

This item contains:

- Letter to Paul Moore from Arnold Kohen (23.08.1991)
- Letter to Mr. Richard Kessler, Senate Foreign Relations Committee from the Rt. Rev. Paul Moore (26.08.1991) | 2 pp.
- Handwritten note for Mike J. from Arnold Kohen (13.11.1991)
- Draft letter to President Bush (1991) | 2 pp.
- Letter to Mr. Karl Hutterer, Social Science Research Council from John Monjo, Ambassador (14.12.1990)
- Fax message for Steve Alston, CAFOD from Arnold Kohen (23.08.1991)
- Telefax to Mr. Brian McKeown c/o Sen. Biden from Arnold Kohen (23.10.1991)
- Telefax from Mr. Eugene Callahan, Administrative Assistant of Office of Sen. Alan Dixon from Arnold Kohen (23.10.1991)
- Letter to Paul Moore from Arnold Kohen (23.10.1991)
- Fax message to Steve Alston, CAFOD from Arnold Kohen (23.10.1991)
- Letter to Sr. Perez De Cuellar, United Nations Secretary-General from Rt. Rev. John Crowley (24.10.1991) | 2 pp.
- Letter to the Hon. Richard Solomon from the Rt. Rev. Paul Moore (23.10.1991)
- CAFOD Telefax to multiple organizations from Steve Alston (23.10.1991)
- Letter to Ms. Ellen Straus from Arnold Kohen (26.08.1991)
- Letter to Paul Moore from Arnold Kohen (26.08.1991)
- Fax message for Dr. Peter Carey, Trinity College from Arnold Kohen (02.09.1991)
- Fax message for Martin Rendon from Arnold Kohen (07.09.1991)
- Draft letter to the President, The White House | 2 pp.
- Fax message for Dr. Peter Carey, Trinity College from Arnold Kohen (23.07.1991)
- Letter to Ms. Lee Arrowood c/o Sen. Wallop from Arnold Kohen (26.08.1991)
- Fax message for Steve Alston, CAFOD from Arnold Kohen (28.10.1991)
- Fax message for Donnacadh Hurley, Trocaire from Arnold Kohen (19.11.1991)
- Fax message for Paul and Brenda Moore from Arnold Kohen (24.11.1991)
- Letter to His Excellency Ali Alatas, Foreign Minister from Sidney Jones (20.11.1991) | 2 pp.
- Letter to Ms. Mary McGrory, *The Washington Post* from Arnold Kohen (18.11.1991)
- Letter to Mr. Karl Meyer, *The New York Times* from Arnold Kohen (18.11.1991)
- Fax transmittal to Mr. Hugh O'Shaughnessy from Arnold Kohen (31.12.1991)
- Letter to His Excellency Abdul Rachman Ramly, Embassy of the Republic of Indonesia from Harris Wofford (01.01.1991)
- Fax message for Frank Monahan, Office of Gov't Liaison from Arnold Kohen (19.11.1991)
- Fax message for Lee Arrowood c/o Sen. Wallop from Arnold Kohen (24.11.1991)

- A preliminary proposal for a One-Day Workshop on the Situation in East Timor (1991) | 9 pp.
- Letter to Arnold Kohen from Toby Volkman (10.06.1991) | 2 pp.
- Congressional Record - July 29th, 1991 | 6 pp.



The Right Reverend
Paul Moore Jr. August 26, 1991

Mr. Richard Kessler
Senate Foreign Relations Committee
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Mr. Kessler,

Let me send special thanks for your efforts on the resolution on East Timor that passed the Senate on July 29. I know how busy you are and very much appreciate the time you have been able to devote to this matter as well as the graciousness you have shown in our two meetings on the question.

I do hope that the July 29 resolution passes in unaltered form when it goes to conference committee with the House. If I may, I would like to provide some additional information concerning why the points in the resolution are so important.

First, regarding "(a) Findings," in the resolution, parts one through five are virtually undisputed by serious observers of the situation in East Timor. These findings, unpalatable as they may be to the Indonesian government and its defenders, provide the context that has made East Timor a matter of continuing concern, as you know well.

Let me go through the three parts in the Statement of Policy. In part (1), on human rights violations and freedom of expression, essential points are made concerning which my wife Brenda and I saw a great deal of evidence when we visited East Timor in December 1989. A variety of independent observers until now have reported essentially the same thing and worse. Given the weight of the evidence gathered by Amnesty International and others, the human rights question requires no further comment from me. Regarding the question of freedom of expression, this issue bears special mention. Numerous credible reports stress that the Indonesian authorities are taking pains to constrain most East Timorese from speaking freely with important visitors such as independent journalists, diplomats and foreign legislators; with regard to the Portuguese parliamentary delegation that had been slated to visit East Timor under United Nations auspices this year, and which is expected to visit by 1992, numerous threats are said to have been issued by the Indonesian military against any Timorese that would depart from the official version of the current situation and provide information critical of the Indonesian regime. The potential for Indonesian retaliation against the East

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

↓R

(Kessler, Page 2)

Timorese under these circumstances is great, and in my judgement, Congress can only serve as a restraining influence on the Indonesians if it follows through on the point in the resolution on human rights and freedom of expression.

Regarding part (2) in the Statement of Policy (and part 3 in the Findings), it is likely the Indonesian government and others would argue that humanitarian conditions in East Timor are no worse than the situation within Indonesia itself. This sort of argument ignores the humanitarian catastrophe that struck East Timor from 1975 through 1981 and beyond, and whose effects are still felt today in terms of the health and well-being of much of the population. A 1979 article by Morton Kondracke in the New Republic, which I am enclosing here, provides ample background information on why conditions in East Timor cannot be equated with conditions that prevail in Indonesia itself. To equate them would be tantamount to absolving the Indonesians of what they have done and continue to do there and, on a practical level, to dismiss East Timor's just claim for special assistance from the world community. Many experts on humanitarian affairs believe that pressure from Congress for such assistance continues to be helpful.

Regarding part (3) of the Statement of Policy, this is an essential point to emphasize if there is to be any hope of ending this tragic conflict in an equitable manner. In a year when the United States went to war under United Nations auspices to reverse a brutal invasion in the Gulf, it would be the height of folly, not to mention hypocrisy, to write off United Nations efforts on East Timor. To accede to the wishes of the Indonesian government and others on this point -- which, I assume, would be to delete it -- would send the absolutely wrong political and moral message at a time when the international atmosphere for a just and peaceful settlement of the Timor conflict is more promising than ever before.

Finally, I would note that in light of the broad-based support the Timor resolution received on July 29, it would be difficult to see why the House conferees should object to any of the points in the resolution. Chairman Fascell, for one, has been supportive of Rep. Tony Hall's efforts on the Timor issue. But should any objections arise, I very much hope that you will make every effort you can to support the passage of the July 29 resolution in unaltered form.

Thank you for your attention.

Sincerely,

The Rt. Rev. Paul Moore

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

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

NOV. 13, 1991

for Mike J.

from Arnold - 4 Pages

Mike -

here's the draft.
I'll call you right
away to clarify a
couple of things.

Ar.

MIKE - If House people do
the letter, be sure to touch base
with Marty re: Hall's co-initiation of it

DRAFT LETTER TO PRESIDENT BUSH

Dear Mr. President,

We applaud your statement yesterday on U.S. relations with Asia in which you stressed a "shared commitment to democracy and human rights" as one of the keys to promoting peace in the region. In that light we would like to express our outrage over the killings and brutal beatings carried out by Indonesian security forces at a funeral procession at a cemetery on November 12 in the predominantly Roman Catholic former Portuguese colony of East Timor.

Two American journalists, Amy Goodman and Allan Nairn, who were badly beaten by security forces during the incident, report that the Indonesian forces fired indiscriminately on peaceful mourners who had done little if anything to provoke such a violent response. According to several accounts, the mourners were given no warning nor any opportunity to disperse before Indonesian forces opened fire with automatic weapons. Dozens of people may have been killed in this incident, possibly more. Many others were arrested, according to Amnesty International, which fears that those detained may be subject to torture and other forms of ill-treatment. Given the history of East Timor since Indonesia invaded the territory in 1975, and the brutal actions of the security forces on November 12, there is ample reason to fear for the lives of many East Timorese who are identified by the authorities as opponents of Indonesian rule.

The November 12 procession of at least 1,000 East Timorese at the Santa Cruz cemetery in the capital of Dili was held in memory of Sebastiao Gomes, one of two people killed on October 28 when the Indonesian military forcibly entered the Motael church, where several East Timorese had taken sanctuary. The violation of the sanctity of the church and the funeral procession by the security forces raises deeply disturbing questions.

As you are aware, there is a long history of Congressional concern over human rights abuses and many other aspects of the Indonesian occupation of East Timor. In addition, There have been statements of grave concern on the Timor situation by Pope John Paul. We respectfully request that you use every possible diplomatic means, in conjunction with our allies and the United Nations, to convince the Indonesian authorities to refrain from further human rights abuses in East Timor. United Nations observers and fact-finders should be sent to East Timor immediately with the backing of the United States. Such a process could build on the international cooperation recently evidenced in the situation in Kuwait.

Furthermore, given the fact that Indonesian rule in East Timor is not recognized by the United Nations, we believe that the United States, again in conjunction with its allies and the United Nations, should strongly support a series of measures that would defuse tensions in East Timor and enable the rule of international law to prevail. Such a process could prevent further deaths and misery in East Timor, which has already seen at least 100,000 of a population of less than 700,000 perish as a result of the Indonesian occupation.

Finally, as the human rights organization Asia Watch has pointed out, the deaths in East Timor came as the General Accounting Office is preparing to send a team to Indonesia to examine how International Military Education and Training funds are spent and how the training received by Indonesian officers in the United States affects the performance of those officers when they return home. The GAO investigation should focus on whether Indonesian officers involved in the Oct. 28 or Nov. 12 incidents in East Timor received IMET training.

We believe that the long history of cooperation and friendly relations between the United States and Indonesia should be utilized to address the abovementioned issues as a matter of urgency.



Embassy of the United States of America

Jakarta, Indonesia

December 14, 1990


Mr. Karl Hutterer
Chair, Joint Committee
on Southeast Asia
Social Science Research Council
605 Third Avenue
New York, New York 10158

Dear Mr. Hutterer:

Thank you for your letter of December 7 inviting me to attend a two-day workshop on the situation in East Timor to be held on April 25-26, 1991 in Washington, D. C.

Unfortunately, previous commitments already made here in Indonesia will not permit me to travel to Washington next April. I wish you every success with your workshop.

Sincerely,


John C. Monjo
Ambassador

October 23, 1991

Fax message for Steve Alston, CAFOD

I should be speaking with Paul Moore sometime today. As a matter of form, he signs off as "Episcopal Bishop of New York, 1972-89 (or "ret."). Does this matter? Would Perez de Cuellar know the difference? Would anyone?

I am impressed by your activism.

Best,
Annie

Do you need Moore's
signature or merely
confirmation of intent?
Stay in touch.

