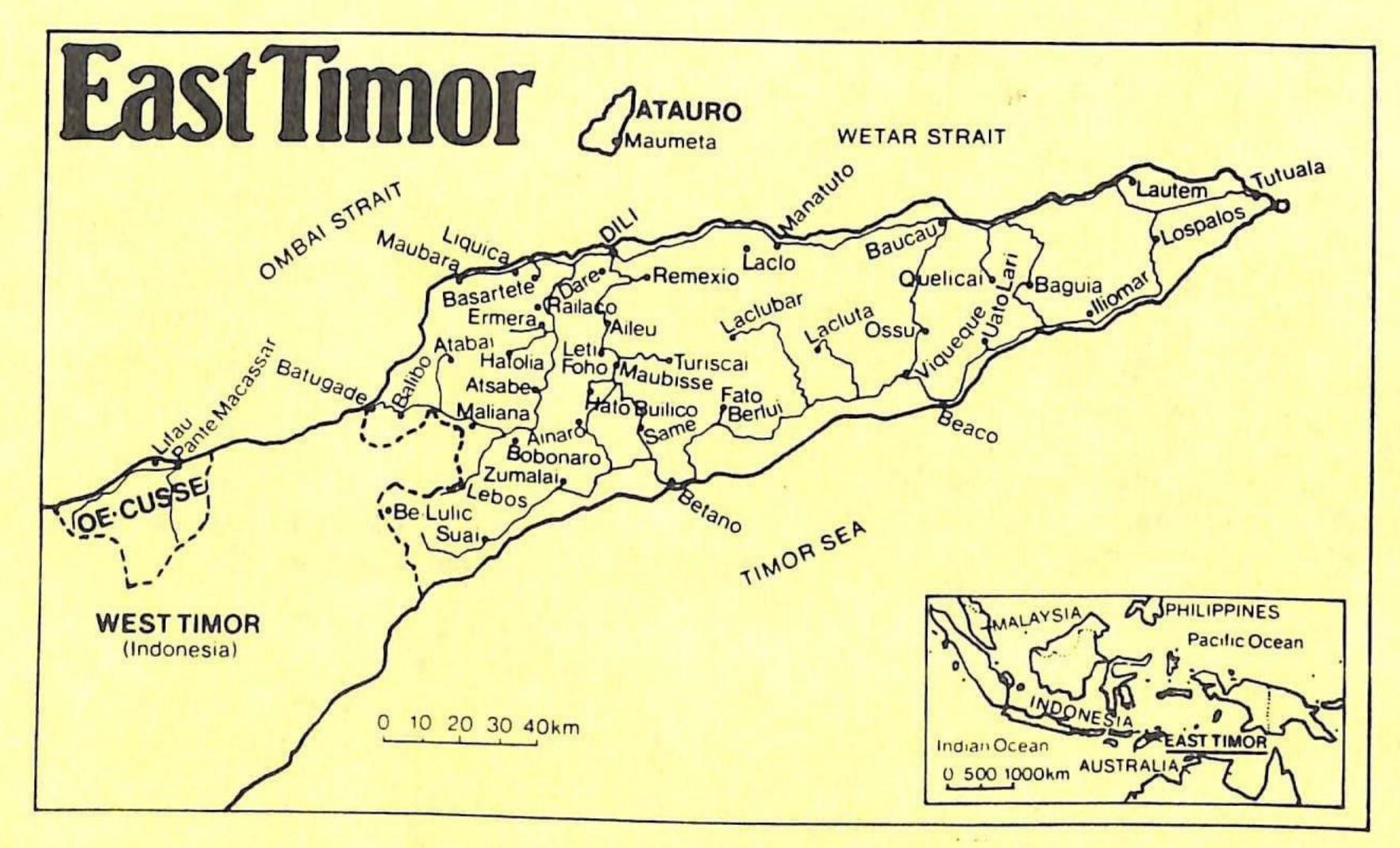
COMMITTEES:

HOUSE COMMITTEE ON RULES
SUBCOMMITTEE ON RULES OF
THE HOUSE

SELECT COMMITTEE ON HUNGER
CHAIRMAN, INTERNATIONAL
TASK FORCE ON HUNGER

Congress of the United States House of Representatives Washington, DC 20515 DISTRICT OFFICE:
501 FEDERAL BUILDING
200 WEST SECOND STREET
DAYTON, OH 45402
(513) 225-2843

# World ignores the hidden holocaust of East Timor



March 20, 1986

Dear Colleague:

I would like to invite you to cosign the letter on the back of this sheet to President Reagan regarding the tragedy that persists in East Timor, the largely Roman Catholic former Portuguese colony which was invaded and occupied by Indonesia in 1975.

President Reagan will be travelling to Indonesia during his trip to Asia in early May. This will be the first visit to Indonesia by an American President since President Ford was in the Indonesian capital in December, 1975 -- the eve of the invasion of East Timor.

The letter respectfully asks the President to discuss issues relating to East Timor in his meetings with Indonesian leaders. Specifically, the letter urges the President to encourage Indonesia to maintain and expand access to East Timor for international humanitarian agencies and to address current questions of basic human rights.

Concern over the East Timor situation was expressed by Secretary of State Shultz during a visit to Indonesia in July, 1984. That same month, Pope John Paul II also expressed deep concern about East Timor. British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher also raised the Timor issue when she visited Jakarta in April, 1985. Further, in June, 1985, Amnesty International issued a detailed report on the human rights situation in East Timor, and has published additional information in recent months.

President Reagan's trip to Indonesia provides a special opportunity for the prestige and influence of the United States to be brought to bear on the East Timor tragedy. If you would like to cosign this letter and/or cosponsor the Timor resolution (H. Con. Res. 244), please contact Marty Rendon at 5-6465 by April 24, 1986.

Tony P. Hall, M. C.

Dear Mr. President:

We continue to be deeply concerned about the human tragedy in East Timor, the predominantly Roman Catholic former Portuguese colony invaded by Indonesia in 1975. Since then, an estimated 100,000 East Timorese -- nearly one-sixth of East Timor's original population -- have perished from the combined effects of the Indonesian occupation. Armed conflict in the territory persists, as do reports of atrocities such as disappearances, summary executions, torture, and forced birth control.

Highly regarded international church sources confirm that serious human rights abuses continue. While there has been some ostensible improvement in access to East Timor by international humanitarian agencies, such access remains limited. Unrestricted access is critical in light of reports that malnutrition-related deaths of children persist in at least some areas.

We therefore respectfully urge you to give serious attention to the East Timor situation in meetings that you and the Presidential party will have with Indonesian leaders during your visit to Indonesia in May. As the first U. S. President to visit Indonesia since the December, 1975 invasion of East Timor, your interest could contribute significantly to efforts that might prevent further bloodshed and misery in East Timor.

Secretary of State Shultz deserves credit for raising the issue of human rights in East Timor during his July, 1984 visit to Jakarta; that same month, Pope John Paul II expressed deep concern over the suffering of the people of East Timor. Further, In April, 1985, British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher raised humanitarian and human rights issues regarding East Timor during a visit to the Indonesian capital.

Continued fighting in the territory between the Indonesian military and the East Timorese resistance is reason for concern, coupled with persistent reports from Amnesty International and other organizations of human rights violations. Accounts of various pressures and intimidation directed at the Roman Catholic Church in East Timor by Indonesian authorities are most disturbing. Also troubling is the matter of political prisoners. While the official number of East Timorese political detainees has dropped, Amnesty International and others report that a significant number of detainees purportedly released have in fact been moved to less identifiable places of detention. There have been accounts of "hidden" prisons and detention camps to which international humanitarian groups still do not have access.

Further alarming is the news of a population limitation program introduced in East Timor by the Indonesians. Authoritative church sources say that this program is being carried out often without the consent or knowledge of the mostly rural population of East Timor. A program of this nature carried out by the invaders themselves has troubling implications, considering the huge death toll in East Timor since the invasion and the comparatively small original population. Mr. President, we ask you to urge the Indonesian government to put an end to population limitation measures and practices in East Timor that do not have the full consent and knowledge of those directly concerned.

We seek efforts to ensure the continuation and expansion of access to Fast Timor by international humanitarian agencies, with guarantees of freedom of movement for these agencies so that the full range of their activities may be carried out to the greatest possible extent. In particular, all prisoners and detainees should be assured timely visitation. In addition, we strongly believe that the Roman Catholic Church in East Timor should be guaranteed an existence free from official pressure and intimidation. Finally, the United States should conflict.

