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- Letter to the Hon. Donald Riegle, United States Senate from Christine Doby, Coordinator, Peace & Justice (10.09.1991)
- Fax message for Mr. Alvin Shuster, *Los Angeles Times* from David Hinkley (16.12.1991)
- Letter to Mr. J. Grimmond from the Rt. Rev. Paul Moore Jr. (19.12.1991)

Washington, aos 12 de Março de 1991

Querido Padre Cunha,

esperamos muito que você se encontre bem apesar da grande luta de todos os dias que voce tem de confrontar.

Quando a gente se viu antes da visita do Papá você mencionou que em Timor nas paróquias há falta de absolutamente tudo. Neste momento parece haver aqui a oportunidade de ajudar um pouco. Alguns membros do Congresso se mostraram muito interessados em saber qual a situação em termos de medicamentos e de produtos alimentícios nas paróquias e parecem estar dispostos a ajudar.

Por isso necessitamos da informação seguinte:

- (1) Quais são os medicamentos (p.e. para a tuberculosis) e outros produtos que mais fazem falta?
- (2) A Igreja esta autorizada a distribuir esses medicamentos e produtos? Em caso negativo, porque não?
- (3) Em caso negativo, qual seria a alternativa mais eficiente?
- (4) Qual é a situação em termos de acesso a tratamentos medicos?
- (5) Seria útil ter uma lista detalhada daquilo que faz mais falta para as crianças.

Imaginamos que houve muita tristeza em Timor quando souberam da notícia do falecimento do D. Martinho. Ele era uma verdadeira rocha na tempestade.

Os nossos pensamentos estão consigo e nós, os seus tres amigos deste lado de cá, lhe mandamos um grande abraço,

  
Arnold, Korinna & Maia

Temos um novo endereço:  
3812 Windom Place, NW  
Washington, D.C. 20016

Nov. 20, 1991

For Donnacadh Hurley -

For the moment I must amend the news of yesterday. The Washington Post editorial, etc, seems to have set off alarm bells in the Bush Administration.

They are now - at the very last minute - fighting the resolution in Congress. It remains to be seen what will follow. You're plucky, so you understand. Best,  
Arnold

Nov. 29, 1991

For Donnacadh Hurley — *6 Pages*  
Trocaire

Dear Donnacadh,

Attached to this is a one-page note on information we have received from an authoritative church source in Timor in recent days. We are getting this aired through Congress, the media, etc.

A great deal of progress is being made here. Attached are separate resolutions passed by the House and Senate. There will be additional action by the Senate this coming week.

Over the past few minutes I was told by a BBC reporter that the Indonesian Catholic bishops have just issued a statement.

More information will be provided soon. I will send a big packet and a letter shortly.

Let me know if anything has been going on in Ireland, and send (by fax) any significant news clips, editorials, statements.

With best wishes,  
*Arnold*  
Arnold Kohen  
Project Director

Nov. 29, 1991

For Clare Dixon, etc  
CAFOD

Dear Clare,

Thanks for all the good news on reactions in Britain. Please have the video sent to my home address, 3812 Windom Place, NW, Washington, DC 20016, preferably by a service like Federal Express that will leave a package by the door if we are not here (the post office won't).

Attached to this is a one-page note I read to you on information we have received from an authoritative church source in Timor in recent days. We are getting this aired through Congress, the media, etc.

A great deal of progress is being made here. Attached are separate resolutions passed by the House and Senate. There will be additional action by the Senate this coming week.

More information will be provided soon. I will send a big packet and a letter shortly.

Compliments on all your great work.

With best wishes,

*Arnold*  
Arnold Kohen  
Project Director

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

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

12:45 AM, Dec. 3, 1991

Fax message for M. Michel Veuthey, ICRC

(14) PAGES

Dear Michel,

I don't want to overload you all at once, so I will send you things a bit at a time. My wife, Korinna Horta, who lived in Timor from 1972-74, will be calling you this morning, as we agreed.

Attached here are the (different) resolutions passed by the House and the Senate; the text of a Senate letter sent by 52 US Senators (led by conservative Republican Sen. Malcolm Wallop of Wyoming) on Nov. 27 to President Bush; the letter is scheduled to be released on Dec. 4, in keeping with Wallop's sense of Republican decorum; a highly significant Washington Post editorial, which represents a big change in position for that paper; a biting Boston Globe editorial, which may have succeeded in prodding Solarz into action; a Washington Post news story of Nov. 30.

Also attached is one page of notes on information we have received from trusted church sources, with whom we have had contact over the past six hours and who say the situation remains the same...

More very soon. I will look forward to seeing you in Washington before Christmas.

Thanks for your usual good spirit.  
Best regards to Jean de Courten.

All the best,





Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

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

Dec. 4, 1991

Fax message for Steve Alston, CAFOD  
~~Five~~ pages in all

Four

Dear Steve,

I hope you are better. Attached is a summary of information we have received directly from trusted church contacts. It is deeply distressing to say the least. Hopefully there will be a response in some measure here today. I will pass it on as soon as it appears.

Please do your utmost to lay your hands on that channel 4--ITN survey Clare told me about. It would be crucial for any number of things we are doing here, and for the future of our poor friends...

More soon. I must get some sleep.

All the best,

Arnie

PS I don't mean to be cryptic about the response, but you will see what I mean soon -

Nov. 19, 1991

Message for Olwen Maynard — 18 PAGES

Dear Olwen,

Attached are copies of the joint House-Senate resolution that is scheduled to be passed by Congress, with a few alterations, either today or quite soon. This resolution is much stronger than anything that has appeared in the past, and has apparently been approved even by traditional defenders of Indonesia...

Also attached are some relevant press clippings. Please pass on the Congressional material to interested parties, especially to the press in Britain, if possible.

The Project is working as a principal advisor to the media, etc, to facilitate appearance in the US of the TV footage shown in Britain, the writing of leaders for the major papers, etc, in addition to our role on a myriad of other matters. Don't hesitate to contact us if anything else is needed, and we will do the same.

Many thanks.

With best wishes,

17

Nov. 19, 1991

Message for Kathryn Scott, CIIR

17 Pages

Dear Kathryn,

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 the article from the Independent on Sunday, just in case.

Allan Nairn, Amy Goodman and I are making the rounds and this is only the beginning.

Many thanks.

With best wishes,

Arnold

PLEASE FAX ALL BRITISH CUTTINGS AS THEY APPEAR> THANKS!

NOV 20:

PS We broke through with a strong leader in the previously crucial Washington Post.....

Nov. 19, 1991

Message for Steve Alston, EAPI — (21) Pages

Dear Steve,

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...

Also attached are some relevant press clippings. Please pass on the Congressional material to interested parties, if possible. I have included some British cuts (Max Stahl is Chris Wenner, by the way) that we have made nicely, at Olwen's suggestion.

The Project is working as a principal advisor to the media, etc, etc, etc, etc, to facilitate appearance in the US of the TV footage shown in Britain, the writing of leaders for the major papers, etc, in addition to our role on a myriad of other matters, the church, etc. Much more is on the way. Allan, Amy 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, and we will do the same.

Many thanks.

With best wishes,



Paul Moore has set up a meeting with Perez de Cuellar for Dec. 3.

Arnold S. Kohen

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Writer/Journalist

Dec. 9, 1991

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

For Dr. Peter Carey - 4 Pages  
Trinity College

Dear Peter,

Look at the attached -- a great breakthrough that hopefully will be a catalyst for further comment and, much more importantly, concrete action.

I will send the analysis and material related to the Economist by tomorrow, as I am totally occupied today with press matters here and related business. In any case, the two Washington Post editorial (I attach the first one for your convenience), the fact that The Wall Street Journal gave such prominent play to the attached Helen Todd piece, and the prominent involvement of Republican conservatives like Senator Wallop, are points that the Economist may find of interest. More soon.

All the best,

*Arnold*

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

3812 Windom Place, NW  
Washington, D.C. 20016  
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Dec. 9, 1991

Fax message for Mary McGrory 36 pages

Dear Ms. McGrory,

Attached is some new material on East Timor that might be of interest, especially in the period surrounding International Human Rights Day.

The situation remains extremely dangerous, and there is no better time than the period around human rights day and Christmas -- to keep their feet to the fire. There are some small glimmers of hope, Timorese clergy believe, but they stress that the situation remains very perilous and volatile and there is much that is simply not known because of tight restrictions on communications.

First, there are two pages of information gathered from church sources in East Timor over the past two weeks by Father Reinaldo Cardoso, pastor of St. Anthony's Church in West Warwick, Rhode Island. Father Cardoso served in East Timor from 1960-72, was the high school teacher of East Timor's 43-year-old Bishop, Carlos Belo and other senior clergy. Father Cardoso has proven to be highly reliable in the 12 years I have known him. Tel: 401-821-8342. Father Cardoso's church sources could have written Amnesty International 1985 report, just as precisely and accurately, years before it appeared.

Second, there are a couple of rather wild statements made by top Indonesian military people after the Nov. 12 massacre. Third, there is a rather weak statement by State Department spokeswoman Margaret Tutwiler on Nov. 27, plus an interesting one of Nov. 22 showing that the CBS piece on Nov. 21 caught Jim Bakers eye. In contrast, there is the strong -- for Congress, anyway -- letter of 52 US Senators sent to President Bush on Nov. 27, together with separate resolutions passed by both Houses on Nov. 21 and 23.

Also included are other items from the press. The attached Wall Street Journal article by the (journalist) mother of the 20-year-old New Zealander who was killed on Nov. 12 is very powerful.

If you decide to turn to this again, even in passing, do give me a call, as we are getting fresh news hour by hour. As I've said, I learned to judge fact from fiction at the knee of your old colleague, Jim Polk. So much has gone wrong on the horrible Timor affair that Bishop Moore and the various Catholic groups for whom I work on this want to do their utmost to assure that everyone finally gets it right.

Thanks for your courtesy, and your great column on Nov. 19.

Arnold Kohen

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

Dec. 5, 1991

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Stephen S. Rosenfeld  
Deputy Editorial Page Editor  
The Washington Post

Dear Mr. Rosenfeld,

The Timor story continues to unfold. I attach and will send over some new material, including information I have received from church sources (attached here) who have proved to be impeccable over time. Your editorial of Nov. 20 was excellent, and international forces may now be in motion that will eventually lead to a just settlement. The profound fear at this point, however, is that the Indonesian troops will kill many more people to exact retribution over the international black eye they are receiving, and to put down resistance and assert their authority. So for the present, the key question is, what is being done by the international powers-that-be, including Washington, to deter further killing and other abuses, and assure that humanitarian agencies gain the necessary access? This is not an ideological issue and no one -- at least not me nor the people on the Hill who have been involved in this over the years nor any other responsible observers -- has the slightest desire to embarrass the US government or anyone else. We merely want all possible pressure, in whatever way it can be exerted, to end the killings and atrocities, as Senator Wallop has put it, in another way, in his press statement today, announcing that a letter signed by 52 US Senators has been sent to President Bush. (In case the Wallop office hasn't managed to get through by fax, I am attaching copies) We simply want to do everything possible to protect these people from further harm without losing sight of an eventual settlement.

December 7 is the 16th anniversary of the fullscale Indonesian invasion of East Timor (I say "fullscale" because they had begun a covert invasion earlier on), for your information -- and let me state that I wish that things had genuinely cooled down by now. What kind of ogre would want the type of things reported by the aforementioned church sources, Amnesty International, etc, to be taking place? (I, frankly, would love to re-focus my energies on international and domestic humanitarian issues.) Or the scenes shown on the videotapes I've sent you? Your editorial of Nov. 20 said what needed to be said so far as the big picture is concerned. Forgive my temerity -- though sometimes it is needed -- -but the ongoing reports of killings and abuse might warrant further comment.

Thanks for your attention.

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

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Nov. 18, 1991

Mr. Stephen S. Rosenfeld — 10 Pages  
The Washington Post  
RE: East Timor

Dear Mr. Rosenfeld,

Attached are items I mentioned in our earlier phone conversation, plus a Nov. 14 statement by Sen. Wallop.

1. A one-page notice from the Asia Watch Executive Director, Ms. Sidney Jones (who was based in Indonesia for three years and is fluent in the language), 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 quoted elsewhere on the same day as expressing regret and promising an investigation (in any event, how would an investigation, a dubious prospect at best, solve the overall problem?), and despite more conciliatory remarks by other military people that have been widely cited.

Asia Watch's informants in legal circles in Jakarta say this quote and similar fare were widely reported in the Indonesian press. We are trying to get additional articles from the Indonesian press as soon as possible, including an article from a military paper, as these articles will add important details, we are told.