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

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

Oct. 23, 1991

Via Telefax--nine pages including this sheet

Mr. Brian McKeown
c/o Sen. Biden

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 1988, Sen. Dixon co-signed a similar letter on this subject. You may recall having had an extensive phone conversation with me at that time. It would be very helpful if at present if you were able to obtain Sen. Biden's support for the Wallop letter, especially in view of the recent threats reported by East Timor's Roman Catholic Bishop, a short account of which is attached here.

Also attached are two other items that stress the continuing importance of the Timor problem; one of them notes the continuing interest of Pope John Paul II in the question.

I continue to 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

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

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

Oct. 23, 1991

Via Telefax--nine pages including this sheet

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

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

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

Oct. 23, 1991

Dear Paul,

I just received a fax from Steve Alston of CAFOD (Catholic Fund for Overseas Development) in London. Steve has visited Timor twice in the past year or so and has gotten close with Mgr. Belo, and is now organizing a small petition of Bishops from around the world to send a message to UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar by tomorrow night on the subject of the Portuguese Parliamentary visit. Steve and I have talked, and this is by no means an exclusive Catholic enterprise. They would be delighted to have you join them, and I recommend this enthusiastically (You are aware that there are plenty of things I don't recommend at all, so this should count for something).

Attached is the text of the letter they plan to send to Perez de Cuellar. I will need to know by tomorrow PM what your decision is on this. We are trying to get some Catholics here, never an easy task no matter what the deadline, but given what happened in the Diocese of Bishop Cummins in Oakland in recent days, this is not the best of times, to say the least. At any rate, I hope you will join.

The faxes to Solomon and Monjo have been processed.

Best,
Arnold

Oct. 23, 1991

Fax message to Steve Alston, CAFOD

Dear Steve, I just received your fax with the excellent draft letter from Bishops to Perez de Cuellar. We have some problems here which may make co-signature impossible, however. The main US Catholic Bishop concerned with East Timor, John Cummins, is Bishop of Oakland, California, and if you have been watching the news, Oakland and Berkeley (part of his diocese) just experienced the worst fire in California's history, with about US \$2 billion in damages and as many as 60 dead and thousands homeless. We would have to go through Cummins -- in fact, he and I had breakfast here last week, and are on very good terms -- but I feel it would be disastrous for the longterm to go to him at a time like this. The devastation out there is immense and he has to be overwhelmed. To add to the complications, Cummins tends to be reluctant to get involved in public campaigns, both by temperament and because he is US liaison to the Asian Bishops Conference and so feels he has to get along with everyone and cannot get into controversial areas. Privately, he and USCC are quite helpful -- attached is an endorsement they had ETRP issue, which is enormously important -- and that is normally the way they prefer to operate, aside from the earlier statements on East Timor that they issued. (When Father Cunha visited here at the time of the Pope's visit, he was told by the top staffer at the Bishops Conference, in essence, that they prefer to facilitate activities of ETRP in a low-profile manner rather than get into making new statements or joint statements) I could try to get two others, but the main Asia person (temporarily, Julian's buddy Tom Quigley) is travelling abroad. Given the rather convoluted way USCC does things, and our need for their good will to facilitate other things, I fear it would be bad in the longterm if we were to try to circumvent these channels.

Any advice? Bishop Paul Moore would sign in 2 minutes, but he isn't Catholic...

Keep us informed.

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: 893347 CAFOD G

Telephone: 071-733 7900

Our ref

Your ref

Sr Perez De Cuellar
United Nations Secretary General
New York

24 October 1991

FAX 010 1 212 963 4879

Dear Sr Perez De Cuellar,

We are writing to you to express our grave concern for the safety of the people of East Timor during and after the visit of the Portuguese Parliamentary delegation next month.

The protocol covering this visit, agreed between the governments of Portugal and Indonesia under the auspices of the United Nations, states clearly that anyone wishing to approach the delegation will be free to do so, and will suffer no adverse consequences from this contact.

However, we read with alarm reports in the Jakarta Post recently that Governor Mario Carrascalao has stated that the Portuguese delegates 'should not talk to any East Timorese anywhere at their own will none of the delegation will be allowed to leave the group and talk to the people'.

It is now in the public domain that our brother, Bishop Belo of East Timor, recently confided in a letter to a fellow bishop his belief that any Timorese who approaches the Portuguese delegation will be killed. He speaks of an atmosphere of growing intimidation and fear at the hands of the Indonesian military, of increasing intelligence activity, night raids on homes and of indoctrination. In a recent radio interview he stressed that only the presence of an 'international force to control the situation after the departure of the Portuguese deputies can guarantee the safety of the Timorese. This is because the Indonesian Authorities continue to declare to the remotest corners that the Portuguese are coming here to dissociate themselves and to support integration, which is why the people should remain silently in their homes, nobody should say anything or take part in demonstrations because, if they were to do so, they will all be killed after the deputies leave'.

We appeal to you to take steps to ensure that the safeguards and guarantees set out in the Protocol agreed by the Indonesian and Portuguese governments are completely adhered to by the Indonesians, and particularly to ensure that no reprisals will be taken against the people of East Timor following the visit.

By way of verifying the security of the Timorese people after the visit is over, may we request that the UN Special Rapporteur on Torture for the Commission on Human Rights be permitted to extend his stay in East Timor for two to three weeks longer than the scheduled two days 17-19 November. Alternatively, perhaps a small group of UN officials could remain behind to monitor the human rights situation.

We thank you for your attention and hope that you give consideration to our concerns. We assure you of our prayers in this difficult undertaking.

Yours sincerely,

Rt Rev John Crowley,
Auxiliary Bishop of Westminster, Chairman of CAFOD, Catholic
Bishop's Conference of England and Wales.

Fellow Signatories:

Rt Rev Crispian Hollis, Bishop of Portsmouth, UK

Rt Rev John Rawsthorne, Auxiliary Bishop of Liverpool, UK



The Right Reverend
Paul Moore Jr.

October 23, 1991

The Honorable Richard Solomon
Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs
Department of State
Fax 202-647-7350

Via Telefax

Dear Secretary Solomon,

I am deeply disturbed over recent reports citing Bishop Carlos Ximenes Belo of East Timor to the effect that the Indonesian police and army have threatened to kill any East Timorese who talked to the Portuguese Parliamentary delegation during its upcoming visit to East Timor. This is only the latest of several reports indicating a coercive atmosphere in East Timor at present. As you may know, I had some experience with this kind of atmosphere when my wife Brenda and I visited East Timor in late 1989, and I have little reason to doubt the thrust of current reports of this nature.

I am aware of your interest in matters pertaining to human rights. As you know, there is considerable concern in the United States in general and Washington in particular over the East Timor situation, and I hope you will do everything possible to dissuade the Indonesian authorities from carrying out acts of violence, coercion and other forms of human rights violations during the coming period.

I thank you very much for your attention.

Sincerely,

The Rt. Rev. Paul Moore

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

CAFOD

TELEFAX COVER PAGE

Date : 23/10/91

Total number of pages including this page three

To : Trocaire - CCODP - SCIAF - J & P Commission Bangladesh -
Hotline Asia - Episcoppl Commission for Social Affairs Japan - Pax
Romana Geneva - ETRP Washington - SEDEC Sri Lanka - Archbishop
Soter Malaysia - Caritas Sweden - Commision for Justice Peace and
Development New Zealand - Broederlijk Delen Belgium

Re : E. Timor urgent

In response to Bishop Belo's latest appeals appearing in Portuguese press and radio we thought we should try to get a joint letter to the UN Sec General from as many bishops as possible, asking the UN Sec Gen to ensure that the protocol, already agreed by the Indonesian, assuring the UN that the right to free speech of the Timorese will be respected during the visit and ensuring freedom from psecution after, is both observed monitored. A special UN rapporteur on torture has been appointed who will be in E. Timor for two days following the Portuguese delegation withdrawal. We thought the mandate for his visit could be extended.

Do you think it would be possible to get at least two bishops to sign the attached letter within the next 24 hours?. This will be made public by the week end with a view to attracting as much press attention as possible.

Could you fax back any signatures by 23.30pm GMT 24th October to CIIR London 010 44 71 359 0017

From : Steve Alston

CAFOD, 2 Romero Close, Stockwell Road, London, SW9 0TY

Telephone no : 071 733 7900
Telex no : 893347 CAFOD G
Fax no : 071 274 9630

If you do not receive all pages, please contact us as soon as possible.
THANK YOU

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

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

August 26, 1991

Ms. Ellen Straus
58 West 58th Street
New York, New York 10019

Dear. Ms. Straus,

Paul Moore has asked me to send you material regarding the resolution on East Timor passed by the U.S. Senate on July 29.

Enclosed is the resolution itself (and comments made in its support on the Senate floor by Senators Pell, Wallop and Helms, an unusual coalition to say the least), which Bishop Moore hopes will be approved in conference committee by Rep. Solarz in unaltered form.

Also enclosed is an April article from the Sunday Observer of London, a New York Times editorial of last December 8 (the editorial gives strong support to the points in the resolution) and a Times article of last October 21. These items lend ample weight to the points made in the July 29 resolution.

To add some essential background information I am also enclosing a 1979 article from The New Republic. This article provides a sound historical basis -- among much else -- for East Timor's continuing claim for special humanitarian assistance, a claim that the resolution makes.

Please contact me should you need further information or have any questions regarding the resolution. Should you wish to reach Bishop Moore, who will be travelling over the next two weeks, he informs me that he will be calling in for messages.

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

August 26, 1991

Dear Paul,

To keep you fully apprised of developments regarding the Senate resolution, I am sending you a total of 10 pages regarding this matter.

I have been in contact today with Ms. Lee Arrowood of Sen. Wallop's staff. She made reference to the message she had received from you regarding possible resistance the resolution could meet in conference. I have sent her a copy of the letter you authorized me to send to Richard Kessler of Sen. Pell's staff, and accompanying material. Ms. Arrowood suggested that Sen. Wallop could place a friendly call to Rep. Solarz, with whom Wallop is on good terms, Ms. Arrowood said. I did not dissuade her. Ms. Arrowood indicated that Sen. Wallop might be prepared to do other things to keep the resolution as it is.

Ms. Arrowood agreed to stay in touch on this matter, and I will be monitoring things closely.

I wanted you to have this documentation on your return from holiday so as to keep you well-informed on this unusually important matter

Also attached is a copy of the note I sent to Ellen Straus on your behalf.

With best regards,

Arnold

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

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

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.

*Best wishes,
Arnold*

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

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

Sept. 7, 1991

Message for Marty Rendon

Dear Marty,

Welcome home! I have a bit of a change of pace for you.

Just after you left, I received word that there will in fact be resistance from the House side to the Timor resolution when it gets to the conference committee on Sept. 11 or thereafter. The opposition will come from an old friend of yours from my old neighborhood in New York...

My understanding is that Richard Kessler will be doing the negotiating for the Senate side (you can guess who his opposite number from the House will be). Because Kessler has been in touch with you on all of this, and received the language from you, a call from you at this juncture, asking him to hang tough, would be very helpful.

Rather than bore you with details, I am attaching two documents here. One, two pages, is a letter from Bishop Moore to Kessler. Two, two pages, is a draft letter that Bishop Moore will send in some form to Sen. Wallop.