We fully appreciate the importance of friendly relations with Indonesia. We are also aware that there will be many other issues on your agenda when you of East Timor to your agenda. You have a special opportunity to bring to bear on the Timor tragedy the prestige and moral influence of the United States.

# 99TH CONGRESS H. CON. RES. 244

To express the sense of Congress regarding East Timor.

#### IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

**DECEMBER 10, 1985** 

Mr. HALL of Ohio submitted the following concurrent resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs

## CONCURRENT RESOLUTION

To express the sense of Congress regarding East Timor.

Whereas an estimated 100,000 East Timorese out of a population of less than 700,000 have died since the invasion and occupation of East Timor by the Government of Indonesia, which began on December 7, 1975;

Whereas armed conflict persists in East Timor;

- Whereas threats of food shortages and medical problems persist in some areas of East Timor;
- Whereas international access to and the free flow of information from East Timor remain restricted;
- Whereas the Roman Catholic Church in East Timor is denied full freedom of expression and is subject to intimidation by Indonesian authorities;
- Whereas Indonesian authorities have instituted a birth control program in East Timor without the full knowledge and consent of the people of the territory and despite large-scale loss of life there since 1975;

- Whereas Indonesian authorities have placed many East Timorese in resettlement areas against their wishes where many of them are prevented from raising crops;
- Whereas Amnesty International issued a report in June 1985 which called attention to systematic violations of human rights in East Timor;
- Whereas in a statement made in July 1984 Pope John Paul II expressed concern over the human rights situation in East Timor and the need for international relief agencies to operate freely in the territory, and expressed the hope that particular consideration would be given to the ethnic, religious, and cultural identity of the people of East Timor;
- Whereas in August 1985 the United States Catholic Conference called attention to a letter sent in June 1985 by Cardinal John O'Connor of New York to Msgr. Carlos Ximenes Belo, the head of the Roman Catholic Church in East Timor, which expressed support for the struggle to preserve and enhance the dignity of life of the East Timorese people and for their right to live in peace and freedom; and
- Whereas 157 East Timorese political prisoners were tried in Indonesian tribunals between December 1983 and June 1985 without the presence of qualified international observers: Now, therefore, be it
- Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate
- 2 concurring), That it is the sense of Congress that the Presi-
- 3 dent should take all appropriate measures to encourage the
- 4 government of Indonesia to-
  - (1) maintain and expand access to and guarantee freedom of movement in East Timor for humanitarian

- organizations so that such organizations can carry out their humanitarian operations to the fullest extent feasible:
- (2) allow unhindered access to East Timor for journalists, church delegations, and human rights groups that seek to visit the territory:
- (3) guarantee full freedom of expression for and end intimidation of the Roman Catholic Church in East Timor:
- (4) allow an impartial international examination of population limitation measures instituted in East Timor and end all such measures that do not have the full consent and knowledge of those directly concerned;
- (5) allow qualified international observers to be present at trial proceedings that involve East Timorese political prisoners;
- (6) allow an impartial international investigation of the conditions that exist in areas of East Timor where East Timorese have been resettled by Indonesian authorities: and
- (7) work with the Governments of Portugal and the United States to develop initiatives that address the sources of conflict in East Timor and that bring an authentic peace to East Timor.

## HATFIELD AND LEVIN RELEASE EAST TIMOR LETTER

Senator Mark O. Hatfield (R-OR) and Senator Carl Levin (D-MI) today released a letter to Secretary of State George Shultz asking him to express concern over human rights violations in East Timor during his upcoming trip to the Association of Southeast Asian Nations Conference. 21 other Senators signed the letter.

Among the human rights issues raised in the letter were continuing reports of political prisoner detention and torture, intimidation of the Roman Catholics, and restricted access for international relief agencies. The letter is similar to one sent by Levin, Hatfield, and 20 other Senators in 1984 which convinced Secretary Shultz to raise the ongoing concern over the plight of the East Timorese.

"The relationship between the United States and Indonesia is a special one. Our ties can only be strengthened by honest discussion of these problems," said Hatfield. "The problems faced by the East Timorese must not be overshadowed by talk of military bases and geopolitical strategies," he said.

"While the US should continue to encourage an equitable resolution of the armed conflict in East Timor that has been going on since 1975, there are immediate problems faced by the East Timorese which demand prompt attention," Levin said.

The letter to Secretary Shultz is attached.

#### CONTACTS:

Senator Mark O. Hatfield Carrie McMillan (224-8326) Senator Carl Levin Marda Robillard (224-2472)

## Senators Signing Hatfield-Levin Letter

Bill Bradley (D-NJ) Quentin Burdick (D ND) John Chafee (R-RI) Alfonse D'Amato (R-NY) Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-NY) Orin Hatch (R-UT) John Kerry (D-MA) George Mitchell (D-MAINE) Christopher Dodd (D-CT) William Proxmire (D-WI) Charles Grassley (R-IW) John Heinz (R-PA) Don Reigle (D-MI) Tom Harkin (D-IW) Edward Zorinsky (D-NB) Paul Simon (D-ILL) Patrick Leahy (D-VT) Paul Sarbanes (D-MD) Albert Gore (D-TN) Claiborne Pell (D-RI) Alan Cranston (D-CA)

## United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510

April 23, 1986

The Honorable George P. Shultz Secretary of State United States Department of State

Dear Mr. Secretary:

We commend you for publicly expressing United States concern for human rights in East Timor during your April, 1984 visit to Indonesia. Since that visit, British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and Pope John Paul II, among others, have expressed a similar concern to President Soeharto. The repeated raising of the issue by world leaders has led to some improvement of the human rights situation in East Timor, but a number of serious problems remain.

As you know, violence and repression have plagued East Timor since the 1975 Indonesian invasion of the island. The United States should continue to encourage an equitable and peaceful resolution to the ongoing armed conflict in East Timor. The immediate problems faced by the East Timorese, however, also demand attention. Specifically:

- 1. While public pressure has led to the release of some political prisoners, Amnesty International reports that many of those said by the government to have been released have in reality been transferred to secret detention camps. International humanitarian organizations do not have access to these "resettlement centers" because the Indonesian government does not acknowledge their existence. Since these political prisoners are isolated from world attention, the Indonesian government need not abide by international standards governing the treatment of prisoners. Many reports of torture in these "resettlement centers" have been received by Amnesty International.
- 2. The occupying Indonesian forces reportedly continue to intimidate both clergy and church members of East Timor's Roman Catholic Church. For the predominantly Roman Catholic East Timorese, such pressure only increases the tension between themselves and the Indonesians.
- 3. Though the famine in East Timor has ended, malnutrition and related health problems still exist in some areas. A lack of cooperation between Indonesian authorities and international relief agencies could spell disaster for the East Timorese.

4. When Portugal granted East Timor its independence in 1975, many families were separated. Those East Timorese still waiting to join their relatives in Portugal have suffered from unnecessarily slow action by Indonesian officials. Resolution of these family reunification cases would be an important humanitarian gesture by Indonesia.

We respectfully urge you to raise these concerns with the Indonesian government during your upcoming visit to the annual ASEAN meeting. We recognize the value of the relationship between Indonesia and the United States. Our friendship with Indonesia can only be strengthened by forthright discussion of the ongoing problems faced by the people of East Timor.

Thank you for your attention to this important issue.

Sincerely,

Cal Lin

Auj Swalley

John J. Ling

Zom Hauli

Hamile

Fage Nithell

Chaffen J. Dodl

Much Grassley 1 stre an Cruston



Third District Ohio

1728 Langworth House Office Building Washington D C 20515 202 225-6465

EMBARGUED FOR RELEASE: TUESDAY, APRIL 29, 1986 A.M. #86-7

CONTACT: MARTY RENDON

## 125 HOUSE MEMBERS EXPRESS CONCERN OVER EAST TIMOR TO REAGAN ON EVE OF PRESIDENT'S TRIP TO INDONESIA

WASHINGTOH--A bipartisan group of 125 House members told President
Reagan they were "deeply concerned about the human tragedy in East Timor," a
predominantly Roman Catholic former Portuguese colony which was invaded by
Indonesia in 1975.

