you really want to get ambitious. Crucial to get some good solid pictures on TV, as long as it's peaceful. Good luck!

Check with the stringers for these news organizations in Australia-- they will know how to reach them. Note the itinerary as it appeared in today's New York Times. Be sure to send cuttings here via fax.

If you need anything else, or have trouble getting the info on the journalists, let me know.

Best,

Arnold

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

3812 Windom Place, NW

Washington, D.C. 20016

Tel. 202-363-1649

Fax 202-363-3658

Nov. 13, 1991

Fax message for Amy Goodman or Allan Nairn--3 pages
including this one.

Dear Amy and Allan,

Attached is the Post piece.

Try to get some rest. Call me from Hawaii. You
two are amazing and it is an honor to know you.

Arnold

1 21 91 16 11

FAX / TELECOPIE
COMITE INTERNATIONAL DE LA CROIX-ROUGE
19, AVENUE DE LA PAIX
CH 1202 GENEVE
TEL. 022 734 60 81 TX 414 226 FAX 41 22 733 20 57

DATE
 REF.
 MSG.

11 décembre 1991
 MY OP/DOI
 91/740

PAGE(S) : 1
 y compris cette page

FAX NR 001 202 363 3658

A
 CONCERNE

Arnold Kohen
 Your fax msg

Don Arnold,

Thanks for your message of Dec. 9 and the very interesting press cuttings

All the best to you and to Korinna !

Best regards
Michel
 Michel Veuthey

COMISSÃO PARA OS DIREITOS DO POVO MAUBERE - CDFM
Rua Pinheiro Chagas, 77, 2.º Esq. Telex 352 87 16 (3 Linhas)
1000 LISBOA Fax 01634009 Telex 64062 CIDAC P

TO: ARNOLD KOHEN - EAST TIMOR RESEARCH
FROM: CDFM PROJECT

Lisboa, 27/12/1991

THE 1992 CONSULTATIVE MEETING IN SOLIDARITY WITH EAST TIMOR

1. The next solidarity groups' consultative meeting will probably be one of the most important in recent years. We think it should be held as soon as possible so that we can share information about what has happened in our respective countries since the Santa Cruz massacre and discuss our aims and priorities in the coming year.

We believe that the links and mutual understanding between all the groups need to be strengthened. We very much hope that this Consultative Meeting will be attended not only by Europe-based groups but by groups from the other continents. We propose therefore that this should be an International Consultative Meeting in Solidarity with East Timor.

2. At our last meeting in Lisbon in April 1991, it was decided that the next meeting would be held in Italy. However, the Italian group informed us that they will not be able to hold a meeting until May which is too late within the present context. After discussions with several activists who were in Lisbon recently, we want to make the following proposals:

- a. The Consultative Meeting will be held from 14 - 16 February 1992.
- b. If possible, it will be held in Geneva, to profit from the UN Human Rights Commission (27 January - 6 March) and to put pressure on the members of the Commission.
- c. If it cannot be held in Geneva it will be held in Brussels on the same dates.
- d. As there is no solidarity group in Geneva, the CDFM as conveners of the 1991 meeting, is willing to coordinate the preparations and collect your agenda proposals and ideas.
- e. If the meeting is held in Geneva, assistance will be available from the International Service for Human Rights and other Geneva-based NGOs concerning accommodation, the meeting place and so on. In Brussels, there are also groups and friends who are in a position to assist on these matters.

3. We very much hope you will be able to answer the following questions by the end of this year:

- a. can your group take part in an International Consultative Meeting in February, and if so, how many people will attend?
- b. will you be able to send us in Lisbon by the end of January a summary of the following:
 - how have people, institutions, the government responded to the 12 November massacre and what is your assessment of this response?
 - what were your main aims, priorities and activities in 1991?
 - what are your proposals regarding East Timor solidarity work in 1992?

4. We in CDFM will prepare an agenda on the basis of your proposals, for adoption at the start of the meeting.

Hoping to hear from you soon, our best wishes to 1992
In solidarity,

CDFM



On the side of people in need

The Catholic Fund for Overseas Development

2 Romero Close (formerly Garden Close)

Stockwell Road, London SW9 9TY

Facsimile: 071-274 9630 Telex: 895347 CAFOD G

Telephone: 071 733 7900

Our ref: EFM 4

Your ref:

23rd July 1991

Annie Kohen
East Timor Research Project

Fax: 010 1 202 363 3658

Dear Annie,

We are having difficulty getting faxes through - probably our machine. Chris Wanner - Independent TV channel - hopes to go to Timor 10th August. Could he speak directly to Cunha before he goes? That would be a good idea. He has already made contacts in the underground via Carmo and Estavao - but I think he is being a little cautious about how much he shares with them. Angelo from CAFOD goes this Saturday 27th July. So if you want any information to go in with him ...

See you in this afternoon. I'll send her your love.

Yours sincerely,


Steve Alston



CAFOD

On the side of people in need

The Catholic Fund for Overseas Development

2 Romero Close (formerly Garden Close)

Chickwell Road, London SW9 0TV

Facsimile: 071-274 9630 Telex: 893347 CAFOD G

Telephone: 071-735 7900

Our ref

Your ref

The Rt Hon Douglas Hurd MP,
Foreign Secretary,
Foreign and Commonwealth Office,
King Charles Street,
London SW1.

9th July, 1991

Dear Mr Hurd,

One of CAFOD's project officers has recently returned from a visit to East Timor. Upon hearing of a new British Aerospace agreement with Indonesia I felt that it might be helpful to feed back to you some of the concerns expressed by our Timorese Church partners.

During a ten day visit to East Timor meeting with Church partner groups to evaluate development project proposals, project officer was able to get some insight into the prevalent mood of the people as expressed by their Church leaders. Recent events throughout the world, including resolution of the Namibia issue, the proposals for self determination in Western Sahara and the recent reversal of the brutal annexation of Kuwait by Iraq have aroused great hope in East Timor that the Timorese will finally be allowed their own process towards self determination.

The brutality of the sixteen years of Indonesian occupation of East Timor, where every family is able to recount the loss of a loved one, is a constant theme in any discussion. Priests continue to have to intervene to try to protect the lives of those often summarily taken into detention. With the prospects of a fact finding mission of Portuguese parliamentarians about to go to Timor expectations are high that the United Nations will, finally, move to a resolution of this problem. However, there are also well-founded fears that those Timorese who express their true opinions to the Portuguese parliamentarians will suffer at the hands of the Indonesian security authorities after the visit.

The Timorese fear of the Indonesian military is palpable in both urban and rural areas and this now has extended to bitterness towards the Indonesian migrant worker community. The Church is in the delicate position of trying to maintain peace between the different ethnic communities while respecting the overwhelming desires of the Timorese population for a clear democratic act of self determination.

.....continued

2.

While this situation continues unresolved I would ask Her Majesty's Government to consider, seriously, any new military sales or transfer of technology agreements. CAFOD's partners in the Church in East Timor fear that these can only serve to strengthen the Indonesian resolve to ignore United Nations resolutions calling for its withdrawal from East Timor. Such agreements also fail to pay due heed to the past and current human rights abuses that the Timorese people continue to suffer.

Her Majesty's Government has lent its full support to United Nations efforts to ensure that small countries can live without fear of aggression and with the right to self determination and I would urge you to maintain this laudable stance in the case of East Timor.