If you don't have time to look over this stuff, and you are surely overwhelmed with work on your return, I will brief you quickly on the phone on Monday Sept. 9. It probably would be best if I did that anyway, as I can convey the essence of the opposition that has cropped up, etc, and how we might be able to fight it.

On another front, guess what? I returned to the acupuncturist on August 28 and have been off cigarettes since then. Pray for me!

All the best. Ten pages follow, including six from the Senate Record of July 29, so that they are conveniently at hand.

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). 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

July 23, 1991

Message for Dr. Peter Carey
Trinity College

Dear Peter,

Thanks very much for your fax of 14 July.

I have been speaking with Catherine Scott of CIIR, who has taken over the project from Robert, and she should be phoning you soon. Because of unusual demands around here -- a new Timor effort is starting in the Senate soon -- I have not yet been able to edit the conference papers. I leave on Thursday for a week at my mother-in-law's, but will be back on August 3rd and will take up the task right away. Sorry for the delay -- had it not been for the cursed fever after Macau, it would have been finished by now. Catherine herself will be away until mid August.

Thanks for the information on the Cambodia grant. I'm hopeful that something positive can be done in Congress, and will keep you well-informed on developments.

Regarding the photographs, this is the situation. The Traganza Museum of the Dept. of Anthropology at San Francisco State University (c/o Miko Yamamoto, 1600 Holloway Ave., San Francisco, CA 94132) has booked the exhibition as a continuation of the original SSRC event, to open on Sept. 20 and run for three weeks or so. This means the exhibition has to be shipped to San Francisco over the next couple of weeks. I have spoken with Kirsty Sword, and by extension Joao Boavida, and asked that they assist as necessary in the packing and shipping arrangements: I, of course, will guarantee payment of the shipping bill. I hope this does not cause any inconvenience.

I must confess my ignorance of shipping terms from that distance. It probably would need to be sent by air freight, but it would not have to be super-speedy service: if it takes a few weeks, that would be all right, so long as it is there by the beginning of September. It would also need to be insured, probably for c. \$5,000 (or 3000 p.s.)

On a less strenuous front, it seems the Museum of Modern Art is giving serious consideration to the idea of an exhibition. Let's keep our fingers crossed....

I will try to phone you about the photos either on the 24th or 25th. Or you can send me a quick fax. Thanks for your understanding, and sorry for the trouble.

All the best. More soon.

Arnold

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

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

August 26, 1991

Ms. Lee Arrowood — 8 Pages
c/o Sen. Wallop
US Senate
Washington, DC 20515


Dear Ms. Arrowood,

Attached is a copy of the two-page letter I mentioned in our phone conversation that Bishop Moore has sent to Richard Kessler. Also attached is the 1979 New Republic article that Bishop Moore makes reference to in his letter (for the record, Rep. Solarz inserted the New Republic piece in the Congressional Record when it first appeared).

I have been told that Richard Kessler, who will be doing the staff work on the Senate's behalf in the conference committee, will be away until Sept. 5. The conference itself is slated for September 11 or so, according to the Foreign Relations Committee. I know Bishop Moore would greatly appreciate any effort Sen. Wallop might make to ensure passage of the resolution in unaltered form in conference. Contacting Richard Kessler and encouraging him to support this, and a friendly call to Rep. Solarz indicating the same, might be helpful. However, Sen. Wallop and others may well have other (and better) ideas about how best to approach the situation.

Should you need further information or have questions of any kind regarding this matter, please feel free to contact me.

Thank you for your attention.

Sincerely,

Arnold Kohen

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

Tel: 202 363 1649
Fax: 202 363 3658

Oct. 28, 1991

Fax message for Steve Alston, CAFOD

Dear Steve,

Thanks for your fax. Do you know who spoke to whom in Jakarta and elsewhere regarding the Motael news? Please let me know anything else you can pick up on this, as precisely as possible, and the visit. I will do the same, as we are working through our own channels.

Anne

21 PAGES

Nov. 19, 1991

Message for Donnacadh Hurley, TROCAIRE, please forward if necessary

Dear Donnacadh,

Things are absolutely mad here, so I will be brief and will limit what I send.

Attached are copies of the joint House-Senate resolution that is scheduled to be passed by Congress, with a few alterations -- in part (b), point (1), "suspend immediately" will be changed to "reassess"; in point (6), the part, "The American policy of defacto ... will be deleted, but "The Secretary General.." will remain; otherwise the resolution stands as is -- either today or quite soon. This resolution is much stronger than anything that has appeared in the past, and has been approved even by traditional defenders of Indonesia... other Congressional initiatives are also in process.

Also attached are some relevant press clippings. Please pass on the Congressional material to interested parties, if possible. I have included some British cuts that we have made nicely, at the suggestion of Olwen at CAFOD.

The Project is working as an advisor to the media, etc, to facilitate appearance in the US of the TV footage shown elsewhere, the writing of leaders for the major papers, etc, in addition to our role on a myriad of other matters, the church, and more is on the way. Allan Nairn, Amy Goodman and I are making the rounds and this is only the beginning. Meanwhile, there was a report in recent hours that many Timorese students in Jakarta were arrested at a demo. More as we get it. Don't hesitate to contact us if anything else is needed.

Many thanks.

With best wishes,

Arnold

NOV 20

We broke through with a strong leader in the previously cynical Washington Post this a.m.

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

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

Nov. 24, 1991

Dear Paul and Brenda,

Attached are a number of items of interest, especially a message we received from authoritative church sources.

Also attached are the two Boston Globe editorials that ran this week. The one of Saturday is especially good.

The Globe editorials may be worth mentioning to Mr. Pennoyer, given the Merck Fund's Boston base...

The attached London Guardian editorial is very good and merits special notice.

Let's talk later.



485 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10017-1104 TEL: (212) 972-3800 FAX: (212) 972-0905
 1522 K Street, N.W., Suite 910, Washington, DC 20005-1202 TEL: (202) 371-6550 FAX: (202) 371-0124

STAFF

JACK GREENBERG
 Chair

MARILEE RAUB
 Vice Chair

ORVILLE SCHELL
 Vice Chair

SIDNEY R. JONES
 Executive Director

MIKE JENDRZICZYK
 Washington Representative

PATRICIA A. GROSSMAN
ROBIN MENKRO
JIEYUN PARK
 Newsletter Writers

MICHAEL SPIEGEL
 Research Consultant

SUSAN D'AVOIS
 Press Director

COMMITTEE

Floyd Abrams
 Maureen Aung-Thwin

Edward L. Baker
 Robert L. Bernstein

Julie Brill
 Jerome A. Cohen

John W. DeGrand
 Florence Diaz

William A. Dreier
 Timothy A. Collet

Adrienne Germain
 Verle Guindman

Madeline M. Greenberg
 Charles Halpern

David Hawk
 Paul Hoffman

Jerry Jaber
 Virginia Lewis

Paul Link
 The Rt. Rev. Paul Moore, Jr.

Sheila Osherson
 Bernard Rubin

Edward S. Rosen
 John S. Soble

Sophie S. Soble
 Nadine Strosser

Elizabeth W. Vorenberg
 Maya Wilentz

November 26, 1991

His Excellency Ali Alatas
 Foreign Minister
 Jalan Pejambon 1
 Jakarta, Indonesia

Dear Minister Alatas,

Asia Watch is deeply concerned about reports that one of Indonesia's leading human rights activists, H.J.C. Princen, was taken in for questioning earlier today (November 20, 1991) in connection with a demonstration yesterday in central Jakarta in which between 30 and 70 demonstrators, most of them East Timorese, were taken away in a truck by security forces.

Although we understand your government has denied that the demonstrators were detained, our information is that of this morning, some 30 were still being held at the Kramat Raya police detention center in Jakarta. As the demonstration was entirely peaceful and those involved were exercising their right to freedom of assembly and expression, we condemn the forceful tactics used to break up the march and urge that all those taken into custody be immediately and unconditionally released.

We understand that in addition to Haji Princen, Indra Cahyono of SKEPHI and INFIGHT has also been apprehended today, and that at least one other human rights activist, Mr. Yopie Lasut of Yayasan Kehidupan Baru, is being sought for questioning. All of these men were involved in non-violent advocacy of human rights and should not be arrested, detained, or have their basic freedoms otherwise restricted. Asia Watch is particularly concerned about Mr. Princen, given his age and health.

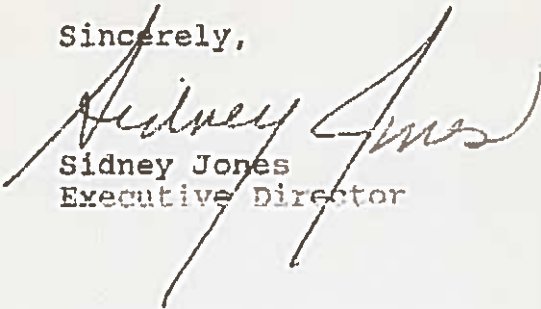
We believe that in light of the last week's killings in East Timor, the events of yesterday and today can only serve to undermine Indonesia's unwillingness to abide by international human rights standards. While we welcome your government's

Asia Watch is an affiliate of Human Rights Watch
 Robert L. Bernstein, Chair, Advisory Board
 Kenneth Roth, Director

DUPONT FAX
 202 328 3265
 John Shanley
 Center

decision to appoint a commission of inquiry into the November 12 killings, we are concerned that it is not sufficiently independent of the government to guarantee that its work will be impartial. We urge that full cooperation be given to human rights and humanitarian organizations seeking to obtain fuller information about the tragic events of the last week and to provide services to those wounded and detained and the families of those killed.

Sincerely,



Sidney Jones
Executive Director

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

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

Nov. 18, 1991

Ms. Mary McGrory — *Total - 11 PAGES*
The Washington Post

RE: East Timor

Dear Ms. McGrory,

Attached are items I mentioned in our earlier phone conversation.

1) A letter in Saturday's London Independent by Dr. Peter Carey of Trinity College, Oxford, in which he speaks of the aid leverage that is at the West's disposal regarding Indonesia. You had indicated interest in this in our conversation.

2) A one-page notice from the Asia Watch Executive Director, Ms. Sidney Jones, citing the Indonesian Armed Forces Commander, General Try Sutrisno, who on the day after the Nov. 12 massacre said, "People who don't behave properly have to be shot." This was said to a military audience while he was cited elsewhere on the same day as expressing regret and promising an investigation -- and these last things were mainly what was reported here, and given favorable notice.

3) Articles from the International Herald Tribune (Nov. 14) and the London Sunday Observer (yesterday) that make it clear that this was no physical provocation on the part of the East Timorese. The Observer piece, based on an interview with an Italian priest eyewitness, lends weight to earlier accounts. Also, a wire story about the priest and the video.

4) Wire stories in the British press last Friday that recount the gruesome day-after scene at the cemetery and cite East Timor's Bishop Belo on a death toll of as high as 180.

5) Today's Reuter account of a new massacre of 80 people last Friday. This is an unconfirmed report, but if it turns out to be true, a key Congressional staffer has said that military aid would be cut off. It may be worth an inquiry to the State Department.

I will phone Tina soon to see if you need anything else.

Thanks for your attention.