The lawmakers urged the President to use his forthcoming trip to Indonesia to discuss with officials human rights abuses in the territory, including reports of disappearances, summary executions, torture, and forced birth control.

Reagan is the first President to visit Indonesia since President Ford's trip in 1975, shortly before the invasion of East Timor.

At least 100,000 out of an original population of less than 700,000 have died in East Timor stemming from the Indonesian invasion and subsequent military operations in the territory. The invasion was carried out largely with American supplied military equipment.

The letter from the House members expressed alarm at a program to limit the East Timor population which is being carried out "often without the consent or knowledge of the mostly rural pouplation."

"A program of this nature carried out by the invaders themselves has troubling implications, considering the huge death toll in East Timor since the invasion and the comparatively small original population," the letter said.

The lawmakers also cited reports by Amnesty International and others of "hidden" prisons and detention camps to which international humanitarian groups do not have access. The letter charged that political prisoners are being moved to the secret camps in an effort to disguise the real number of East Timorese detained for political reasons.

Secretary of State George Shultz raised the issue of human rights in East Timor during his visit to Indonesia in July 1984. Pope John Paul II and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher have also expressed concern over the ongoing tragedy in the territory.

AUD 2 EAST TIMOR

"We respectfully ask you to add the plight of the people of East Timor to your agenda," the lawmakers wrote Reagan. "You have a special opportunity to bring to bear on the Timor tragedy the prestige and moral influence of the United States."

The text of the letter follows:

Dear Mr. President:

We continue to be deeply concerned about the human tragedy in East Timor, the predominantly Roman Catholic former Portuguese colony invaded by Indonesia in 1975. Since then, an estimated 100,000 East Timorese -- nearly one-sixth of East Timor's original population -- have perished from the combined effects of the Indonesian occupation. Armed conflict in the territory persists, as do reports of atrocities such as disappearances, summary executions, torture, and forced birth control.

Highly regarded international church sources confirm that serious human rights abuses continue. While there has been some ostensible improvement in access to East Timor by international humanitarian agencies, such access remains limited. Unrestricted access is critical in light of reports that malnutrition-related deaths of children persist in at least some areas.

We therefore respectfully urge you to give serious attention to the East Timor situation in meetings that you and the Presidential party will have with Indonesian leaders during your visit to Indonesia in May. As the first U. S. President to visit Indonesia since the December, 1975 invasion of East Timor, your interest could contribute significantly to efforts that might prevent further bloodshed and misery in East Timor.

Secretary of State Shultz deserves credit for raising the issue of human rights in East Timor during his July, 1984 visit to Jakarta; that same month, Pope John Paul II expressed deep concern over the suffering of the people of East Timor. Further, in April, 1985, British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher raised humanitarian and human rights issues regarding East Timor during a visit to the Indonesian capital.

Continued fighting in the territory between the Indonesian military and the East Timorese resistance is reason for concern, coupled with persistent reports from Amnesty International and other organizations of human rights violations. Accounts of various pressures and intimidation directed at the Roman Catholic Church in East Timor by Indonesian authorities are most disturbing. Also troubling is the matter of political prisoners. While the official number of East Timorese political detainees has dropped, Amnesty International and others report that a significant number of detainees purportedly released have in fact been moved to less identifiable places of detention. There have been accounts of "hidden" prisons and detention camps to which international humanitarian groups still do not have access.

Further alarming is the news of a population limitation program introduced in East Timor by the Indonesians. Authoritative church sources say that this program is being carried out often without the consent or knowledge of the mostly rural population of East Timor. A program of this nature carried out by the invaders themselves has troubling implications, considering the huge death toll in East Timor since the invasion and the comparatively small original population. Mr. President, we ask you to urge the Indonesian government to put an end to population limitation measures and practices in East Timor that do not have the full consent and knowledge of those directly concerned.

We seek efforts to ensure the continuation and expansion of access to East Timor by international humanitarian agencies, with guarantees of freedom of movement for these agencies so that the full range of their activities may be carried out to the greatest possible extent. In particular, all prisoners and detainees should be assured timely visitation. In addition, we strongly believe that the Roman Catholic Church in East Timor should be guaranteed an existence free from official pressure and

AUD 3 EAST TIMOR

intimidation. Finally, the United States should encourage efforts to bring about a fair and peaceful settlement of the East Timor conflict.

We fully appreciate the importance of friendly relations with Indonesia. We are also aware that there will be many other issues on your agenda when you travel to Bali. However, we respectfully ask you to add the plight of the people of East Timor to your agenda. You have a special opportunity to bring to bear on the Timor tragedy the prestige and moral influence of the United States.

#### Sincerely,

Tony P. Hall Robert K. Dornan Claude Pepper George C. Wortley William H. Gray, III Helen Delich Bentley Joe Moakley Tony Coelho Mary Rose Oakar Barbara Boxer Barney Frank Gus Savage Robert J. Mrazek Edolphus Towns Peter H. Kostmayer Gerry E. Studds Jim Moody Doug Walgren Howard L. Berman Mike Lowry Walter E. Fauntroy James J. Howard Fernand J. St Germain Julian C. Dixon Parren J. Mitchell Thomas J. Tauke Berkley Bedell Fortney H. Stark Joe Kolter Jim Cooper Steny H. Hoyer Thomas A. Daschle William Hill Boner Ron Wyden Norman Y. Mineta Sala Burton Barbara B. Kennelly John M. Spratt, Jr. Timothy E. Wirth Bob Carr Martin Frost

Christopher H. Smith Matthew F. NcHugh Frank Horton Howard Wolce John Edward Porter Alan Wheat Byron L. Dorgan Douglas H. Bosco Robert A. Roe Robert T. Hatsui Ronald V. Dellums John F. Seiberling Tommy F. Robinson Vic Fazio James L. Oberstar Morris K. Udall Charles E. Schumer Bob Edgar Henry A. Waxman Sam Gejdenson William J. Hughes Robert W. Kastenmeier David E. Bonior Gary L. Ackerman Edward F. Feighan Mervyn M. Dymally Bruce A. Morrison Chester G. Atkins Benjamin A. Gilman Earl Hutto John Conyers, Jr. Martin Olav Sabo Austin J. Murphy Thomas R. Carper Donald J. Pease Gerry Sikorski Jim Bates Leon E. Panetta James Weaver Mickey Leland Rod Chandler

Edward P. Boland Silvio O. Conte Peter W. Rodino, Jr. Claudine Schneider Tom Lantos Mike Synar Nicholas Mavroules Lane Evans William Lehman Robert Garcia Charles A. Hayes Anthony C. Beilenson Bruce F. Vento Don Edwards William Clay Hatthew G. Martinez Albert G. Bustamante Hel Levine Thomas M. Foglietta Patricia Schroeder Brian J. Donnelly Harcy Kaptur Thomas J. Manton Major R. Owens Thomas J. Downey James H. Scheuer George Miller Stewart B. HcKinney Stephen L. Neal Douglas Applegate Thomas A. Luken John McCain Ted Weiss Dave McCurdy Louis Stokes Bill Richardson Dan Glickman Bill Green Augustus F. Hawkins Edward J. Markey

## Committee on Foreign Affairs

December 5, 1985

Dear Colleague:

I would like for you to join me in sending this letter to U.N. Secretary General Perez de Cuellar regarding East Timor. As Chairman of the Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organizations, I am increasingly concerned about the serious human rights situation in East Timor. Appeals have been made repeatedly to the U.N. to take some initiative in assisting the East Timorese. Thus far, the U.N. has not made any public overtures regarding East Timor since condemning this action in 1975, immediately following the Indonesian invasion.

There are reportedly 500,000 fewer East Timorese alive now than at the time of the Indonesian occupation. Amnesty International has asserted that "a consistent pattern of gross violations of human rights" warranting U.N. investigation is occurring in East Timor. In order to fully assess these violations, as well as past and present U.N. initiatives to alleviate them, it is necessary to communicate with the Secretary General.

The Indonesians invaded East Timor in the Spring of 1975. Their presence has brought with it severe oppression and brutality which has not subsided during the past ten years. It is essential that we question the treatment being leveled at the East Timorese and take some action to address it. Hopefully, this letter to Secretary General de Cuellar will begin the process of restoring fundamental rights to the people of East Timor.