2) Articles from the International Herald Tribune (Nov. 14) and the London Sunday Observer (yesterday) that make it clear that there was no physical provocation on the part of the East Timorese at the cemetery.

3) Wire stories in the British press last Friday that recount a bit of the day-after scene at the cemetery and cite East Timor's Bishop Belo on a death toll of as high as 180 in the Nov. 12 incident.

4) Today's Reuter account of an alleged massacre of 80 people last Friday. This is an unconfirmed report, and it could well turn out to be untrue or exaggerated. Nonetheless, given what we know about the behavior and statements of the military in the past week alone, it is not unthinkable that this might have happened and certainly seems to merit further inquiry.

Should additional credible information surface, I will send it on. Thanks for your attention.

Arnold Kohen



Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

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Nov. 12, 1991

Fax Message for Ms. Amy Goodman and Mr. Allan Nairn, ~~5~~ **6** PAGES

c/o ~~Hilton Hotel~~, Guam

*Memorial Hospital*

Dear Amy and Allan,

I hope the two of you are all right after what happened -- we have to keep the last pocket of resistance alive, two of the last holdouts, don't we? Has all of this convinced you two to take an MBA at Harvard next year? Or the corporate law route?

Marty Rendon of Rep. Tony Hall's office would like to do something immediately but wants to hear what you have to say first. Please phone me as a matter of urgency, so we can talk things over.

I am also in the process of arranging a meeting at the NY Times editorial board, together with Paul Moore, for late next week, and wonder if you two would be able to attend, so as to apprise the editorial writers of where our tax dollars are going.

Um abraco,

*Arnold*

PS: I'm just sighing with relief that the two of you are alive. (I know this sounds trite, but the two of you are amongst the most pleasant folks I know.) Now you see why I haven't taken the plunge. After talking recently with Shirley Shackleton -- widow of Greg Shackleton, one of the five Australian TV journalists killed in Oct. 1975 -- I had the creeps, especially after hearing how Greg's mother killed herself in despair after the Australian government refused to make an issue of it.

Let me take you out for some soothing chicken soup soon --- stuff even Gotlieb would eat. And surely Aryeh has ordered a platter of danish pastries.... and Noam is thinking of you.

Holly Burkhalter sends her warmest greetings. We have been discussing what to do next, and she looks forward to further news from you.

Attached are AI and Asia Watch statements on the incident...



COMISSÃO PARA OS DIREITOS HUMANOS E DEMOCRACIAS (CDH)  
Rua da Restauração, 27, 2º E.º Tel. 351 221 27 10 (10 linhas)  
1200 Lisboa Portugal Telex 310000 CDHCP

Arnold Kohen  
TO: East Timor Research Project  
FROM: CDDM / Luisa T Pereira  
Lisboa, 12/11/1991

Dear Arnold + Karina

Obrigada pela informação que enviaram  
no outro dia. Foi muito útil.

Segue seguem

- uma assinatura de José Ramos Horta,  
na qualidade de representante  
especial do CDDM
- um comunicado do CDDM.

Em breve vamos enviar um resumo das  
tarefas que o Estado português como  
hoje.

Esperamos de saber de iniciativas  
no EUA sobre estes acontecimentos,  
hoje..

Um abraço, pela CDDM

Luisa Tereza Pereira

See you in the New Year I hope - the MOMA (Thinking  
Modern)  
Exhibition or RT is going  
TRINITY COLLEGE  
OXFORD

Telephone  
Lodge: (0865) 279900  
Direct: (0865) 279227

about in the Spring. Do you have  
any contacts in the Gubukhan  
Foundation when they are 10.XI.91  
hoping to raise some  
money for the Exhibition?

Dear Arnold -

Good to talk to you on the phone this  
week. Forwarded awesome things on Times which may be  
of interest. I will try Johnny Grimmond of The  
Economist again today to find out about the possibility of  
a paper editorial in RT. Will keep you posted. Love  
P. R.

# Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

December 30, 1991

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

Mr. Stephen S. Rosenfeld  
Deputy Editorial Page Editor  
The Washington Post

Dear Mr. Rosenfeld,

May I preface this letter by saying I would much prefer not to be writing this? That this normally tranquil time of the year has been shattered for me (and a lot of others) by the developments that I will outline below? (See the collection of notes, for example). I am keenly aware that you have a lot of other weighty things on your mind but am sending this material because my newsman's instincts tell me you may need it before long.

Attached are a number of items regarding the preliminary report of the Indonesian commission of investigation of the November 12 incident. A news article from Friday's Washington Post, is of particular interest.

More to the real point of all this, one might call this "the \$4.75 billion report," the dollar figure contributed by the multilateral aid consortium, the Inter-Governmental Group on Indonesia (IGGI), referred to in the Dec. 18 statement by Reps. Hall and Wolf. There are clear signs that aid to Indonesia from this consortium hangs in the balance -- see the attached Christmas Eve statement by Japan's Prime Minister, for instance.

The eleventh hour "adjustments" made in the Indonesian report can be viewed in this light. The fact that the Indonesian government has removed two generals in connection with events in East Timor says more about the international heat they feel, and the huge sums of money Indonesia stands to lose, than anything about a change of policy on the human rights front. On the contrary, while the generals were being replaced, the Indonesian authorities also reiterated that some Timorese would be charged with subversion in connection with the Nov. 12 events -- an offense that carries the death penalty. The talk of subversion charges has been a consistent theme over the past two weeks -- this, concerning unarmed demonstrators whose main offense seems to have been their role in embarrassing Jakarta internationally.

Only in the most Orwellian of universes could one create an equivalence between the removal of military officers ostensibly responsible for a massacre and the charging of survivors of that same massacre with a crime that carries the ultimate penalty...

Mr. Stephen S. Rosenfeld, The Washington Post, Page 2

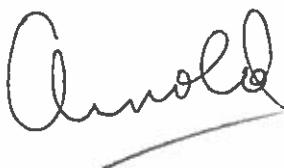
There is great fear in East Timor that the removal of the two generals will divert attention from what is actually taking place there right now, hidden as it is, but which people insist is a reign of terror -- with some days better or worse than others, to be sure, depending to no small degree on the extent of pressure from abroad, according to reliable sources.

The great fear is hardly misplaced. It is a matter of record that in the late 1970s President Suharto announced with great fanfare an amnesty for East Timorese guerillas who surrendered to the Indonesian Army -- which then proceeded to execute many hundreds of East Timorese, all done while the world's attention was diverted by the official statements. As ghastly as things can get -- and something that must not be repeated.

If anything, the history of the past few weeks shows that increased international pressure can have an impact on human rights in East Timor, but the pressure must be dogged, and not diverted or deflected by gestures having little to do with human rights that are merely designed to shore up the \$4.75 billion in IGGI money that Jakarta stands to lose.

Jakarta's susceptibility on the money front -- in their own way, The Economist made a great contribution to this debate, even if their recent leader didn't go far enough and contained errors of fact -- shows that the West and Japan should insist on excruciating pressure on Jakarta on the human rights front, and a just political settlement leading to free and fair elections in accordance with self-determination: The sacking of 1000 generals, and 1000 commissions of inquiry, would be no substitute for these essential points.

Thanks once again for your patience. I will continue to send material as warranted.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Arnold", with a horizontal line underneath it.

Dec. 7, 1991

for Jess Agustin — 17 Pages  
CCODP

Dear Jess,

I am sure you are jet-lagged with a mountain of paper on your desk, but it is my responsibility to keep you informed. Attached is a selection of Congressional and press material. We are in close touch with the church in Timor, and are putting out information day by day to the right people in the media, Congress, etc. A further report will follow and will reach you when you are back to normal. The situation is obviously of the utmost urgency, and support is needed to meet the tough challenges ahead...

I will be in touch soon. Have you seen the television report on the Nov. 12 massacre? If not, I will send you a videotape of the CBS version that appeared here.

Best to the family, especially Miss "Only the Lonely".

All the best,



Arnold Kohen  
Project Director

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

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

Dec. 6, 1991

Fax message for Dr. Peter Carey, Trinity College

(18) pages

Dear Peter,

I fear I've been horribly remiss, but then, you can only imagine what things have been like here.

(By the way, Stan Windass said he would post me a letter from you, but I never received it.)

I'm attaching only the barest here -- the Senate letter released today (Senator Wallop, Republican of Wyoming, is, you may recall, Bishop Paul Moore's cousin-- how do you like the logo on his press release? A new constituency!), the separate House and Senate resolutions passed, Washington Post and Boston Globe editorials, Allan Nairn's unsigned New Yorker piece.

I was glad to see your letter in the Independent on Nov. 16-- anything else since then?

On a more basic and somber note, the one page sheet of notes on our contacts with reliable Timorese church sources is horrific reading. We have made this information available to high-level people in the Congress and Administration and the media, and hope that pressure can be generated to deter the military from carrying out further abuses. Vain hope that this may be, it is our only alternative, I fear. Your suggestions would be most welcome. Please find a way to fax them through.

The brightest news I have heard since this ghastly business began -- and that means in 16 years -- came last week. Clare Dixon of CAFOD rang me on Nov. 28, Thanksgiving Day here, before she was to appear on Channel 4 News at 7 PM (did you see it? It was excellent). She said that she was told by people at Channel 4 that after the initial report on Nov. 18, a phone poll was taken, asking what international issue people wanted to know more about, and East Timor topped the list. That indicates a visceral reaction to the Santa Cruz footage -- backed up by reaction here amongst Congress and the press to what appeared on The CBS Evening News with Dan Rather -- that could ultimately turn this thing entirely around. On that note, let me say that we are busily distributing zillions of videotapes to the right people.

More soon. I've obviously been delayed in coming over.

All the best,  
Arnold



The Right Reverend  
Paul Moore Jr.

Dec. 23, 1991

Ms. Marjorie Pritchard  
Op-Ed Editor  
The Boston Globe

Dear Ms. Pritchard,

I have instructed my assistant, Mr. Arnold Kohen, to transmit the attached article, intended for publication on Christmas Day. Given the timeliness of the subject matter and the urgency of the situation, I hope that the Globe will be able to publish it.

Please contact me or my Mr. Kohen (202-363-1649) for further information.

Thank you very much for your consideration.

Sincerely,

*AK for PM*

The Rt. Rev. Paul Moore Jr.

P.S. I was Episcopal Bishop of New York from 1972-89. Upon my retirement I travelled to East Timor at the request of the chairman of a major human rights organization.

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





The Right Reverend  
Paul Moore Jr.

This season Christians around the world celebrate the story of a poor infant, born in a stable, threatened with death by a ruthless dictator, and finally taken by his family as a political refugee to another land. He has been called the Prince of Peace because he later gave his life for justice, forgiveness, compassion and peace.

On the other side of the globe this Christmas, some 600,000 Christians live on a tropical island called East Timor. Since the Portuguese left in 1975, they have been illegally occupied by Indonesia following an invasion carried out with American arms and condoned by then President Ford and Secretary of State Kissinger, who left the Indonesian capital of Jakarta the day before the assault. These poor and gentle people are indeed Christ figures, enduring a persecution far more brutal and long lasting than that of King Herod.

From all available accounts, an atmosphere of terror will prevail in East Timor throughout the holiday season and beyond, unless Indonesia's major aid donors and trading partners, such as the US and Japan, exert pressure on Jakarta.

There has not been a single peaceful Christmas in East Timor since the Indonesia Army invaded the largely Roman Catholic territory, costing the lives of at least 100,000 of East Timor's original population of less than 700,000.

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

Moore - p. 2

1R

It certainly wasn't peaceful in December 1989, when my wife Brenda and I visited there. I had taken part as an infantry officer in the Marines in some of the heaviest fighting of World War II in the battle of Guadalcanal, and had travelled to other world trouble spots over the years, as had Brenda. Nonetheless, what I witnessed in East Timor in 1989 was as bad as anything I have encountered in suppression of human rights.

But this year the atmosphere is worse than in any year since the Indonesian assault, when largescale massacres initially took place.

On October 28, 1991, Indonesian troops attacked a church in the capital, Dili, where pro-independence activists were taking refuge, killing one young man. Thousands of Timorese joined a November 12 commemoration of the victim's funeral, marching to Santa Cruz Cemetery, where Indonesian troops, without warning or physical provocation, methodically opened fire on the assembled people, filmed in part by Britain's Yorkshire TV and shown by CBS News here. Two American eyewitnesses, journalists Amy Goodman of Pacifica Radio and Allan Nairn of The New Yorker, stood between the troops and the Timorese, and were badly beaten by the Indonesians: Nairn sustained a fractured skull.

At least 75 to 100 East Timorese were killed, possibly twice that number. Reliable accounts affirm that many died of untreated wounds and further abuse after Nov. 12.. A top Indonesian leader has vowed to "wipe out" East Timor's independence movement once the government investigation of the Nov. 12 incident is completed.

The reported removal of 2 blind  
gens on DEC 28 is seen as  
little but  
a cosmetic change  
in ET

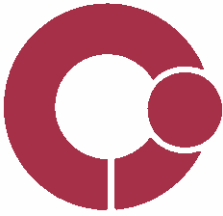
Moore, p. 3

Indeed, information received in recent days from East Timor indicates many people are literally afraid for their lives.

Accounts say that some Catholic priests, treated as scapegoats by the Indonesian military, are being interrogated for hours on end - - intended as a terror tactic, no doubt. It is also reported that the Bishop, Carlos Ximenes Belo, who impressed us when we met him as a man of great courage and integrity, has been threatened, harrassed, and deprived of direct access to communications.

What can be done? In recent weeks Congress has taken steps, including a resolution that calls for pressure on Indonesia to refrain from this carnage and abuse of human rights and urges efforts by the Bush Administration to resolve the roots of the tragedy. This would entail a United Nations process toward a referendum on self-determination for the people of East Timor who have resisted the Indonesian occupation from the beginning.

But with Congress away and other Western Parliamentary bodies shuttered for the holidays, there is great fear that the plight of East Timor, so vivid on television in recent weeks, will be forgotten-- giving the Indonesian military a free hand to exact retribution over the international disgrace they are enduring because of this incident. The Bush Administration should be putting pressure on Indonesia -- and getting its allies to do the same -- to end the atmosphere of fear and repression, ensure full access for international humanitarian agencies and support a process leading to real freedom for East Timor. Since the United States condoned the original invasion in 1975, we have a special responsibility to redress this tragedy -- and help provide East Timor with much more to celebrate by next Christmas.



Canadian Council for International Co-operation Conseil canadien pour la coopération internationale

1 rue Nicholas St., Suite 300  
Ottawa, Ontario, Canada K1N 7B7

Tel.: (613) 236-4547

Fax: (613) 236-2188 Telex: 0636700492

May 9, 1991

Arnold Kohen  
3812 Windon Place NW  
Washington, DC 20016, USA

Dear Mr. Kohen,

Your name and address were given to me by John Taylor and Richard Archer who had attended the conference on East Timor that you organized in late April. I met them in Washington at the INGI conference.

I am working with the Indonesia Canada Forum, a coalition of Indonesian and Canadian NGOs, now in its initial stages of a 5 year project span. Many of the Canadian NGOs are deeply concerned with the situation of East Timor. Perhaps you are in touch with some of them. A question we face, for example, is whether to become involved in projects in East Timor.

Would there be any papers or proceedings from the East Timor conference that we might be sent? We would greatly appreciate as much current information and analysis as possible to help us make informed choices about what policies we will advocate.

Another question I have for you is about a conference on the Asmat of West Irian, organized by the Asmat Foundation on June 14. Do you know anything about it? Apparently the Indonesian Embassy is funding participants' airplane fares. Minister of Population and Environment, Emil Salim, is one of the speakers. We were wondering what the purpose of the conference is, how long it will be and why the Indonesian Government chose to be involved? Do you know the Asmat Foundation? It was Joel Kuipers at 202-9946075 who called us.

I do look forward to hearing from you. Good luck in your very worthwhile endeavours.

Yours sincerely,

Frances Cosstick  
Project Coordinator

James Dunn - Foreign Affairs and Human Rights Columnist  
Tel. & Fax: 044-743484 Address: 13 Percy Davis Dr., Moruya NSW 2537

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TO: SENATOR GARETH EVANS, FOREIGN MINISTER

I was quite shocked to read, in the Sydney Morning Herald (11 Feb) a remark accredited to you that the Timorese guerillas should "accept the reality of the situation" and surrender. If the report is accurate, this is an appalling remark from the Foreign Minister of this country, a neighbour of East Timor. From *Amnesty International* reports over the past two or three years the reality of the situation is that "surrendered" guerillas have often been summarily executed, or have disappeared, some to prisons to distant parts of Indonesia, if they are still alive - a practice conveyed to me by the present Governor of East Timor, Mario Carrascalao.

Your remark ignores the fact that the armed resistance continues to exist not because a few young Timorese have chosen a life of banditry, but because massive opposition to the integration of East Timor persists, as it does in, say, the Baltic states. It is astonishing that a government, which has so proudly consigned a contingent of its defence forces to help right the grave injustices inflicted on the people of Kuwait, simply cannot bring itself to take a single constructive step towards righting the wrongs suffered by the people of East Timor from an act of aggression equally unjustified and callous in its disregard for the rights of a small nation. Why on earth could you not have encouraged the Indonesians to seek a negotiated settlement, in the same way as we have in the past approached the Tamil problem in Sri Lanka? I leave tomorrow for a symposium abroad on the humanitarian consequences of war, with a deep feeling of sadness and shame.

*James Dunn 11/2/91*

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

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

September 7, 1991

Memo to Brenda and Paul Moore

On Friday, Sept. 6, I spoke with Ms. Lee Arrowood of Sen. Wallop's staff. Ms. Arrowood informed me that some recent visitors to East Timor -- Senate staffers who visited in August at the expense of a Washington organization working closely with the Indonesian government -- have told her that the information in the Senate resolution and letter is "out of date." At least one unspecified person involved with this visit will be meeting with Ms. Arrowood, perhaps on Monday.

As distasteful as all of this is, none of it is out of the ordinary. The Indonesian Embassy was livid over Wallop's July 29 statement as well as the resolution, and the history of the Timor affair shows clearly that the Indonesians and friends can be expected to counter-attack in this manner, by creating confusion amongst non-experts like Wallop and staff (i.e. "Recent visitors say your information is outdated." Incredibly, this line has been at work since Dick Holbrooke began to use it in 1977. The Indonesians would love to see Wallop in a confused state now, because if Wallop stays on the case, he will be a formidable opponent.

Ms. Arrowood, the Wallop staffer, seems to have good perspective about all of this. Her comment to me, more or less, was that such trips, effectively bought and paid for by foreign regimes or their agents, and guided by the offending parties, can hardly be expected to yield much real information. She agreed to keep me informed of her meeting(s) with the people who say Wallop's information is outdated.

That being said, this matter still must be taken seriously. There is too much potential for trouble here to ignore it -- not least of all because an aggressive approach is clearly being taking toward Wallop.

I originally called Arrowood to find out what Wallop is planning to do about the conference committee that will meet with regard to the East Timor resolution sometime after Sept. 11. Frankly, I didn't receive much of an answer, except for the news of the Congressional visitors' comment about the information being "out of date."

Needless to say, information in the Wallop letter and Senate resolution is hardly the kind of thing that could be checked or refuted by Senate staffers visiting East Timor under Indonesian auspices. What makes this all the more grotesque is that over the past year -- and especially in recent months, with Indonesia gearing up for the Portuguese Parliamentary visit -- ordinary people in East Timor have been sternly warned by the Indonesian military to refrain from making critical comments about the situation to foreign visitors, which would surely include Senate staff -- particularly after the July 29 resolution.

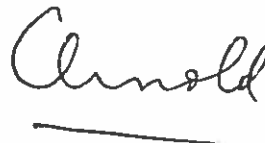
Attached is a draft of a letter I suggest you have me fax to Wallop. Let me know what you think of it -- your input would be very helpful. Ideally, I would like to fax it to his office on Sunday night so that Ms. Arrowood has it for her meeting with the Senate staffers on Monday and before the conference committee begins action on Sept. 11.

I will be in New York to visit my mother from Monday night through Wednesday. If you and Brenda are available for lunch on Tuesday or Wednesday, Sept. 10 or 11, it would be good to meet then, or if not for lunch, perhaps another time during those days. In particular, we should discuss developments regarding the resolution, letter, etc and how we should proceed from here. There is clearly resistance building, as evidenced by the Solarz business on the resolution and the Senate staffers' visit and approach to Wallop staff. We should discuss what else, if anything, we want to do about all of this.

I will be in touch by phone on Sunday, Sept. 8.

Hope you and Brenda are well.

With best regards,

  
A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Arnold". Below the signature is a horizontal line.

# United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-3201

March 18, 1991

Mr. Thomas G. MacGowan  
2686 Broadway  
No. 44-6  
New York, New York 10025

Dear Mr. MacGowan:

I do thank you for your letter inquiring about the policy of the United States during the Indonesian invasion of East Timor. You have quoted from a pamphlet by Noam Chomsky which, I believe, unfairly characterizes the contents of my book A Dangerous Place. A most important point of that work was precisely that I felt that the United States should place more emphasis on the vital issue of human rights rather than acting out Cold War rivalries. For instance, (only a dozen or so pages before the passage Mr. Chomsky mischaracterizes) I describe a private meeting with President Ford in which I emphasized "the difficulties getting the bureaucracy to see the issue of human rights." My discussion of the tragic events which befell East Timor, Western Sahara and Angola begins with the following passage:

A theme of our speeches throughout November had been that to corrupt the language of human rights ... would soon enough imperil the language of national rights also, and soon enough it did. In December, two fledgling nations were conquered or partitioned by their neighbors, while a third was invaded by Communist forces from half a world away. It would be gratifying to report that there were those who made some connection between what we said would happen and what now did happen, but there were none. This perhaps only confirmed our charge that the Charter was being drained of meaning.

Mr. Chomsky's claim -- that I was expressing "pride" that the United States took no action to prevent these events -- is simply wrong. Indeed, the opposite is true, as is readily apparent from the full text of A Dangerous Place.

Moreover, in 1982 and 1984 I joined Senate colleagues in urging Secretary of State George Shultz to work to prevent further abuses by Indonesia in East Timor. In 1987 Senator Durenburger and I drafted and distributed a letter to Secretary Shultz -- ultimately signed by 40 members of the Senate -- which stated:



We would like to draw your attention to a renewed Indonesian military offensive against Timorese insurgents. In the past, such offensives have been characterized by grave human rights violations against the population of the territory, including summary executions, forced marches, relocation, torture, political imprisonment -- in addition to food shortages and disease.

I would close by quoting from remarks I made on the Senate floor just last year on the subject of Western Sahara and East Timor:

It happens that I was the U.S. representative to the United Nations at the time of these events. On that occasion the United States sided with Morocco.... I later set down in writing my view that we were insufficiently attentive to the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice.... It was my personal view at the time that in the case of Western Sahara, and also in the case of East Timor, just then become free of Portuguese rule, the United States was rather too complacent in the face of actions by neighboring states.

I hope that this has helped to clarify my views on the tragedy which has fallen upon East Timor. Again, I do thank you for bringing this pamphlet to my attention.

Sincerely,



Daniel Patrick Moynihan

1 October 1991

Most Rev. P. Francis Murphy, D.D.  
Archdiocese of Baltimore  
320 Cathedral Street Room 706  
Baltimore, Maryland 21201

Dear Frank:

A delight to see that great picture of yourself and the young lad at the Trinity School celebration in The Catholic Review. Oops, it was a young girl in the picture.

Frank, there is need to generate interest again in the Senate for the plight of East Timor. You did so well with the Sarbanes and Mikulski offices -- we call on your good services again.

There is need to have them sign on to the Malcolm Wallop letter in the next week or so.

I enclose materials that you may want for your files.

All gifts of the Spirit in your tasks -- and leisures.

With deep gratitude,

Edward R. Killackey, M.M.

Enclosures

Hey, isn't Bishop Moore the recipient recently of the Four Freedoms Award?

2 October 1991

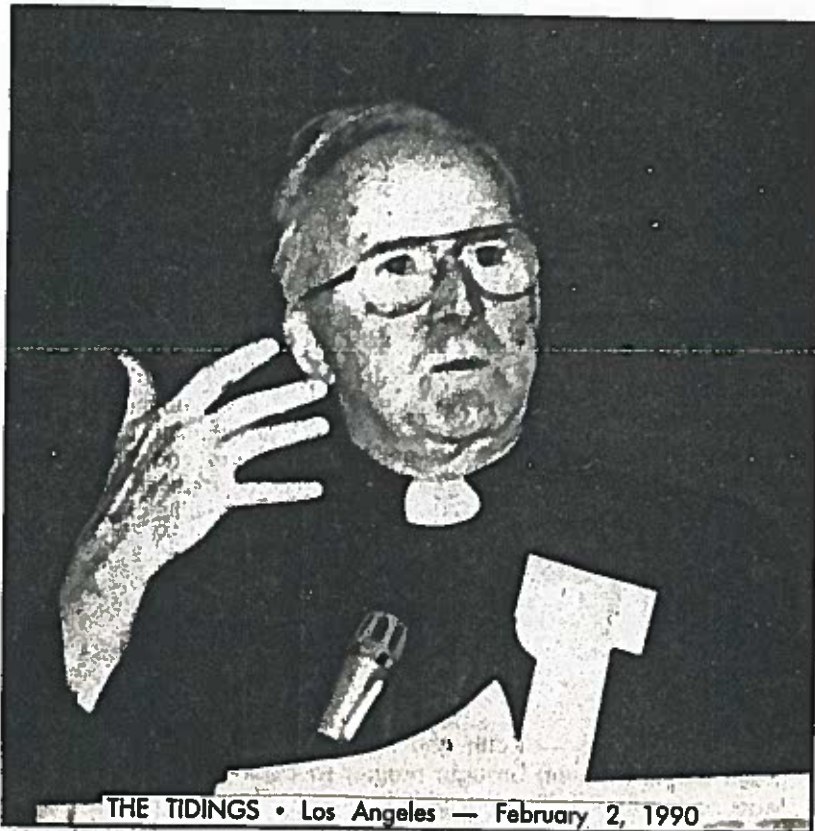
Dear Arnold:

I hand-delivered the information and accompanying letter to Bishop Frank Murphy.

His pasture is Western Maryland but I know he will be in his office in Baltimore on Friday.

Keep well and continued blessings on all that you do for others. You are an inspiration.

*Ed Killackey*



**FUNNY BUT SERIOUS** — Maryknoll Father Edward Killackey, in his joke-filled talk, "Catholicism and American Culture: Can They Co-Exist?" — that had participants by turns laughing and carefully listening — spelled out how Catholics can live out faith and discipleship in the cultural context of our nation despite the fact that our faith and our cultural values most often collide with each other.

cdpm@gn.apc.org Sat Oct 3 13:01:54 1992  
Received: from relay2.uu.net by access.digex.com with SMTP id AA17700  
(3.65b/IDA for apakabar); Sat, 3 Oct 92 13:01:42 -0400  
Received: from cdp.igc.org by relay1.UU.NET with SMTP  
(5.61/UUNET-internet-primary) id AA02773; Sat, 3 Oct 92 13:01:32 -0400  
Received: by lgc.apc.org (4.1/Revision: 1.32 )  
id AA21215; Sat, 3 Oct 92 09:58:59 PDT  
Date: Sat, 3 Oct 92 09:58:59 PDT  
From: cdpm@gn.apc.org  
Message-Id: <9210031658.AA21215@igc.apc.org>  
To: escheiner@igc.apc.org  
Subject: Re: materials from CNRM  
Cc: apakabar@igc.apc.org, KAHN@tifrvax.BITNET, etan@web.apc.org,  
niuLz@igc.apc.org  
Status: OR

### Memo

To: East Timor Solidarity  
Nature: Restricted

From: Jose Ramos-Horta  
Date: 30.9.91

#### 1. Negotiations

The meeting between the Portuguese and Indonesian Foreign Ministers this week-end produced no visible result. At least this is what has transpired in the media. They will be meeting again in December. The SG will be closely involved lending his prestige to the talks. This means also, leaning more heavily on the two sides so that the talks may really progress. What about the East Timorese involvement? A closer reading of the wording of the statement after the meeting is important. The SG will consult with all the parties directly concerned. This means the "Afghanistan proximity talks model" which I proposed as a way out of the impasse. The SG will meet separately with East Timorese representatives. The Portuguese Foreign Minister himself referred specifically to the "Afghanistan proximity talks model" in a TV interview.

The question is: which East Timorese should be invited to the talks?

One thing is important to note: my ideas are winning over. Xanana Gusmao has fully endorsed my ideas in two interviews - one to the Portuguese TV aired on 22 September and the second to the Sunday edition of *Diario de Noticias*, the *Noticias Magazine*. The Portuguese themselves are buying them gradually. In fact Xanana has appealed to the Portuguese to endorse them.

I am meeting tomorrow with Rui Quartim-Santos of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and if I have more information I'll let you know.

## 2. Lobby in Washington

Most of you have heard about Arnold Kohen, he has been working on East Timor in Washington for more than 10 years full-time. However, all his expenses are covered by funds that he raises himself. He works closely with some Churches in the US.

Now I have hired a professional "lobbyist" who is working part-time. He worked closely with the Reagan Administration. He has close contacts with the conservative forces. I am paying him a very modest amount now but we have to review the contract in January 1993.

## 3. Human Rights Consultant in Geneva

I have also hired an expert on UN human rights procedures as our liaison in Geneva. She is Alessandra Aula, a young Italian lawyer. Please take note of her contact and send her all relevant information now on:

12 Rue des Cordiers 1207 GENEVA

Tel.: 41. 22. 70 00 693 (H) Fax: 41.22. 78 80 277.

She is also been paid a modest fee.

## 4. Diplomatic Advisor

I am considering hiring a former senior African Ambassador to be our "roving diplomat" to help us with lobby in the UN in New York, Geneva and African capitals. He was an Ambassador in the UN for more than 10 years and a Director at UNESCO in Paris.

5. You might know now that CNRM has for some time now the following Representatives:

1. Jose Amorim, Representative for the EC
2. Abe Barreto, Toronto, Canada.
3. Jose Guterres, Deputy Representative, Vancouver, Canada
4. Jose Evaristo Madeira, representative for East Asia, based in Japan. Jose is a student and cannot be presented too publicly as a CNRM Representative.
5. Nelson Santos, Head of Human Rights Information and Education. Nelson has just finished a four- month internship in Geneva and will do a one-month training in New York and then another two months in Geneva (January-February) before we actually start off with the human rights bureau sometime next year.



# SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL

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

*TOBY ALICE VOLKMAN, Staff Associate*

October 16, 1991

## MEMORANDUM

To: Participants in Workshop on East Timor, April 1991  
From: Toby Alice Volkman *TAV*  
Re: Publication Plans

I am pleased to be able to report that plans are underway to publish the papers presented at the East Timor conference. We have decided to join forces with the organizers of the similar conference held at Oxford in December 1990, which some of you were involved in as well.

Carter Bentley, an anthropologist whose own work deals with the southern Philippines, has agreed to undertake the complex task of editing the papers for a volume. You will eventually be hearing directly from Dr. Bentley, with suggestions on how to revise your paper. The papers vary greatly now, in length and style, and a good deal of patient editorial work will need be done to shape this into a strong book, and to avoid duplication. I hope you will all be responsive to Dr. Bentley's requests for changes.

Although details of the volume's organization have not yet been worked out, you might like to know that we hope to use portions of the taped discussion, as well as the written contributions. Peter Carey, who organized the conference, has agreed to write an introduction to the volume.

If for any reason you do not want your paper published, or you do not want to be involved in this process, please let me know right away. Otherwise, you should be hearing from Dr. Bentley as his own work proceeds. I think this promises to be an exciting and important publication, and would simply like to thank all of you in advance for your continuing efforts to shed light on the question of East Timor.

cc. Carter Bentley  
Peter Carey  
Arnold Kohen

Arnold S. Kohen

---

Writer/Journalist

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

Dec. 10, 1991

for Andrew Hart  
Office of Rep. Frank Wolf

Dear Andrew,

Last night I bought the International Herald Tribune, hoping that the Post editorial would be reprinted there. It was. Then I saw the attached UPI dispatch.

This is clearly an extremely serious matter. The hoped-for abating of atrocities looks very temporary, if that. General Sutrisno's statement really needs to be brought to the Administration's attention.

I will phone you this morning.

Thanks for your courtesy,

*Arnold*

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

3812 Windom Place, NW

Washington, D.C. 20016

Tel. 202-363-1649

Fax 202-363-3658

Nov. 25, 1991

Mr. Karl Meyer  
Editorial Page  
The New York Times

- 9 pages

Dear Mr. Meyer,

Some important material has arrived from Reuters that I thought I should get to you. Also attached is some earlier material of relevance, such as the initial EEC statement on the massacre and analyses from Jill Jolliffe and AFP.

Thanks for your patience.

Arnold



Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

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

Dec. 10, 1991

For Shepard Forman — 20 Pages

Dear Shep,

Attached are various items of interest, including the two Washington Post editorials, the Wallop letter, the Congressional resolutions, and a powerful Wall Street Journal piece by the (journalist) mother of the 20-year-old New Zealand citizen who was killed on Nov. 12.

Hopefully these horrors will end before long.

With best wishes to you and Leona,

PS I also include information we have received in recent weeks from trusted church sources.

## Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

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

The initial information was received on November 23 and November 25 from authoritative church sources in East Timor:

The atmosphere of terror is said to be worse than at any time since Indonesia's 1975 invasion. There are said to be mass roundups of suspected opponents of Indonesian rule. If a solution is not found to the problem soon, they fear that all will be lost.

Bishop Belo is desperate to contact the outside world, but his phone line is cut off. He pleads for help, asking specifically that actions be taken by the U.S.A. If not, he fears, the East Timorese will disappear. The Indonesian military is trying to coerce Bishop Belo into making pro-Indonesian statements.

Virtually all phone lines to Jakarta have been cut off. All civil aviation has ceased.

The streets of Dili are described as completely empty of people and filled with Indonesian military, not unlike the situation in 1976 and 1978.

The military has picked up all young people from the Taibesse and Bitau areas of Dili and shipped them to Atambua, West Timor. On November 15, 1991 more young people, men and women, were taken outside of Dili on trucks. The women were raped by the Indonesian military in front of the men.

The military is openly poking fun at the U.S.A., saying that the Americans made a lot of noise on the Tiananmen Square massacre, but did not act. They warn that the massacre in Dili will soon be forgotten and threaten to decimate all of the East Timorese youth. Timorese youth are being persecuted in Jakarta, Bali and other parts of Indonesia.

Leaders of the Catholic church in East Timor are openly being threatened. Threats against the Catholic Church are now being made in all of Indonesia, explaining the silence of the Pope.

The following information was received from authoritative sources in East Timor on Nov. 27, 1991, about 7:30 AM Washington time: The situation is the same as it was on Nov. 23 and 25, as stated in the other communication--- and is getting worse. It was emphasized again that the situation is worse than it was in 1976-78, when many people were massacred. The Indonesians "are killing people most every day, sending people of all ages to the angels, most of all the young."

Once again, the Timorese stressed, "All hopes are in the United States. If the United States tells the Indonesians to stop, the rest of the world will follow."

November 30, 1991: Another Timorese church source outside of East Timor, known for his careful ways, states that a personal friend of his in the Indonesian military confirms the tenor of the abovementioned information.

Notes on direct contact with church sources in East Timor, page 2

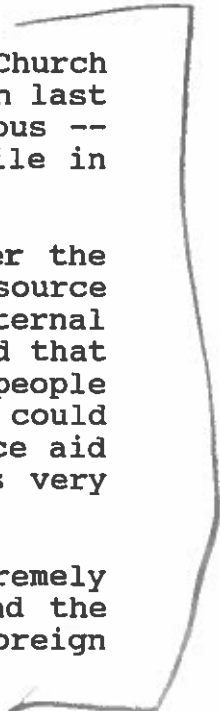
Further contact, early PM, Timor time, Dec. 3: situation remains the same.

Further contact, late night, Dec. 7, Timor time: church sources say fewer killings in Dili area in last three days, believe that US pressure is beginning to work, though sources don't specify how they know this. But continued arrests and torture, and situation regarding killings is unclear in towns outside Dili.

Further contact, 9AM, (local New York time), Dec. 9: Church sources say they haven't heard of further killings in Dili in last three days, but say the situation remains extremely dangerous -- that arrests continue and that people might "disappear" while in custody, if recent patterns hold up.

Asked in code about numbers of people killed after the November 12 massacre and where they are buried, the church source said it is difficult to know precisely because internal communications are tightly controlled. The source emphasized that if Western investigators could guarantee safety to local people [editor's note: a dubious proposition], many local people could lead investigators to graves in the area of Dili. The source said communications between Dili and the rest of East Timor is very tight.

The source stressed again that the situation is extremely dangerous, that ICRC is not allowed to visit prisoners and the wounded, that people could be "disappearing", and that foreign pressure must be stepped up.



Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

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

DEC 9, 1991

FOR Hannu Reime - 19 PAGES

It was very good  
to meet you. Today we had  
a very good editorial in  
the Washington Post, + other  
things in past days since  
you left.

Stay in contact,  
Best regards,

Arnold

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

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

12:45 AM, Dec. 3, 1991

Fax message for Hilary Coulby — 9 Pages  
Asia Desk  
Oxfam

Dear Hilary,

I don't want to overload you all at once, so I will send you things a bit at a time.

Attached here are the (different) resolutions passed by the House and the Senate; a highly significant Washington Post editorial; a biting Boston Globe editorial; a Washington Post news story of Nov. 30; notes on information we have received from trusted church sources, with whom we have had contact over the past six hours and who say the situation remains the same.

More very soon. I have to try to sleep...

Stay in touch, and thanks for your good spirit.

All the best,

Arnold

To the Chairperson  
The Rt. Rev. Paul Moore  
Episcopal Bishop of New York (ret.)  
55 Bank Street  
New York, NY 10014

Dear ~~Bishop Moore,~~ Paul

Thank you for your invitation to serve as a member of the Advisory Board for the Timor Project. I am pleased to accept and would request that my name be listed as follows:

NAME: Sally Lienthal  
TITLE: President, Ploughshares Fund

It is/It is not necessary for my institutional affiliation to be listed for identification purposes only.

Thank you for your attention.

Sincerely, and with my best,

(Signature) Sally Lienthal

(Date) April 21, 1991

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

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Fax 202-363-3658

Nov. 14, 1991

Fax message for Holly Burkhalter

Dear Holly,

Attached is a list of current co-signers of Senator Wallop's letter on East Timor, 38 as of yesterday. Also attached is a list of 24 others who have signed Timor appeals at one point or another in the past, but have not yet signed this one, and they include some obvious friendly types.... In addition, there is the Wallop letter itself. Please note that since we spoke, Wallop's office has agreed that the letter would be edited to reflect recent developments, given the obvious emergency that exists.

Thanks for your help, as always. It was very good to talk with you in recent days.

Very best,

*Arnold*

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

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

Dec. 8, 1991

Message for Dr. Peter Carey - 16 Pages  
Trinity College

Dear Peter,

Thanks very much for your call. Such support is welcome at a time like this. I was able to get a couple of reasonably decent nights of sleep since we spoke (I fear I was near-exhaustion when your call arrived) and, because it's Sunday, the phone isn't ringing nearly as much, making the situation more relaxed, even if the workload remains the same.

We spoke with our trusted church contact in Timor yesterday, and there is a glimmer of hope: he said that in the last three days, they have been killing fewer people, arresting and torturing many, but killing fewer than in the days and weeks following Nov. 12. He says that pressure from the US is the reason that fewer people are being killed. Some of the Timorese clergy have contacts in the Indonesian military, so perhaps he got information on US pressure from that kind of source. We will try to talk to the contact again tomorrow, but much of this has to be done in coded language and so it is hard to get much added detail.

Through at least one Republican Congressman who has a good line to top-level people at the State Department, we have been funnelling information over the past 11 days to top-levels, with the message that the killing must stop. On Nov. 26 we had a meeting, off-the-record, with Assistant Secretary Solomon and four other officials, together with Bishop and Mrs. Moore and Allan Nairn and Amy Goodman, the two American journalists who survived the massacre. Speaking as Bishop Moore's advisor, I stated that we had information of continuing killings, that this news would come out in the press in due time, and that whatever pressure necessary should be exerted by the US to get the killings to cease and get the Red Cross the needed access. Our friends in Congress have been making the same point in their own way. Baker himself is apparently personally involved in the issue. The letter I attach here -- which should go no farther than you, because we promised the Congressman in question that we wouldn't make it public, out of his concern that his relation with Baker not be damaged -- indicates Baker's personal interest in the issue.

Attached is the Anthony Lewis column from The New York Times. Hopefully it will be imitated. I have been in close touch with leader writers from the Washington Post, New York Times, Christian Science Monitor, Boston Globe, etc, and hopefully the Times and the Post will follow up on this in due course on their editorial page. As I said, a good leader in The Economist would have a big impact here and help to stimulate further editorial



Page 2-- for Peter Carey from Arnold Kohen

comment and reinforce Congressional action, especially amongst Republicans. (You wouldn't believe the kind of snob appeal, but more importantly influence, The Economist has over here, even amongst supposedly hard-bitten cynical journalists and leader writers). If you could have a quiet discussion with them this week (I consulted with Anthony Goldstone and he said bringing his name into it would not help), it would be great.

For the moment, I am including the two pieces that the Economist has done, and will send additional material tomorrow that may be helpful in your approach to them. (I must turn my attention to another project tonight that has a firm deadline).

All the best, and thanks again for your help and encouragement.

Arnold



**AMNESTY  
INTERNATIONAL  
USA**

304 Pennsylvania Ave. SE Washington, DC 20003  
Phone: (202) 544-0200 / Fax: (202) 546-7142

September 26, 1991

Dear Senator:

Senator Wallop is circulating a "Dear Colleague" letter that invites members of Congress to co-sign a letter to President Bush regarding East Timor. The letter urges President Bush to address humanitarian issues in East Timor, including human rights abuses occurring in that territory.

Amnesty International takes no position on the issue of independence for East Timor and the legitimacy of the Indonesian control of the island. We can, however, attest to the fact that human rights abuses continue to definitely occur in East Timor.

Amnesty International recently testified before the United Nations on the status of human rights in East Timor on August 7, 1991. We welcome recent statements that the Government of Indonesia intends to play a more active role within the international human rights community. We note, however, that serious violations have continued to occur in East Timor over the last year.

The people of East Timor don't have the "fortune" of having their plight on the frontlines of media around the world or of sharing substantive strategic or economic interests with the United States. But it is precisely due to its lack of "standing" that we especially need you to lend your prestige and help to the East Timorese.

We share Senator Wallop's concerns about human rights abuses by Indonesian forces. Amnesty International appreciates the Senator's efforts in calling the attention of his colleagues to the human rights violations occurring in East Timor.

Sincerely,

James O'Dea  
Director

Pedro Pinto Leite  
Arendshorst 144  
2317 CX Leiden  
The Netherlands  
tel: 071-221065  
fax: idem

Leiden, June 16, 1991

Dear colleague,

It is now more than 15 years since Indonesia brutally invaded East Timor. The answer of Jakarta to the UN Security Council's call for the withdrawal of its forces was the territory's official annexation. The UN, it is true, rejected the act and went on considering East Timor as a non-self-governing territory and Portugal as its Administering Power. But meanwhile, more than 200,000 Timorese, roughly one third of the original population, lost their lives due to the violence and famine that accompanied the occupation.

Indonesia is not interested in discussing the question in regard to its legal aspects and desires the annexation to be seen as a fait accompli, diverting the world's attention to the development it purports to be bringing to the territory. It benefits in its efforts from the indifference of many countries and even from the connivance of some, moved by economic or strategic reasons. But neither the state interests nor the false promises of a better life can make one forget the crimes that were and are still being committed. Among them, the fact that the Indonesian occupation hinders the people of East Timor from exercising their inalienable right to self-determination.

In March 1990, after more than twenty years of struggle, Namibia achieved political independence. The people of Western Sahara, another victim of a long and unlawful occupation, it now seems will be able soon to pronounce on their own future through a referendum. East Timor will become, in regard to surface and as to number of inhabitants, the biggest of the territories with which the UN Decolonization Committee is still concerned.

The solution of the Namibian problem and the positive development of the question of Western Sahara (to which one can add the approaching end of apartheid in South Africa, the recent independence declarations of Palestine and the Baltic States, and even the current interest of the Movement of the Non-Aligned Countries in more effective powers for the International Court of Justice) indicate that, among the community of nations the rule

- 6- to make a systematized scrutiny of the existing juridical bibliography on East Timor, and to organize, as far as possible, a library on that theme;
- 7- to stimulate the study of the question in the Law Schools of different countries, through informative meetings or round-tables and the assistance to students who wish to write works or theses on the subject;
- 8- to establish a yearly international prize for the best of those works or theses.

Last August, and again in January, I sent letters like this one to lawyers of different countries. Many positive answers have meanwhile been received (please see annexed list). An organizing committee (which includes, besides myself, Dr. Paula Escarameia, of the University of East Asia, in Macau, Ms. Sasha Stepan, tutor at the Monash University, in Clayton, Australia, and Dr. Rui Moura Ramos, of the University of Coimbra, Portugal) aims to convene a two day-conference in Lisbon for the official establishment of the Platform. Considering the goals in view, Lisbon will probably also be eligible as the location for the Platform's seat and secretariat.

The subscriber has already established contacts with a view to obtaining organizational and financial support, including travel and subsistence costs to the participants. Until now, three institutions from Portugal and Canada promised the organizing committee subsidies amounting to US\$ 28,000, about one third of the expected total costs of the Lisbon meeting. Other subsidy requests are under consideration.

Since both conditions for the project (i.e. interested people and enough financing) are now being fulfilled, we now anticipate that we will be able to proceed with the organization of the conference in November. We expect it will be attended by 100 jurists, including 40 portuguese.

If you wish to take part in the formation of the Platform, please fill and return the enclosed application form to the address above, if possible before 15 July. In the case you know of additional people who might wish to participate, please ask them to contact me or give them a copy of the form.

Thanking you for your attention and hoping to hear from you soon, I am,

Yours sincerely,



Pedro Pinto Leite



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

Department of Anthropology

Oct. 18, 1991

Dear Arnold:

Our students and faculty members enjoyed listening to Mr. Hinkley's talk, East Timor - Human Rights Crash, which was given yesterday. It was well received and successful in making students aware of the issues, which happen not only in East Timor but also in many parts of the world.

I tape recorded his talk and plan to dub it during the video recording of the exhibition at Hohenthal Gallery. We will keep one for our file and send a copy to you eventually.

Since the show is going to be over shortly, i.e. Oct. 24, 1991, I would like to know the next step you want us to take with respect to the photographs and the captions. When you have set up the schedule, please let me know.

On behalf of the Dept. of Anthropology and Treganza Museum, I thank you for arranging the speaking for us.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Miko Yamamoto', is written over a horizontal line.

Miko Yamamoto  
Curator, Treganza Museum

Dear Father Chico,

In addition to anything else you and Father Cunha want to communicate with Peter Gordon when he comes to Macau, please think above all of advice to give Gordon on safety matters - his safety and that of the Timorese people he will come in contact with in Bali and Timor. Tell him whatever you think, and do not be concerned about offending him. He needs to know the truth.

August 27, 1991

Fax message for Peter Gordon, Yorkshire Television  
# 011-44-532-439732

Dear Peter,

I have confirmed with Father Fernandes that you will be

**MEMORANDUM**

**TO:** Richard Kessler, Senate Foreign Relations Committee  
**FROM:** Marty Rendon, House Select Committee on Hunger  
**RE:** East Timor Resolution

After some discussions with Arnold Kohen, he and I have come up with a very tentative draft of an "S. Res." on East Timor. We have tried to keep it fairly clean and simple.

Although you have requested some language in the form of an "S. Res.," I would be glad to work with you on an "S. Con." or "S. J. Res." However, given the problems such a resolution would be likely to encounter with the House committee of jurisdiction, I agree with you that the speedier course of action would be to proceed with an "S. Res."

I hope this is helpful to you. Let me know how this turns out.

August 15, 1991

For Steve Alston, CAFOD

Attached please find a good resolution on East Timor passed by the US Senate with broad support on 29 July. Also attached is a companion letter currently circulating in the US Senate as well. Please note that the letter -- that is, the last three pages of this fax, dated July 18 and 19 -- cannot be released for publication until the process of gathering signatures is complete and Bush receives it. That means several more weeks at least: (translation: no press, and Carmel cannot receive it).

I have saved the obligatory words of thanks and obsequious flattery for a separate communication via post. Otherwise, you should see by sometime in October.

How are things?

All the best.

*Annie*  
—



Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

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

August 15, 1991

For Marty Rendon

Dear Marty,

I received your fax re: FBIS, UN petitioners, "the same old song." People your age (whoops! I mean our age) remember that tune by The Four Tops. Aren't we blessed?

At any rate, let me send along more of the "same old song" by a new singer -- Wallop's actual letter. About 10 have signed thus far, but the papal divisions (and others) have begun to move their troops in August. Singing their ("same old?") songs.

I will be in touch early next week concerning us getting together to look over my Ford-Chiel-Ungar thing -- maybe some new songs to sing.

Best,

Arnold

Arnold S. Kohen

*Paul Moore*

Writer/Journalist

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

August 12, 1991

Dear Paul,

Below I list some points regarding the Timor resolution for your notes to the Strausses and Sen. Wallop. The conference committee will meet at some point after Sept. 11.

For the Strausses: "We are aware of your (meaning Solarz's) interest over the years in East Timor (Solarz held a hearing on the subject in 1982, facilitated a resolution by Hall in 1984, and his staff has maintained an intermittent interest in the human rights situation there, helping out on occasion), and hope you will support the resolution cosponsored by Senators Pell, Wallop, Moynihan, et al (and cleared by Sen. Helms) when it comes up in the conference committee."

For Wallop: You can once again express your delight with his efforts on the letter and resolution. In whatever way you deem appropriate, express your hope that Wallop will keep an eye on the fate of the resolution once it goes to conference committee. It is your judgement call as to whether or not you want to inform Wallop that Solarz has been known to pull fast ones at the behest of the State Department in conference committees -- it may not be necessary -- but you might want to express your concern that someone on the House side could try to knock out the Timor resolution once it reaches the conference committee and you hope Wallop will help shepard it through. Something like that.

On the State Department: it's probably too soon to raise the issue now -- there's no real need until later, anyway -- but it strikes me that when we meet with State officials again, it should be done under the aegis of Wallop in his office. He's sure to be far tougher with them than anyone else, and it would provide you with a better platform than if we were to try to meet with State on our own. In any case, that's further down the road.

Let me know if you need anything else. Best to Brenda.

*Best regards,  
Arnold*

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

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

August 15, 1991

Fax message for Dr. Peter Carey, Trinity College  
9 pages follow

Dear Peter,

Attached is a resolution that passed the US Senate on July 29 with broad bipartisan support, as you will see by reading through the relevant passages. Also attached is a companion letter circulating in the Senate. (Sen. Wallop is Bishop Moore's cousin, as you will recall. He appears to have enlisted Sen. Helms, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee's top Republican). The letters of July 18-19, by the way, must be kept away from anyone that might publish them before they are complete, probably in early October. These matters, including preparation for the resolution to go to the joint House-Senate Conference Committee (sometime after 11 September), where its fate will be decided. have been consuming a great deal of my time, thus the editing of the conference papers is not yet complete. Do forgive this. I will finish the job as soon as possible. By the time you do your preface, perhaps we will have word as to the disposition of the resolution at conference committee (and the letter's completion), and this could add a nice up-to-date note to the document.

As you may know, Bill Bachle and I will be having dinner on Aug. 28 here, and that should be interesting.

I will be in touch as things unfold. At any rate, it is quite a productive period. If you have any reaction to the resolution, I'd like to hear it.

All the best,

Arnold

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

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

August 15, 1991

Bishop John S. Cummins  
Diocese of Oakland  
2900 Lakeshore  
Oakland, CA 94610

Dear Bishop Cummins,

Attached are 9 pages, six of which are related to a resolution on East Timor that passed the US Senate with broad bipartisan support on July 29 -- good news. A letter is also circulating in the Senate, sponsored by Sen. Wallop of Wyoming, a conservative Republican. These are the final three pages of this communication.

Senator Cranston has signed already, but the other fellow from California has not. It would be very good if you were able to contact him and encourage him to cosign the Wallop letter. There is every reason to believe that pressure generated by these letters has to a certain extent acted as a restraining influence on the Indonesians. Recent developments being what they are, we have to keep trying to restrain them.

I will be in touch by phone next week to discuss this as well as related matters.

Tomorrow, I am going down to Ed Doherty's house near the Chesapeake to have lunch. Ed sends his best greetings.

When are you planning to return to Washington? It would be very good if we could meet again at that time.

With best regards,

Sincerely,   
Arnold Kohen

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

Tel: 202 363 1649  
Fax: 202 363 3658

15 August 1991

Six pages follow for Catherine Scott

Catherine,

The attached resolution, approved by the US Senate on 29 July with broad support of both parties, should be of interest.

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

August 27, 1991

For Father Francisco Fernandes

Dear Father Chico,

This is to confirm that Peter Gordon will be arriving at Hong Kong airport on Friday August 30 at 1700 h on Cathay Pacific, Flight CX 250.

In a little while you will receive another note, which I have asked Korinna to write in Portuguese, concerning Peter Gordon's visit to Macau, Bali and Timor.

After all this correspondence, I would like to be back in Macau you and Father Cunha -- maybe sooner than you think.

With warm regards,

*Arnold*

TRINITY COLLEGE,  
OXFORD OX1 3BH.

24 May 1991.

Ms Chrissie Iles,  
Exhibitions Organiser,  
Museum of Modern Art, **30 Pembroke St.**  
OXFORD OX1 3BP.

Dear Ms Iles,

Many thanks for your letter of 22nd May about the East Timor Exhibition and the possibilities of showing it later this year in your Café exhibition space.

The exhibition comprises 41 photographs and photo-prints in all (with appropriate captions) and five blow-up typeset prints of Editorials and letters which appeared on the East Timor issue in the New York Times in 1980 and 1990.

The photographers include Elaine Brière, a professional Canadian photographer who visited East Timor in 1974 one year before the Indonesian Invasion (15 b/w mounted prints signed by Brière - 60 x 55 cms); Elizabeth (Betsy) Traube, Professor of Anthropology at Wesleyan University, who was doing fieldwork in East Timor before the Indonesian invasion (4 b/w mounted prints - 49.5 x 35 cms.); Shepard and Leona Forman, a husband and wife team (Shep an anthropologist, now Director of Human Rights at the Ford Foundation, and Leona a journalist), who did fieldwork on East Timor pre-1975 and have written extensively on East Timorese society and culture (11 colour mounted prints - 49.5 x 35 cms.); and one by Arnold Kohen's wife, Korinna Horta (b/w mounted print taken in East Timor pre-1975 - 49.5 x 35 cms). All the above (31 prints in all) pre the 1975 Indonesian Invasion.

In addition, there are 10 post-1975 photographs by various journalists and international reporters (6 b/w and 4 colour - 49.5 x 35 cms.). These include two photo-prints (size 43 x 27.5 cms) of photographs taken by Hugh O'Shaughnessy for his Observer feature article on East Timor (7 April 1991) and a wire photograph from Reuters depicting the protests which occurred during the papal mass on 12 October 1990 (size 43 x 27.5 cms.).

The exhibition will have a short run at the Friends Meeting House from 1-30 June and both David Elliott and yourself are cordially invited to attend the official opening on Saturday, 1 June, when there will be a brief lunchtime symposium on East Timor (speakers: Arnold Kohen, Joao Boavida, a Timorese Refugee now studying at the Refugee Studies Programme, and myself). Arnold will be available to meet you on Tuesday afternoon (28 May) and Wednesday morning (29 May), as well as on the 1 June. I do hope that you will be able to meet him and see the exhibition while he is here.

Yours Sincerely,

(Dr Peter Carey)

May 6, 1991

Message for Steve Alston

Dear Steve,

This is a reminder to send your "official" report on your last Timor trip to:

Bishop John S. Cummins  
Diocese of Oakland  
2900 Lakeshore Ave.  
Oakland, CA 94610

or via fax: 415-893-0945.

Regarding your upcoming trip, it would be very helpful for us here if we had as good an idea as possible of where and how US Senate interventions, private or otherwise, can be of help.

I will give you a call before you go off.  
I understand that you may have a travelling partner.

All the best.



Arnold S. Kohen

---

Writer/Journalist

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

Toby-this is a sample of what has been sent to participants; I have individualized the memo where appropriate.

Memorandum for Toby Volkman

Re: Washington SSRC Workshop on East Timor

We will be at the Dupont Plaza Hotel, 1500 New Hampshire Ave., NW, Washington, DC 20036. Phone: 202-483-6000; FAX: 202-328-3265.

Dinner on April 24th is at 7:30 PM at the Tabard Inn, 1739 N Street, NW, a few short blocks from the hotel. People will begin assembling at the Tabard bar at 7 PM.

The conference will start at 9AM on the 25th. A hospitality room in the Kay Spiritual Center at American University, the site of the conference, will have coffee, tea, pastries and rolls beginning at 8:30AM.

If you need anything else, call me. Attached is the latest (but not the final) program. We are still awaiting confirmation of additional panelists.

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

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

April 21, 1991

Message for Toby Volkman

Attached is a preliminary list of invitees to the Timor workshop.  
There will be more.

Also attached is an example of the memo I have sent out, plus the  
program as it now exists.

PRELIMINARY LIST OF INVITEES TO SSRC EAST TIMOR WORKSHOP

1. Stanley Roth, Staff Director, US House (henceforth, House) of Representatives Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs
2. Eric Schwartz, staff associate, same as above.
3. Richard Kessler, Asia specialist, Senate Foreign Relations Committee.
4. Lee Whittaker, aide to Sen. Malcolm Wallop (R-Wyoming)
5. Jennifer Sims, aide to Sen. John Danforth (R-Missouri)
6. Steve Goose, aide to Rep. Robert Mrazek (D-NY)
7. Gary Bombardier, aide to Rep. Matthew McHugh (D-NY)
8. Alexandra Arriaga, director, Congressional Human Rights Caucus
9. Rachel Helfand, same.
10. Brenda Hughes Moore, arts advisor, visitor to Timor, 1989, New York
11. Amy Goodman, journalist, visitor to Timor, 1990, New York
12. Philip Shenon, soon-to-be-Southeast correspondent, The New York Times.
13. Geoffrey Robinson, Amnesty International Research Dept., London
14. Michel Robert, Professor of Law, The Sorbonne, Paris
15. Kan Akatani, representative of Commission of Justice and Peace, Japanese Conference of Catholic Bishops
16. Tom Quigley, Interim director of Office of International Justice and Peace, US Catholic Conference
17. Robert Hennemeyer, US Foreign Service (ret.)
18. Edward Doherty, same
19. John Salzberg, former staffer of House Subcommittee on Human Rights
20. Holly Burkhalter, Washington director, Human Rights Watch
21. George Benson, Washington, DC
22. Harold Maynard, Alexandria, VA
23. Carl Trocki, Dept. of History, Georgetown U.
24. Joel Kuipers, Anthropology Dept., George Washington U.
25. Shelton Davis, Anthropologist, the World Bank
26. Scott Guggenheim, Anthropologist, same
27. Mary Gubbins, Falls Church, VA.
28. Rev. Reinaldo Cardoso, W. Warwick, Rhode Island
29. Rev. Tom O'Brien, Maryknoll Fathers
30. Rev. Edward Killackey, Columbia, MD.
31. Veronica Parke, Washington, DC
32. Michael Chamberlain, Xerox Corp, Syracuse, NY
33. Joao Ramos Pinto, Embassy of Portugal
34. Luis de Sousa, same
35. Barbara Harvey, US Dept. of State
36. Tim Carney, same
37. Larry Dinger, same
38. John Nides, Amnesty International Washington office
39. Estrellita Jones, same
40. Robin Madrid, Washington, DC
41. John MacDougal, Indonesia Publications, Lanham, MD
42. Patrick Petot, staff, American University
43. Mark Pavlick, staff, Georgetown U.
44. Richard Rademacher, former Senate staffer
45. Jenny Newhall, aide to Rep. Machtley (R-Rhode Island)

April 24, 1991

Welcome to the Social Science Research Council Workshop on East Timor. To simplify matters, here is some basic information:

Dinner on April 24 will be at the Tabard Inn, 1739 N Street, NW, at 7:30 PM. Some guests may arrive at 7PM at the Tabard Inn bar. (Please note that although wine will be served at dinner, any other alcoholic beverages must be purchased individually.) The Tabard Inn is a short walk from the Dupont Plaza Hotel. Please ask for directions at the service desk in the hotel.

The conference begins at 9 AM on April 25 at the KAY Spiritual Center at American University. Taxi transport is most efficient. Ask your driver to leave you at the American University side of Nebraska and Massachusetts Aves. The Kay Center is only a few steps from there. A map of American University, with the Kay Center encircled, is attached for your convenience.

A hospitality room in the Kay Center will begin serving coffee, tea, pastry and rolls at 8:30 AM on April 25 (It will be 8 AM on April 26) to panelists and other guests.

Dinner on April 26 will be at 7:30 PM at the China Inn, 629 H Street, NW, which is best reachable by taxi.

A preliminary program for the conference is enclosed.

If you have any questions, please feel free to raise them.

Arnold Kohen  
Conference facilitator

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

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

April 17, 1991

Attention: Pearl in reservations dept.

The following are people who will need rooms in connection with an American University conference. As you told me in our earlier conversation, the conference rate is \$85 per nite plus tax. The block of rooms should be in the name of Arnold Kohen or Toby Volkman.

1. Toby Volkman, nites of April 24 and 25.
2. David Winder, same.
3. Elizabeth Traube, same.
4. Allan Nairn, same.
5. Sidney Jones, same.
6. Jose Ramos Horta, same.
7. Robert Archer, April 24, 25, 26
8. James Dunn, same
9. Prof. Mubyarto, same
10. Pat Walsh, same
11. Michel Robert, same.

You may have a double room in the name of Bishop Paul Moore for the 24th and 26th, and one for Donaciano Gomes beginning the nite of the 23rd. These should be cancelled.

These are the specific names I have thus far. I have reserved 18 rooms for the nites of April 24 and 25, and I will provide other names as soon as I have them.

Thank you. I will phone to confirm these arrangements.

Sincerely,  
  
Arnold Kohen



**GADJAH MADA UNIVERSITY**  
**RESEARCH CENTER FOR RURAL AND REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT**  
Bulaksumur G/7 P.O. Box 2 UGM Phone 88688 Ext. 551. 559  
YOGYAKARTA, INDONESIA

March 8, 1991

Mr. Karl Hutterer  
Chairman, Joint Committee on  
Southeast Asia Social Science  
Research Council  
Fax Number: 1-212-370-7896

Dear Mr. Hutterer,

Thank you very much for the invitation to attend the workshop on the situation in East Timor. I would certainly like to come and present a paper on the Future of Timor. Timor (outline of the paper attached).

But I expect you would be able to finance my trip to Washington DC. Please advise the overall arrangement for the workshop as soon as possible.

Sincerely,

Hubyarto

Director

Fax : 62-274-3847

0645x

TO: Arnold  
202-363-3658

Arnold: Here are the promised sentences. Feel free to edit if it's too wordy. Talk to you soon!

Toby

The conference is sponsored by the Joint Committee on Southeast Asia of the Social Science Research Council and the American Council of Learned Societies in New York. The Social Science Research Council is a non-profit, non-governmental organization, devoted to enhancing scholarship in all fields of the social sciences and humanities. The joint committees through which the Council works provide support for individual scholarly research, and convene international, multidisciplinary workshops and conferences such as this, intended to encourage productive dialogues among diverse participants.

LOG: (0865) 279900  
Direct: (0865) 279 867.  
Fax: (0865) 279911

OXFORD

OX1 3BH

Fax No: 010-1-212-370-7896

19th February 1991.

Professor Karl Hutterer,  
Social Science Research Council,  
605 Third Avenue,  
NEW YORK, NY 10158.

Dear Karl,

EAST TIMOR SYMPOSIUM, 25-26 APRIL 1991

Many thanks indeed for your invitation to attend the above symposium in Washington and to present a paper on future scenarios for East Timor in the 1990s as well as (if necessary) an assessment of Indonesian official thinking on the East Timor issue - in the event that no Indonesian official attends the symposium.

I have thought deeply about the possibility of my participation in this symposium, but I have reluctantly come to the conclusion that I will not be able to attend because the summer term will already have started here in Oxford and I will have only just returned from Cambodia (where I will be spending two weeks in early April in connection with the establishment of a major prosthetics programme under the auspices of the Oxford-based Cambodia Trust). Furthermore, as regards my contribution on future scenarios for East Timor, I feel strongly that one of your other invitees, John Taylor of the South Bank Polytechnic, should deal with this issue as he has already addressed the relevant scenarios at length in his forthcoming book, East Timor. War Without End, which will be published by Zed Books this summer. The only area where I could indeed make an original contribution would be in giving an assessment of the Indonesian official line on East Timor, but I hope very sincerely that at least some Indonesian officials from their Washington Embassy will attend this meeting and can address these issues in person.

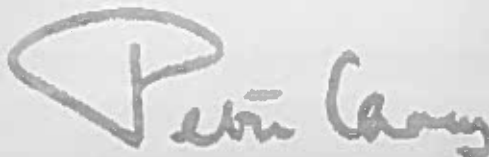
My apologies for replying negatively, but I have thought things through and feel that the combination of the pressure of time and the overlap with John Taylor's expertise on the 'future scenarios' theme will make it difficult for me to participate.

I hope the symposium goes very well and that you are able eventually to publish the papers.

Please convey my warmest regards to Arnold Kohen whom it was a great pleasure to have met at the St. Antony's Conference on East Timor in December and latterly in Trinity. Please remind him to send an invitation to Professor Roger Clarke of Rutgers University if he has not already done so.

Best wishes.

Yours Sincerely,



(Peter Carey)



Telephone  
Lodge: (0865) 279900  
Direct: (0865) 279 867  
Fax: (0865) 279911

TRINITY COLLEGE  
OXFORD  
OX1 3BH

Fax No: 010-1-212-370-7896

25th February 1991.

Dr Leslie Gray,  
Southeast Asia Program,  
Social Science Research Council,  
605 Third Avenue,  
NEW YORK, NY 10158.

Dear Leslie Gray,

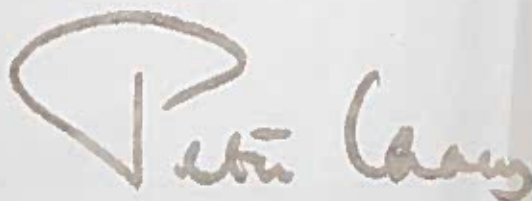
Many thanks for your fax of 20 February replying to my earlier communication about participation in the East Timor Conference. I realise how you are placed and would propose the following.

I will endeavour to attend to give, as far as I am able, a contribution which reflects current Indonesian thinking on East Timor. I will be in Indonesia for a time in late March and will be endeavouring to visit East Timor (if I am able to gain access).

However, as you know, I will also be going to Cambodia and will not be back from that visit until mid-April, only a week or so before your conference will take place. Last time I was in Cambodia, I fell quite ill with the polluted water supply in Phnom Penh and had an accident - related to this illness - which required hospitalisation (actually eleven stitches in the thigh without anaesthetic). I am hoping that this will be a one-off event, but water borne disease is pretty prevalent in Cambodia, and I will just have to take stock how I feel when I eventually get back from Phnom Penh (and touring the war-affected Western provinces in connection with the establishment of the Cambodia Trust's prosthetic programme) to ascertain whether a visit to the US so soon after my arrival back is possible. I will keep my fingers crossed and hope all goes well, but experience seems to show that anything can happen in Cambodia and I have to be realistic that coming back from a two-week visit there could make subsequent travel tiring. But I will do my best.

I hope this explains my situation.

Yours Sincerely,



(Dr Peter Carey)

PS Warm regards to Arnold,

ONE HUNDRED FIRST CONGRESS

TONY P. HALL, OHIO  
CHAIRMAN

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LES AUCCIN, OREGON  
ALAN WHEAT, MISSOURI  
JILL L. LONG, INDIANAMARTIN S. RENDON  
STAFF DIRECTORTELEPHONE (202) 226-9470  
FAX (202) 226-0034

## U.S. House of Representatives

SELECT COMMITTEE ON HUNGER

ROOM H2-505, HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING, ANNEX NO. 2

WASHINGTON, DC 20515

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MINORITY STAFF DIRECTOR

TELEPHONE (202) 226-5460

January 4, 1991

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

Dear Mr. Hutterer:

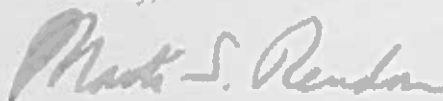
Thank you for the invitation to participate in the workshop on the situation in East Timor. I appreciate being asked to appear on a panel on "the implications of the conflict in East Timor on Indonesia's standing internationally."

While I would like to participate, I am not sure that I would be the most appropriate source of information on this specific topic. Perhaps someone with more direct access to the relevant international fora would be in a better position to present a paper concerning the impact of the situation in East Timor on Indonesia's international standing.

Nevertheless, if it would serve the purposes of your workshop, I could address the Congressional perspective on the question of East Timor and discuss the reasons for sustained Congressional interest in this situation. In my presentation, I would outline Congressional actions on East Timor in recent years, and examine the basis for the growing number of Representatives and Senators who participate in East Timor-related initiatives. I would discuss the significance of this participation in light of the many other issues that compete for Congressional attention. In addition, I would explore the importance of both constituent interest and media interest to Congressional action. Finally, I would highlight the interparliamentary links being forged on the matter of human rights in East Timor.

I hope this approach might be of interest to those attending the workshop.

Sincerely,



Martin S. Rendon  
Staff Director

**ACFOA****AUSTRALIAN COUNCIL FOR OVERSEAS AID**

(INCORPORATED IN THE A.C.T.)

**ACFOA HUMAN RIGHTS OFFICE****124 Napier St. Fitzroy, 3065****Australia. Tel: (03) 417-7505**

TO: Arnie Kohen

Fax (03) 416 2746

FROM: Pat Walsh

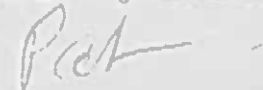
DATE: 26 March 1991

Re East Timor seminar, Washington DC, 25-26 April

1. Hi Arnie, how are you mate. I am writing to say I will be representing ACFOA at the INGI meeting in Washington, 29 April - 1 May. I think I asked John MacD to let you know this, because until I phoned Jim Dunn today I didn't realise you had a direct fax.
2. Apart from allowing me an opportunity to see you, Korinna and Maya, it also means I can hopefully attend the East Timor seminar, which I understand is 25-26 April.
3. David Winder, the Director of the Ford Foundation office in Jakarta was through here the other day. We had a long talk and he encouraged me very much to try and get to the seminar and said he would convey this to Toby Volkman. I haven't heard from her.
4. Jim tells me an invitation is needed. Can this be organised. If so, then I will try and get there from a meeting on Sri Lanka in Europe on 23-24 April. If not, then I will not need to rush. Needless to say, I would very much like to attend and am trying to get some documentation together that may be useful.
5. Finally can you send me the details of the conference: where, when etc. and accommodation arrangements.

Would appreciate as soon as possible. Fax number is above.

Best regards and look forward to seeing you again.



Pat

Memorandum for Brenda and Paul Moore

Re: Washington SSRC Workshop on East Timor

Dinner on the 24th is at 7:30 PM at the Tabard Inn, 1739 N Street, NW. I have been given the thankless task of telling people that wine will be served at dinner, but all other drinks are on a buy-your-own basis (perhaps, after all, I am destined to follow in the footsteps of my paternal grandfather, who was a gendarme in Romania at the turn of the century).

The conference will start at 9AM on the 25th. A hospitality room in the Kay Spiritual Center, the site of the conference, will have coffee, tea, pastries and rolls beginning at 8:30AM.

If you need anything else, call me. Attached is the latest (but not the final) program. We are still awaiting confirmation of additional panelists.

Arnold

claus tca

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

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

April 24, 1991

For Marty Rendon

Dear Marty,

Attached is the biographical info as Ungar will deliver it for the panelists.

Also attached is the bio of the Indonesian military guy who may sit on the panels.

I will be on the lookout for you on your arrival, in case you have any questions or want to go over a few things briefly.

It was a nice dinner, don't you think?

Hope you're well.

Arnold

PS MAYNARD admitted to me that he may have seen very little on his visits to Timor, given that he travelled by helicopter + was escorted.

# YAYASAN ETADep

Jl. Gubernur Serpa Rosa T-028  
Dili, Timor Timur  
Indonesia

Mail: P. O. Box 49  
Dili, Tim Tim  
Indonesia

April 12, 1991

Dr. Karl Hutterer  
Chair, Joint Committee  
on Southeast Asia  
Social Science Research Council  
605 3rd Avenue, New York

N.Y. 10158, U. S. A.

Dear Dr. Hutterer

~~I am very pleased to receive your invitation to participate in the workshop on the situation in East Timor to be held on Thursday, April 25 - 26, at American University in Washington, DC.~~

I deeply regret that, due to various circumstances, I will not be able to participate in this rare and wonderful event to provide inputs from "an insider's perspective" or as a native Timorese who has been working as a development worker for the last ten years. I am mostly interested to provide some information concerning two panels out of four as requested. The two I have chosen are: implications of the conflict and scenarios for the future in East Timor. Unfortunately I will not be able to participate in the workshop so allow me to express very shortly some of my views in this letter:

The real problem for East Timor is the state of extreme poverty that affects more than 90% of the population and under such condition of poverty people hardly question what should be the colour of their flag. All other problems are mostly tailored simply to mask the real burden of this shameful poverty.

The other very crucial problem is the severe shortage of skilled or educated Timorese. Qualified and more skilled people from other islands come to East Timor and mostly they are the ones who can profit from the opportunities opening up here both in the government or private sectors.

Another very sad situation is the paradoxical attitude of the people and governments of the western countries during the last 16 years: they continue to pour huge amounts of money to Indonesia to strengthen their economic and political interests. All of this financial assistance or bilateral projects are kept far away from the poor East Timorese since it is still internationally under dispute. As the result better job opportunities and a development can only take place in other parts of Indonesia, the position of the government is stronger and the already poor Timorese become weaker and poorer.

# YAYASAN ETADEP

Jl. Gubernur Serpa Rosa T-028  
Dist. Timor Timur  
Indonesia

Mali: P. O. Box 49  
Dist. Tim Tim  
Indonesia

I personally think that time has come where those who claim to help the East Timorese should up-date their information and re-evaluate their actions. Otherwise they will continue to hurt the poor people they claim to help.

~~I hope that the seminar will be a great success for everybody.~~

~~Thank you once again for your kind invitation.~~

~~Please accept my best regards.~~

Very sincerely,



Florentino C. Sarmento

Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

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

April 17, 1991

For Phil Shenon  
The New York Times

Dear Phil,

Attached is a two page program for the East Timor seminar I mentioned when we saw each other at the YMCA the other day.

Indonesian officials and others taking that point of view may still be added, hopefully.

As I mentioned, this is a by-invitation-only, off the record event. I checked with the Social Science Research Council staff, and they welcome your presence on an off the record basis.

There will also be a dinner for panelists at the Tabard Inn on Weds., April 24 at 7:30 PM, and you are welcome there, too. A number of interesting scholars of the region will be there.

I will phone you regarding these events and also to confirm our lunch meeting early in the week of April 29.

Thanks,





Arnold S. Kohen

Writer/Journalist

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

April 10, 1991

For Marty Rendon

Dear Marty,

It looks unlikely that the Indonesian government will be sending any panelists to the Timor conference -- Alatas declined today. He had been asked to send a substitute if he was unable to appear himself, but they have apparently declined that as well.

I am at work on your draft and hope to have it done by week's end. This will give you 10 days to make corrections, and I can do that if need be, to your specifications. After the text is complete, we can chat about questions that may come up on the 25th. Attached are two pages of the program as it now stands.

On April 24, there will be a welcoming dinner for panelists at 7:30 PM at the Tabard Inn at 1739 N St., NW. The menu will be Salmon filet with herb butter sauce, salad with a raspberry vinaigrette, and seasonal berries with cookies, white wine and coffee. All on the Ford Foundation. You are invited, and you may be interested in meeting some of the panelists, like Ben Anderson. RSVP to me by April 22. (There is also a Ford-sponsored dinner at the China Inn after the April 25 session. This is preceded by a wine and cheese reception at the photographic exhibition at the American University Faculty Club).

All the best,

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

United States Department of State



Washington, D.C. 20520

FEB 11 1991

Dear Mr. Hall:

On behalf of the Secretary of State, I am responding more fully to your November 19 letter, cosigned by 221 of your colleagues, concerning the situation in East Timor.

The United States Government considers human rights to be a cornerstone of our foreign policy. We are committed to promoting such basic rights not just in East Timor, but throughout Indonesia and the world. Human rights concerns have long been a part of our dialogue with the Indonesian Government, and our Embassy in Jakarta periodically sends officials to East Timor to monitor the situation there. Ambassador Monjo visited East Timor in January 1990, and other embassy officers were there in April and August. The August visit was with a Congressional staff delegation invited by the Indonesian Government. The Embassy Defense Attache visited the province in late November.

Your letter refers to disturbances which took place when Pope John Paul II visited East Timor in October 1989 and when Ambassador Monjo visited there in January 1990. A number of people were detained following the Pope's visit. Most were soon freed. The Indonesian Government has informed us that the final two people in custody were tried on criminal charges and sentenced in January 1990 to three months' imprisonment. Since they had already served three months in pre-trial detention, they were then released.

Security forces injured a number of peaceful, though at times unruly, demonstrators during Ambassador Monjo's January 1990 visit. While reports of fatalities were erroneous, three demonstrators required hospitalization. In view of the unjustified resort to force, Ambassador Monjo sought and received official assurances that none of the people who demonstrated during his visit would be beaten again or detained for that action. Embassy officials since then have repeatedly expressed continuing U.S. interest in these and other persons who have demonstrated peacefully. Some more recent demonstrators and disaffected young people, however, have been detained for attacking military personnel and destroying property.

The Honorable  
Tony P. Hall,  
House of Representatives.

We have no evidence to support the allegations that Indonesian military personnel recently killed large numbers of East Timorese villagers or that they are systematically using Timorese civilians as human shields.

Military operations continue against the Fretilin-guerrilla insurgency, the strength of which seems to be in a long-term decline. Security forces sent mixed signals in their relationship with East Timorese civilians in 1990. Our Embassy officers and other reputable observers were encouraged by the Indonesian military's increased sensitivity to human-rights concerns during the first eight months of the year. The number of military abuses against civilians had declined markedly, and the military reportedly had taken disciplinary action against at least some offenders. In addition, military and civilian leaders put new emphasis on the military's economic and social development mission.

However, despite material progress and the Indonesian Government's opening of East Timor in 1989, many young people, particularly in Dili, began to express heightened dissatisfaction with Indonesian rule in 1990. They appeared frustrated in particular that greatly increased educational opportunities had not translated into equally increased job opportunities for graduates. In September and October, several demonstrations, some of them violent, took place in the provincial capital, Dili. Security forces began a series of detentions and interrogations of suspects. While most detentions were short-term, we heard disturbing reports that many interrogations included physical abuse, including severe beatings. Military officials in East Timor stated that they did not sanction the beatings and that they disciplined some offenders. To encourage an end to such abuses, our Embassy raised our concerns about these beatings at high levels of the Indonesian Government. By the end of November, the surge of abuses had reportedly ended.


We have received some indications from reputable observers that official restrictions on where and when Timorese farmers can till their fields are loosening. Fields that had lain fallow for several years were being cultivated in 1990. Nonetheless, we understand that restrictions based on perceived security considerations remain in a number of areas. In the best of times, East Timor's marginal soils and erratic rains cause concerns about food shortages. Indonesian officials have stated that East Timor foodstocks will be maintained at adequate levels; and, while malnutrition exists, there is no danger of starvation.

Tuberculosis and malaria have long been major health concerns in East Timor. A U.S. Naval Medical Research Unit is working in Indonesia and elsewhere to develop a malaria vaccine. The Indonesian Government has set up people's health centers in many Timorese villages to assist with various health problems, including tuberculosis and malaria.

As you know, the United States has accepted Indonesia's incorporation of East Timor without maintaining that a valid act of self-determination has taken place. In their ongoing meetings under United Nations auspices, representatives of Indonesia and Portugal have discussed the possibility of a visit to East Timor next year by a Portuguese parliamentary delegation. We continue to support this dialogue and any steps that might lead toward a resolution of the dispute between the two nations, both of which are our friends.

We will continue to monitor the human rights situation in Indonesia, including in East Timor, and, as necessary, will make our concerns known to the Indonesian Government.

Sincerely,

  
Janet G. Mullins  
Assistant Secretary  
Legislative Affairs

25 July 1991

For Paulette Geraud

Dear Paulette,

On behalf of those involved in our work here, thank you very much for your kind and informative note. We were happy to hear that Rene and Jean-Pierre will be proceeding with their trip, and look forward to hearing about the results.

A major effort in the US Senate is about to begin and will continue over the next couple of months. We will keep you informed as things develop, and look forward to closer communication in general. I hope to visit Paris again after the Senate effort is completed, probably in October, and look forward to meeting again at that time.

Thank you again for your warm hospitality and support while I was in Paris and thereafter. I hope that my presence and subsequent paper were useful for our mutual concerns. And if there is any additional information available, please let me know via fax.

With warm regards,



Project Director

MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY

20D-219

Department of Linguistics and Philosophy  
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02139

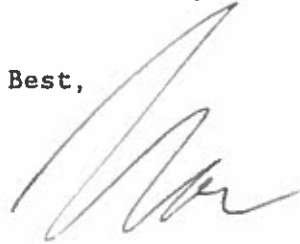
February 21, 1991

Dear Arnold,

Thanks for sending me the Ignatieff thing. Alex Cockburn, who is in Ireland, called me the day it appeared, hopping mad, asking me to answer it (he apparently did too). He faxed it to the Nation, who read it to me, and I dictated an answer, which they faxed back. Enclosed. I was surprised he was so upset. I thought it was rather amusing. This is the guy, you may recall, who was trying to get me to stay on for another couple of days so I could be on his (Very Intellectual) talk show on the tube. He's a typical New York Review-TLS comedian. You'll notice that he hadn't any idea what I'd said (he refers only to a talk, which he surely didn't hear; he may mean the Jenkins thing). That's typical of intellectuals too; their ignorance is usually exceeded only by their stupidity.

There was a lot of other negative commentary in the press, including the Catholic press (London Tablet). Also the National Catholic Reporter, whose reporter was pretty disturbed. Must be doing something right.

Best,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to be 'Arnold', written in dark ink.



CATHOLIC DIOCESE OF LANSING

300 WEST OTTAWA STREET  
LANSING, MI 48933-1183  
PH. (517) 342-2440  
FAX (517) 342-2515

September 10, 1991

The Honorable Donald Riegle  
United States Senate  
Washington, D.C. 20510

RE: HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS IN EAST TIMOR

Dear Senator Riegle:

I am writing to urge you to join Senator Levin and other Senators in co-signing Senator Malcolm Wallop's letter to President Bush regarding human rights in East Timor.

Senator Wallop's letter to the President requests:

- a. that the President reiterate human rights concerns with Indonesian authorities;
- b. that the United States encourage Indonesia to cooperate with private humanitarian organizations seeking to work there; and
- c. that efforts be made to find a diplomatic settlement to the conflicts there.

For your information and for your staff, I am enclosing copies of articles which appeared in The New York Times (12-7-90) and the Observer of London (4-7-91).

Thank you for your attention to this human rights situation.

Respectfully yours,

**COPY**  
Christine Doby  
Coordinator, Peace & Justice  
CATHOLIC CHARITIES  
(517) 342-2466

CD/pb

enclosures

cc: **Mr. Arnold S. Kohen**  
East Timor Research Project  
P. O. Box 32307  
Washington, D.C. 20007

206 Malet Street  
Sonoma, CA 95476  
December 16, 1991

Mr. Alvin Shuster  
Los Angeles Times  
Times-Mirror Square  
Los Angeles, CA 90053

Dear Mr. Shuster:

Warmest greetings and best wishes for the holidays. We met while I was Regional Director of Amnesty International USA. I am writing today as part of an effort spearheaded in this country by Bishop Paul Moore, former Episcopal Bishop of New York.

Per my phone conversation today with Terry Rosales, I am expressing you some material on the November 12 massacre in Dili, the latest atrocity in the horrific record of human rights abuse in East Timor. As part of an urgent global effort to prevent further killings and press Indonesia for an independent inquiry into the massacre, our top researcher, Mr. Arnold Kohen and the two American journalists who witnessed the massacre will visit Los Angeles on Monday, December 30. It is our hope you will arrange to meet with Mr. Kohen, whose January 7, 1982 op ed ran in your pages at another crucial time for coverage of the East Timor tragedy, and the journalists, Mr. Allan Nairn of the New Yorker and Ms. Amy Goodman of Pacifica.

If December 30 is impossible for you, I may be able to arrange another date at your convenience.

The Dili massacre has received important attention abroad, in the East Coast press and in Congress. There has not yet been much attention out here. History has shown that as the spotlight shifts, the Indonesian authorities tend to move quickly against eyewitnesses, survivors and their families. To prevent this, human rights groups are striving to keep coverage persistent. Asia research at Amnesty International in London has given the issue top priority these past few weeks; AI's reports have been filed with unusual swiftness and researchers are working nearly around the clock to keep the spotlight trained on this latest outrage. Attention from the Times at this moment would be of utmost importance.

I will be in Los Angeles this week to follow up and prepare for this visit. Thanks in advance for whatever you can do.

Sincerely,

David Hinkley  
(707) 938-4456

Enclosures: 2 VHS tapes: BRC4 & CBS-TV  
clips for background (numerous)  
Congressional & other notes





The Right Reverend  
Paul Moore Jr.

December 19, 1991

Mr. J. Grimmond  
International Editor  
The Economist

Dear Mr. Grimmond,

I frankly hate to try your patience with still more information, but we received the news contained on the following page at 3 AM London time and felt that it is of sufficient import that it should be forwarded directly to you. I have already described the veracity of the sources concerned, and so I will not repeat myself.

Thank you once again for your courtesy.

Sincerely,

*AK for PM*  
The Rt. Rev. Paul Moore Jr.

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Dear Paul,

Attached is a two page draft letter for Richard Kessler, the key aide to Pell who will have a major role in negotiating the Timor resolution when it goes to conference committee with the House on Sept 11. I tried to phone him today, but he is on vacation until Sept. 5. So far as Kessler's colleagues know, there have been no firm agreements as of yet with the House side on the fate of the Timor resolution.

It comes as no surprise to me (or others familiar with the history of Congressional battles, such as Rep. Tony Hall's staff) that there will be moves by House conferees (meaning a senior Solarz staffer) to water down the resolution. Hopefully, Kessler will hang tough. But it would not hurt to alert Wallop that he should hang tough, too. Let's discuss this.

I will phone you soon.

With best regards,

*Arnold*