Arnold Kohen

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

3812 Windom Place, NW

Washington, D.C. 20016

Tel. 202-363-1649

Nov. 18, 1991

Fax 202-363-3658

Mr. Karl E. Meyer
Editorial Page
The New York Times

Dear Mr. Meyer,

Bishop Paul Moore asked me to send you a written confirmation regarding the meeting at The Times on the East Timor situation slated for 11 AM on Friday, November 22, 1991. The participants include Bishop Moore and his wife, Brenda Hughes Moore, both of whom travelled to East Timor in late 1989 (at the request of Jack Greenberg, Chair of Asia Watch) and who have been working with Congress to promote human rights and a solution to the conflict in East Timor; Allan Nairn, who has visited East Timor twice on assignment for The New Yorker magazine, most recently last week, when he witnessed the Nov. 12 massacre at Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili and was severely beaten by Indonesian security forces; Amy Goodman, News Editor for WBAI-FM -- Pacifica radio in New York, who also has visited East Timor twice, witnessed the Nov. 12 massacre and was beaten by security forces as well. Although there have been numerous reports of atrocities in East Timor since the Indonesians invaded in 1975, until now no foreign journalists have ever witnessed such an incident there and lived to tell about it, and for that reason alone, this meeting has unusual significance.

I am assisting Bishop Moore on this matter and will be attending the meeting in that capacity, although I continue as a consultant to Amnesty International, USA, and a number of church and humanitarian organizations.

Hopefully, people from the news side will be interested in attending, as the participants are very interested in speaking with them about breaking developments in East Timor.

I will provide further information later. Meanwhile, many thanks for your courtesy.

Sincerely,

Arnold S. Kohen

KINKO'S GEORGETOWN • 3329 M Street, N.W. • Washington, D.C. 20007
Phone: (202) 965-1414 Fax: (202) 333-7433

FAX TRANSMITTAL COVER SHEET

DATE: DEC 31 1991

NUMBER OF ORIGINALS INCLUDING COVER SHEET: 22

TO: MR. HUGH O'SHAUGHNESSY FROM: ARNOLD KOHEN

COMPANY: THE OBSERVER COMPANY: _____

PHONE: _____ PHONE: FAX (202) 363 3658

FAX: 011-44-71-6275570 FAX: _____ ↙

MESSAGE:

PERSONAL FAX TEMPORARILY OUT
OF ORDER

PLEASE CALL KINKO'S IF TRANSMITTAL IS INCOMPLETE



HARRIS WOFFORD
PENNSYLVANIA

ENVIRONMENT AND PUBLIC WORKS
FOREIGN RELATIONS
SMALL BUSINESS

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-3803

January 1, 1991

His Excellency Abdul Rachman Ramly
Embassy of the Republic of Indonesia
2020 Massachusetts Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20036

Dear Mr. Ambassador:

I am writing to express my concern regarding deeply disturbing allegations of ongoing human rights violations in East Timor since the massacre of up to 100 mourners on November 12 of last year. Several reputable sources, including Amnesty International, have reported additional killings, beatings, rapes, arbitrary imprisonment and other serious abuses of East Timorese in the past two months.

While I was encouraged by the Indonesian government's public condemnation of the massacre and the firing of two generals for their involvement in this terrible tragedy, these intensified abuses by security forces in East Timor, the interrogation of Catholic Church officials and participants in the November 12 funeral procession, and the threats of execution leveled at those holding dissident political views are cause for renewed alarm.

Recent statements by Indonesian officials have also been deeply troubling. In December, General Try Sutrisno vowed to "wipe out all separatist elements," and Attorney General Singgih stated that Indonesia would use anti-subversion laws, which carry the death penalty, in the trials of those detained in the wake of the massacre. Given the extensive eyewitness reports that the security forces were not physically provoked by the participants in the funeral procession but fired systematically into the crowd, statements such as these cast doubt on the government's intentions.

If the Indonesian government can neither credibly refute nor definitively end the reported human rights violations in East Timor, many of my colleagues and I on the Committee on Foreign Relations and in the Senate will be forced to support a suspension of U.S. assistance to Indonesia and a review of trade benefits extended to that country.

Arnold S. Kohen - 13 Pages

Writer/Journalist

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

Nov. 19, 1991

(13) PAGES

Frank Monahan
Office of Gov't Liaison
USCC

Dear Frank,

Attached is the list of past Senate signees of East Timor letters who have not yet signed this one. Also attached is the list of current cosigners.

Also attached are a few articles that give the flavor of things. The fear now is that further killings are going on now, and that is one of the things that makes the Senate letter so important.

In addition, attached is the joint House-Senate resolution that will probably go through, with a few changes, either today or quite soon.

Many thanks for your efforts at this urgent hour. I will be in touch soon.

With best wishes,

Arnold

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

3812 Windom Place, NW
Washington, D.C. 20016
Tel. 202-363-1649
Fax 202-363-3658
NOV. 24, 1991

For Lee Arrowood, c/ Sen. Wallop — 10 Pages

Dear Lee,

Attached is the suggested edited version of the "Dear Colleague" letter. Please note that the amendments, with only two exceptions, are taken straight from the resolution approved by the Senate. This obviously simplifies matters.

The exceptions: at the beginning of the second paragraph, I changed the tense and added "even before the Nov. 12 incident," which seems to make it smoother and up-to-date. I have also added the name of Asia Watch to Amnesty International, with the consent of their Exec. Director, Ms. Sidney Jones, because they agree with what we say about AI and have been helping in the ongoing effort. And their continuing help lends weight to what we are doing.

In any case, given that 90 percent of the changes come from language that has been approved by the Senate, it leaves us on pretty safe ground. I hope this is all right with you.

Also attached is a Boston Globe editorial of special interest, plus some clippings from the press of the past few days.

Thanks again for your assistance.



Toby Volkman -- Social Science Research Council

FAX 212-370-7896

A Preliminary Proposal for a One-Day Workshop on the
Situation in East Timor

Summary

The East Timor situation continues to be a subject of international debate and concern. Contemporary problems in East Timor are a large focus of this interest. But the nature of the world that existed in East Timor prior to Indonesia's 1975 invasion of the territory is also a subject of press and governmental commentary. A one-day workshop, to be held in the Fall of 1990 or thereafter, could illuminate the pertinent issues. To ensure that the various points of view are adequately represented, the workshop, which would be divided into panels of pre-1975 life in East Timor and the contemporary scene, would invite speakers covering all major points of view and be led by a professional moderator with long experience in guiding discussions on international issues. The workshop, to be held at American University in Washington, DC, could be filmed and rebroadcast on the C-Span public affairs cable TV network and/or on other public television channels, to help ensure maximum public exposure to the issues raised.

Panel I: East Timor Before 1975

Amidst the press and governmental commentary on the nature of life in East Timor before the end of Portuguese colonial rule in 1975, little has been heard from academically-trained experts on the region. Panel I would include some of the most prominent and competent of these experts, together

Workshop, Page 2

with appropriate government officials and individuals. Shepard Forman, a resident anthropologist in East Timor for 15 months in 1973-74, has written and spoken widely on the Makassae people of East Timor. Elizabeth Traube of Wesleyan University spent two years from 1972-74 on anthropological field investigation amongst the Mambai people of East Timor, and has also written widely on the subject and presented testimony in various fora. While not an anthropologist, James Dunn is a longtime expert on the region, having served as Australian consul in East Timor during the early 1960s and having returned there shortly before the 1975 invasion. Dunn speaks Portuguese and Indonesian and was one of the pioneers in the Indonesian studies area in Australia. Dunn, the author of a 1983 book, Timor: A People Betrayed, is retired from his longtime post as head of the Australian Parliamentary Library's foreign affairs research division. Previously he was a professional diplomat. Mario Carrascalao is a native East Timorese who is the Indonesian-appointed governor of East Timor. He previously served in the Indonesian Mission to the United Nations and is perhaps the most frequently quoted individual in international press reports on East Timor. (Should Carrascalao be unable to attend the workshop, an alternative Timorese spokesperson on the Indonesian side would be requested). Spokepeople from the Indonesian and Portuguese Embassies in Washington would be invited. Historical perspective on the setting within Indonesia before 1975 could be provided by Benedict Anderson of the Cornell University Southeast Asia Program. This panel as well as Panel II would be moderated by Sanford Ungar, Dean of the School of Communication

at American University. Ungar, former co-host of National Public Radio's public affairs shows, notably "All Things Considered," currently serves as a moderator for public television election debates and American University Forums, which feature discussions on issues of current interest. In short, Ungar has a long background in serving as an honest broker on issues where there are deeply-felt views.

Jose Ramos-Horta, formerly the United Nations observer

of East Timor's independence movement and now at the Center for

Diplomacy at the University of Sydney, could provide an additional

Timorese point of view for the panels. Other possibilities in this area

could also be considered.

Panel II: East Timor--The Contemporary Scene

Participation would be requested from Governor

Carrascalao, the Indonesian and Portuguese embassies, Ramos-Horta.

Professor Anderson would be asked to speak on the effect of the East

Timor conflict on Indonesia's internal and external affairs. The

U.S. State Department would be asked to present its views through

a spokesperson, possibly Ambassador John Monjo. The human rights

situation would be addressed by Sidney Jones of Asia Watch and

possibly a spokesperson from Amnesty International. Representative

Tony Hall (D-Ohio), who has been active in the U.S. Congress on the

Timor question since 1979, would be invited. Additional Congressional

participation from the Republican side could be requested. An

English-speaking Timorese refugee with more than 10 years experience

of life under Indonesian rule could also be invited. John Taylor,

Professor of Sociology at a branch of the University of London and

author of a forthcoming chronology on the Timor situation (Oxford

University Press) as well as a forthcoming book focussing heavily on Timorese refugee testimony, could be another participant.

Under the envisioned professional format and guidance, it is anticipated that the two panels will present a lively but fair exchange of views. Together with public television rebroadcasting of the proceedings, the event should provide an in-depth and thought-provoking discussion of issues that have received comparatively little public attention.

ESTIMATED BUDGET

1. Airfare for Participants

- @ from Australia (Dunn, Ramos Horta): \$4,000.00
- @ from Europe (Taylor, Amnesty International Representative from London research department, Timorese refugee residing in Portugal): \$2,500.00
- @ Domestic participants: Anderson, Forman, Jones, Traube: \$1,500.00

It is anticipated that, as in the past, governmental participants' costs will be met by their respective governments, given that any decision to participate provides an official purpose for one's presence at the event. It is well-known and a matter of public record that various proposed participants on the Indonesian side, for example, travel abroad frequently to present official views on the Timor question. If this arrangement is unacceptable, however, the budget could be adjusted accordingly to include \$2,000 for Governor Carrascalao's fare.

Total Airfare: \$8,000--\$10,000

2. Accommodation:

It is anticipated that the panels would be held on a Saturday, making it possible to take advantage of weekend hotel rates for participants.

Two nights accommodation for nine participants:
\$2,000.00

3. Panel Room Rental: \$500.00 (may be donated by university)

4. Professional and Organizational Honoraria:

Based on typical professional moderator's fee for a day-long conference: \$1,000.00

Workshop, Page 5

Organizational arrangements, including publicity: ten days work at \$100 per diem: \$1,000.00

Printing/design of program brochure and explanatory notes (to be done in a journalistic style providing all major points of view): \$1,000.00*

Invitations and postage: \$500.00 *

Telephone: \$300.00*

*Last three items include expenses for ~~photographic~~ photographic exhibition, as outlined in following pages.