The letter to Secretary General Perez de Cuellar is on the reverse side of this Dear Colleague. The deadline for signatures is Friday, December 13. For additional information, contact Bernadette Paolo on the Subcommittee staff at 226-7825.

Sincerely,

Gus Yatron Chairman

Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organizations

GY/bp

## Congress of the United States

# House of Representatives Washington, D.C. 20515

December 5, 1985

Secretary General
Perez de Cuellar
United Nations
New York, New York 10017

Dear Mr. Secretary General:

We are writing to express our deep concern over existing conditions in East Timor. Since the Indonesian invasion of 1975, the East Timorese have been subjected to oppression and extreme brutality. As a result of this harsh treatment, there are reportedly 500,000 fewer East Timorese alive now than at the time of the occupation.

Indonesia now has as many, and possibly more, troops in East Timor than on the day of the invasion. The Indonesian's maintain that the East Timorese are content under their leadership, but many Timorese vehemently disagree. These citizens of East Timor contend that the human rights situation in their country is deplorable.

Two months after the Indonesians invaded East Timor in 1975, a unanimous U.N. Security Council called upon them to withdraw. It is our understanding that similar actions have not been undertaken by the U.N. since this initial statement was delivered ten years ago. Many appeals have been made to the U.N. concerning East Timor. In April of 1985, Amnesty International submitted information about its concerns in East Timor under the U.N. procedure for confidentially reviewing communications about human rights violations. Amnesty International asserted that the evidence revealed a "consistent pattern of gross violations of human rights" warranting U.N. investigation.

We ask you, Mr. Secretary General, for your assistance in facilitating a discussion within the U.N. of the events in East Timor. We also ask you to inform us of actions which are now being undertaken, or which have been initiated in the past within the U.N. regarding East Timor. The U.S. Congress is closely monitoring events in this region. Whatever the U.N. can do to help us with this very worthwhile undertaking would be greatly appreciated.

Thank you for your consideration of this request. We recognize your valuable leadership as well as the many contributions you have made to the U.N. and the world at large.

Sincerely,

## Committee on Foreign Affairs

December 6, 1985

Dear Colleague:

I would like to make a correction in a Dear Colleague sent on December 5 regarding the human rights situation in East Timor. The letter states that there are reportedly 500,000 fewer East Timorese alive now than at the time of the Indonesion occupation. This figure should have been 200,000. Reports estimate that up to 200,000 East. Timorese have died since the Indonesians invaded East Timor in 1975. This disparity in numbers was due to a typographical error.

The corrected copy of the letter to U.N. Secretary General Perez de Cuellar is on the reverse side of this Dear Colleague. The deadline for signatures is Friday, December 13. For additional information contact Bernadette on the Subcommittee staff at 226-7825.

Sincerely,

Gus Yatro

Chairman /

Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organizations

## Congress of the United States

## House of Representatibes

Washington, D.C. 20515

December 6, 1985

Secretary General Perez de Cuellar United Nations New York, New York 10017

Dear Mr. Secretary General:

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Indonesia now has as many, and possibly more, troops in East Timor than on the day of the invasion. The Indonesian's maintain that the East Timorese are content under their leadership, but many Timorese vehemently disagree. These citizens of East Timor contend that the human rights situation in their country is deplorable.

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Thank you for your consideration of this request. We recognize your valuable leadership as well as the many contributions you have made to the U.N. and the world at large.

Sincerely,

# Congress of the United States

## House of Representatives

Mashington, D.C. 20515

December 16, 1985

Secretary General Perez de Cuellar United Nations New York, New York 10017

Dear Mr. Secretary General:

We are writing to express our deep concern over existing conditions in East Timor. Since the Indonesian invasion of 1975, the East Timorese have been subjected to oppression and extreme brutality. As a result of this harsh treatment, there are reportedly 200,000 fewer East Timorese alive now than at the time of the occupation.

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Thank you for your consideration of this request. We recognize your valuable leadership as well as the many contributions you have made to the U.N. and the world at large.

Gus Yatrin, Chairman

Subcommutee on Human Rights and International Organizations Committee on Foreign Affairs

12

Perez de Cuellar December 16, 1985 Hember Congress Member of Congress Tony Coelho Douglas H. Bosco Member of Congress Member of Congress Member of Congress Member of Congress Byron Dorgan Member of Congress Member of Congress Stewart B. McKinney Peter H. Kostmayer Member of Congress Member of Congress Member of Congress Member of Congress Moward Wolpe Member of Co John F. Seiberling Alan Wheat Member of Congress Member of Congress

Secretary General

Secretary General Perez de Cuellar Depember 16, 1985 Page 3 Gus Savage John Porter Member of Congress Hember of Congress Ted Weiss James J. Hoyard Member of Congress Member of Congress Barbara A. Mikulski Mike Lowry Member of Congress Member of Congress Julian C. Dixon James L. Oberstar Member of Congress Member of Congress Matthew F. McHugh William Lehman Member of Congress Member of Car this Member of Congress Member of Congress Robert T. Matsui mber of Congress

Member of Congress

Secretary General Perez de Cuellar December 16, 1985 Page 4

Bill Richardson

Member of Congress

Mel Levine

Member of Congress

Don Edwards

Member of Congress

eration of criminal justice systems are primarily a State and local responsibility. This new program was developed with the lessons learned from the old LEAA Program. Using a modest annual investment, this program would enable State and local governments to make criminal justice improvements by implementing new and effective crime fighting techniques. Now, after Congress has appropriated funds and the States have set up administrative procedures to disburse these funds, the administration proposes to eliminate the program through a rescission request. This has the appearance of a doublecross that I can not let happen to police, corrections, and court employees across this country.

JUVENILE JUSTICE PROGRAM Over the past 5 years I have worked in both the Judiciary and Budget Committees to see that the Juvenile Justice Program was continued. It is no different this year. I have always felt that dollars spent in working to prevent juvenile delinquency will pay the best dividends in trying to reduce crime. This program has been in a constant fight for its survival under the Reagan administration. I have never understood the President's call for a war on crime and then ignoring the fact that 40 percent of all serious crime is attributed to juvenile offenders. Eliminating the Juvenile Justice Program is a pound-foolish approach to saving money, especially if this administration wants to back their rhetoric on crime with action.

REGIONAL INFORMATION SHARING SYSTEM

This is another program the administration has tried to eliminate in the past. This program has proven to be a valuable resource to State and local law enforcement in coordinating investigations that involve several different agencies. It seems misleading for the administration to talk about their cooperative approach to drug investigations with State and local agencies and then turn around and eliminate a valuable tool used in pursuing drug traffickers.

As the ranking member of the Judiciary Committee and one who has followed this issue closely, I ask my colleagues to support my amendment and the resolution. Now is not the time to abandon State and local criminal justice agencies.

SENATE CONCURRENT RESOLU-TION 107—PROVIDING FOR AN ADJOURNMENT OF THE CON-GRESS

Mr. SIMPSON submitted the following concurrent resolution; which was considered and agreed to:

S. CON. RES. 107

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring). That when the House adjourns on Thursday, February 6, 1986, or Friday, February 7, 1986, pursuant to a motion made by the majority leader of the House, or his designee, in accordance

with this resolution, it stand adjourned until 12 o'clock meridian on Tuesday, February 18, 1986, and that when the Senate adjourns on Thursday, February 6, 1986, or Friday, February 7, 1986, pursuant to a motion made by the majority leader of the Senate, or his designee, in accordance with this resolution, it stand adjourned until 12 o'clock meridian on Monday, February 17, 1986, or until 12 o'clock meridian on the second day after Members are notified to reassemble pursuant to section 2 of this concurrent resolution.

SEC. 2. The Speaker of the House, after consultation with the minority leader of the House, and the majority leader of the Senate, after consultation with the minority leader of the Senate, shall notify the Members of the House and the Senate, respectively, to reassemble whenever, in their opinion, the public interest shall warrant it.

SENATE CONCURRENT RESOLU-TION 108-REGARDING EAST TIMOR

Mr. LEVIN submitted the following concurrent resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations:

8. CON. RES. 107

Whereas an estimated 100,000 East Timorese out of a population of less than 700,000 have died since the invasion and occupation of East Timor by the Government of Indonesia, which began on December 7, 1985;

Whereas armed conflict persists in East Timor:

Whereas threats of food shortages and medical problems persist in some areas of East Timor;

Whereas international access to and the free flow of information from East Timor remain restricted:

Whereas the Roman Catholic Church in East Timor is denied full freedom of expression and is subject to intimidation by Indonesian authorities:

Whereas Indonesian authorities have placed many East Timorese against their will in resettlement areas where many of them are prevented from raising crops; and

Whereas Amnesty International issued a report in June 1985 which called attention to systematic violations of human rights in East Timor: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring). That it is the sense of the Congress that the President should take all appropriate measures to encourage the Government of Indonesia to—

 maintain and expand access to and guarantee freedom of movement in East Timor for humanitarian organizations so that such organizations can carry out their humanitarian operations to the fullest extent feasible;

(2) allow unhindered access to East Timor for journalists, church delegations, and human rights groups that seek to visit the territory:

(3) guarantee full freedom of expression for, and end intimidation of, the Roman Catholic Church in East Timor;

(4) allow qualified international observers to be present at trial proceedings that involve East Timorese political prisoners;

(5) allow an impartial international investigation of the conditions that exist in areas of East Timor where East Timorese have been resettled by Indonesian authorities; and

(6) work with the Government of Portugal and the Government of the United States to develop initiatives that address the sources of conflict in East Timor and that bring an authentic peace to East Timor. SEC. 2. The Secretary of the Senate shall transmit a copy of this concurrent resolution to the President.

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, today I am submitting a concurrent resolution to express the sense of Congress concerning the situation in East Timor.

On December 7, 1985, we commemorated the attack on Pearl Harbor, a "day that will live in infamy." That same date marked the 10th anniversary of another "infamous day," namely, the Indonesian invasion and occupation of East Timor.

On that December day in 1975, just 4 months after Portugal had evacuated officials from its colony of East Timor, the Indonesian Army launched a full-scale invasion, ostensibly at the invitation of Timorese political parties. In July 1976, East Timor was forcibly annexed into the Indonesian political system. The consequences of the Indonesian invasion are by now well known. Numerous statements have been made in this Chamber and elsewhere over the past 10 years describing the tragic conditions on this island. But the major elements of this human tragedy bear repeating.

It has been estimated that in the last 10 years over 100,000 East Timorese-out of a population of less than 700,000 before the invasion-have died as a result of warfare, hunger, disease, and executions. Fighting between Indonesian troops and the resistance forces of Fretilin has led to horrendous suffering among the civilian population. Famine and its accompanying horrors, disease and malnutrition, have ravaged the Timorese countryside. In their attempt to eradicate the resistance forces and "normalize" the countryside, Indonesian troops have arbitrarily killed hundreds of noncombatant civilians. Prisoners in the army's custody have been tortured and sometimes extrajudicially executed. Arbitrary arrests and detention without trial have been carried out on a massive scale, and those arrested often "disappear."

To compound these violations of basic human rights, the Indonesians have continually denied or restricted access to East Timor by international relief agencies like the International Committee of the Red Cross, UNICEF. and Catholic Relief Services. Journalists, when allowed into the country. have been closely monitored and severely restricted in their movement. Human rights monitoring groups have been completely shut out. Indonesia denies nearly all the allegations made by the press and human rights groups, yet by imposing strict controls on access to East Timor and the flow of information out of it, they have merely succeeded in intensifying world concern about the situation there.

Despite the lack of access, human rights groups have managed to accumulate a large body of up-to-date information on East Timor. In June 1985, Amnesty International published

a report entitled "East Timor: Violations of Human Rights." This report indicates that serious problems continue in East Timor, even though the intensity of the armed conflict with Fretilin may have abated somewhat. Although the hunger problem is less serious than it was 3 or 4 years ago, reports persist of food shortages and medical problems in some areas. Visits by humanitarian organizations are irregular and do not involve full access to all parts of the territory. Intimidation directed against the Roman Catholic Church remains a serious problem. The Amnesty report contained a list of 71 persons who had disappeared or were executed while in the custody of Indonesian security forces in the preceding 2 years. And, in general, the fundamental rights to freedom of expression, association, assembly, and movement continue to be systematically denied in East Timor.

The litany of abuses is familiar. But we cannot allow the consistency of Indonesian behavior in East Timor lull us into letting the issue be forgotten. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights makes it clear that the denial of basic human rights anywhere in the world is a matter of concern to all civilized people. East Timor may be a remote island, but we have an obligation to speak out for the rights of its long-suffering inhabitants.

There is one further point I think it is important to emphasize about the purpose of this resolution. We should remember that the United Nations still does not recognize Indonesia's claim to East Timor. In the eyes of virtually all the world's nations, the incorporation of East Timor into Indonesia was completely illegal. Our Government's official position is to accept East Timor's incorporation without asserting that a valid act of self-determination has taken place there. While I am disappointed that the U.S. Government has not taken a stronger stand on behalf of self-determination and human rights in East Timor, I also recognize the value of our relationship with Indonesia and the need to be sensitive to this. Unfortunately, the welldocumented behavior of the Indonesian Army and Indonesian authorities in East Timor does nothing to enhance this relationship nor does it enhance the legitimacy of Indonesia's claim to the territory. The concurrent resolution I am submitting today is an expression of Congress' belief that human rights concerns can and must play a role in our foreign policy, and that genuinely friendly relations between our country and Indonesia are impossible so long as the repression of the people of East Timor continues.

Mr. President, this concurrent resolution will send a clear message to the Indonesians, and it will also indicate to the people of East Timor that we have not forgotten them. I urge my colleagues to join with me as cosponsors of this concurrent resolution.

SENATE RESOLUTION 333-RE-LATING TO THE URBAN DE-VELOPMENT ACTION GRANT PROGRAM

Mr. LAUTENBERG (for himself and Mr. Kasten) submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Appropriations:

## 8. RES. 333

Whereas the economic development of urban communities large and small is an essential national objective;

Whereas the Congress has appropriated funding for the Urban Development Action Grant program in Fiscal Year 1986;

Whereas the Urban Development Action Grant program provides jobs, tax revenues and economic revitalization to areas of the nation with high unemployment, particularly among minorities; and

Whereas the Urban Development Action Grant program leverages private sector investment in our nation's urban communities; Now. Therefore, be it Resolved, That

(1) the proposed rescission of \$220.1 million in available funds, including \$206 million in Fiscal Year 1986 funds for the Urban Development Action Grant program is rejected.

• Mr. LAUTENBERG. Mr. President, today Senator Kasten and I are submitting a sense of the Senate resolution expressing our opposition to the elimination of the Urban Development Action Grant Program. The administration has proposed that no further UDAG grants be funded and that \$220.1 million of UDAG funding be rescinded. It is the purpose of this resolution to put the Senate on record in opposition to this rescission.

Mr. President, the Urban Development Action Grant Program has been a vital tool to our Nation's cities, large and small. UDAG has made the difference between the location of economic development projects in distressed cities or more affluent communities. The jobs produced and the taxes generated through this program have gone where they will do the most good: To cities with high unemployment and constrained tax bases.

The elimination of the UDAG program is short-sighted. UDAG is an investment program which leverages private sector commitment. In partnership with the public sector, the private sector uses UDAG to bring prosperity where there was blight.

Mr. President, the budget presented by the Reagan administration will put enormous pressure on local governments across America. We are telling our mayors to fight crime, provide public services and build the economies of their cities, but to do it alone. No longer, says the budget proposed by the administration, will the Federal Government be a partner in the plight of urban America. The elimination of the UDAG program is part of this general retreat.

Mr. President, it is one thing to praise the mayors of our Nation for their efforts at local decisionmaking and development. There are examples across our Nation of cities and neighborhoods brought back to life by the

and private citizens. But, it is quite another thing to take away the tools that our mayors have to do the job. By eliminating the Urban Development Action Grant Program, we would be taking away one of the most effective tools the Federal Government ever provided to our cities.

Mr. President, I oppose this pennywise and pound-foolish rescission and I urge my colleagues to join in an effort to reject this ill-conceived policy.

SENATE RESOLUTION 334—COM-MENDING RODERICK A. DEAR-MENT FOR HIS SERVICE TO THE SENATE

Mr. DOLE (for himself, Mr. Long, and Mr. Byrd) submitted the following resolution; which was considered and agreed to:

# S. RES. 234

Whereas, Roderick A. DeArment has served the United States Senate with honor and distinction since 1979, the Senate wishes to express its profound thanks and

Whereas, the said Roderick A. DeArment assumed considerable responsibilities as Chief Counsel and Staff Director of the Senate Finance Committee and most recently as Chief of Staff of the Office of Majority Leader; and

Whereas, he carried out these duties with skill, sensitivity and integrity, always pursuing the best interests of the Senate and the nation-at-large; and

Whereas, he played an integral role in drafting and enacting landmark tax legislation, and

Whereas, Roderick A. DeArment unstintingly gave of himself during his years of public service, and

Whereas, this dedication to duty, and exceptional service, has earned him esteem and affection throughout the Capitol; Now, therefore be it

Resolved, That Roderick A. DeArment is hereby commended for his years of hard work and service to the United States Senate.

# AMENDMENTS SUBMITTED

# OLDER AMERICANS ACT AMENDMENTS

# GRASSLEY AMENDMENT NO. 1584

Mr. SIMPSON (for Mr. GRASSLEY proposed an amendment to the bill (S 1858) to amend the Older American Act of 1965 to increase the amount authorized to be appropriated for fiscal years 1985, 1986, and 1987 for commodity distribution, and for other purposes; as follows:

On page 2, line 2, strike out "1985" an insert in lieu thereof "1986".

On page 4, line 11, insert beginning quotation marks before "(1)".

On page 4, line 15, insert beginning quoti tion marks before "(2)".

eration of criminal justice systems are primarily a State and local responsibility. This new program was developed with the lessons learned from the old LEAA Program. Using a modest annual investment, this program would enable State and local governments to make criminal justice improvements by implementing new and effective crime fighting techniques. Now, after Congress has appropriated funds and the States have set up administrative procedures to disburse these funds, the administration proposes to eliminate the program through a rescission request. This has the appearance of a doublecross that I can not let happen to police, corrections, and court employees across this country.

JUVENILE JUSTICE PROGRAM

Over the past 5 years I have worked in both the Judiciary and Budget Committees to see that the Juvenile Justice Program was continued. It is no different this year. I have always felt that dollars spent in working to prevent juvenile delinquency will pay the best dividends in trying to reduce crime. This program has been in a constant fight for its survival under the Reagan administration. I have never understood the President's call for a war on crime and then ignoring the fact that 40 percent of all serious crime is attributed to juvenile offenders. Eliminating the Juvenile Justice Program is a pound-foolish approach to saving money, especially if this administration wants to back their rhetoric on crime with action.

REGIONAL INFORMATION SHARING SYSTEM

This is another program the administration has tried to eliminate in the past. This program has proven to be a valuable resource to State and local law enforcement in coordinating investigations that involve several different agencies. It seems misleading for the administration to talk about their cooperative approach to drug investigations with State and local agencies and then turn around and eliminate a valuable tool used in pursuing drug traffickers.

As the ranking member of the Judiciary Committee and one who has followed this issue closely, I ask my colleagues to support my amendment and the resolution. Now is not the time to abandon State and local criminal justice agencies.

SENATE CONCURRENT RESOLU-TION 107—PROVIDING FOR AN ADJOURNMENT OF THE CON-GRESS

Mr. SIMPSON submitted the following concurrent resolution; which was considered and agreed to:

8. CON. RES. 107

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring). That when the House adjourns on Thursday, February 6, 1986, or Friday, February 7, 1986, pursuant to a motion made by the majority leader of the House, or his designee, in accordance

with this resolution, it stand adjourned until 12 o'clock meridian on Tuesday, February 18, 1986, and that when the Senate adjourns on Thursday, February 6, 1986, or Friday, February 7, 1986, pursuant to a motion made by the majority leader of the Senate, or his designee, in accordance with this resolution, it stand adjourned until 12 o'clock meridian on Monday, February 17, 1986, or until 12 o'clock meridian on the second day after Members are notified to reassemble pursuant to section 2 of this concurrent resolution.

SEC. 2. The Speaker of the House, after consultation with the minority leader of the House, and the majority leader of the Senate, after consultation with the minority leader of the Senate, shall notify the Members of the House and the Senate, respectively, to reassemble whenever, in their opinion, the public interest shall warrant it.

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Mr. LEVIN submitted the following concurrent resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations:

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Whereas an estimated 100,000 East Timorese out of a population of less than 700,000 have died since the invasion and occupation of East Timor by the Government of Indonesia, which began on December 7, 1985:

Whereas armed conflict persists in East

Timor:

Whereas threats of food shortages and medical problems persist in some areas of East Timor;

Whereas international access to and the free flow of information from East Timor remain restricted:

Whereas the Roman Catholic Church in East Timor is denied full freedom of expression and is subject to intimidation by Indonesian authorities;

Whereas Indonesian authorities have placed many East Timorese against their will in resettlement areas where many of them are prevented from raising crops; and

Whereas Amnesty International Issued a report in June 1985 which called attention to systematic violations of human rights in

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sense of the Congress that the President
should take all appropriate measures to encourage the Government of Indonesia to—

(1) maintain and expand access to and guarantee freedom of movement in East Timor for humanitarian organizations so that such organizations can carry out their humanitarian operations to the fullest extent feasible;

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Mr. LEVIN. Mr. President, today I am submitting a concurrent resolution to express the sense of Congress concerning the situation in East Timor.

On December 7, 1985, we commemorated the attack on Pearl Harbor, a "day that will live in infamy." That same date marked the 10th anniversary of another "infamous day," namely, the Indonesian invasion and occupation of East Timor.

On that December day in 1975, just 4 months after Portugal had evacuated officials from its colony of East Timor, the Indonesian Army launched a full-scale invasion, ostensibly at the invitation of Timorese political parties. In July 1976, East Timor was forcibly annexed into the Indonesian political system. The consequences of the Indonesian invasion are by now well known. Numerous statements have been made in this Chamber and elsewhere over the past 10 years describing the tragic conditions on this island. But the major elements of this human tragedy bear repeating.

It has been estimated that in the last 10 years over 100,000 East Timorese-out of a population of less than 700,000 before the invasion—have died as a result of warfare, hunger, disease, and executions. Fighting between Indonesian troops and the resistance forces of Fretilin has led to horrendous suffering among the civilian population. Famine and its accompanying horrors, disease and malnutrition, have ravaged the Timorese countryside. In their attempt to eradicate the resistance forces and "normalize" the countryside, Indonesian troops have arbitrarily killed hundreds of noncombatant civilians. Prisoners in the army's custody have been tortured and sometimes extrajudicially executed. Arbitrary arrests and detention without trial have been carried out on a massive scale, and those arrested often "disappear,"

To compound these violations of basic human rights, the Indonesians have continually denied or restricted access to East Timor by international relief agencies like the International Committee of the Red Cross, UNICEF. and Catholic Relief Services. Journalists, when allowed into the country, have been closely monitored and severely restricted in their movement. Human rights monitoring groups have been completely shut out. Indonesia denies nearly all the allegations made by the press and human rights groups. yet by imposing strict controls on access to East Timor and the flow of information out of it, they have merely succeeded in intensifying world concern about the situation there.

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The litany of abuses is familiar. But we cannot allow the consistency of Indonesian behavior in East Timor lull us into letting the issue be forgotten. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights makes it clear that the denial of basic human rights anywhere in the world is a matter of concern to all civilized people. East Timor may be a remote island, but we have an obligation to speak out for the rights of its long-suffering inhabitants.

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(1) the proposed rescission of \$220.1 million in available funds, including \$206 million in Fiscal Year 1986 funds for the Urban Development Action Grant program is rejected.

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Mr. President, the Urban Development Action Grant Program has been a vital tool to our Nation's cities, large and small. UDAG has made the difference between the location of economic development projects in distressed cities or more affluent communities. The jobs produced and the taxes generated through this program have gone where they will do the most good: To cities with high unemployment and constrained tax bases.

The elimination of the UDAG program is short-sighted. UDAG is an investment program which leverages private sector commitment. In partnership with the public sector, the private sector uses UDAG to bring prosperity where there was blight.

Mr. President, the budget presented by the Reagan administration will put enormous pressure on local governments across America. We are telling our mayors to fight crime, provide public services and build the economies of their cities, but to do it alone. No longer, says the budget proposed by the administration, will the Federal Government be a partner in the plight of urban America. The elimination of the UDAG program is part of this general retreat.

Mr. President, it is one thing to praise the mayors of our Nation for their efforts at local decisionmaking and development. There are examples across our Nation of cities and neighborhoods brought back to life by the

struggles of locally elected officials and private citizens. But, it is quite another thing to take away the tools that our mayors have to do the job. By eliminating the Urban Development Action Grant Program, we would be taking away one of the most effective tools the Federal Government ever provided to our cities.

Mr. President, I oppose this pennywise and pound-foolish rescission and I urge my colleagues to join in an effort to reject this ill-conceived policy.

SENATE RESOLUTION 334-COM-MENDING RODERICK A. DEAR-MENT FOR HIS SERVICE TO THE SENATE

Mr. DOLE (for himself, Mr. Long. and Mr. Byrn) submitted the following resolution; which was considered and agreed to:

# S. RES. 334

Whereas, Roderick A. DeArment has served the United States Senate with honor and distinction since 1979, the Senate wishes to express its profound thanks and

Whereas, the said Roderick A. DeArment assumed considerable responsibilities as Chief Counsel and Staff Director of the Senate Finance Committee and most recently as Chief of Staff of the Office of Majority Leader; and

Whereas, he carried out these duties with skill, sensitivity and integrity, always pursuing the best interests of the Senate and the nation-at-large; and

Whereas, he played an integral role in drafting and enacting landmark tax legislation, and

Whereas, Roderick A. DeArment unstintingly gave of himself during his years of public service, and

Whereas, this dedication to duty, and exceptional service, has earned him esteem and affection throughout the Capitol, Now, therefore be it

Resolved. That Roderick A. DeArment is hereby commended for his years of hard work and service to the United States Senate.

# AMENDMENTS SUBMITTED

# OLDER AMERICANS ACT AMENDMENTS

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Mr. SIMPSON (for Mr. GRASSLEY proposed an amendment to the bill (S 1858) to amend the Older American Act of 1965 to increase the amount authorized to be appropriated for fiscal years 1985, 1986, and 1987 for commodity distribution, and for othe purposes; as follows:

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On page 4, line 11, insert beginning quotation marks before "(1)".

On page 4, line 15, insert beginning quote tion marks before "(2)".



Washington, D.C. 20520

Mr. Mike Gable
Communications Coordinator
Maryknoll Fathers and Brothers
Maryknoll, New York 10545

49L981 51985

Dear Mr. Gable:

Senator Moynihan's office has asked the Department of State to write directly to you in response to your letter of July 2 about East Timor.

The Department believes there have been encouraging signs of progress in East Timor during the past few years. Gone are the conditions of malnutrition and homelessness that existed after the civil war that followed withdrawal of Portuguese colonial authority. Schools, roads and civil order have been restored by the Indonesian authorities.

The United States has consistently advocated increased access to East Timor by representatives of international, humanitarian, and economic development organizations, foreign diplomatic missions in Indonesia, and the press, and this is now occurring. We were particularly pleased to learn that the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) recently completed a comprehensive nutrition, food, and health survey of the province of East Timor. Catholic Relief Services (CRS) and the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) also have active programs in and access to the province.

Human rights issues are an important part of our policy toward Indonesia, and we raise the allegations mentioned in your letter and other issues with the Government of Indonesia on a frequent basis.

I am attaching a copy of a recently updated Department of State background report on East Timor prepared on the basis of Embassy reporting and numerous visits to the province by officers from the State Department and our Embassy in Jakarta.

I hope this information will be of assistance to you.

Sincerely,

Charles H. Morris

Country Officer for Indonesia

IL N. M.

Attachment:
As Stated.

#### EAST TIMOR

### Background

East Timor was a small, underdeveloped Portuguese colony for more than four centuries, located on a remote side of the Indonesian archipelago. Following the 1974 coup in Portugal, the new Portuguese Government announced its intention to give up the colony. In August 1975, a power struggle among Timorese political factions brought about the collapse of Portugal's authority on Timor and an abrupt Portuguese withdrawal from the island. An avowedly Marxist faction, Fretilin, was the best armed and early gained military control.

The Indonesian Government regarded Marxist Fretilin as a emerging threat in territory directly contiguous to its own territory. Responding to appeals from Fretilin's Timorese opponents, Indonesian military forces intervened in East Timor, overcame Fretilin's regular forces and in 1976 formally annexed East Timor. It was declared Indonesia's 27th province in mid-1976.

Since that time, Fretilin elements have waged a small-scale, hit-and-run insurgency, whose area and intensity of operations have gradually diminished. Because of military operations, a food, shelter and health emergency arose in the province in the late 1970s, an emergency which caused considerable foreign concern and direct assistance from international welfare organizations such as the Swiss-based International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC). American food assistance was channeled through Catholic Relief Service (CRS).

In August 1983, after a period of relative quiet and during a de facto cease-fire, sixteen unarmed members of an Indonesian Army engineering unit were ambushed and killed by Fretilin guerrilla elements near the town of Viqueque. Following this incident, Indonesian military units initiated operations aimed at eliminating remaining Fretilin elements. An unfortunate consequence of the resumption of sporadic fighting was government restrictions on access for some international organizations involved in welfare and assistance projects.

Indonesian forces have continued operations aimed at isolating and attacking Fretilin bands. As of mid-1985, the Government still had an estimated 12,000 troops and support personnel in the province to combat the insurgency, while Fretilin was thought to have perhaps 500-700 armed personnel with several times that many followers, including family members, operating in sparsely populated, mountainous sections of the eastern half of the province. Fretilin ambushes on Indonesian forces as well as the ordinary Timorese settlements have continued through the middle of 1985. President Soeharto has offered amnesty to Fretilin members who wish to surrender. Most recently, in January 1985, one of the major leaders of the Fretilin movement named Muu Maruk defected to the Indonesians.

Mario Carrascalao, a native East Timorese, serves as Governor of the province. He exercises considerable authority over the civilian government structure and has encouraged rapid establishment of a provincial government organization parallel to that of other Indonesian provinces. The Governor has also sought to give greater authority and responsibility to district-level officials and has called attention to some existing abuses which brought about reform within the provincial administration. Appointment of a new military commander for East Timor in early 1985 provided the province a higher caliber of army leadership and served to improve the general atmosphere there.

### U.S. Policy and Programs

The U.S. accepts Indonesia's incorporation of East Timor while acknowledging that a valid act of self-determination has not taken place there. As have past administrations, the Reagan Administration places highest priority on trying to improve the welfare of the Timorese people. In pursuit of that goal, the Administration continues to make East Timor one element in our overall diplomatic dialogue with the Government of Indonesia. The subject often is discussed in high-level meetings between Indonesian and U.S. representatives. Residual challenges to Indonesia's sovereignty over East Timor, however, jeopardize the continuing, vital cooperation of the Indonesian authorities, without which both development in and international access to the province might be hampered.

The U.S. wholly or partially funds three programs in East Timor. USAID is working directly with the Indonesian Government to implement a \$3.6 million malaria control project covering both East and West Timor, under an agreement signed in mid-1980.

USAID also funds a Catholic Relief Services (CRS)-run Agricultural Development Project in the western part of the province, near the town of Sare. This five-year project, which has received \$5 million and is slated for additional funding in 1986, is intended to encourage settled farming, multi-cropping and increased production of food crops, including surplus quantities for commercial marketing. In the long term, the project is expected to help reduce food shortages endemic to East Timor. A USAID officer who visited the project has described it as "generating considerable momentum...basic change for the better is taking place."

Finally, the U.S. has provided significant contributions in support of programs of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) in East Timor during the emergency relief effort.

## Areas of International Concern

Development: The Indonesian Government has assigned high priority in its development program to East Timor, where it spends more per capita on development than in any other province in Indonesia. It annually spends more than \$80 million on development and other programs in East Timor, more than six times as much as Portugal spent in 1974. Since the incorporation of East Timor into Indonesia, major progress has been achieved in the construction of roads, medical facilities, schools and housing. More than 5,000 non-Timorese Indonesians work as civil administrators in the province, supplementing a Timorese civil service of more than 8,000.

The building of roads, schools, hospitals, Government offices and housing and technical irrigation schemes proceeded at an accelerated rate through mid-1985. Literacy rates and educational opportunities for the Timorese people have increased at an impressive rate in recent years. Governor Carrascalao points with pride to a present school enrollment of 100,637 pupils in East Timor, as compared with 13,500 in 1975. Indonesian scouting organizations and other new opportunities are now available to the young people there.

Food Situation: The eastern region of the Indonesian archipelago, including the island of Timor, has always been an impoverished geographic area due to prevailing winds, unpredictable rainfall, and inferior soils. East Timor is a traditional food deficit area, with a fragile agricultural base relying primarily on shifting, "slash and burn" farming techniques. The dislocation and damage caused by the insurgency have undermined agricultural production, as have recurring weather problems. Restrictions on movement in areas of military operations have reduced or delayed planting, with a further negative impact on food production.

Based on constant monitoring of the food situation since 1982, both through direct observation by U.S. officials and reporting from other sources, it is clear East Timor has not experienced famine conditions in recent years and that no famine threatens at this time. At the same time, the food situation in parts of East Timor traditionally is precarious and requires constant monitoring.

Government officials have made apparent to visitors their awareness of international sensitivity to food shortages and hunger-related medical problems and the need to respond quickly to problems. International relief agencies have expressed willingness to assist in monitoring the food situation and providing food and medical assistance. Indonesian officials evince confidence they are capable of monitoring food supplies and responding to shortages if and when they arise.

Family Reunions and Repatriation: Beginning in 1975, a number of Timorese left East Timor as a result of unrest there and settled in Australia, Portugal and other countries. Since then, the ICRC has assisted in identifying those who remained in East Timor with a claim to Portuguese citizenship or family ties abroad. Cases identified by Portugal and Australia before 1982 as eligible for immigration had all been dealt with as of mid-1985. At present, ICRC is discussing repatriation of former civil servants with the Portuguese and Indonesian governments.

Atauro Island Detention Center. International concerns include the status of suspected Fretilin sympathizers detained on Atauro Island, just north of Dili. The Indonesian Government has relocated several thousand Timorese to Atauro in an effort to preclude their providing support to Fretilin elements. Observers have reported that conditions at Atauro are relatively good, with detainees free to move around the island at will and able to cultivate crops for their own consumption. ICRC has a foreign nurse assigned at Atauro to help meet the medical needs of detainees. At its peak, the detainee population on Atauro was over 4,000. Since then a number of detainees have been resettled in new areas on the main island of Timor. As of early February 1984, the detainee population on Atauro stood at just over 2,100, with that level reduced to approximately 1,200 by mid-1985. Governor Carrescalao has stated his intention to end all detentions on Atauro as soon as the security situation permits.

International Access: Representatives of several international organizations -- ICRC, CRS and the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) -- have on-going programs in and regular access to the province. The ICRC has access for its tracing and mailing, repatriation and Atauro Island "relief" and "protection" activities. After the August 1983 Fretilin attack, ICRC was unable to carry out some of its traditional activities but resumed many of those in 1984. After discussions with the government, ICRC conducted an extensive survey of the food, nutrition, and health situation in East Timor in June of 1985. UNICEF international staff experienced some difficulty with access to project areas outside Dili following the August 1983 attack, but their access to project sites has been completely restored. CRS access to East Timor has not been affected by the security situation.

Officials of the Department of State and the U.S. Embassy in Jakarta have traveled to East Timor on numerous occasions in recent years and have had broad latitude to visit areas throughout the province. In early 1985, East Timor was visited also by Jakarta-based diplomats from the Embassies of France, Nigeria, Japan, Venezuela, Canada, Great Britain, and New Zealand. Foreign journalists from a number of news organizations visited East Timor in the first half of 1985, including representatives from the New York Times, AP, Reuters, the Asian Wall Street Journal, Asiaweek, AFP, and the Far Eastern Economic Review.

Human Rights: Since 1975, international human rights concerns have centered on allegations of abuses (including indiscriminate killings) by Indonesian troops and on the detention without trial, mistreatment in custody, and disappearances of suspected Fretilin members and their sympathizers. Although recent new reports of atrocities are virtually impossible to verify without additional information, including complete names, location of occurrences and other identifying information, the U. S. Government has expressed its concern over these allegation to the Government of Indonesia. Some new studies on East Timor appear to be largely restatements of earlier allegations.

It is impossible to calculate precisely the numbers of Timorese who may have died since 1975 as a result of fighting. There is no credible evidence to support the more extreme allegations that there were hundreds of thousands of deaths. In 1983, a well-informed Indonesian Government official told foreign diplomats that the number of dead on both sides since 1975 may total 60-75,000, the great bulk of the victims having died in the first years of fighting from inadequate medical care and food rather than directly from battle. While we cannot confirm that estimate, it is consistent with our overall information about what has occurred in East Timor.

Allegations continue of retaliatory killings, disappearances, summary executions and detention/interrogation of persons with previous Fretilin links. Both Indonesian officials and observers with considerable experience in East Timor have noted that a tradition of retaliation and reprisal for past injury is a long-standing characteristic of the former colony. These practices are not common to other areas of Indonesia. While there doubtless have been excesses by soldiers in the past, new local military officials exhibit greater sensitivity to human rights concerns and possible international repercussions of their actions.

In late 1983, the Indonesian Government began to try suspected Fretilin fighters in civilian courts for criminal acts, including murder and arson. The Indonesia Government through its Permanent Representative to the United Nations in July 1985 transmitted to the UN Under Secretary General for Political Affairs, Trusteeship and Decolonization a list of 157 East Timorese persons who have been tried in Indonesian courts for activities against the Indonesian Republic. The list also included the length of sentences given and the area of residence of these people. The Indonesian Permanent Representative also issued a list of 50 persons who have been released from jail in East Timor for lack of evidence.

## Timor at the U.N.

Since 1976, the East Timor question has been raised in various international bodies. The United Nations General Assembly voted in 1984 for a second consecutive year to defer consideration of the issue, in view of the direct discussions currently underway between Indonesia and Portugal under the auspicies of the UN. At the February-March 1985 meeting of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, the Commission voted not to undertake further consideration of the East Timor question.

July 25, 1985

# Shift Hurts Human Rights Lobbyist

BY SHIRLBY CHRISTIAN

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"Pulling Away From Congress"
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human rights sakenabes are "million. "pragmatist." He charges that mosts-human rights advocates are "pulling away from Congress, Italing them-selves out of the political process." Shine, the contends, are primarily "agblogists, for Soviet policy and "licaragues policy." I Several triends, and, sympathizers of hir. Cameron among political ac-tivists express anger over his isola-tion from the human rights network.

but most do not want to be current.

Richard L. McCall, an advisor to Sanator Train Rancy of Massachi.

Sanator Train Rancy of Massachi.

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The Better of the Two Prevers

I came to see the United States as having security interests," he said.

I came to believe that the United States was, it the competition with the Soviet United, the two powers. It still their that we do exclude, herithic things, either of purposes or by mistake, in some of our healings in the third world, sid I think there needs to be a very activist role by Congress."

In 1972 he have seen

Congress."

In 1978 he became acquainted with Alfonse Robelo and Dr. Alvary Jers. two prominent members of the Nicaraguan opposition then trying to bring about a non-Sandinista succession to the regime of Somoza. After Mr. Robelo went into the Sandinistis-controlled Government in July 1979, Mr. Camerun began traveling to Nicaratroiled Government in July 1978, Mr. Cameron began traveling to Nicaragua, where he expanded his contacts. His Washington spartment become a stopping place for acqualitifaces from Nicaragua and El Salvador.

"I have believed since 1982 that unless there's a compromise in Nicara-

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internal disputed in both Nicaragua
and El Salvador.

Mr. Camera himself worked hard

internal dialogue in both Nicaragus and El Salvador.

Mr. Cameros himself worked hard to get that commitment a few days before the aid vote in June. Taking a leave from A.D.A. last May, he assisted Representative Dave McCurry, in Oklahoma Democrat, in shaping, the compromise bill. It was Mr. McLurdy, with Mr. Cameron sitting nearby, who staked the President by stephens to put his promises into a letter, which was considered crucial in influencing many votes.

In the eyes of other human rights activists; Mr. Cameron said, "I have crossed a parity line that exists on

activists; Mr. Cameron said, "I have crossed; a putity line that exists on Central America."

"I think it is perceived that way, and I think that's real wrong," he said, "because we have good human? rights language in the bill and also in the President's letter."