Yours sincerely,

JULIAN FILOCHOWSKI
Director

MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY
20D-219
Department of Linguistics and Philosophy
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02139

December 10, 1991

National Catholic Reporter

To the editor:

The editorial of December 6 condemning the latest massacre in East Timor and the continued US military aid to the killers was most timely and appropriate. But it perpetuated some misunderstandings. These are not surprising in the light of the unwillingness of the media to report the truth since the Indonesian invasion of the former Portuguese territory in 1975, with lavish and decisive US diplomatic and military support as the assault against the illegally annexed territory approached near-genocidal levels.

The headline reads: "Must East Timorese strike oil for West to notice abuses?" "If only the shoals of East Timor were laden with oil," the editorial speculates, the West would move "from indifference to outrage" as in the case of Iraq's conquest of Kuwait, mild by comparison to the Indonesian aggression.

In reality, the shoals of East Timor are laden with oil, one of the largest reserves in the Australian region. This may well be one of the reasons for the Indonesian aggression and the Western support for it. As Indonesia was preparing to invade in 1975, the Australian Ambassador to Indonesia, Dick Woolcott, advised the government in a secret cable that seabed boundaries "could be much more readily negotiated with Indonesia than with Portugal or independent Portuguese Timor." Australia gave de jure recognition to the Indonesian annexation in 1979 to allow talks on the oil reserves of the Timor sea to proceed. In December 1989, Australia signed a treaty with Indonesia for the exploitation of Timorese oil. Portugal, regarded by the UN as the legal authority, protested vigorously, bringing the matter to the World Court in February 1991.

One may recall that Australia has a "special relationship" to Timor, where tens of thousands died protecting a few hundred Australian commandos from Japanese conquerors during the Pacific war, thus helping to forestall a possible Japanese attack on Australia.

The government of Australia joined the US and Britain in issuing passionate denunciations of Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, declaring that "big countries cannot invade small neighbors and get away with it" and proclaiming that in the "new order" established by the virtuous Anglo-Americans, "would-be aggressors will think twice before invading smaller neighbours"; the weak will "feel more secure because they know that they will not stand alone if they are threatened" and that "the rule of law must prevail over the rule of force in international relations." One can imagine the Western reaction had Libya signed a treaty with Iraq to rob Kuwait's oil. In response to questions about Australia's comparable

moves to rob Timorese oil, Foreign Minister Gareth Evans explained that "there is no binding legal obligation not to recognise the acquisition of a territory that was acquired by force." Furthermore, "The world is a pretty unfair place, littered with examples of acquisition by force." In the same breath, he banned all official contacts with the PLO with proper indignation because of its "consistently defending and associating itself with Iraq's invasion of Kuwait."

In October 1990, while the world's attention was focused on the Gulf, Indonesia launched a new military offensive in Timor. The West reacted as usual: silence, and new offers of offensive armaments to Indonesia. British Aerospace entered into new arrangements to sell Indonesia jet fighters and enter into co-production arrangements, "what could turn out to be one of the largest arms packages any company has sold to an Asean country," the Far Eastern Economic Review reported. Meanwhile, British political figures and leading intellectuals, joining their counterparts across the Atlantic, lectured with due gravity on the noble values of their traditional culture, now at last to be imposed by the righteous.

After the latest atrocity, the British Foreign Office announced that "An embargo would be neither appropriate nor effective." The State Department agreed, explaining that continued US arms sales will provide Indonesians with "democratic ideas and humanitarian standards," as has been so graphically demonstrated in Guatemala, El Salvador, Indonesia, etc., for many years.

There are no surprises here. The invader of East Timor, General Suharto, came to power in 1965 with the slaughter of several hundred thousand people, mostly landless peasants. This achievement aroused unconcealed glee in elite Western circles, including the media, which hailed "a gleam of light in Asia" (James Reston, New York Times), "Hope Where There Once was None" (US News & World Report), etc., as the piles of corpses mounted. Suharto then proceeded to compile one of the world's worst human rights record in Indonesia and the annexed territory of West Irian, where thousands more have been killed, adding the invasion of East Timor, where the slaughter was comparable to Pol Pot's in the same years. As a result, Suharto is lauded as a "moderate" who is "at heart benign" (Christian Science Monitor, London Economist, and commentary generally).

The reason for the enthusiastic response to the huge slaughter that brought Suharto to power, the willing Western participation in the bloody aftermath, and the suppression of the facts through the worst atrocities, is depressingly simple: Suharto is, indeed, "at heart benign" to Western investors. They can make huge profits exploiting the human and material resources of Indonesia and the territories it conquers. Under such conditions, the mere rights of human beings dwindle to zero.

We do ourselves and others little favor by ignoring these truisms.

Sincerely yours,

Noam Chomsky

DRAFT - HALL. LEG.

Whereas on November 12, 1991, Indonesian military forces in Dili, East Timor opened fire on a funeral commemoration for a youth who had been killed by Indonesian troops on October 28, 1991, killing an estimated 75 to 100 civilians and injuring many more;

Whereas Amnesty International and other credible sources have reported harsh repression in East Timor in the months following the Nov. 12, 1991 events, including torture, an atmosphere of terror;

Whereas Amnesty International, Asia Watch and other authoritative sources have sharply questioned the credibility of the findings of the national commission of inquiry that the Government of Indonesia established to investigate the Nov. 12, 1991 killings;

Whereas since the Government of Indonesia invaded and illegally occupied East Timor in 1975 tens of thousands of East Timorese have perished as a direct result of war-related killings, famine and disease;

Whereas United Nations Security Council Resolution 384 of 22 December 1975 recognized East Timor's right to self-determination and called upon the Government of Indonesia "to withdraw without delay all its forces from the Territory", while Security Council resolution 389 of 22 April 1976 reiterated these points;

Whereas the bitter conflict in El Salvador is in the process of being resolved through the good offices of the United Nations and United Nations-sponsored human rights monitors;

Whereas the United States and Indonesia have a close bilateral relationship, and United States economic and military assistance for Indonesia exceeded \$50 million for fiscal 1991;

Whereas the Inter-Governmental Group on Indonesia, a multilateral aid consortium of which the United States is a member, provided \$4.75 billion in international financing to Indonesia in 1991;

Whereas more than a combined total of \$250 million in United States military equipment was delivered to Indonesia in 1990 and 1991;

Therefore:

- 1) The United States should suspend all bilateral aid to Indonesia until the Indonesian Government meets the provisions outlined in U.N. Security Council resolutions 384 and 389, which call for self-determination in East Timor and a withdrawal of Indonesian forces from the territory;
- 2) The United States should use its influence within the Inter-Governmental Group on Indonesia to promote Indonesian compliance with UN Security Council resolutions 384 and 389, and develop additional international support for a process leading to a free and fair referendum in East Timor under United Nations auspices;
- 3) the President should support the immediate introduction of a resolution in the General Assembly instructing the United Nations Commission on Human Rights to appoint a Special Rapporteur for East Timor to assist in the resolution of the East Timorese conflict in pursuit of the right of self-determination by the East Timorese people;
- 4) The United States and its allies should bring all means of pressure to bear on Indonesia to cease and desist from all forms of human rights violations in East Timor immediately;
- 5) The United States should promote United Nations-sponsored mediation of the East Timor conflict leading to authentic self-determination, including the placement of United Nations-sponsored human rights monitors in East Timor to act as a deterrent against further violence in the territory;

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

3812 Windom Place, NW

Washington, D.C. 20016

Tel. 202-363-1649

Sept. 26, 1991 Fax 202-363-3658

Message for Lee Arrowood,
c/o Sen. Wallop
fax 224-3230

Dear Ms. Arrowood,

The following is a brief summary of the time it has taken to complete a few of the various Congressional letters on East Timor that have circulated in recent years:

- 1) Rep. Tony Hall, 1990, 223 House members co-signing, four and a half months (July--mid-November).
- 2) Senators Durenberger and Levin, 1988, 47 Senatorial co-signers, three months, August--October.
- 3) Senators Durenberger and Moynihan, 1987, 40 Senatorial co-signers, three months, June--August.