Total Estimated Budget for Workshop: \$14,300--
\$16,300.00

Note: James Dunn can also participate in second panel.

The One-Day Workshop will be organized by Arnold Kohen, who holds an M.A. in Journalism from the American University School of Communication and has worked for NBC News since 1987 on federal criminal cases, including the Oliver North trial. Kohen audited courses in Southeast Asian Studies at Cornell University from 1976-80 and has written several articles on East Timor. He has also worked as a research consultant to Asia Watch and a press consultant to Amnesty International.

A Preliminary Proposal for a Photographic Exhibition
In Conjunction with the One-Day Workshop

There have been many words spoken and written about the East Timor situation over the past fourteen years -- many words in comparison with the dearth of pictures available to public audiences. To the extent that the public has seen any photographs of East Timor, these pictures deal with horrific famine in the late 1970s. Only rarely have photographs been publicly accessible that have illustrated the kind of life that existed amongst the indigenous peoples of East Timor before 1975.

To provide the viewing public with a better understanding of the peoples of East Timor prior to the 1975 events, and to connect these and subsequent events with a human face, a photographic exhibition at American University in conjunction with the one-day workshop is appropriate.

Photographs are easily available from two basic sources. First, the anthropologists Forman and Traube have dozens of good quality photographs of the Makassae and Mambai peoples of East Timor taken from 1972-74. These photos would give the public a view of two major Timorese ethnic groups through the eyes of experts. Their photos would also include those of dwellings and surrounding environs. Other photos of various East Timorese areas can be provided by Korinna Horta, formerly of the New University of Lisbon, who lived in East Timor from 1972--74 and taught there.

The second category of photographs has already served as an exhibition in itself. It is by Elaine Briere, a Canadian photojournalist who spent April 1974 travelling throughout

Photos, Page 2

East Timor. Briere has exhibited 25 to 45 photographs at one time in the Swedish National Gallery and throughout Canada. Her photos nicely evoke various East Timorese indigenous ethnic groups before the recent conflict struck the territory.

Briere's black-and-white photographs are mounted and ready for exhibition. The other photos, all in color, would require processing. Taken together, they form a unique portrait of a way of life that ~~may be a thing of the past~~ is now threatened.

Textile artifacts of the Mambai and Makassae peoples may also be available for display alongside the photographs.

In addition, inquiries are being made as to the feasibility of including parts of a current exhibition at the San Francisco Craft and Folk Art Museum, entitled, "The Art of Timor: Where will the Ancestors Dwell?"

It is suggested that the exhibition run in Washington for one month, with the possibility of it travelling in the U.S.

Estimated Budget

1. Elaine Briere black and white photographs -- shipping and insurance -- \$750.00
2. Processing of 20-25 color photographs, estimated cost \$70.00 per photograph for professional printing and mounting: \$1,400.00--\$1,750.00
3. Room rental -- it is possible that American University could donate a site for the exhibition.
4. Printing and mounting of explanatory remarks -- Briere estimates from previous experience that 6-10 of these will be necessary, at \$100 each.

Photos, Page 3

5. Organization of exhibition -- It is estimated that 20--30 work days will be necessary to organize all aspects of the exhibition. This would be done by ~~Marion~~ Korinna Horta, who lived in East Timor from 1972-74 and is now resident in Washington. Ms. Horta (no relation to Jose Ramos-Horta) was recently with the Environmental Defense Fund as an economic analyst, and expects to rejoin that organization in early 1990. A graduate of the School of Advanced International Studies of Johns Hopkins University, Ms. Horta ~~will also~~ brings first-hand familiarity of East Timor during the period in question to the organization of the exhibit.

Organizational costs---	20 days at \$100 per day:	\$2,000.00
	30 days	: \$3,000.00

Exhibition, Total estimated budget: \$4,950--\$6,750.00

Grand total, workshop and exhibition:
\$19,250.00 -- \$23,050.00

Social Science Research Council

605 Third Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10158

(212) 661-0280

Facsimile Cover Page

FAX # 212-370-7896

DATE: 10/6/89

TO: Name Arnold Kohen

Institution Amnesty Intl.

City Wash. D.C.

Fax number 202) 546-7142

FR: Name TOBY VOLKMAN

SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL

Number of pages 2 (including cover)

Special Instructions:

URGENT Please convey
to Arnold Kohen. Thank you.

If you do not receive all pages, please telephone 212-661-0280

Film	(20 rolls of color film)	160.00
Developing		72.00
Proofing	(for 10 16" by 20" enlargements)	250.00
Color prints		400.00
Misc. photographic equipment expenses		200.00
Mounting title and essay cards		500.00
Insurance for camera equipment		72.00
Misc. research expenses		100.00

(Please note that photographic costs could be reduced considerably by reducing the number or size of prints, using black and white film, or doing a slide presentation.)

Subtotal 4,805.00

Arnold - Please note this only covers 10 color prints; it has some irrelevant items too (like film) - so you'd need to adjust according to proposed # of photos, or to use different figures for black & white.

Also add some publicity.

You might call Nancy Lutz - I believe she has spoken to the curator of the exhibit in SF.

Her #: home: (717) 523-0425
 off (717) 372-4259

Hope this helps.

Toby

P.S. It's after 11:30 - Sorry.
 I do hope you get this.

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I move to reconsider the vote by which the amendment was agreed to.

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

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

AMENDMENT NO. 877

(Purpose: Voice of America broadcasts in Kurdish)

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I send an amendment to the desk and ask for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Rhode Island (Mr. PELL) proposes an amendment numbered 877.

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

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

The amendment is as follows:

At the appropriate place in the bill, add the following new section:

Section 234 is amended by striking subsections (b), (c), (d), and (e) and inserting in lieu thereof the following—

(b) BROADCASTS IN KURDISH.—As soon as practicable, but not later than six months after the date of enactment of this Act, the Director of the United States Information Agency shall establish, through the Voice of America, a service to provide Kurdish language programming to the Kurdish people. Consistent with the mission and practice of the Voice of America, these broadcasts in Kurdish shall include news and information on events that affect the Kurdish people.

(c) AMOUNT OF PROGRAMMING.—As soon as practicable but not later than one year after enactment, the Voice of America Kurdish language programming pursuant to this section shall be broadcast for not less than one hour each day.

(d) AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.—In addition to funds otherwise available under Section 231 of this Act, there are authorized to be appropriated to the Voice of America for purposes of carrying out this section \$1,000,000 for fiscal year 1992 and \$1,000,000 for fiscal year 1993.

(e) PLAN FOR A KURDISH LANGUAGE SERVICE.—Not later than three months after enactment of this Act, the Director of the United States Information Agency shall submit to the Chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations and to the Speaker of the House of Representatives a report on progress made toward implementation of this section.

(f) HIRE OF KURDISH LANGUAGE SPEAKERS.—In order to expedite the commencement of Kurdish language broadcasts, the Director of the United States Information Agency is authorized to hire, subject to the availability of appropriations, Kurdish language speakers on a contract not to exceed one year without regard to competitive and other procedures that might delay such hiring.

(g) SURROGATE HOME SERVICE.—Not later than one year after the date of enactment of this Act, the Chairman of the Board for International Broadcasting shall submit to the Chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations and the Speaker of the House of Representatives a plan, together with a detailed budget, for the establishment of a surrogate home service under the auspices of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liber-

ty for the Kurdish people. Such surrogate home service for the Kurdish people shall broadcast not less than two hours a day.

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, this amendment accommodates the USIA about a program in the bill which I authored to require VOA broadcasts in Kurdish. It provides a separate authorization for it. USIA told me it supports the amendment and supports the establishment of a VOA Kurdish broadcast, and we will work to get such broadcast on the air quickly if this legislation passes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there debate?

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, the amendment before us modifies a provision adopted in the Foreign Relations Committee. It has a noble purpose. It creates a broadcasting service in the Kurdish language within USIA; \$1 million is authorized for fiscal year 1992 and \$1.5 million in 1993 to create this program.

For the record, Mr. President, the Kurdish people already are served by broadcasts in languages that all Kurds speak: Turkish, Farsi, and Arabic. Chairman PELL's amendment is another cost associated with the gulf war.

But since Saddam Hussein remains in power in Iraq, the amendment is an attempt to provide broadcasts to the Kurdish people, for whom that dictator has been such a curse. U.S. Armed Forces have done what they could to help the Kurds recover from the his savage attacks.

This amendment is an attempt to build a relationship with the Kurds over a longer term. We certainly have no objection to the amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there further debate?

If there be no further debate, the question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The amendment (No. 877) was agreed to.

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

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

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

AMENDMENT NO. 878

(Purpose: To express the sense of the Congress concerning human rights abuses in East Timor)

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I send an amendment to the desk on behalf of Senator WALLOP, Senator KERRY, Senator MOYNIHAN, Senator SIMON, Senator LEVIN, Senator DURENBERGER, and myself, and ask for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Rhode Island (Mr. PELL), for himself, Mr. WALLOP, Mr. KERRY, Mr. MOYNIHAN, Mr. SIMON, Mr. LEVIN, Mr. DURENBERGER, and himself, proposes an amendment numbered 878.

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

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

The amendment is as follows:

At the appropriate place in the bill, add the following new section:

- SEC.
- (a) FINDINGS.—The Congress finds that—
- (1) at least 100,000 individuals out of a population of nearly 700,000 perished in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor between 1975 and 1980, as a result of war-related killings, famine, and disease following the invasion of that territory by Indonesia;
 - (2) Amnesty International and other international human rights organizations continue to report evidence in East Timor of human rights violations, including torture, arbitrary arrest, and repression of freedom of expression;
 - (3) serious medical, nutritional, and humanitarian problems persist in East Timor;
 - (4) a state of conflict continues to exist in East Timor; and,
 - (5) the governments of Portugal and Indonesia have conducted discussions since 1982 under the auspices of the United Nations to find an internationally acceptable solution to the East Timor conflict;

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

- (1) the President should urge the Government of Indonesia to take action to end all forms of human rights violations in East Timor and to permit full freedom of expression in East Timor;
- (2) the President should encourage the Government of Indonesia to facilitate the work of international human rights organizations and other groups seeking to monitor human rights conditions in East Timor and to cooperate with international humanitarian relief and development organizations seeking to work in East Timor; and,
- (3) that the administration should work with the United Nations and the governments of Indonesia, Portugal, and other involved parties to develop policies to address the underlying causes of the conflict in East Timor.

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, this amendment expresses the sense of the Congress concerning human rights abuses in East Timor, a former Portuguese colony which was invaded by Indonesia in 1975.

The amendment calls on the President to urge the Indonesian Government to end all forms of human rights abuses in East Timor, to facilitate the work of international human rights groups seeking to monitor conditions there, and to cooperate with international humanitarian relief and development organizations.

Last New Year's Eve, the Indonesian-appointed Governor of East Timor observed that unlike international efforts to expel Iraq from Kuwait, no one wanted to come to the rescue of East Timor. This resolution attempts to rectify this cynical view of the international community's concerns. While we are not advocating Indonesia's expulsion from East Timor, we are reminding Indonesians that they have international responsibilities to respect the human rights of the East Timorese, improve their qual-

ity of life, and resolve the ongoing conflict there in a peaceful fashion.

I believe this amendment has been cleared on both sides of the aisle.

During his 1989 visit to Indonesia which included East Timor, a mainly Roman Catholic nation, Pope John Paul II stated:

At times nations are tempted to disregard fundamental human rights in a misguided search for political unity based on military or economic power alone. But such unity can easily be dissolved.

I request unanimous consent that an article which appeared on April 7, 1991, in the London Observer entitled "Secret Killing of a Nation," be included in the RECORD following my remarks. It gives a detailed description of East Timor's troubled past and troubled present.

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

[From the London Observer, Apr. 7, 1991]

SECRET KILLING OF A NATION

(By Hugh O'Shaughnessy)

For the children of the orphanage outside Dili, the scrappy little town which serves as the capital of occupied East Timor, the jungle is a nightmare.

"They told how they slept by day and ran, ran by night," said a young woman who cares for them, "sometimes stepping on the squelching bodies of the wounded who had to be left to die.

"I committed a terrible mistake one morning," said the woman, whom I shall call Maria Jose "I thought we'd play hide and seek to amuse the children. Amelia, aged five, and I hid from the matron. I told her to keep quiet and not move a muscle. But she thought she was back in the jungle and on the run again. She started screaming and sobbing. It took me an hour to calm her down again."

The horrors of a war of extermination bite deep into the memories of children, especially those who have fled into the forest with their parents to escape the Indonesians. But East Timor is an entire country in shock. After 15 years of occupation by Indonesian troops and deaths of perhaps 200,000 people, one-third of the Timorese population, 60-year-olds are resigned to life of terror, five-year-olds are petrified. The young, however, are frightened—but defiant.

"Now the U.N. has got Saddam Hussein our of Kuwait, when are they coming to help us get the Indonesians out of occupied East Timor?" As dusk came down on misty green paddy fields at a secret rendezvous several hours' drive from Dili, Aurelio and his three resistance companions, all in their twenties, were in sardonic mood as they met their first Western journalist.

Fifteen years resisting illegal Indonesian occupation after their country was in effect abandoned in 1975 by its Portuguese colonial masters, has taught 600,000 Timorese that some United Nations Security Council resolutions are more equal than others. Those passed against an expansionist Iraq bring a quick and terrible response: those that demand action against a large and important Western ally such as the Indonesia of General Suharto receive more leisurely attention.

The scepticism of Aurelio and his companions, however, is tempered by the fact that after a decade and a half of international isolation and draconian censorship they are finding ways of breaching a wall of silence.

My visit was one of their first opportunities to tell the world, in their own words, of suffering and resistance which the International Committee of the Red Cross compared, more than a decade ago, to that of Biafra and Cambodia. Events since have become yet more sombre. As war in the Gulf subsides, the facts about an ordeal much more serious than that suffered by the Kuwaitis is emerging.

Meanwhile, against crushing odds, the ragged few hundred guerrillas of the grandly named Falintil, the Armed Forces of National Liberation of Timor, and the underground network that sustains them, fight on.

By all logic, Timorese resistance should have been wiped out. For every East Timorese there are nearly 300 Indonesians; for every badly-equipped Falintil rifleman there are hundreds of Indonesian troops supported by artillery, fighters, bombers, helicopters and enough ships to prevent any single piece of military equipment reaching the resistance.

The Falintil continues to challenge the Indonesians, however, in the jungles and scrub under the leadership of its commander, shadowy and elusive Xanana Gusmão, whose capture is feverishly being sought this month by 10 Indonesian battalions.

Bare survival is the least of Falintil's problems. "The difference between Falintil and us in the town is that we have to pay for our food," said Armando jokingly. A former member of the Portuguese army with jungle experience who now drives a bus in Dili, he said: "The forest is full of food—fruit, roots, birds, deer. No one starves."

As the Indonesians slowly become more expert in anti-guerrilla operations, Xanana's war, as he himself admits, is increasingly a defensive one. But at times his men dispatch a few of the enemy: 10 coffins, each draped with the Indonesian flag, were loaded onto the plane at Dili airport last month.

In the first days of Timorese resistance to the Indonesian invaders the nucleus of the guerrillas was mainly local troops trained by the Portuguese, who brought their own weapons and ammunition left by Lisbon's representatives. Today the arms must come from the Indonesian army. "The Falintil pay a bit more than \$100 for a rifle, about the same for a box of grenades or ammunition," one senior Timorese said in Dili.

"Suharto's army is riddled with corruption. Sale of arms is well organised and profits are well distributed among troops and officers. Corruption is systematic. The army often forces villagers to buy petrol. Then they seize it back and accuse them of theft. Sometimes the villagers find the drums are just full of water anyway."

The military run a trading company, Denok, which buys cheap in Timor and sells dear in Indonesia. Indonesian generals have few accounting stratagems to learn from the Irangate plotters or General Pinochet's army swindlers in Chile. Despite army corruption, however, the Falintil is desperately short of weapons. "Every bullet has to find its mark," said Estevão, a former bodyguard of Xanana.

The Falintil is nevertheless backed by increasingly stubborn opposition of the invaders among East Timorese civilians, particularly, perhaps, among young Timorese such as Aurelio and his comrades who have no memory of anything but occupation. A majority, it seems, back Fretilin, the Revolutionary Front of East Timor, which in November 1975 declared independence in East Timor—a fateful freedom that lasted no more than the seven days it took for Indonesia to invade.

Timorese chances of success, though still slim, are bolstered by a slowly growing consciousness in the outside world of their plight. This is being built upon by a Portuguese government which has tardily acknowledged it bears much responsibility for the Timorese mess, and is now seeking to win Timorese self-determination through diplomacy. Next year, when Portugal will be in the powerful position of occupying the European Community presidency for six months, promises to be a particularly tough time for Indonesian diplomats.

The Timorese ordeal began on 7 December 1975. Taking advantage of political chaos in Portugal, which was in the midst of its own revolution, the Indonesian dictator, General Suharto, sent in his troops to take over the remote colony Portugal had stumbled on in the sixteenth century and had fought over with the Dutch for its precious aromatic sandalwood.

In 1975, with most of the sandalwood cut down, Lisbon's revolutionaries were eager to be shot of the eastern half of the island Portugal was left with. Breaking assurances by Indonesian Foreign Minister Adam Malik, then a leading figure of the Non-Aligned Movement, Suharto flooded East Timor with troops. Jakarta suddenly started arguing that the young radicals of the Fretilin with their advanced Portuguese ideas were a threat to Indonesia.

Lest the world should hear about the massacres, the Indonesian army killed two British journalists, two Australians and a New Zealander and threw the Red Cross out of East Timor. Visitors were expelled and rigorously kept out for 15 years.

Suharto's *coup de main* was immediately condemned by the UN Security Council and General Assembly. The West, however, anxious not to upset a trenchantly conservative and strategically important regime which had come to power in 1965 in a putsch in which a million Communists and other left-wingers were killed, sat back.

The Australians assured Jakarta that Canberra would not protest. The invasion took place the day after US President Gerald Ford and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger flew out of the Indonesian capital.

The Timorese, outnumbered and isolated, were not, however, willing to go down without a fight. Used to lax government from distant Lisbon by Portuguese who controlled the country, in so far as they controlled it at all, through local chieftains, the Timorese balked at centralised government by the Javanese in Jakarta.

Dark-skinned, curly-haired and more akin to South Seas peoples than those of the East Indies, Timorese resented the close racial domination of the lighter-skinned, straight-haired Javanese. Bitter religious differences also developed.

When the Portuguese left, a third of Timorese were Christians. The stand the local Catholic Church took against Indonesian atrocities brought more conversions, which were further bolstered by Suharto's own decree that all Indonesians should profess some religion.

Today, the overwhelming majority of Timorese are Catholics, struggling against the world's largest Muslim state. Churches are packed.

The toll this struggle has taken is horrific. Speaking as long ago as 1977, Malik said, "50,000 or perhaps 80,000 might have been killed. It was war . . . Then what's the big fuss?" In 1979, Mochtar Kusumaatmadja, then Indonesia's Foreign Minister, admitted 120,000 had died. Today the total is incalculable, certainly about 200,000, or about one in three East Timorese. Some were killed in battle, some died in concentration camps

into which Indonesians herded the peasants whose villages they destroyed. Some starved, others died of war-borne epidemics.

Indonesians have stopped at nothing to control of what they insist is now a province of Indonesia. "A company of Indonesian troops captured this 17-year-old girl," one priest told me in Dili. "They repeatedly raped her, cut off her breasts and put one in each hand, cut off her private parts and stuffed them in her mouth and left her corpse for the rest to see."

Outside Lalela, Xanana's village birthplace, a Timorese offered to dig up the remains of 17 victims of Indonesian troops buried in a common grave. The presence of army patrols prevented the operation but existence of the grave, one of many, was confirmed by highly reliable sources.

Although General Suharto, still ruling after 26 years, recently decided finally to open East Timor to foreign visitors in a bid to demonstrate "normality", the Indonesian army is stepping up the pressure.

At the quayside in Dili the giant tank-landing ship, Teuk Bone, closed its huge bow doors and slowly pulled away, watched by a few Indonesian women and a silent crowd of watching Timorese. The next day a sister ship, whose signal lamp had been winking across the harbour the previous night, docked with fresh troops for battle. In the highly militarised town Indonesian forces buzz about in heavy trucks and smart British Land-Rovers, occupying scores of barracks and private houses.

In other, unmarked houses a growing number of civilian prisoners are detained and tortured, common practice since 1975. Indonesians torturers, have so to speak, carved a niche for themselves in refined use of the razor on human flesh.

At a disused airport a fleet of big-bellied helicopters stands ready, some thumping off now and then into the scrubby hills which press down on the little town. Dili is, meanwhile, launch pad for Suharto's policy of "Indonesianising" occupied East Timor by illegally bringing in scores of Indonesians. The red and white Indonesian flag flies everywhere.

"When the Portuguese were here they'd fly the flag on Sundays. Indonesians fly the flag every day," said Armando, the bus driver. They fly it guiltily, however. Attempting to photograph a flag-raising ceremony at a parade ground in Baucau, I was stopped by an Indonesian officer in the elite special forces, the so-called Pink Berets. "It's not permitted," he giggled in nervous English.

During my stay in Dili my room was searched and I was often followed.

Portuguese, once the language of the Timorese elite, and a link to the world beyond Indonesia is in decline. The Indonesians, seizing on the woeful neglect of education in the Portuguese era, have built many schools and colleges but have insisted the medium should be Bahasa, the lingua franca of Indonesia. Only one college still teaches in Portuguese.

Tetum, the indigenous language, is not used in commerce or administration. Much of the commerce of Dili is in the hands of the Javanese incomers who are seen everywhere behind shop counters and in government offices. "They come off every boat," says Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo, the Catholic bishop. "In 10 years Dili will cease to be a Timorese town, if things go on as they are."