Circulating the current letter through October or thereabouts would be in keeping with the amount of time needed in the past to get the desired response from Senate offices. In addition, and more importantly in terms of current human rights concerns, there is the distinct possibility that the Portuguese Parliamentary mission (that will travel to East Timor under the auspices of the UN Secretary General's office) will go to East Timor in late October or shortly thereafter. If that happens, it would be very good to have the maximum number of Senate signatures possible as leverage against a violent official Indonesian response aimed at pro-human rights demonstrators.

If you need any more background information on any of this, please contact me.

Thank you for your understanding on this matter, and for your excellent work to date.

Sincerely,



Arnold S. Kohen

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

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

Oct. 28, 1991

Fax message for Tom Quigley

Dear Tom,

CIIR sent me a fax this am with the names of 36 additional Latin American Bishops who joined CAFOD's Timor appeal. They are all hand-written and may not copy well enough to fax legibly, but if you want to know more, call me.

Aside from the CAFOD appeal -- frankly, I don't want to get too sidetracked by it, one way or the other -- the heat does seem to be turning up in Timor and there is a means of responding to this. The Wallop Senate letter now has about 25 signatures, and there are about 30 others in the Senate who have signed one Timor appeal or another over the years but have not yet signed this one. Past experience has shown that last minute signees can be gathered in droves if they are contacted by the right people, whomever that may be.

I spoke with Frank Monahan last week and he was very forthcoming with assistance/advice on the 3 or 4 senators we discussed. I told him I would get back to him for help on others. This is no ordinary situation, and because of the timing, the letter could have great significance. It is not unthinkable that we could get a majority -- in 1988, we got 47 -- if we could get some concerted action going. I will call later, and let's discuss this.

CAFOD got a report over the weekend that the Sao Motael Church in Dili was surrounded by the military and attacked, with 4 said to be killed (Motael is the church of the two priests who visited USCC in 1989). There is no confirmation of this yet, and one would need to be cautious, because false reports have circulated in the past, notably at the time of the Pope's 1989 visit. I will see what else I can pick up on this from journalist friends, etc. True or not, there are enough recent reports from independent first-hand observers that the situation is quite scary at present, which is why I want to push through the vehicle of the Wallop letter. In the end, a letter signed by a large number of senators is likely to be more effective than anything else available to us.

Best,

Arnold

East Timor Research Project P. O. Box 32307 • Washington, D.C. 20007

Tel: 202 363 1649
Fax: 202 363 3658

August 12, 1991

Ms. Hilary Coulby
Asia Desk
Oxfam
274 Banbury Road
Oxford OX2 7DZ

Dear Hilary,

Thank you for your fax message. I will provide a more precise workplan here. If more details are needed to get this right, please let me know. We fully appreciate the situation of Oxfam and want to do everything possible to make things as correct as possible.

It is anticipated that ETRP will carry out as many as four visits over the coming year to Europe (from its current Washington base) of approximately two-and-one-half weeks duration per visit to meet with humanitarian and development aid agencies, including Oxfam, to consult on either continuing projects of development or humanitarian assistance in East Timor or in the design of new projects such as that of Oxfam, and to convince agencies not yet directly involved in East Timor either to set up such projects or, if it is not possible for a given agency to set up its own project(s), to contribute resources to assist the projects of other humanitarian and development agencies on a partnership basis.

Several weeks of preparation would be required for each consultative visit carried out by ETRP, which generally spends at least half its working time gathering and analyzing recent social and economic information from East Timor and facilitating contacts with reliable sources from the region as well as with other specialists, with the other half spent on coordinating the efforts of US and international organizations. As part of its ongoing research, ETRP spends a significant portion of its time seeking to identify humanitarian and/or development agencies that are likely candidates to set up or contribute to projects within East Timor.

It is further anticipated that there would be at least one visit per year to Asia of approximately two to three weeks to consult with contacts from East Timor as well as to convince aid and development agencies in Asia to support projects in East Timor. Once again, several weeks of preparation would be required.

With best wishes and regards,


Arnold Kohen, Project Director

**Estimated Budget for Twelve Months, 1991-92, Partial Costs of
Special Humanitarian and Development Project**

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

- A) Four roundtrip flights to London from Washington at a partial estimated cost of \$650 each: US \$2,600
- B) On each of four visits, there will be flights to at least three other cities within Europe. Partial estimated total for these three flights: US \$500. For four visits: US \$2,000
- C) Accommodation on each two-and-one half week visit to Europe: US \$600. For four visits, US \$2,400
- D) Partial cost of preparation time for each visit (two-and-one-half weeks) and time spent on each visit (same), five weeks total, at US \$300 per week: \$1,500. For four visits: US \$6,000

2. One Roundtrip flight to Asia to consult with humanitarian and development agencies and other experts: US \$1,500

Two-and-one-half weeks accommodation in Asia: US \$750

Partial cost of preparation time for Asian visit and time spent there, five weeks total at US \$300 per week: \$1,500

**Total Estimated Budget, US \$16,750, Or the
Equivalent of Ten Thousand Pounds Sterling**

1184

Via Telefax--nine pages including this sheet

Oct. 23, 1991

Mr. Eugene Callahan
Administrative Assistant
Office of Sen. Alan Dixon

Dear Mr. Callahan,

At the suggestion of Frank Monahan of the US Catholic Conference, I am sending you a copy of a "Dear Colleague" letter currently being circulated by Sen. Wallop on the human rights situation in East Timor.

In the past, Sen. Dixon has co-signed similar letters on this subject. Frank Monahan said that he is confident that you would be helpful in obtaining a restatement of the Senator's support, in the form of cosigning the Wallop letter.

Also attached are some recent clippings that stress the continuing importance of the Timor problem; one of them notes the continuing interest of Pope John Paul II in the question. Matters are especially urgent at present because of threats reported by East Timor's Roman Catholic Bishop, noted here.

I work closely with USCC's Office of International Justice and Peace on this issue, and would be happy to provide further information on request. A list of current co-signers of the Wallop letter is attached here.

Thank you for your attention.

Sincerely,

Arnold Kohen

1817 1813

↓R↓1

Oct. 18, 1991

Fax Message for Mr. Frank Monahan
Office of Government Liaison
US Catholic Conference

Dear Frank,

Knowing how busy you are, I am reluctant to take up your time, but I need your quick counsel and assistance on our current effort in the Senate.

A letter (attached) is being circulated by Sen. Wallop (R-Wy.) on East Timor and it could not be more timely. Just this morning, we received word from the BBC Summary of World Broadcasts (see attached) that East Timor's Bishop has warned of new death threats on the population there. A United Nations/Portuguese delegation will be going there soon (in short, after the UN acted on Kuwait, East Timor was harder to ignore) and the hope is that the Senate letter will put more pressure on the Indonesians than would exist otherwise. Others have been trying: attached you will see that the Pope made another statement in recent months.

In 1988 you kindly assisted in getting Senators Biden and Murkowski to sign on. We need help with these two again, as well as with the two from your home state, and some others, and your advice would be very much appreciated. As in the past, I will phone you to get a bit of counsel and marching orders. Needless to say, I have been working with Tom Quigley and others on this and Tom suggested I call. Which I will, on Monday.

With best wishes,

T↑R↑

East Timor Research Project P. O. Box 32307 • Washington, D.C. 20007

Tel: 202 363 1649

Fax: 202 363 3658

Oct. 25, 1991

Fax message for Sister Marian Dillon, - 8 Pages
c/o Sister Grace Patrice Allen
Office for Human Relations
215-587-3867

Dear Sr. Dillon,

Last year, I spoke with you at the suggestion of Robert Hennemeyer, then director of the Office of International Justice and Peace at the US Catholic Conference. The letter immediately following this was authorized by his successor and explains the current effort. This is greater urgency than ever at present, especially because of death threats reported by East Timor's Roman Catholic Bishop. In recent months (see attached photocaption), Pope John Paul II made a statement on human rights in East Timor.

Attached are three pages of a letter currently being circulated in the US Senate by Senator Wallop (R-Wyoming). To help protect East Timor's population at this dangerous hour, we need to gather as many Senate co-signers as possible. We are told that both Senator Specter (who has signed East Timor appeals in the past; fax is 202-224-1893) and Senator Wofford (202-224-4161) would be willing to sign if they heard from the state on this matter. We hope that you will be able to contact both senators by fax, asking them to co-sign Sen. Wallop's letter, a copy of which which we suggest be included in the fax message to them.

Both senators can be told that this is a matter of some urgency, and that official US expressions of concern have helped to save lives in East Timor in the recent past.

The attached New York Times editorial of last Dec. 7 mentions the Congressional initiative of 1990. The photocaption makes mention of the recent statement of Pope John Paul II on human rights in East Timor.

We recognize that you may have questions about this endeavor, or other priorities that make it difficult to do this. In any case, I will be in contact by phone next week to provide further information.

Thanks very much for your help.

Arnold Kohen

Arnold Kohen
Project Director

East Timor Research Project P. O. Box 32307 • Washington, D.C. 20007

Tel: 202 363 1649
Fax: 202 363 3658

August 22, 1991

via fax--one page follows

Ms. Hilary Coulby
Asia Desk
Oxfam
274 Banbury Road
Oxford OX2 7DZ

Dear Hilary,

Thank you for your phone call regarding the additional information needed by your committee. On the following page there is the budgetary information requested.

The bank information is as follows:

The National Capital Bank
Washington, D.C. 20003

East Timor Research Project
Account # 1 700 4419

I will look forward to receiving your fax regarding the information provided on the following page.

With best wishes and regards,



Arnold Kohen
Project Director

April 28, 1991

Stephen S. Rosenfeld
The Washington Post

Dear Mr. Rosenfeld,

Thank you very much for taking the time to meet with us on East Timor the other day. Enclosed are some additional materials for your reference, including a blow-up of the photo that appeared worldwide at the time of the visit of Pope John Paul II to East Timor in 1989.

Allow me to offer some thoughts, if I may. This isn't some exercise in wheel-spinning over a seemingly intractable issue. First, as our meeting should have made clear, there are a host of new elements at work. But even if one leaves that aside, the bottom line is that there is a broad consensus that well-placed protests over this issue have helped to keep a lot of people alive in that god-forsaken place. We have been reminded of this crucial fact, over the past decade and more, from plenty of diplomatic and international humanitarian sources that have no reason whatever to put a spin on things. To cite only one example, a State Department official told us privately in a recent meeting that Hall's Congressional appeal, enclosed here, gives United States officials the ammunition they need to press the Indonesian government on human rights and humanitarian issues. One can argue about whether or not enough is being done, to be sure. From the evidence I've seen over the past year, it strongly appears that there is room for further action, and someone has to remind them of this.

There may or may not be an eventual political settlement (though in this period of momentous changes in the international scene, how can one say with certainty that such a settlement is impossible?). Nonetheless, the fact that some things can be done to protect and better the lot of these people makes it unmistakably clear that efforts to press the issue are worthwhile.

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

Sincerely,

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

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

Dec. 6, 1991

Mr. Karl E. Meyer — 2 Pages
The New York Times
Editorial Page

Dear Mr. Meyer,

In the event that you are planning to do something on or around the Dec. 7 anniversary of Indonesia's invasion of East Timor, there is some information that I thought might be useful. Just before the attack on Pearl Harbor an Allied force of 400 Australian commandos landed in East Timor, violating the colony's neutrality and helping to prompt the Japanese occupation of the colony and punitive operations. Those who have written of this period, like the former Australian diplomat James Dunn (author of "A People Betrayed", The Jacaranda Press, 1983), note that while there were only 40 Australian casualties in this 2 year operation, between 40,000 and 80,000 East Timorese perished (many East Timorese assisted the Australians, prompting Japanese retaliation) perished as a result of the Japanese occupation.

"...when the Japanese finally surrendered the scene in Timor was one of human misery and devastation, Dili had been badly damaged by Allied bombing, and the other main towns and villages partly destroyed, either by bombing or the wanton destruction inflicted by the Japanese occupiers...." (Dunn, p. 26)

As I wrote in the attached Los Angeles Times article in 1982, "The victim nation had fought bravely on the Allied side during World War II, losing at least 40,000 lives while sheltering Australian commandos. But its erstwhile friends turned their diplomatic backs when, in 1975, East Timor...faced invasion by its huge neighbor, Indonesia."

In an eerie way this information has become timely.

If you need documentation on this, let me know.

Thanks for your attention.

Arnold

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

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

Dec. 6, 1991

Mr. Stephen S. Rosenfeld — *2 Pages*
Deputy Editorial Page Editor
The Washington Post

Dear Mr. Rosenfeld,

In the event that you are planning to do something on or around the Dec. 7 anniversary of Indonesia's invasion of East Timor, there is some information that I thought might be useful. Just before the attack on Pearl Harbor an Allied force of 400 Australian commandos landed in East Timor, violating the colony's neutrality and helping to prompt the Japanese occupation of the colony and punitive operations. Those who have written of this period, like the former Australian diplomat James Dunn (author of "A People Betrayed", The Jacaranda Press, 1983), note that while there were only 40 Australian casualties in this 2 year operation, between 40,000 and 80,000 East Timorese perished (many East Timorese assisted the Australians, prompting Japanese retaliation) perished as a result of the Japanese occupation.

"...when the Japanese finally surrendered the scene in Timor was one of human misery and devastation, Dili had been badly damaged by Allied bombing, and the other main towns and villages partly destroyed, either by bombing or the wanton destruction inflicted by the Japanese occupiers...." (Dunn, p. 26)

As I wrote in the attached Los Angeles Times article in 1982, "The victim nation had fought bravely on the Allied side during World War II, losing at least 40,000 lives while sheltering Australian commandos. But its erstwhile friends turned their diplomatic backs when, in 1975, East Timor...faced invasion by its huge neighbor, Indonesia."

In an eerie way this information has become timely.

If you need documentation on this, let me know.

Thanks for your attention.

Arnold



YORKSHIRE
TELEVISION

MISSED FAX
REPLY FROM Fr Ricardo

FACSIMILE TRANSMISSION

OUR FAX NUMBER IS: _____

TO: _____

ARNOLD KOHEN

COMPANY: _____

DEPARTMENT: _____

FROM: _____

PETER GORDON

COMPANY: _____

YTV

DEPARTMENT: _____

DOCS

NUMBER OF PAGES TO FOLLOW: _____

IF TRANSMISSION IS INCOMPLETE CONTACT: _____

TEL: 0532 438283 EXT: _____

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film very good footage that was then taken from us as we tried to leave East Timor - the film would never be seen, and more importantly, the people whom we had filmed would be put in danger.

Additionally it may be helpful to us if there is a system whereby people can take tapes in for us. It may look highly suspicious if we travel into E.Timor with obviously more tapes than any tourist would need. I have to stress that the problem of getting tapes in is less important than the one of getting tapes out described in the previous paragraph.

- 4) Another more general point relates to our possible use of the Camara Ecclesiastica through Father Ricardo. Is it realistic to think that we could leave tapes and equipment there for safe-keeping. We fear that if our hotel rooms are searched, the police will realise that we are not just tourists.

In addition will it be possible to hire (i.e. pay for) a car and driver from Father Ricardo and from the other priest contacts. It seems that if we try and travel with other hired transport we will be given a driver sympathetic to the Indonesians, something we would obviously want to avoid.

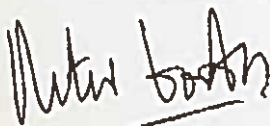
- 5) Finally, if you think it would help our project I will be more than happy to come to Macau on my way to E.Timor to talk with you and Father Cunha. Please indicate if you think this will be helpful.

I am addressing this to you, Father Fernades and understand that you will pass it on translated to Father Cunha. I would very much appreciate a very quick reply to our fax, our number is (44-532-439732) if that is possible.

In the meantime I extend to you my very best wishes and hope that this project will go ahead successfully.

Thankyou once again for your help so far.

Kind regards.



Peter Gordon,
Producer,
Documentaries.
Yorkshire Television.

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

3812 Windom Place, NW

Washington, D.C. 20016

Tel. 202-363-1649

Fax 202-363-3658

October 23, 1991

Fax Message for Rev. Eduino Silveira

Dear Rev. Silveira,

Rev. Reinaldo Cardoso has asked me to send you material on the petition effort that is being organized by the Catholic Fund for Overseas Development (CAFOD) and the Catholic Institute for International Relations (CIIR), both in London. The first three pages after this one include the appeal from Steve Alston of CAFOD, who visited East Timor twice over the past years and knows Bishop Belo; and the two page letter that Bishops are being asked to sign. This is not an easy situation, because Bishops are asked to reply to this request by Oct. 24, about 1PM California time. But if any Bishops do want to sign, they should fax their signatures to CIIR London, 011-44-71-359-0017.

Following this letter, I am attaching a report from the BBC in which Bishop Belo is cited, regarding the death threats, and items from the New York Times that mention the interest of Pope John Paul II in the question of human rights in East Timor. In addition, I am also attaching three pages of a letter currently being circulated in the US Senate by Sen. Wallop (R-Wyoming). Senator Seymour of California has not yet signed, and if any Bishop or anyone else is willing to contact him (it may be good to do this by fax -- 202-224-6031, including copies of the three pages of the Wallop letter), it could encourage him to sign.

I have worked on the East Timor matter with Father Cardoso for more than 10 years. I also work closely with the Office of International Justice and Peace at the US Catholic Conference. Attached you will find a letter that office approved regarding the Wallop-US Senate letter.

Should you have any questions about any of this material, please contact me.

Sincerely,

Arnold Kohen

Arnold Kohen

↓R↓1

↓R↓1

Sept. 12, 1991

Three Pages follow for Bill Bachle

Dear Bill,

I have no way of knowing the rights and wrongs of the NPR story viz: the NYT piece, but it does touch on matters related to what we were discussing the other day.

↑R↑1

Arnold S. Kohen

↓R↓1

Writer/Journalist

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

Nov. 25, 1991

For Ken Handelman
c/ Sen. Metzemaum

Dear Mr. Handelman,

I am assisting the US Catholic Conference on the effort surrounding the attached "Dear Colleague" letter on East Timor. The USCC is, in turn, following up on behalf of Mark Brinkmoeller of their office in Dayton, and others in Ohio.

The letter is nearing a majority of senators, and the deadline is late tomorrow. We hope Sen. Metzemaum will agree to add his signature to it, especially in view of his longtime support for Senate action on East Timor and the current crisis there.

I will be in contact later by phone.

Sincerely,

Arnold Kohen
Arnold S. Kohen

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

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

Nov. 25, 1991

For Matthew Hersch
c/ Sen. Dodd

4 Pages

Dear Mr. Hersch,

Attached is the Wallop letter. Your support would be
much appreciated.

Sincerely,

Arnold Kohen



Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

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

Nov. 25, 1991

For Lee Arrowood

4 pages

Dear Lee,

We received additional information late last night that adds detail to other accounts. This information came from a church source who has been consistently reliable over more than a decade. It is attached. This could mean that a massacre even worse than the one on Nov. 12 is taking place. A new suggested draft is attached, adding the words underlined on p. 1.

I will call soon, as I would like to consult with you on a couple of things. Thanks again.

Arnold

PS The info on the
page following
this one is being
transmitted exactly
as we received it
from the church
source.

DRAFT

P. 1

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President,

We have grown increasingly concerned about the human rights and humanitarian problems in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor (particularly after the massacre on November 12, when Indonesian security forces killed 75 to 100 people when they fired on a Roman Catholic funeral procession in which demonstrators were attempting to place flowers on the grave of a youth killed by Indonesian troops on October 28. Several foreign journalists were beaten during the November 12 incident, including two Americans from The New Yorker and Pacifica Radio, who were observing the procession). We are aware that the Department of State has acknowledged formally at least some aspects of these issues. Nonetheless, it appears that further action is warranted, (in light of reports of severe ongoing repression in East Timor).

Various disturbing reports had come to our attention (even before the November 12 massacre and subsequent accounts of an atmosphere of terror). Reliable sources in East Timor relate stories of Indonesian stories and those under their control using razor blades to cut the faces of young East Timorese dissenters. Reports from Amnesty International (and Asia Watch in recent month detail torture, beatings and other abuses of East Timorese. These, as well as other reports of atrocities, belie reports of improvements in the human rights situation in East Timor and lead us to conclude that the United States needs to take a stronger stand on this matter. We must make it clear to the Indonesian authorities that we are aware of and monitoring closely the situation in East Timor, (especially in the wake of the November 12 massacre).

On the humanitarian front, we would like to register our concern over the inordinately high rates of tuberculosis, malaria, malnutrition, and infant mortality that exist in East Timor. Such problems are particularly worrisome when one recalls the catastrophic famine that occurred largely at the hands of the Indonesian military in the late 1970s. The United States could be an effective and positive force in this region by seeking ways to insure that the Indonesian government cooperates with private organizations, both secular and religious, that are in a position to help address these problems.

In addition, we would hope that the United States would be alert to any diplomatic openings that may present themselves in the future, with an eye toward a political solutions that might end the

DRAFT
P. 2

needless suffering in East Timor and bring about true self-determination for the territory. (As a resolution passed by the Senate on November 22 condemning the massacre of East Timorese civilians by the Indonesian military stated, "the President should support the immediate introduction of a resolution in the General Assembly instructing the United Nations Commission on Human Rights to appoint a Special Rapporteur for East Timor to assist in the resolution of the East Timorese conflict in pursuit of the right of self-determination of the East Timorese people.")

In conclusion, let us say that we are keenly aware of the value of close relations with the Government of Indonesia, It is precisely because of these close relations that we believe that the Government of Indonesia will be responsive to these concerns.

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

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

Nov. 25, 1991

For John Sharkey, Foreign Desk

17 Pages

Dear John,

Attached are some interesting items from Reuters today. Up front, however, are notes on a talk with a priest in Timor who has been unfailingly reliable over the years.

Also attached are some other items of interest, including a Boston Globe editorial good for a chuckle and also some news.

Best
Arnold

DELTA
Book XIX

Dec. 9, 1991

For Sidney Jones

Dear Sidney,

Attached are my suggestions on the international section, which are straightforward (e.g. if the European Parliament's resolution warrants mention, so does a letter by the Council of Europe; if letter of 5 members of the House, even prominent ones, warrants mentions, so does a letter of 52 senators, etc)

Regarding the earlier section on allegations of abuses after Nov. 12, We would like to add one thing to my comments, namely "allegations of rape committed by Indonesian soldiers" on Nov. 15 (see the attached sheet I already sent, marked portion). We have thought about this a good deal and discussed cases of women we have interviewed at length over the years. Without going into detail, the personal accounts we have received regarding this kind of crime time have been credible, and it is highly unlikely that our church source would invent this. We can't prove it from this distance, but we feel it should be included as an allegation. It is obviously a serious problem that needs to be addressed in some way.

The latest account we received, this morning our time, indicates that the situation remains quite dangerous, and underscores the need for more independent inquiry and observers.

Let's talk soon. Thanks again,

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

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

Dec. 3, 1991

Ms. Janis Budge
Press Secretary
c/ Sen. Wallop

Dear Ms. Budge,

Attached is a draft press release for the East Timor letter, together with an information sheet on news we have received from authoritative sources in recent days.

Thanks for your understanding on this whole matter.
I will look forward to your comments.

Sincerely,


Arnold Kohen

Commission on Justice and Peace

October 17, 1991

Senator Frank Lautenberg
United States Senate
Washington, DC 20510-5001

Dear Senator Lautenberg:

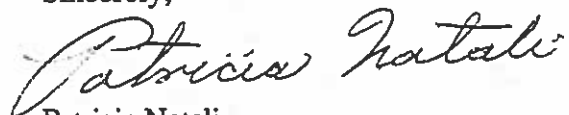
I am writing on behalf of the Commission on Justice and Peace, Archdiocese of Newark, regarding the human rights and humanitarian abuses in East Timor. Particularly, we urge you to co-sign the letter by Senator Wallop which is circulating in the Senate. I have enclosed a copy of the letter and the Senators who have already co-signed Senator Wallop's letter for your information.

We have been following the situation in East Timor and are quite disturbed to learn of recent human rights abuses such as Indonesian forces and those under their control using razor blades to cut the faces of young East Timorese dissenters. Reports from Amnesty International in recent months detail torture, beatings, and other serious abuses of the East Timorese. Furthermore, a visit by Pope John Paul II to East Timor in May, 1991, resulted in his speaking out on the human rights violations.

We want to send a clear message to President Bush that the American people will not tolerate a continuation of human rights violations in East Timor. Your co-signature on Senator Wallop's letter will help to advance the important goals in the areas of human rights and humanitarian concerns as outlined in the enclosed material.

Thank you for your consideration of this issue and for all you have done in the past to influence legislation that will help make our nation and the international community more just and peaceful.

Sincerely,



Patricia Natali
Executive Secretary

Message for Steve Alston, CAFOD

My fax number is 202-363-3658. There is no escape from me now,
no more than there was any escape possible in the case of Irma Vep!

Both the Sunday Observer and Independent appear to be quite
interested. The Economist published the letter I wrote for Bishop
Moore in the number now on the newstands. I will send it on. Call
me if the BBC gets on your trail again. Phone-202-363-1649.

Best,

Annie

Also see the attached piece.

Message for Noam Chomsky

Dear Noam,

Thanks for your note re Ignatieff and other press commentary. Any chance that the Catholic press stuff (the Tablet, Nat. Cath. Reporter) and anything else of interest be sent to me?

Hang in there.

Best,

Message for Noam Chomsky

Two items from FBIS came to my attention. One has would-be Nobelism Gareth Evans departing from his humanitarian mission to attend a Timor Gap meeting on the island of Bali. It could be useful in case you receive more calls from Australian media. Second, we have the Australian ambassador to Indonesia expressing concern about how Australian press reports have "discredited the Indonesian Government and manipulated facts about East Timor." No one else tries to do such things anywhere in the world, of course.

Best,

Arnold

Feb. 21, 1991

December 28, 1991

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

Dear Ms. Weiss,

The following material is intended for submission to the Foundation's February meeting, as we discussed in our earlier phone conversation.

First, on behalf of all those connected with this endeavor, let me thank you for your support over the years. I believe that Amy Goodman has offered the observation that the network of contacts created by this Project over the past 16 years, both within East Timor and more generally, has shown its usefulness during the crisis of the past two months ---- and will do so all the more in the period ahead. Attached is a recent letter of endorsement from the most consistent Congressional advocate on the Timor question over the past dozen years, which adds to what Amy has said.

The demands of the ongoing crisis in East Timor have been unrelenting, and the need for generous support is urgent to meet the tasks ahead, which promise to be even more difficult and complex. In a behind-the-scenes capacity, we are literally in the center of worldwide media efforts on the issue, dealing directly with reporters and editorial writers from major newspapers and magazines in the United States, Europe and Japan, and assisting the major international human rights organizations and other groups in getting the message out clearly, forcefully and effectively. See the enclosed material from the Washington Post, Anthony Lewis, etc, for example. We are also working with a myriad of television people, from ABC News to Yorkshire Television, the group that managed to obtain the footage used by CBS in the enclosed videotape. [Since we

Page 2, Cora Weiss, The Samuel Rubin Foundation

last met some years ago, I have spent a significant period of time (although no longer) as an investigative reporter at NBC News, and so am better situated than ever to handle complicated media and public information matters; In my personal capacity I have been a consultant on the Yorkshire project from its inception early this year].

Over the past 20 months I have been working in constant consultation with the Chairman of our Advisory Board, Bishop Paul Moore, and a wide range of other individuals and groups. The US Senator who has been leading the Timor effort, Republican Malcolm Wallop, is Bishop Moore's cousin, in fact.

I have been working quite closely with Amy and Allan: In the hours since I began this letter, Amy and Allan and I have spoken several times about the day's developments and the required response; we normally speak with each other several times a day. They can give their own evaluation of the value of all of this. And I can tell you more when we meet, hopefully in January.

On another front, our longtime educational efforts in Congress are being imitated in Japan and Europe. We are constantly providing how-to advice and assistance to groups in these places and elsewhere. In Australia, we are providing media and Parliamentary strategies with regard to President Bush's trip there next week.

Around 1986, when we met at length, you asked me about the prospects for resolving this tragic problem. I answered honestly: at the time, there were none. But many things have changed. Prospects for a just and comprehensive solution have never been better and I will be just as honest and forthright now as I was in years past: it is of vital importance that we in the United States be well-placed to meet the historic challenges at hand. We have known each other a long time, and I am not going to waste your time in mincing words.

I recognize that the Foundation has supported others working on East Timor in recent years. Frankly, until the current crisis I had no cause to over-tax your resources; but if there is a single reason that I have been trusted over the years by a wide range of reporters, editorial writers, members of Congress, Timorese clergy, and a wide range of others, it is precisely because of a long and well-established record of credibility. That means, in part, that I do not insist on something unless there is an extremely good reason for it. Given the circumstances of, say, three or four months ago or a year ago, I saw no immediate reason to press the issue of continuing support from the Foundation for this Project.

Page 3, Cora Weiss, The Samuel Rubin Foundation

At this crucial juncture, however, the reasons are more than compelling: it is vital that our media and public education work in Washington and elsewhere have the financial wherewithal to meet these historic challenges. I know that you want the Foundation's resources to be have the maximum impact possible, and if that is what you want, this Project is where the action is, and we have the recommendations and documentation to prove it. The situation in East Timor (and the opportunities to do something about it) is too pressing to engage in false modesty. It must be stated that it is the Timor Project that has succeeded in convincing tough editorial writers (among many others) in this country, and by extension, in many other places, to respond in an appropriate manner to this crisis. No project on East Timor in the world has been able to match our level of accomplishment in this and several other crucial areas.

Enclosed is a selection of materials, starting with a letter circulated in the US House of Representatives in 1990 that gathered support from a majority of that body, and a New York Times editorial at that time; the packet ends with a piece we played a major role in placing in the Washington Post yesterday.

Attached is our revised estimated budget for 1992, together with a one-page Project statement.

In light of its long commitment and knowledge of the Timor issue, we hope that the Rubin Foundation will give strong consideration to providing an emergency grant of \$25,000 in 1992 to the Project, whose funds continue to be administered by Women's Division, United Methodist Church, c/o Mia Adjali (another member of our Advisory Board), UMOUN, 777 UN Plaza, New York 10017, earmarked for "East Timor Fund."

I will be in touch shortly.

With very best New Year's wishes to you, Peter and the rest of the family.

Arnold Kohen
Project Director

Message for Noam Chomsky

Dear Noam,

Thanks for your note re Ignatieff and other press commentary. Any chance that the Catholic press stuff (the Tablet, Nat. Cath. Reporter) and anything else of interest be sent to me?

Hang in there.

Best,

A handwritten signature in blue ink that reads "Arnold". The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style.

PS Attached is Bishop Moore's letter to the Economist (which I helped draft), plus the article to which he responded. Please note that the Economist edited his original letter, adding "Majority of senators," which misstates things. It was actually a majority of the US House of Representatives. Also, I take it you have seen the 1/27 piece on the Jewish Quarterly talk. A novel formulation, this she "has known Professor Chomsky since she was a little girl" business -- what nonsense.

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

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

Oct. 15, 1991

Dear Paul,

Attached is a two-page draft letter to Judge Walker. I would like your opinion before I send it.

Also attached is the 1984 NY Times piece regarding Shultz.

I will dig up and send you the 1980 Christian Science Monitor piece regarding General Scowcroft's presence on Ford and Kissinger's 1975 visit to Jakarta on the eve of the Indonesian invasion.

Let's speak later about the letter to Judge Walker before I send the packet to him.

With best wishes,

Arnold

PS I found The Monitor
piece. Here it is.

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

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

Oct. 16, 1991

Mr. Myles McCabe
Executive Director
Peace and Justice Commission
Archdiocese of Louisville
1935 Lewiston Place
Louisville, KY 40216

Dear Mr. McCabe,

Thank you very much for taking the trouble to call this morning. Attached is the list of 16 confirmed senators I mentioned, together with an article from this Sunday's London Observer on the upcoming UN visit. It gives a least something of the flavor of what may happen. Also attached is the resolution (a separate matter from the Wallop letter) that the Observer article mentioned. It was passed by Congress on Oct. 8. In addition, there is an article that makes reference to the probable Bush visit to Indonesia.

The fax number for Sen. Ford is 202-224-1144; for McConnell, 202-224-2499.

Your efforts on the Wallop letter are much appreciated, especially in light of all the other tasks that require your attention, and I am prepared to provide any additional information you may need.

Thank you for your attention,

Sincerely,

Arnold Kohen

Arnold Kohen

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

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

Oct. 16, 1991

Two pages for Lee Arrowood, c/Sen. Wallop

The following article from the London Sunday Observer by the same journalist who did the big article in April has material of relevance to the upcoming Portuguese/UN visit. At the end, the article also mentions the Congressional resolution.

I will be in touch soon to discuss all of this.

Thanks for your attention.

Sincerely,

Arnold Kohen

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

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

Oct. 9, 1991

Fax message for Bishop Paul Moore

Dear Paul,

Attached is the resolution in its final form -- one copy from the Congressional Conference Report, another from the Congressional Record, both saying the same thing. Without your help, it must be stressed, this would not exist....

Also attached is the NY Times column mentioning the Bush visit. More on this Monday.

Have a good time at Hyde Park, etc.



Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

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

October 16, 1991

Fax message for Dr. Peter Carey
Trinity College

Dear Peter,

Congratulations on your letter in the Oct. 10 FEER.
You don't miss an opportunity, do you?

It seems bizarre to send you a British cutting, but in case you don't take The Observer, I'm sending on an article from last Sunday.

Much is developing around the reported Bush visit to Indonesia. I will fill you in later.

The Cornell Khmer tapes arrived in good order, incidentally.

Has there been any further word regarding interest in the photoexhibit on the part of the Museum of Modern Art? It opened in San Francisco recently and tomorrow one of the Timor Project's board members, David Hinkley, former chairman of Amnesty International, USA, will give some lectures there, and try to drum up some media interest (aimed at the Bush visit).

I hope to hear from you soon, but fear that some technical glitch has made our fax machines incompatible. A pity.

With best regards,



PS I imagine you have heard of the sordidness of the Supreme Court nomination hearings. The morning after the Senate voted, we began our Timor blitz in that august body, feeling that people might jump at the chance to do a good deed after the smarminess of recent days....

Dec. 19, 1991

Karl E. Meyer
The New York Times
Editorial Page

Dear Mr. Meyer,

Last night at 10PM, Father Cardoso of Rhode Island reached his church contacts in East Timor. Attached are the notes of this distressing conversation.

Thank you for your patience at this difficult time.

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

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

May 2, 1991

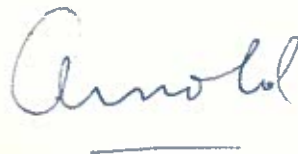
Message for Dr. Peter Carey, Trinity College
Fax # 011-44-865-279911

Dear Peter,

Attached is Professor Mubyarto's paper from the SSRC conference, plus a positive item from Japan. Clean copies of both will be posted tomorrow, together with the other conference papers. I am not sending John Taylor's paper, however, because it was an oral adaptation of an earlier paper that you have; and Sidney Jones, Jose Ramos Horta and Harold Maynard spoke from notes, though they may submit papers later for a publication.

The American University School of Communication, which cosponsored the event, has made what are apparently excellent quality audio tapes of the entire proceeding. I will bring an extra set on the 24th.

Best regards. Six pages follow.

A handwritten signature in blue ink, reading "Arnold", with a horizontal line underneath.

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

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

Oct. 8, 1991

Fax Message for Estrellita Jones
Amnesty International
546-7142

Dear Estrellita,

Attached is the Wallop letter with the Sept. 19 date on it. The cover letter is included. It would be great if copies of these three pages could be faxed to those who do not have it. It makes much more sense to use these than the ones with the July dates on them. It also would be great if a copy of Jim's letter could be faxed together with the Wallop material. People lose things, as you know, and this way everything is together in one place. Otherwise, people tend to forget about this. And my job, in essence, is to make sure that they don't forget -- as you know all too well, dear friend.

In practical terms, I don't think it would work too well to ask Wallop's office to do this. I thank you for your understanding and help. Transmit my thanks to Roger and Jennifer, tell them to feel free to contact me, etc. The four of us will have a special luncheon at La Colline when this is over (we did this last year with John and his crew); I will provide the entertainment for that occasion.

All the best, as always. I will be in touch later in the day.

Arnold

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

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

Oct. 8, 1991

Fax Message for Josh Rubenstein, Amnesty International
#617-623-2005

Dear Josh,

I thought I would give you another update on the Wallop letter, in addition to trying to reach you by phone.

Chafee of Rhode Island has come on board since we last spoke. From your area, we still need Rudman and Smith of New Hampshire; Mitchell and Cohen of Maine; Leahy and Jeffords of Vermont; Bradley and Lautenberg of New Jersey; and D'Amato of New York.

Also, I neglected to mention another senator we need, from your home state, I believe: Chris Dodd.

Attached are four more pages, which would be most usefully faxed to the Senate offices reached. This way, people have everything in one place, so they won't forget to follow up.

With best wishes and many thanks,



Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

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

April 23, 1991

For Tina, Office of Mary McGrory

The Rt. Rev. Paul Moore, Episcopal Bishop of New York (1972-89) and Suffragan Bishop of Washington prior to that, will be speaking at a conference on the East Timor situation on April 25-26. The conference, at American University, is an off-the-record affair. However, Bishop Moore, who visited East Timor in 1989 (a letter of his to the New York Times is attached), would like to meet with Ms. McGrory on this matter. The Indonesian invasion of East Timor has been widely compared with Kuwait: for example, in a New York Times editorial last December, in a London Times editorial on April 20, and in an excellent April 7 piece in the London Observer. The author of the Observer piece, Hugh O'Shaughnessy, told me that in his 25 years of covering Latin America, he never saw as militarized a place as Dili, the capital of East Timor. (The Observer piece is too big to fax. I will drop it off.)

Accompanying Bishop Moore will be Donaciano Gomes, a 21 year old refugee from East Timor who was tortured after a roundup of young dissidents who held a demonstration at the time of Pope John Paul's visit to East Timor in October 1989. The demonstration, by the way, was in praise of the Pope's visit, but the Indonesians wanted no signs of discontent to reach the 100 plus journalists who were there, hence the subsequent arrests.

We may also be accompanied by Indonesia specialist Benedict Anderson, who will speak at the conference. In a 1978 column (attached), Ms. McGrory described Anderson as "A wonderfully precisely spoken young Irishman.." Anderson still is.

This may sound like a lot, but it would be brief. Nor do we necessarily expect that Ms. McGrory would want to write a full column on this. However, she may well find it worth mentioning in these times, and so we believe she would find the meeting useful food for thought.

I attach Ms. McGrory's 1986 column on Timor and the one from 1978, the New York Times editorial, Bishop Moore's letter and items on the Pope's 1989 visit.

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May 1, 1991

Message for Dr. Peter Carey
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Dear Peter,

Thanks very much for your fax, which arrived just as the SSRC conference ended. I'm very glad that my earlier fax saved you the distasteful exercise of detailing Indonesian policy - especially as we ended up with the authentic version. I attach the bio of Col. Luhut Pandjaitan, just as the moderator read it to the audience. (The colonel informed us at the last session that he was in charge of security for the pope's visit to East Timor, but he insisted that he only followed the pope around and has nothing to do with any of the nasty stuff that transpired.)

It actually was quite good that he was there: it lent a new element to the discussion and stimulated speculation as to what his appearance meant (he did not sit as a panelist, but intervened a few times from the floor). A document I have in my possession and will show you on the 24th makes it fairly clear that Benny Murdani asked Pandjaitan to appear.

I'm sure John Taylor and Robert Archer will fill you in on their impressions of his performance. We were also joined by a retired US Air Force attache, Hal Maynard, who seems to have facilitated the Pandjaitan appearance. Over a Chinese dinner the second night, he regaled his table with accounts of bombing runs he designed in Vietnam, and the occasional mistake, i.e. school that were hit, all delivered with great aplomb. You get the idea. No reason for regret over your year in America spent protesting.

All told, however, the event set in motion something approaching a dialogue. Col. Pandjaitan even took Jose to a Japanese restaurant after the final session, then on to the railway station, this after Jose pointed his finger and raised his voice at the colonel the first day. The colonel also chatted with Donaciano, who knew him from Timor and felt certain that he either supervised torturers or was one himself. For a follow-up, perhaps I should propose a session including representatives of Saddam's armed forces and the Kurds.. but don't mind me, together with almost everyone else, I thought it was mostly quite valuable.

Professor Mubyarto's participation was very interesting. I will fax you his paper, and send on the others once they come back from the printer. (I'm sure that Pat Walsh of ACFOA will move

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on the idea of publishing papers from the Oxford and SSRC conferences if no one else does.)

David Winder is interested in arranging a consultation in Indonesia, with mainly Indonesian invitees, to discuss the Gadjah Mada paper, which is all to the good. I have some additional ideas on follow-up, but I will save them for later.

It also appears that I was wrong about Ford providing funding for additional photo exhibit showings (aside from one in San Francisco, which will come out of the residual budget, and if anything is then left over, that too can be applied to other showings) -- apparently David feels that on the strength of Ford's initial funding, one can find resources elsewhere if they are actually needed. I am going to approach a good friend who has close ties with the Gulbenkian Foundation and see what that produces. In any case, I am sufficiently enthused over the prospect of the exhibit travelling that I will do everything I can to make it possible. And the main expense, that of converting the best slides into quality photos, has already been handled. One way or another, we will get it to Oxford, provided, of course, that it is wanted.

I understand your feelings about taking up Timor so soon after your trip to Cambodia. A good friend of mine, of some 15 years, is Steve Heder, and we have often limited our discussions of each other's work. It certainly had to be a profound experience for your son. My step-daughter, Maia, who was born in Timor and just turned 17, enjoyed having Donaciano with us. I will tell you about that on the 24th.

Before and after the conference, we had some excellent meetings with some of Bishop Moore's friends, including his old schoolmate, Senator Pell, the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee. There is much more to come. There were other interesting meetings. Again, I'm sure John or Robert will fill you in.

Thanks again for everything. Looking forward to seeing you on the 24th.