While Timorese resist, the world's chancelleries look the other way, trying not to upset Suharto but, neither altogether accepting the legality of the occupation. The exception is Australia, Timor's nearest neighbour, whose government recently signed an agreement which purports to

divide Timor's offshore mineral rights between Canberra and Jakarta. Senator Gareth Evans, Australian Foreign Minister, recently said the oil wealth alone could be worth "zillions."

I ask the young man I have called Aurelio and his friends about the deal. "Os australianos são ladrões," they explode. "The Australians are thieves. They are taking the people's wealth."

Portugal, whose stance is that it is still by rights the administering power and is attempting to give Timorese the right of self-determination, contests the Australian deal and is suing the Canberra government in the International Court of Justice in The Hague, in effect for theft.

Short-term, Timorese hopes are pinned on the UN and a planned Portuguese parliamentary delegation visit to Dili soon. The visit has been accepted in principle by Suharto as a way of demonstrating the island is "normalised", but no date has been fixed.

The Suharto regime knows it will be the focus of massive demonstration in occupied East Timor. For aging Suharto, occupied East Timor is vital to maintenance of an empire of 12,000 islands already showing signs of strain.

Irian Jaya, former Dutch New Guinea which Indonesia acquired after a dubious poll a few years after the Dutch surrendered the bulk of their East Indian empire in 1949, is in revolt. In West Sumatra, Muslim fundamentalism is combining with local separatist feeling to produce revolt against Jakarta.

If occupied East Timor were to go, the future of the world's fifth most populous country could be nearly as precarious as the USSR's. But Timorese, particularly the young, do not care.

As we parted by the now darkened paddy field Aurelio said: "If we resist they kill us. If we don't resist they still kill us. So we might as well resist."

Genocide is a word much overused in modern times for any old massacre. In East Timor it suits the circumstances perfectly.

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, the amendment offered by Chairman PELL and cosponsored by the senior Senator from Wyoming [Mr. WALLOP] is an attempt to clarify administration positions regarding violations of civil and political rights in East Timor.

This controversial area has been the scene of continuing political disturbances for years, and it is high time for the United States to help encourage a political solution.

We support the pending amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If there be no further debate, the question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The amendment (No. 878) was agreed to.

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

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

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

AMENDMENT NO. 879

(Purpose: To support democracy and self-determination in the Baltic States and the republics within the Soviet Union)

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I send an amendment to the desk and ask for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Kansas [Mr. DOLE], for himself and Mr. SIMON, proposes an amendment numbered 879.

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

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

The amendment is as follows:

SECTION 1. STATEMENT OF POLICY.

It is the policy of the United States—

(1) to support democratization within the Soviet Union and support self-determination, observer and other appropriate status in international organizations particularly the CSCE and independence for all Soviet republics which seek such status;

(2) to continue to support restoration of independence for Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania;

(3) to shape its foreign assistance and other programs to support those republics whose governments are democratically elected and to encourage democracy throughout the Soviet Union; and

(4) to strongly support peaceful resolution of conflicts within the Soviet Union and between the central Soviet government and the Baltic States and Soviet republics, condemn the actual and threatened use of martial law, pogroms, military occupation, blockades, and other uses of force which have been used to suppress democracy and self-determination, and view the threatened and actual use of force to suppress the self-determination of Soviet republics and the Baltic States as an obstacle to fully normalized United States-Soviet relations.

SEC. 2. REPORT TO CONGRESS.

Not later than 30 days after the date of the enactment of this Act, the Secretary of State shall submit to the Congress a comprehensive report on actual and threatened uses of force against the Baltic States, the Soviet republics, and autonomous regions within the Soviet Union. For 1992 and each subsequent year such a report shall be included as part of the annual country reports on Human Rights Practices prepared by the Department of State in compliance with section 116(d)(1) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961.

Mr. DOLE. Mr. President, I am pleased to join the distinguished Senator from Illinois [Mr. SIMON] in offering this amendment.

It is nearly identical to legislation we offered earlier this year, S. 860, to express our support for the process of democratization in the Baltic States and the Republics of the Soviet Union.

I do not believe that this issue really requires much more debate. The issues, and the position articulated in this amendment, have already been discussed and debated on the Senate floor many, many times.

Clearly, the Baltic States have taken historic steps to assert their independence—an independence we have long acknowledged. And there is nearly unanimous support in this body for their struggle.

Many of the constituent Republics of the Soviet Union have also asserted their sovereignty, and are at various places on the path to turn that intention into a reality. Again, the goals for which they are struggling enjoy wide support, both in the Congress and in the country at large.

Meanwhile, the Soviet Central Government is grappling with its own profound and protracted political crisis—the results of which are far from clear.

But what is clear is that the United States must be—and, equally important, must be seen to be—squarely on the side of freedom and free enterprise, for the Baltics and for the Republics of the Soviet Union.

We must do everything we can—in terms of direct pressure and moral persuasion—to see that the Soviet central authority end its aggression, coercion, intimidation, and blackmail against those forces seeking self-determination and free markets.

We must do everything we can to urge all parties to put aside violent means to achieve their goals, and instead pursue them peacefully.

We must do everything we can, in our aid and trade policies, to support the movements for freedom in the Baltics and the Republics.

That is exactly what this amendment requires—that the United States take a stand consistent with our ideals and history, on the side of freedom.

It further requires reports on Soviet policies, and the situation in the Baltics and the Republics—so that the Senate will have all the facts, particularly insofar as the Soviets do use force or the threat of force to achieve their goals.

Adoption of this amendment could not be more timely. Our national policy has certainly been moving in the direction of a more direct assertion of our support for the movements for freedom in the Baltics and the Republics. The President's recent meeting with Russian President Yeltsin can be seen in that light.

More important, right now, President Bush is en route to Moscow for the summit. He will go on to Kiev, the capital of Ukraine—a stop that will surely be seen as one sign of our support for the principle of self-determination. Agreeing to this amendment as those event go forward will certainly amplify the message the President is delivering, of our support for freedom and free markets.

I hope all Senators will join in sending this important message, by supporting this amendment.

I think this amendment has been cleared on both sides of the aisle.

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I strongly support this amendment offered by the Senator from Kansas. I do so par-

tricularly, as in the early fifties I remember being the Baltic desk officer in the State Department and we were doing what we could at that time to keep the spirit of freedom alive in those countries. Through the years, the United States has played a leading role in doing this, and I think this amendment is the evidence of a policy of longstanding.

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

The Senator from North Carolina.

Mr. HELMS. The amendment is supported on this side as well.

Mr. PELL. There is support on this side of the aisle.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. There being no further debate, the question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The amendment (No. 879) was agreed to.

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

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

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

AMENDMENT NO. 880

(Purpose: Requiring a report on the uses to be made of United States arrearage payments to the United Nations)

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, I send an amendment to the desk and ask for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will report.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from North Carolina (Mr. HELMS) proposes an amendment numbered 880.

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the reading of the amendment be dispensed with.

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

The amendment is as follows:

On page 9, line 22, insert the following new paragraph:

(3) None of the amounts authorized to be appropriated under paragraph (2) shall be disbursed to the United Nations or any affiliated organization until the President reports to the Congress the specific elements of the plan by which the United Nations, and each affiliated organization authorized to receive such funds, intends to expand or otherwise use such funds.

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, the pending bill, S. 1433, authorizes more than \$370 million without knowing how it is going to be spent. This amendment, which I have just offered, is a modest effort to resolve a great mystery: How the U.N. system intends

to spend the unearned windfall of so-called arrears from the U.S. taxpayers.

My amendment simply says it will permit the Congress to learn how these funds will be spent before these funds are obligated. It seems to me it will be a fair deal, certainly for the taxpayers.

Our colleague, the Senator from Kansas (Mrs. KASSBAUM) has repeatedly sought information from the administration as to how the \$370,876,000 authorized in this bill will be used by the United Nations and its affiliated agencies.

The administration has promised the Foreign Relations Committee that it will use its best efforts to discover an answer to this mystery. My amendment makes it easier for the administration to gather and report the answers.

Mr. President, my amendment requires disbursement of so-called arrears to be conditioned on a report by the President that specifies how the United Nations intends to spend or otherwise use the funds. Without a doubt, Mr. President, the U.S. taxpayer demands to know and needs to know how the United Nations will spend the funds which Congress is generously providing in S. 1433.

The United Nations must realize that Congress desires to play a significant role in United States decisions about the United Nations's budget priorities. This amendment should assure constituents in North Carolina, and every other State, that Congress knows how the United Nations will use these funds.

Mr. President, I am told that the administration has no objection to this amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there debate on the amendment?

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I understand this amendment is acceptable to the administration. It reflects the approach the administration will be following with respect to the arrearages. I think it is a good amendment, and I am glad to support it from this side of the aisle.

Mr. HELMS. I thank the Senator.

Mr. WALLOP. Mr. President, I rise to express my increasing concern over the situation in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor, the island territory which was invaded and forcibly annexed by Indonesia in 1975.

In previous years, Members of the Senate have expressed concerns on a range of humanitarian issues in East Timor, such as war-related hunger and human rights violations. There have been marginal improvements in some regards in East Timor. However, in light of new and disturbing reports of flagrant human rights abuses and the deteriorating humanitarian situation, I believe that further action is warranted. It is my hope that this amendment will spur such action.

Our resolution makes three statements with regard to policy toward

East Timor. First, the resolution states that President Bush should urge the Government of Indonesia to take action toward ending human rights violations in East Timor and to permit full freedom of expression in East Timor.

Second, it states that the President should encourage the Government of Indonesia to facilitate the work of international human rights organizations and humanitarian relief organizations seeking to work in East Timor. Finally, it states that the administration should work with the United Nations and the Governments of Indonesia, Portugal, and other involved parties to develop policies to address the underlying causes of conflict in East Timor.

Mr. President, 1975 may seem rather long ago and East Timor may seem only a tiny island among the many that stretch along the Indonesian Archipelago. But this area of continuing conflict desperately deserves greater attention. It is time that the United States took a stronger role in seeing a political solution to the grave situation in East Timor.

With few notable exceptions, the world turned a blind eye to Indonesia's brazen aggression in 1975, when East Timor was a vulnerable little enclave left by the retreat of the Portuguese Empire. When Indonesia invaded and annexed East Timor, there was a shameful lack of condemnation from the world community. I hope that our actions here today are the beginning of change on that front.

Mr. President, Portugal ruled East Timor for 450 years, ended by Lisbon's 1974 revolution which brought immediate decolonization and, shortly thereafter, civil war in East Timor. But East Timor did declare independence on November 28, 1975; on December 7, 1975, Indonesia, the ruler of West Timor, invaded. The invasion lasted 1 day after President Ford and Secretary of State Kissinger left Jakarta. Sixteen years later, with some 200,000 people—a full third of the population—dead, our President would serve America's principles well by raising his voice, as he did in the gulf, against the brutal aggression in East Timor.

Although the United Nations condemned the violent actions of Indonesia's brutal dictator, General Suharto, the West was anxious not to upset a strategically important regime which had come to power in 1965. Absent any moral dissuasion from the West, Suharto flooded East Timor with troops, effectively breaking assurances by his foreign minister. And so the world could not know about the massacres that followed; the Indonesian military killed two British journalists, two Australians, and a New Zealander and expelled the Red Cross from East Timor. Visitors, too, were expelled and rigorously kept out for 15 years. And while information was limited during that time, visits of some reporters and

relief organizations gave us disturbing evidence of the situation there.

Of the some 200,000 that were killed, some were killed in battle, some died in concentration camps into which Indonesians herded the peasants whose villages they destroyed. Some starved; others died of war-borne epidemics. And although General Suharto, still ruling after 26 years, recently decided to open East Timor to foreign visitors as a way to demonstrate "normality," the Indonesian Army is increasing pressure.

Reliable sources in East Timor relate stories of 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 East Timorese. These, as well as other reports of atrocities, belie reports of improvements in the human rights situation in East Timor.

On the humanitarian front, there exist inordinately high rates of tuberculosis, malaria, malnutrition, and infant mortality 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 1970's.

In closing, Mr. President, let me say that we must make it clear to the Indonesian authorities that we are aware of and monitoring closely the situation in East Timor. The United States could be an effective and positive force in this region by seeking ways to insure that the Indonesian Government cooperate with private organizations, both secular and religious, that are in a position to help address these problems.

Additionally, I hope that the United States will be alert to any diplomatic openings that may present themselves in the future, with an eye toward a political solution that might end the needless suffering in East Timor and bring about true self-determination for the people of East Timor. I am keenly aware of the value of close relations with the Government of Indonesia. But it is precisely because of these close relations that we can have reason to believe that the Government of Indonesia would be responsive to these concerns.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The amendment (No. 880) was agreed to.

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

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

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

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

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

AMENDMENT NOS. 881-886

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, I send to the desk six amendments as follows: An amendment relating to microtechnology on behalf of Senator HELMS; an amendment relating to Boris Yeltsin on behalf of Senator SIMON; an amendment related to language training on behalf of Senator SIMON; an amendment relating to foreign service promotions on behalf of Senator SIMON; an amendment relating to employment of United States citizens at United States Embassies on behalf of Senator ROCKEFELLER; and an amendment relating to credit with the Government of Israel on behalf of Senator LIEBERMAN.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Hearing no objection, these six amendments will be considered en bloc. The clerk will report the amendments.

The assistant legislative clerk read as follows:

The Senator from Rhode Island (Mr. PELL) proposes amendments numbered 881 through 886 en bloc.

Mr. PELL. I ask unanimous consent that reading of these amendments be waived.

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

The amendments are as follows:

AMENDMENT No. 881

(Purpose: To amend the Arms Export Control Act)

At the appropriate place in the bill, and the following new section:

SEC. . AMENDMENTS TO THE ARMS EXPORT CONTROL ACT.

(1) Section 73(a)(1)(A) of the Arms Export Control Act is amended by inserting "acquisition," before "design,";

(2) Section 74(8)(B) of the Arms Export Control Act is amended by striking "countries where it may be impossible to identify a specific governmental entity referred to in subparagraph (A)" and inserting in lieu thereof "countries with non-market economies";

(3) Section 74(8)(B)(ii) of the Arms Export Control Act is amended by striking "aircraft, electronics, and space systems or equipment" and inserting in lieu thereof: "electronics, space systems or equipment, and military aircraft".

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, amendment No. 881 changes the missile technology provisions of the Arms Export Control Act to make it clear that the United States is prohibiting the acquisition of an actual missile system as well as the technology related to its design. The amendment also makes it clear that where nonmarket countries are using Government-owned companies to sell missile technology, the United States intends to sanction all the arms exporting entities, not just some fly-by-night outfit with a post office box. Finally, the amendment makes it clear that the sanctions are

against its own nationals, or other reliable means exist to verify that it is not making such preparations; and

(4) that government is making restitution to those affected by any use of chemical or biological weapons in violation of international law or by any use of lethal chemical or biological weapons against its own nationals.

(d) WAIVER.—

(1) CRITERIA FOR WAIVER.—The President may waive the application of any sanction imposed with respect to a country pursuant to this section—

(A) after the end of the 12-month period beginning on the date on which sanctions were initially imposed on that country, if the President determines and certifies to the Congress that such waiver is important to the national security interests of the United States; or

(B) at any time, if the President determines and certifies to the Congress that there has been a fundamental change in leadership and policies of the government of that country.

(2) REPORT.—In the event that the President decides to exercise the waiver authority provided in paragraph (1), the President shall so notify the Congress not less than 20 days before the waiver takes effect. Such notification shall include a report fully articulating the rationale and circumstances which led the President to exercise that waiver authority.

(e) CONTRACT SANCTITY.—

(1) SANCTIONS NOT APPLIED TO EXISTING CONTRACTS.—(A) A sanction described in any of paragraphs (4) through (9) of subsection (a) shall not apply to any activity pursuant to any contract or international agreement entered into before the date of the presidential determination under section 441(a)(1) unless the President determines, on a case-by-case basis, that to apply such sanction to that activity would prevent the performance of a contract or agreement that would have the effect of assisting a country in using chemical or biological weapons in violation of international law or in using lethal chemical or biological weapons against its own nationals.

(B) The same restrictions of subsection (p) of section 6 of the Export Administration Act of 1979 (50 U.S.C. 2405), as that subsection is so redesignated by the preceding provisions of this Act, which are applicable to exports prohibited under section 6 of that Act shall apply to exports prohibited under subsection (a)(7) or (a)(8) of this section. For purposes of this subparagraph, any contract or agreement the performance of which (as determined by the President) would have the effect of assisting a foreign government in using chemical or biological weapons in violation of international law or in using lethal chemical or biological weapons against its own nationals shall be treated as constituting a breach of the peace that poses a serious and direct threat to the strategic interest of the United States, within the meaning of subparagraph (A) of section 6(p) of that Act.

(2) SANCTIONS APPLIED TO EXISTING CONTRACTS.—The sanctions described in paragraphs (1), (2), and (3) of subsection (a) shall apply to contracts, agreements, and licenses without regard to the date the contract or agreement was entered into or the license was issued (as the case may be), except that such sanctions shall not apply to any contract or agreement entered into or license issued before the date of the presidential determination under section 441(a)(1) if the President determines that the application of such sanction would be detrimental to the national security interests of the United States.

Subtitle C—Reporting Requirements

SEC. 1061. PRESIDENTIAL REPORTING REQUIREMENTS.

(a) REPORTS TO CONGRESS.—Not later than 90 days after the date of the enactment of this Act, and every 12 months thereafter, the President shall transmit to the Congress a report which shall include—

(1) a description of the actions taken to carry out this title, including the amendments made by this title;

(2) a description of the current efforts of foreign countries and subnational groups to acquire equipment, materials, or technology to develop, produce, or use chemical or biological weapons, together with an assessment of the current and likely future capabilities of such countries and groups to develop, produce, stockpile, deliver, transfer, or use such weapons;

(3) a description of—

(A) the use of chemical weapons by foreign countries in violation of international law.

(B) the use of chemical weapons by subnational groups.

(C) substantial preparations by foreign countries and subnational groups to do so, and

(D) the development, production, stockpiling, or use of biological weapons by foreign countries and subnational groups; and

(4) a description of the extent to which foreign persons or governments have knowingly and materially assisted third countries or subnational groups to acquire equipment, material, or technology intended to develop, produce, or use chemical or biological weapons.

(b) PROTECTION OF CLASSIFIED INFORMATION.—To the extent practicable, reports submitted under subsection (a) or any other provision of this title should be based on unclassified information. Portions of such reports may be classified.

PELL AMENDMENT NO. 877

Mr. PELL proposed an amendment to the bill S. 1433, supra, as follows:

Section 234 is amended by striking subsection (b), (c), (d), and (e) and inserting in lieu thereof the following—

(b) BROADCASTS IN KURDISH.—As soon as practicable, but not later than six months after the date of enactment of this Act, the Director of the United States Information Agency shall establish, through the Voice of America, a service to provide Kurdish language programming to the Kurdish people. Consistent with the mission and practice of the Voice of America, these broadcasts in Kurdish shall include news and information on events that affect the Kurdish people.

(c) AMOUNT OF PROGRAMMING.—As soon as practicable but not later than one year after enactment, the Voice of America Kurdish language programming pursuant to this section shall be broadcast for not less than one hour each day.

(d) AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.—In addition to funds otherwise available under section 231 of this Act, there are authorized to be appropriated to the Voice of America for purposes of carrying out this section \$1,000,000 for fiscal year 1992 and \$1,000,000 for fiscal year 1993.

(e) PLAN FOR A KURDISH LANGUAGE SERVICE.—Not later than three months after enactment of this Act, the Director of the United States Information Agency shall submit to the chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations and to the Speaker of the House of Representatives a report on progress made toward implementation of this section.

(f) HIRE OF KURDISH LANGUAGE SPEAKERS.—In order to expedite the commencement of Kurdish language broadcasts, the Director of the United States Information Agency is authorized to hire, subject to the availability of appropriations, Kurdish language speakers on a contract not to exceed one year without regard to competitive and other procedures that might delay such hiring.

(g) SURROGATE HOME SERVICE.—Not later than one year after the date of enactment of this Act, the Chairman of the Board for International Broadcasting shall submit to the chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations and the Speaker of the House of Representatives a plan, together with a detailed budget, for the establishment of a surrogate home service under the auspices of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty for the Kurdish people. Such surrogate home service for the Kurdish people shall broadcast not less than two hours a day.

PELL (AND OTHERS) AMENDMENT NO. 878

Mr. PELL (for himself, Mr. WALLOP, Mr. KERRY, Mr. MOYNIHAN, Mr. SIMON, Mr. LEVIN, and Mr. DURENBERGER) proposed an amendment to the bill S. 1433, supra, as follows:

At the appropriate place in the bill, add the following new section:

SEC. .

(a) FINDINGS.—The Congress finds that—
(1) at least 100,000 individuals out of a population of nearly 700,000 perished in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor between 1975 and 1980, as a result of war-related killings, famine, and disease following the invasion of that territory by Indonesia;

(2) Amnesty International and other international human rights organizations continues to report evidence in East Timor of human rights violations, including torture, arbitrary arrest, and repression of freedom of expression;

(3) serious medical, nutritional, and humanitarian problems persist in East Timor;

(4) a state of conflict continue to exist in East Timor; and

(5) the governments of Portugal and Indonesia have conducted discussions since 1982 under the auspices of the United Nations to find an internationally acceptable solution to the East Timor conflict;

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

(1) the President should urge the Government of Indonesia to take action and to end all forms of human rights violations in East Timor and to permit full freedom of expression in East Timor;

(2) the President should encourage the Government of Indonesia to facilitate the work of international human rights organizations and other groups seeking to monitor human rights conditions in East Timor and to cooperate with international humanitarian relief and development organizations seeking to work in East Timor; and

(3) that the administration should work with the United Nations and the governments of Indonesia, Portugal, and other involved parties to develop policies to address the underlying causes of the conflict in East Timor.

DOLE (AND SIMON) AMENDMENT NO. 879

Mr. DOLE (for himself and Mr. SIMON) proposed an amendment to the bill S. 1433, supra, as follows: