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U.S. IS FORMULATING NEW POLICY ON ASIA

'Quarantine Strategy' Would Seek to Confine Region's Conflicts to Communist Countries

By RICHARD BURT

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 14 — The Carter Administration, as a result of the fighting between China and Vietnam and the increasing tension between Peking and Moscow, is formulating a policy that would seek to confine any conflicts in northern and southeastern Asia to Communist nations.

White House and State Department aides report that the Administration's goals in Asia are to steer clear of direct involvement in disputes between Communist nations and to insure that these conflicts do not engulf pro-Western countries. To achieve these objectives, a senior State Department official said, the Administration is pursuing a "quarantine strategy" designed to limit the impact of Communist fighting on American security interests in the area.

Essential to such a strategy, he said, are the offer of increased economic and military assistance to non-Communist nations in Asia and a reaffirmation of an earlier Administration decision to remain a power in the region.

Officials said that aspects of the Administration's plans were alluded to recently by Secretary of Defense Harold Brown. "The conflict in Asia requires us to help our friends," he said in a televised interview. "We want to bolster their capabilities, both economically and militarily."

Steps to Buoy Friends

The Administration is said to have agreed recently to help Thailand modernize its armed forces and to suspend, at least temporarily, any further withdrawals of American forces from South Korea. Contingency plans for reducing the size of American naval forces in the western Pacific have also been shelved for now, Pentagon officials said.

Behind these policy decisions is the view of top officials that the long period of conflict between Communist and pro-Western nations in Asia has given way to a new era of protracted competition for influence between China and the Soviet Union.

Even before the recent outbreak of fighting in Indochina, the Administration had decided against any further major cutbacks in the American presence in Asia. The requirements of the "quarantine strategy" have reinforced this decision.

Officials say that the immediate effect of the fighting in Indochina has been to strengthen Washington's ties with allies in the area, and a high State Department aide reported that relations with Japan, South Korea and Thailand "had never been better." At the same time, the aide expressed concern over the longterm implications of Communist conflicts for the security of American allies.

Danger of Political Division

While emphasizing that the United States could not afford to take sides in the Communist conflicts, the official maintained that an American retreat from Asia would quickly result in a political division of the region in which pro-Western nations would come under intense pressure to align themselves with Peking or Moscow. "By remaining a force in Asia we can prevent this process of polarization," the aide said, "and thus insure that conflicts will not spill over into non-Communist countries."

Until recently, officials were most concerned about the implications for Thailand of the fighting in Indochina. After Vietnam's invasion of Cambodia, American intelligence officials learned that China was sending military shipments to Cambodian insurgents through Thai territory. During the visit of Prime Minister Kriangsak Chamanand of Thailand to Washington earlier this year, Administration officials warned him that Vietnam might use those shipments as a pretext for a military strike into Thailand.

China's attack on Vietnam is now thought to have made a Vietnamese move against Thailand unlikely, but officials believe the Chinese incursion has added to the security concerns of other countries, particularly Japan.

The Soviet Union has already sent about 12 warships into the South China Sea and some analysts contend that Vietnam, threatened by China, might be willing to allow the Soviet Navy to establish a permanent base at Cam Ranh Bay. Such a development, they said, would pose a major threat to sea lanes vital to the economic life of Japan and the Association of South East Asian Nations, which embraces Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand.

How Strategy Will Work

Officials also voiced fears about the possible impact of Chinese-Soviet competition on the stability of the Korean Peninsula.

Responding to these concerns, the Administration is described as moving toward a broad strategy for Asia that includes the following:

Increased American military assistance. During Prime Minister Kriangsak's visit, the Administration agreed, in principle, to help Thailand develop armed forces capable of deterring a Vietnamese attack. The officials said the Administration would be sympathetic to weapon requests from members of the Association of South East Asian Nations, while Japan would be encouraged to continue its air and naval buildup.

The maintenance of American forces. In 1977 Mr. Carter announced the withdrawal of all American ground forces from South Korea and, more recently, Pentagon analysts had been considering the withdrawal of one carrier task force from the Navy's Seventh Fleet in the western Pacific. However, early this year Mr. Carter disclosed that the further reduction of American forces had been suspended pending a high-level review of the situation in the region.

Officials also said that the conflict in Indochina had underscored the importance of the Southeast Asian organization and added that the Administration, together with the Japanese Government, was prepared to step up economic support for the coalition and to back closer political cooperation among its members.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, THURSDAY, MARCH 15, 1979

Overseas

THE SECRET WAR IN EAST TIMOR

by Ellen Cantarow



Map by David Reavis

DESPITE AMERICA'S supposed interest in human rights violations around the world, the U.S. press and government have neglected one spot where military invasion has decimated a tenth of the indigenous population. You can pinpoint East Timor in your atlas as one-half of a small island just northwest of Australia. On December 3, 1978, while Jonestown was filling the front pages of U.S. newspapers across the country, a U.N. General Assembly Committee heard professor Noam Chomsky report on the vastly greater bloodbath in East Timor. Chomsky stated that, since 1975, Indonesia, with U.S. military and political backing, has been systematically crushing a popular independence movement in the former Portuguese colony and, in the process, has slaughtered between 60,000 and 100,000 people. One of Chomsky's sources, the Australian Parliament Legislative Research Service, has called the invasion "indiscriminate killing on a scale unprecedented in post-World War II history."

Indonesia's Premier Suharto and his supporters are no strangers to bloodbaths. In 1965, also with U.S. backing, they took power in a coup, then devastated the countryside in order to rid Indonesia of communism (the Party enjoyed wide popular support). In that adventure, 500,000 people were murdered.

Recent testimony given by East Timorese refugees in Portugal to Australian journalist Jill Jolliffe sound like a replay of history: "There have been two very big offensives by the Indonesians in the past year," said Jolliffe this past December, "and in the first, beginning about December [1977] and continuing through January and February, there was carpet-bombing of very small villages. I have one particularly gruesome letter . . . describing people trying to flee [from one of the villages] along a river just stuffed with bodies."

Since 1965, Indonesia, a raw

materials cornucopia, has been—as U.S. business journals are fond of putting it—a paradise for investors, which is why the U.S. is loathe to rock the Indonesian boat. The United States has been a major supplier of weapons used by Indonesia in East Timor, including 16 Rockwell OV-10 Bronco planes—counter-insurgency aircraft used in Vietnam.

East Timor has never been included within the colonial or post-colonial boundaries of Indonesia. Before 1974 it was a Portuguese colony. Soon after the Portuguese revolution that year, East Timor gained independence. After a three-week civil war—in which Indonesia

had a hand, according to various sources—FRETILIN (Revolutionary Front for the Liberation of East Timor) emerged in August 1975 as the leading independence party. It was directly after this—and a visit by Henry Kissinger and then-President Gerald Ford to Jakarta—that Indonesia invaded the island. The reason for the invasion, said Chomsky in a recent conversation, is that Indonesia is an expansionist power. "It has a concept of 'the Indonesian archipelago.' And while the United States could live with an independent Timor, it can't live with a frustrated Indonesia."

In 1977 the U.S. proved Chomsky's point. That year Indonesian Foreign Minister

Adam Malik, one who knows his massacres, estimated the number of persons killed in East Timor as "50,000 or perhaps 80,000." In March of the same year the State Department's Human Rights report contained no mention whatever of the invasion.

For that year, *The New York Times* index—as good an indication of U.S. press coverage as any—had a scant five lines on East Timor. This was down from an anxious six columns of indexing in 1975, when the entire West was fretting about possible leftward turns by former Portuguese colonies.

Of this kind of U.S. reporting, *Village Voice* press critic Alexander Cockburn observed: "... In Cambodia and East Timor the time frame for alleged atrocities is about the same, the numbers of those allegedly slaughtered is roughly similar (though 5 to 10 times higher in East Timor relative to the size of population) . . . Yet whereas the American media have dwelt extensively on the horrors of Cambodia, there has been more or less absolute silence, outside Australia, in the case of East Timor." Cockburn added that while there wasn't much the U.S. could do about Cambodia, there was a good deal of potential U.S. influence over Indonesia, a client state.

The most recent reports from Australia say that the number of Indonesian troops has grown to 45,000 and that there is continuing aerial bombing. *Mother Jones* readers are urged to write Sen. Frank Church, chair of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Room 245, Russell Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C. 20510; and Rep. Clement J. Zablocki, chair of the House International Relations Committee, Room 2183, Rayburn House Office Building, Washington, D.C. 20515. Ask that the U.S. stop all aid to Indonesia until it pulls out of East Timor.

Ellen Cantarow is a columnist for Boston's *The Real Paper*.

Backstage

RAISING HECK
AROUND
THE WORLD

LATIN AMERICA: Sleeping Giant to the South" is one of those stories hard-boiled editors cite as an example of what won't sell. Such articles only mean sleeping readers to the north, they say; Americans simply don't like foreign news.

Thus, in the spirit of spitting in yet another eye, we've put a Latin American story on this month's cover. And, besides Ron Chernow's story about an aviator-priest's death in Guatemala (p. 32), there are two other pieces from abroad this month: Ellen Cantarow's report on the slaughter of 60,000 to 100,000 people in East Timor (p. 64), and Rory O'Connor's disturbing tale about the suppression of some imaginative dissidents in Czechoslovakia (p. 42)—even though the language they used was music. In short, this issue of *Mother Jones* is a newsstand dealer's nightmare.

Why *don't* people like foreign news? It is easy to put it down as typical American ethnocentrism; we on the Left, of course, feel we can rise above that attitude. But a number of us suffer from a different version of the same disease. Call it Post-Vietnam Syndrome. There probably isn't a single *Mother Jones* reader—or editor—who hasn't felt some twinge of this. After the U.S. finally ended its bloody involvement in the Vietnam War, we all felt relief—the giddy, liberated relief of someone released from the hospital after a long illness. Though our country remained an imperialist bully with a lot of shady sidekicks, at least it wasn't officially fighting a war anywhere. And so it seemed we had time to turn our attention away from the world scene and toward our personal lives, jobs or domestic issues like sexual equality, nuclear power and the environment.

To some extent, *Mother Jones* has shared that syndrome—and the illusions behind it. We ran relatively few foreign stories during our first three years (1976-78). But re-



World traveler Pinkie considers foreign affairs.

Photograph by Louise Kollenbaum

cent events, particularly the upheaval in Iran, which we covered in the last issue, have made it abundantly clear that the basic assumption of the Post-Vietnam Syndrome is wrong: the U.S. has *not* ceased to support reactionary dictatorships around the world. It was classic Ugly American military aid that built up the brutal regime responsible for the death of a good American, Bill Woods, and uncounted thousands of Guatemalans. And it was U.S. arms that have helped Indonesia carry out one of the largest peasant murders anywhere since World War II.

Articles on subjects like these are so much involved with American aid and American corporations that they aren't really "foreign" at all. And that's something the old sleeping-giant mythmakers never understood.

You may have noticed the advertisement *Time* magazine ran in a recent *Mother Jones*. This was what's known as an exchange—*Time* was supposed to run one of our subscription ads in return. But it hasn't exactly worked out that way. After they sent us their ad, we sent them one of ours, headed

"What Do Jimmy Carter and Hunter Thompson Have in Common? They're Both Subscribers to *Mother Jones*." Word came back from something called the *Time* Advertising Copy Committee: we had to provide "prior written permission" from both men to use their names. Hmmm.

So we sent *Time* the other subscription ad we had on hand, headlined "Raise Hell with *Mother Jones*." The Committee shook its collective head: no "Hell." While we were wondering how "Raise Heck with *Mother Jones*" would look, further instructions came down: everything we said in this ad about our investigative stories would have to be fully documented. Publisher Mark Dowie debated sending in the seven feet of files he has from his exposé of the Ford Pinto's inflammable gas tank, but finally decided it was less work to write up a special ad just for *Time*.

This he did. But his restrained copy still had the words "Ford Pinto" in it. *Time* called back: could we change that to "automobile," please? At that point we decided the heck with it, and billed *Time* for their ad in *Mother Jones*.

Just as we were going to press, we received word that Karl Stetter, the priest who flew Ron Chernow around Guatemala while Chernow researched this issue's cover story, was abducted by the Guatemalan military and several days later expelled from the country. After an initial silence, the government cryptically charged Stetter with being an "undesirable foreigner" and with "pursuing activities outside his ministry." The Guatemalan Army has now taken over all flights in and out of the Ixcán jungle region, where Chernow was, and appears to be planning to crush the co-op he visited. All of this only strengthens the suspicion that Bill Woods, the co-op's founder and the main subject of this story, was murdered. —Adam Hochschild

The New York Times

NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, MAY 23, 1979

An unintended achievement of the Iranian revolution is that finally minute attention is being given to infractions of human rights in Iran. Other third-world countries, especially those favored by the United States Government and corporations, escape such attention.

In Indonesia, for example, human-rights violations have been monumental, and there are unmistakable signs that General Suharto's regime may meet the same fate as the Shah's.

Since 1965-66, when Suharto consolidated power, his regime's atrocities have been underplayed in the West. The slaughter of perhaps one million people and the incarceration of half a million have been portrayed as a response to an attempted, allegedly Communist coup d'état.

This year's State Department human-rights report states that "up to 500,000 may have been initially detained . . . on suspicion of complicity in the attempted coup."

"Can anyone give an example of a 500,000-person coup?" asks Prof. Benedict Anderson, a respected authority on Indonesia, in a refutation of the State Department report.

The Carter Administration justifies its economic and military support of Indonesia by claiming that there have been improvements in human rights there. Much is made of the publicized release of political prisoners. In fact, large numbers of the released prisoners are redeployed for forced labor on Government-owned plantations; the rest, denied the required "certificates of noninvolvement in the coup of 1965," cannot get jobs.

Amnesty International reported last October that there were "almost certainly still more than 30,000 political prisoners in Indonesia." They are held in appalling conditions. Thousands have died of medical neglect. Many have gone without trial for 13 years. Among the new prisoners are former supporters of General Suharto.

The significance of Suharto's re-

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Suharto Vs. Indonesia

By Eqbal Ahmad

pression since 1972 is that having slaughtered his enemies, he has now turned on his original supporters.

Suharto's once-broad coalition has effectively disintegrated because he has not met the middle-class expectations of economic growth in a framework of indigenous capitalism and democratic freedoms.

Initially, the West's generous backing helped curb inflation, attracted multinational corporations and brought imported luxuries. The resulting sense of prosperity reinforced the coalition. But then the corporations found links with officials more lucrative than with native entrepreneurs. "Joint ventures" became less a partnership in production than profit-sharing between foreigners and high officials. And with bribes reaching reported figures of up to \$30 million, corruption defined class.

Agribusiness and modernization of agriculture deprived millions of their livelihood and dislocated rural people without significantly increasing production.

By 1977, Indonesia, formerly self-sustaining in rice, became the world's No. 1 rice importer; famine broke out only a few miles from Jakarta, the capital. In 1976, the national oil company, Pertamina, went bankrupt with \$10.5 billion in foreign debt, making In-

donesia the only members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries to have a bankrupted national oil company, and bringing Indonesia's total foreign debt to \$20 billion.

As the New Order Coalition disintegrated, General Suharto found it necessary to fix elections and suppress dissent. Fixing the elections of 1971 had required careful engineering; in 1977, it required outright bulldozing.

In between, former allies were arrested and newspapers closed. Isolated at home, and keen to divert its edgy younger officers, the junta launched a brutal aggression in East Timor, a former Portuguese colony.

Relief organizations and independent observers, including the International Committee of the Red Cross, are barred from East Timor, now annexed by Indonesia. Hence, it is difficult to reach an accurate estimate of the ongoing slaughter. Shepherd Forman, an anthropologist who worked in Timor, described it as "the annihilation of a simple mountain people."

In the forthcoming book "The Washington Connection and Third World Fascism," Noam Chomsky and Edward S. Herman have presented the available information. Their evidence, whose credibility is confirmed by other knowledgeable sources, suggests that up to 100,000 people, or a sixth of East Timor's total population, may have been killed by the Indonesian invaders; more shall die, for the occupation and resistance to it is continuing.

The hope for a timely and just peace lies in public opinion's inducing Western governments, especially the United States Government, to withhold arms supplies until Indonesia heeds the United Nations' call for the exercise by Timoris of the right of self-determination.

Eqbal Ahmad, a Fellow of the Institute for Policy Studies, a private research organization in Washington, is a guest columnist.

Indonesia: 500,000 in Coup Plot?

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Forced Labor

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East Timor

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(The author is a fellow of the Institute for Policy Studies, a research organization in Washington.)

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Maputo to the central and northern provinces must either chance one overburdened telephone line or send airfreighted messages via daily flights from the capital to the centres of Beira, Quelimane, Nampula and Nacala.

At the moment, the airline provides the surest method of communication in a country whose borders are the Indian Ocean for one thousand miles and then run inland along a series of geographic boundaries with Tanzania, Malawi, Zambia, Rhodesia and South Africa.

While DETA's problems are certainly manageable through the hiring of contract crews from abroad (British Midland already runs the airline's long distance flights to Rome and East Berlin every week), the situation in the arming sector cannot be solved so easily. Russian, Chinese and Western experts have been involved in Mozambique's infant agricultural economy for over three years. But as the experience at the state farm west of Maputo shows, the lack of skills on such farms has led to a drastic curtailment in the use of basic machinery.

The deputy manager of the Moamba farm, one of 34 which have been set up to run previously Portuguese-owned farm complexes, is a 23 year agricultural student who openly admits his lack of experience.

His name is Mr Jose Chicoge and he is rightly proud that a workforce of most 2,000 labourers has helped to cultivate much of the 24,000 acres which were abandoned by white farmers in the area after independence.

On paper the project looks impressive. But in terms of production the farm can only be counted a disappointment. According to official figures it produced 2,724 tons of mixed vegetables (excluding maize whose crop was hit by drought) last year, while both the beef herd of 1,700 cattle and the small dairy herd of 100 cows had little to feed a hungry population around half a million in the nearby district. Foot and mouth disease meant that most cattle could not be marketed, while irrigation problems and ignorance of fertiliser techniques reduced the vegetable yield to a pitifully low output.

grey in his hair is alleged to come from his own hand, to give him the venerable gravitas admired in the East.

Mr Thieu, son of a small landowner, was educated in Hue, Vietnam's cultural capital in Annam beside the Perfumed River, that same tranquil town ravaged by the 1968 Tet offensive.

request to carry 10 tons of gold from Saigon to Europe. The present Vietnamese Government insist that he got away with three and a half tons.

Today, the ex-President's philosophy is straightforward undiluted cold war doctrine circa 1960, the one could be listening to Barry Goldwater. Totally simplistic hallmarked anti-Communism: China

long ago and far away.

I am fitfully reminded of the last time I talked to a big man in Vietnam; it was years ago in Hanoi, shaking with bombs, and the man was the late Uncle Ho Chi Minh. As I recall it, he gave me a Jack Daniels.

In the circumstances, it was very civil of ex-President Thieu to have seen me at all.

MANCHESTER GUARDIAN WEEKLY, MAY 23, 1977 Massacres claimed in E. Timor

by Robert McCloughlin in Lisbon

EFFORTS were made this week to reawaken world interest in the plight of Portugal's former colony in East Timor, where as many as 100,000 people are said by refugees to have been killed by Indonesian invaders since 1975.

At a one-day international conference, speakers including American and Australian campaigners laid detailed charges against Indonesia's occupying forces, accusing them of terrorising the farming population with bombardments, mass killings, and torture.

Mr Ken Fry, a leading member of Australia's Labour Party, claimed that Indonesian troops have killed 100,000 people — a sixth of the island's population — since they took over the capital of Dili in December, 1975.

Noam Chomsky, of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, attacked the Western press for drawing "a veil of silence" over the invasion. He claimed that Indonesia's arms supply ran out in 1977, but that it was able to continue the invasion with new OV-10 Bronco counter-insurgency planes, troop carriers and defoliants supplied by the United States specifically for the purpose. Italy had provided helicopters and Holland corvettes for naval bombardment, he said.

Mr Fry's estimate, like nearly all information on Timor, is based largely on refugee reports, which continue to speak of mass arrests, killings, and destruction of villages. More than 1,000 people were said last month to be held in a cemetery in Dili without formal charges.

The invasion began 18 months after the revolution in Portugal opened the way for independence. Parties formed around the three available options: Indonesian annexation, gradual independence under guidance from Portugal or immediate independence followed by moves towards Socialism. The second group, the conservative Timorese Democratic Union, staged a coup in August, 1975, but the subsequent fighting was won by the Marxist Fretilin (Timorese Liberation Front) which declared independence and set up a government.

By then the Portuguese had already fled, claiming they could no longer control the territory. On December 7 the Indonesians took Dili after an aerial and naval bombardment. The next day, according to a number of independent refugee reports, the invaders marched 130 Fretilin activists to the harbour and shot them, forcing a large crowd of onlookers to count the bodies as they were tipped into the water.

Among the victims was said to be the wife of Mr Nicolau Lobato, the 28-year-old Fretilin leader, who then took the fight into the mountains. After some successes the resistance seemed to collapse the following summer when large numbers of guerrillas surrendered. Unconfirmed reports suggest the Indonesians used napalm and herbicides to make food cultivation impossible and so starved them out.

As late as last year Fretilin claimed it controlled 85 per cent of the territory and 96 per cent of the population, which is mainly spread out in small mountain settlements with difficult

access for occupying troops. But on New Year's Eve Mr Lobato was surrounded in his hideout and shot, according to the Indonesians, in crossfire.

Until now the main protagonists in the drama have been Portugal, as the former colonial power, and Australia, 400 miles to the south-east. Preoccupied with rebuilding its bridges to Mozambique and Angola, successive Portuguese Governments have had virtually no time for Timor, and no pressure group exists that is powerful enough to force it to improve the situation.

The Timorese claim that Australian public opinion is firmly in their favour, but that they have suffered from Government policy. They point out that the invasion closely followed Labour's fall from power and the return of the Conservatives.

Last year the Fraser Government recognised the Indonesian regime in Dili. But so far it has accepted only about 600 of the 2,000 would-be emigrants from the island.

Last December Fretilin won a moderate victory in the United Nations, where its resolution calling for Indonesia's withdrawal was passed by 59 votes to 31, with 44 abstentions. The vote was seen as an indication that the Timorese are holding their own at a time when awareness of their struggle might be expected to be falling off.

But as long as Indonesia continues to refuse access to journalists or other observers like Amnesty and the Red Cross, its fight for world publicity is handicapped by a real lack of knowledge of what is going on in the territory.

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, MAY 30, 1979

East Timor: Who?

PLACES KEEP turning up demanding nationhood that most people have never heard of and could not locate on a map if their lives depended on it. Dominica, for instance. It's down in the Caribbean, it's got a population of 80,000, and it became independent last November. Good luck, Dominica. Then there's East Timor. It's half of an island in the Indonesian chain, its population is in the half-million range, and at least some people there have been struggling unsuccessfully for independence ever since the Portuguese, who'd been there four centuries, exited and the Indonesian army entered, to stay, in 1975. The "anti-imperialist" crowd at the United Nations has regularly pasted Indonesia for the takeover, and an energetic critic of American policy in Vietnam, Noam Chomsky, has adopted East Timor and criticized the American government for helping Indonesia consummate the deed.

Well, you may ask, why should Dominica become a nation when East Timor does not? For that matter, why not Biafra, Ukraine, Croatia and various other places with claims to sovereignty no less weighty than those of the states that have repressed them?

The list of peoples suffering from unrequited nationalism is very long. There is no good reason for it; there is only the explanation of power. In East Timor's case, Indonesia had the power, and East Timor had neither the guns nor the friends-in-deed to compensate. This is altogether apart from the question of whether East Timor deserved, or deserves, nationhood on the merits. The 20th century has been notably unselective about passing on "the merits," whatever they are, of peoples asking for statehood.

Supporters of East Timor claim the Indonesians have killed 100,000 people, a sixth of the population. Until recently, the Indonesian government, by keeping the area closed, prevented any independent verification of these allegations. Now it is letting in foreign diplomats and saying it is ready to receive the International Committee of the Red Cross and foreign journalists. They should test Jakarta's openness. The question of statehood for East Timor may be on the shelf, but the treatment of the people who live in East Timor is something else: it is serious and immediate and needs to be addressed.

2

THE NEW YORK TIMES, SATURDAY, JUNE 16, 1979

The New York Times

Founded in 1851

ADOLPH S. OCHS, *Publisher 1896-1935*
ARTHUR HAYS SULZBERGER, *Publisher 1935-1961*
ORVIL E. DRYFOOS, *Publisher 1961-1963*

A Record of Progress for Indonesia's Government

To the Editor:

The May 23 Op-Ed article by Eqbal Ahmad, "Suharto vs. Indonesia," seems to us to give your readers a distorted picture of a people and a nation which by most independent accounts has shown remarkable resiliency and dynamic growth.

No Indonesian would deny that the nation faces tremendous problems, caused by its geographic and ethnic diversity, its population size, its food requirements and the requirements of any developing nation. But to say, as Mr. Ahmad does, that the Suharto Government has not addressed these problems is both untrue and unfair.

In fact, Indonesia has made remarkable progress under the Suharto Government, as can be corroborated by any number of responsible sources and independent observers. Inflation, which exceeded 600 percent in 1965, was brought down to 6 percent in 1973, according to an April 5 press release by the Inter-Governmental Group on Indonesia, representing the assessment of 14 nations, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the Asian Development Bank and the U. N. Development Program.

More broadly, Indonesia has completed two five-year development plans — achieving economic and social development targets — and is well into the third. Among the substantial accomplishments of these plans, which have bettered the lives of each and every Indonesian, is a reduction in the population growth rate from over 3 percent per annum to under 2 percent in a five-year period from 1971 to 1976. The population control program undertaken by the Government of Indonesia has been widely considered the most successful to date and a model

for other developing countries.

With a sustained annual growth rate of 8 percent in domestic production, high levels of savings and investment, increased levels of consumption at all income levels, greatly expanded social services, particularly in health care, and a high rate of employment growth, Indonesia is well on the way to solving its problems and creating a better life for all of its people. This record, again, has been corroborated by a variety of independent observers. That problems still exist attests to their magnitude and cannot fairly be considered a reflection on the Suharto Government, which has performed remarkably well by all reasonable standards.

Mr. Ahmad's comments on human rights and East Timor unfortunately rely on inaccuracies and unsubstantiated allegations. For example, he cites a figure of 100,000 killed in East Timor,

but that "statistic" has long since been refuted and, in fact, disavowed by its original source, the Australian James Dunn, in testimony before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs on March 23, 1977.

That Indonesia has made progress under the leadership of the Suharto Government is on the record for all to see; that major problems still exist is a fact forthrightly stated by all persons in the Government; that specific policies and programs to deal with these problems are being studied and implemented is confirmed by the steady flow of people visiting and writing about Indonesia.

We welcome a balanced look at Indonesia, our problems and our potential.

SAMSI ABDULLAH
Head, Information Department
Embassy of Indonesia
Washington, May 31, 1979

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 20, 1979

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

East Timor's Troubles

I am dismayed by the attitude displayed in your editorial "East Timor Who?" [May 30], which mocks the fundamental principle of self-determination.

This right has been elaborated in two international covenants on human rights, and in the United Nations Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The United States, in fact, was responsible for the inclusion of the provisions on self-determination in the United Nations Charter after 1945.

On a number of occasions through 1960, members of the United Nations specified the colonial countries that were to be guaranteed the right of self-determination. Nations such as East Timor and Dominica did not, as you suggest, suddenly "turn up demanding nationhood": Their right to determine their own future has long been recognized.

For those countries still suffering from what you term "unrequited nationalism," you write that, "There is only the explanation of power." Perhaps a fuller explanation would note the origins of the power involved in the East Timor case: Our State Department discloses that at the time of the Decem-

ber 1975 Indonesian invasion of East Timor, "roughly 90 percent" of Jakarta's arms had been supplied by the United States. Thus—contrary to your suggestion that East Timor popped out of nowhere to clamor for our attention—it is we who have inserted ourselves into East Timorese affairs through the weapons we furnish the Indonesian government.

I recently visited East Timorese refugee camps outside Lisbon. Many of the people I saw were still traumatized from their experiences, which included atrocities by Indonesian troops. Church sources with extensive contacts in the former Portuguese colony told me that these atrocities are still going on. It seems beyond question that an international commission composed of members fully familiar with the region and its people—and not the hand-picked delegations Indonesia has so far admitted—is needed to give us a full account of the situation in East Timor.

The question of nationhood for East Timor is not, as you suggest, "on the shelf," but is very much the heart of the problem.

ARNOLD S. KOHEN
Ithaca, N.Y.

The New York Times

THE NEW YORK TIMES, MONDAY, JUNE 25, 1979

Letters

Whom the Rulers Of Indonesia Pity

To the Editor:

There was an Orwellian irony in the report of a statement by an Indonesian delegate to the recent meeting of non-aligned nations in Colombo (news story June 8). The delegate, acting as spokesman for Malaysia and Singapore as well as his own country, reportedly said that the three nations "were united in their condemnation of the wholesale killing of civilians when Pol Pot was in power but nevertheless supported the seating of the Pol Pot delegation because of the manner in which a new government under Heng Samrin was installed in Phnom Penh with the help of Vietnamese soldiers."

I find this extraordinary: The Indonesian Government has never expressed the slightest regret over the massacre of 500,000 of its own citizens in the months following General Suharto's military takeover in 1965. There has been a similar lack of official regret over the tens of thousands of Indonesian political prisoners who, until large-scale releases began 18 months ago, were all held under appalling conditions, in most cases for more than 12 years without trial. According to Amnesty International, at least 20,000 of these prisoners remain in detention.

Nor has the present Indonesian Government shown any qualms over its December 1975 invasion of the former Portuguese colony of East Timor. According to authoritative Catholic sources, tens of thousands of East Timorese have been killed thus far, and these same sources assert that Indonesian atrocities continue. While Jakarta solemnly condemns the Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia, it is carrying out a similar exercise in East Timor, in defiance of six United Nations resolutions which called on Indonesia to withdraw its forces from the territory and reaffirmed the right of the East Timorese to determine their own future.

ARNOLD S. KOHEN
Ithaca, N. Y., June 11, 1979

THE NEW YORK TIMES, FRIDAY, JULY 13, 1979

The New York Times

Letters

The Dimensions of the Human Tragedy in East Timor

To the Editor:

In a letter to The New York Times (June 16) concerning the Indonesian Government's record of progress, Samsi Abdullah of the Indonesian Embassy makes an inaccurate reference to my testimony concerning the extent of casualties in East Timor resulting from the annexation of that territory.

In the first place, I was not the original source of the report that 100,000 Timorese may have perished as a grim consequence of Indonesia's military operations in the former Portuguese colony. At the time of the hearing I merely quoted from a confidential report on the situation in the territory that had been sent here by responsible and well-informed church sources in Indonesia.

Secondly, Mr. Samsi's claim that I subsequently "refuted" and "disavowed" this disturbing account of casualties is quite erroneous. I merely pointed out that, as the International Red Cross and other international relief agencies — not to speak of the U.N. agencies — had been denied access to the former colony, it was impossible to assess, let alone authenticate, this account of the humanitarian consequences of Indonesia's brutal military operation.

We have now received information from Indonesia that accords considerable credibility to the report carried by Eqbal Ahmad in his Op-Ed article in your paper, and extends a new and terrible dimension to the little-known tragedy of East Timor. A recent report from a well-placed church source notes that although the population of

the province was estimated to be 688,771 in 1974, according to a population estimate compiled by Indonesian defense authorities late last year, it had declined to 329,271, of whom over 300,000 were in the category of displaced persons.

And here, as the leader of an Australian Council of Churches and Catholic Relief aid mission that operated in East Timor between the end of the brief civil war and the Indonesian invasion, I should like to point out that, according to the assessment carried out by the International Red Cross and my mission, less than 3,000 Timorese died in the civil war itself. While it is no doubt true that more than half of this enormous loss of life resulted from

disease and starvation, and not Indonesian bullets or bombs, the vast majority were victims of the deliberate Indonesian policy of isolating and starving into submission the resistance led by Fretilin.

The Timor tragedy has been virtually ignored by most Western nations, including those like the United States who have actively been pressing for more attention to human rights, and yet, when the full facts emerge, it might well constitute one of the most serious contraventions, in per capita terms, to have occurred in recent world history.

JIM DUNN

Chairman

Human Rights Council of Australia
Canberra, July 2, 1979

We Must Oppose the Occupation of East Timor

By Arnold S. Kohen

A few miles outside Lisbon lives a group of 1,200 refugees from one of the world's least known wars. They have fled Indonesia's invasion of East Timor, a former Portuguese colony about three times the size of Long Island.

I met some of these refugees during a recent trip to Portugal. Among them was a middle-aged gentleman, a veteran teacher from a Catholic grade school in a Timorese mountain village. Quietly, he told me of the news he had just received of the death of his eldest son. He also wondered whether the United States would at last decide to do something about the situation in his country.

Indonesia invaded East Timor in December, 1975, 10 days after the territory had declared its independence from Portugal after four centuries of colonial rule. Since then, Indonesia

Arnold S. Kohen is a freelance writer on Southeast Asian affairs.

has been trying to crush the Timorese resistance.

During 1977 and 1978, a U.S. House of Representatives subcommittee—then chaired by Minnesota Democrat Donald M. Fraser—held hearings to probe what Fraser termed “allegations of genocide committed by the Indonesian armed forces against the population of East Timor.”

Fraser decided to hold the East Timor hearings because the United States is involved in several important ways. First, our State Department has disclosed that at the time of the December 1975 invasion “roughly 90 per cent” of Indonesia's arms had been supplied by the United States. In addition, former President Ford

There is mounting evidence that the Indonesians have been carrying out “indiscriminate killing on a scale unprecedented” since World War II.

and Secretary of State Kissinger were both visiting the Indonesian capital, Jakarta, less than 24 hours before the invasion began. Kissinger, in fact, announced to reporters that the United States “understands” Indonesia's position on the question of East Timor. Fraser copluded: “There is a degree of complicity here by the United States that I really find to be quite disturbing.”

Immediately after the invasion, reports of large scale killing by Indonesian troops began to surface. The reports awaited confirmation, however, since the Indonesian army barred all independent observers from traveling freely in the territory.

But the confirmation came: In late 1976 an Indonesian Catholic relief group went to East Timor, interviewed local priests, and released a confidential report stating that perhaps as many as 100,000 East Timorese—out of a population of 650,000—had been killed by the Indonesian invaders.

Concerned initially by the murder of five Australian TV journalists—almost certainly by the Indonesian army—at the start of the invasion, Australian feeling was also aroused. (Timor is only 350 miles from Australia; the two peoples also fought against the Japanese in World War II.)

The legislative research service of the Australian Parliament described the Indonesian Catholic report as “significant and disturbing” and com-

mented that there is “mounting evidence” that the Indonesians have been carrying out “indiscriminate killing on a scale unprecedented in post-World War II history.”

Then, in early 1977, James Dunn, a former Australian consul in East Timor, interviewed East Timorese refugees newly-arrived in Portugal.

Based on his extensive interviews, Dunn asserts that the situation in East Timor “may well constitute . . . the most serious contravention of human rights facing the world at this time.” According to the refugees, whole villages were wiped out as Indonesian troops advanced into the interior. Traumatized survivors detailed summary executions, rape, torture, grave looting and the sacking of churches and Timor's only seminary.

East Timor's independence movement has been able to prevent the Indonesian forces from capturing sections of the forbidding, mountainous territory.

Frustrated, Indonesia has used increased repression and terror in an effort to force the East Timorese to submit. In September, 1978, a respected conservative member of Australia's Parliament charged that between 30,000 and 40,000 East Timorese had died of starvation as a result of Jakarta's use of crop-killing defoliants in areas controlled by the resistance forces. Authoritative Catholic sources in Portugal, who

monitor events in East Timor through an extensive network of contacts, told me recently that these and other Indonesian atrocities are continuing.

What can be done about East Timor? Full access to the territory for recognized international relief organizations would be a positive first step. Indonesia has barred such agencies since the invasion began, aside from a few brief and restricted token visits.

The almost complete lack of knowledge about the situation in East Timor—and of domestic pressure on Washington—has allowed U.S. officials to ignore or misrepresent events there. An international commission fully familiar with the region and its people—and not the hand-picked delegations Indonesia has so far admitted—might conduct a useful firsthand investigation.

Important as these measures are, however, they do not go to the heart of the matter. Tens of thousands of East Timorese have been killed by a foreign occupation force in the last three and a half years. The bitterness among the population and their desire for independence are not likely to recede. These feelings have been recognized internationally in no fewer than six United Nations resolutions that reaffirm the right of the East Timorese to determine their own future and call upon Indonesia to withdraw its troops.

Since Indonesia is one of the world's leading recipients of American aid, the United States could use its considerable influence to convince Jakarta to respect the wishes of the United Nations. The policy of the Carter administration on East Timor, however, remains substantially unchanged from that of Ford and Kissinger. A change in that policy is long overdue. We must give a responsible answer to that refugee Catholic teacher who had just lost his son.

Op-ed, July 25, 1979

Newsday
THE LONG ISLAND NEWSPAPER

U.S. Is Fronting Israeli Sale of Jets to Indonesia

By George C. Wilson

Washington Post Staff Writer

The U.S. government is fronting an arms deal in which Israel, without being publicly identified as the source, is selling Indonesia used warplanes obtained from the United States.

Pentagon officials confirmed yesterday that Israel is shipping Indonesia 16 A4 fighter-bombers for \$25.8 million in the first such third-country sale of U.S. warplanes.

The Pentagon issued a press release on June 14 about the A4 sale to Indonesia but did not disclose that Israel—and not the United States—is the seller.

One defense official said that neither Israel nor Indonesia wanted the U.S. government to disclose the source of the planes. He said, however, that Congress was told confidentially that Israel was the seller.

A government source cautioned last night that with word leaking out that Israel, not the United States, is the source of Indonesia's planes, the deal may fall through even though all three governments had agreed on it. The United States, the official said, may find a way to sell the planes itself rather than serve as Israel's broker.

"This sale," the Pentagon said in its press release on the A4 deal, "will contribute to the foreign policy objectives of the United States by helping to improve the security of a friendly country in Southeast Asia."

Israel has bought 355 A4 Skyhawk, single-seat fighter-bombers and 210 F4 Phantom fighter-bombers from the United States over the years.

The Indonesia sale, made with Carter administration approval, could turn out to be the first of several, with Israel disposing of its old American warplanes as its air force obtains the newer U.S. F15 and F16 fighters.

Under existing agreements, a country such as Israel that buys weapons from the United States must obtain U.S. permission before selling those weapons to another, or third, country. It therefore will be up to the administration to decide how many U.S. planes Israel can sell to other countries.

President Carter has warned against "proliferation" of aging superpower weapons as they become in surplus and Third World countries seek to buy them.

When queried yesterday, the Pentagon could not cite a previous instance when warplanes such as the A4 Skyhawk jet had been sold by one foreign buyer to a third country. But they did not rule out the possibility.

Paul Warnke, former director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, once said that "anybody who thinks" existing controls over sales of U.S. weapons to third countries are adequate "is smoking opium."

Some aerospace executives are reacting angrily to the spreading news that Israel is the actual source of the A4s going to Indonesia.

Tr for add three

They complain that Israel, because Congress usually forgives a large portion of the loans to it, is getting U.S. planes at a discount and then selling them at world market prices.

American firms are vying for that same kind of business. Some of them specialize in reconditioning used planes and selling spare parts to keep them

Warfare, Starvation Cripple Island Ruled by Indonesia

By Henry S. Bradsher
Washington Star Staff Writer

A large proportion of the population — no one is sure, but estimates go as high as a half — has already died of warfare, disease and starvation. More are dying daily.

Most survivors have been displaced from their homes by brutal programs intended to halt guerrilla opposition to a foreign takeover.

The new regime long refused to let international relief agencies in to see what was happening. Only recently has a relief program begun, and it is inadequate to the desperate need.

Cambodia?

Yes, but not only Cambodia. The description also fits East Timor, according to relief experts, observers in nearby Australia and some U.S. officials.

In 1975 the Indonesian army invaded the eastern part of Timor Island, which is about 400 miles north of Australia. The western part of the island already belonged to Indonesia. A resistance movement had just about ended by this year as the population was worn down and starved out.

Although aware that this suppression was being carried out with American-made weapons, two U.S. administrations have done little more than urge Indonesia to let relief organizations into East Timor. But until it had completed the subjugation of the former Portuguese colony, the Jakarta government of Indonesian President Suharto kept out any foreign aid.

In 1974, the Roman Catholic Diocese of Dili, the capital of East Timor, estimated the territory's population at 688,771. At the end of last year, the Indonesian defense and security authorities administering the area reported the population as 329,271.

Those statistics are impossibly precise for a rugged, underdeveloped area slightly larger than Connecticut, but they imply a large death toll. U.S. officials say that they overstate the problem, that perhaps only 100,000 have died, but a specialist with an international relief agency says, "There's a lot of truth" to their implication.

An Indonesian Embassy spokesman in Washington reported having no information on this or other aspects of the situation in East Timor.

Everyone agrees that more are dying daily while Indonesia's own relief efforts are inadequate and international relief is only beginning to arrive in East Timor. An Australian specialist says "a further 20,000 to 40,000 Timorese will die."

East Timor was a vestige of Portugal's vast 15th century empire. When the rest of the Dutch East Indies became independent as the new nation of Indonesia after World War II, Portugal kept its remote territory in backward isolation. But the collapse of the Portuguese colonial system in 1975 left it adrift.

Three local movements began fighting for control of what they hoped would become an independent country. The main one was the Revolutionary Front for the Independence of East Timor, known by its acronym Fretilin.

The Indonesian government professed fear that an independent East Timor would fall into Communist hands and become a danger to its loose rule over diverse islands, some of which resent control from Java. It began preparations to seize the territory.

When President Gerald R. Ford visited Jakarta in early December 1975, he urged Suharto not to use force to settle the problem. As soon as Ford had left, Indonesian paratroopers began dropping on Dili.

Fretilin faded into the jungle mountains to conduct guerrilla warfare. The Indonesian army, using the newest and best U.S. ground-attack planes, OV-10 Broncos, found the guerrillas hard to root out.

The army turned to the doctrinal standard way of dealing with guerrillas: isolating them from popular support. Mountain people were uprooted from the villages and gathered in guarded camps, where agricultural and medical facilities were poor at best. Starvation of those remaining outside became a military tactic, according to religious and relief officials.

Relief for the hungry, sick people who eventually came down from the mountains was handled by the Indonesian Red Cross. But foreign critics quote a report by the Indonesian Catholic Church as saying the Red Cross was unable to carry out an efficient program. Most of Indonesia is Moslem, East Timor Catholic.

Relief supplies stored in Dili promote manipulation, black market and the like," the report said. "Medicines are sold in the shops for prices only very few can afford to pay."

An official of the U.S. office of foreign disaster assistance visited East Timor in September. His report said that up to 400,000 persons were displaced and half of them "most seriously affected." His office has now given \$2.9 million for work that Catholic Relief Services has been allowed to start, and \$600,000 worth of U.S. Food for Peace rice has been allocated.

CRS reports that "people are dying all over the place," but it cannot get in enough food and medicine fast enough for all those who need it.

The Carter administration is not eager to talk about East Timor. Although Ford held up military sales to Indonesia for six months because it broke the terms of earlier sales by using the weapons against the territory, military aid goes ahead. This year it is worth about \$38 million.

"By virtue of its strategic and political importance as well as its size and resources, Indonesia occupies a key position in Southeast Asia . . . The United States security assistance program for Indonesia is designed to assist Indonesia in meeting its security requirements," says the Pentagon explanation of arms aid.

From offices abroad, Fretilin has continued to plead its case against Indonesia. The subject comes up regularly in a little-noticed committee of the U.N. General Assembly. Third World nations pass resolutions supporting self-determination for East Timor. Indonesia ignores them.

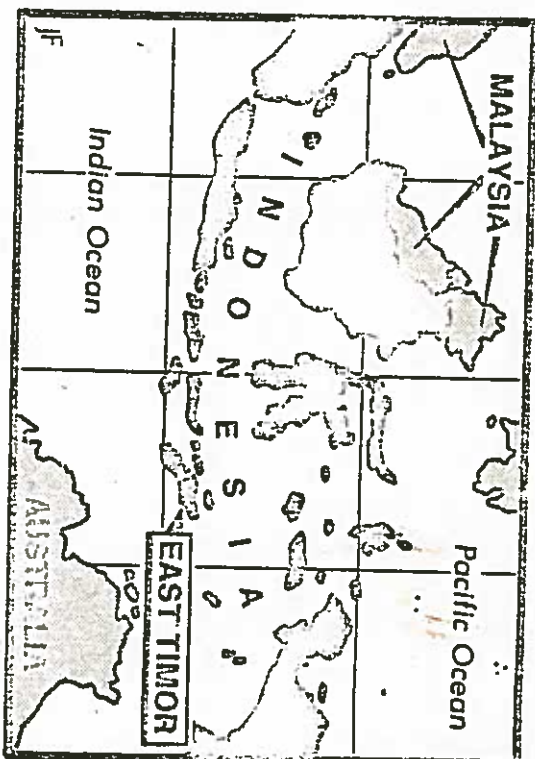
The United States votes against the resolutions. U.S. policy is not to agree that East Timor's people ever had a chance to choose but to recognize that Indonesia's takeover is an accomplished fact. American efforts have focused on urging Jakarta to permit relief operations.

"We feel that it was an irreversible incorporation, so the U.N. efforts just hinder attempts to get aid in," one U.S. official said.

An Australian advocate of East Timor's cause, James Dunn, took a harsher view in a report recently read into the record of Australia's Parliament. He called the situation "one of the most flagrant denials of human rights in the history of modern decolonization."

"Perhaps the most disturbing dimension of the Timor tragedy," Dunn wrote, "is that none of those countries who are in a position to exert some influence on Indonesia has shown other than a skeptical and passive interest in reports of this disturbing contravention of

Dir. Susan Murray Del. 31 Feb 81
Crisis aid in Indonesian famine



A massive emergency operation to save the lives of hundreds of thousands of starving people in East Timor, a former Portuguese colony now part of Indonesia, is under way in Dili, capital of the former colony. The famine is attributed largely to the 1975-76 civil war, when agricultural production was badly disrupted as tens of thousands of East Timorese fled to the mountains.

"I have been doing this sort of work for 14 years, but East Timor is the worst I have ever seen," Frank Carlin, Catholic Relief Service chief for Indonesia, said.

A veteran representative of the International Committee of the Red Cross added that the situation here is worse than in hunger-racked Biafra during the Nigerian civil war a decade ago and potentially more dangerous than in Cambodia, also laid waste by war.

Indonesia's Red Cross and the International Red Cross are bringing hundreds of tons of food and medicine here via sea transport provided by Jakarta's armed forces. Catholic Relief is also importing food and basic medicines, although medical care is under Indonesian Red Cross and International Red Cross doctors, nurses, and volunteers.

Dili, Indonesia

THE NEW FACES OF DESPAIR



THESE are the new faces of despair . . . children of a once-bountiful island now about to die because they have no food.

They are not from Cambodia, although they share the misery and suffering that civil war has inflicted on the helpless Khmer people.

Instead, these youngsters' home is East Timor, a former Portuguese colony absorbed into its neighboring giant Indonesia after a bloody invasion in 1975. Fighting left hundreds of thousands homeless and destroyed crops.

Red Cross officials estimate 100,000 have starved. Thousands more will soon die.

Yesterday, the Australian government pledged \$333,000 worth of relief. But officials say more is needed: "This is as bad as Biafra and Cambodia," said one.

**IN YET ANOTHER
ASIAN LAND,
STARVATION IS
THREATENING
THOUSANDS
MORE LIKE THESE**

Newsday, Nov. 8, 1979

ANDERSON

Genocide in Timor Supported by U.S.

Washington—An anguished voice drifted across the air waves like a cry in the wind. "Women and children are being shot in the streets! We are all going to be killed!" cried the disembodied voice. "I repeat, we are all going to be killed! This is an appeal for international help . . . Please help us!" Then there was silence.

The desperate plea was picked up on short-wave radio in the early dawn of Dec. 7, 1975, from East Timor. The aggressors were Indonesians armed with U.S. weapons. They swept through the independent nation of East Timor,

Jack Anderson is a syndicated columnist.

gunning down innocent civilians in the streets, just as the haunting voice had charged.

It was a day of irony as well as infamy. The last time Timor had been overrun by foreign troops, the invaders had been Japanese. The impoverished people who lived there had formed an underground to fight on the side of the U.S. But three decades later, we supported the aggressors. President Gerald Ford gave his tacit approval on Dec. 6, 1975, for the invasion.

The world scarcely noticed the obscure war, which raged on this isolated, rugged, mountainous island 400 miles off the Australian coast. The plaintive appeal for help was ignored by those who heard it. It was the last gasp of a tiny radio station in the capital city of Dili.

Exiles who escaped from the island appealed to the United Nations, which sent a fact-finding team to Timor. The conducted tour was so flagrantly phony that the UN observers finally filed a timid report confessing that the truth about Timor "remains elusive."

Recently, U.S. sources have shown us new top-secret reports; eyewitnesses have given us first-hand accounts. Finally, relief agencies have also been admitted to the area. We have seen their reports.

The toll of the dead and dying can only be described as genocide. No body count has been taken. But the population in 1974 was estimated at more than 600,000; now it is believed to be half that number. The rest apparently have been wiped out by warfare, disease and starvation.

The survivors live in abject poverty. Their rice-and-coconut economy has collapsed under the ravages of war. The population in the countryside has been deliberately starved in order to stifle the resistance movement. Slowly but surely, the guerrilla forces are being eroded by casualties and defections.

The leadership has passed largely from freedom-loving moderates to hard-core radicals. By supporting Indonesia's ruthless rule, the U.S. brought disfavor upon the pro-American moderates and has been a shameful accomplice in the suppression of our former allies on East Timor.

Crisis as President Suharto of Indonesia arrives in London tomorrow

Starvation drive against Timor

From Jill Jolliffe
in Lisbon

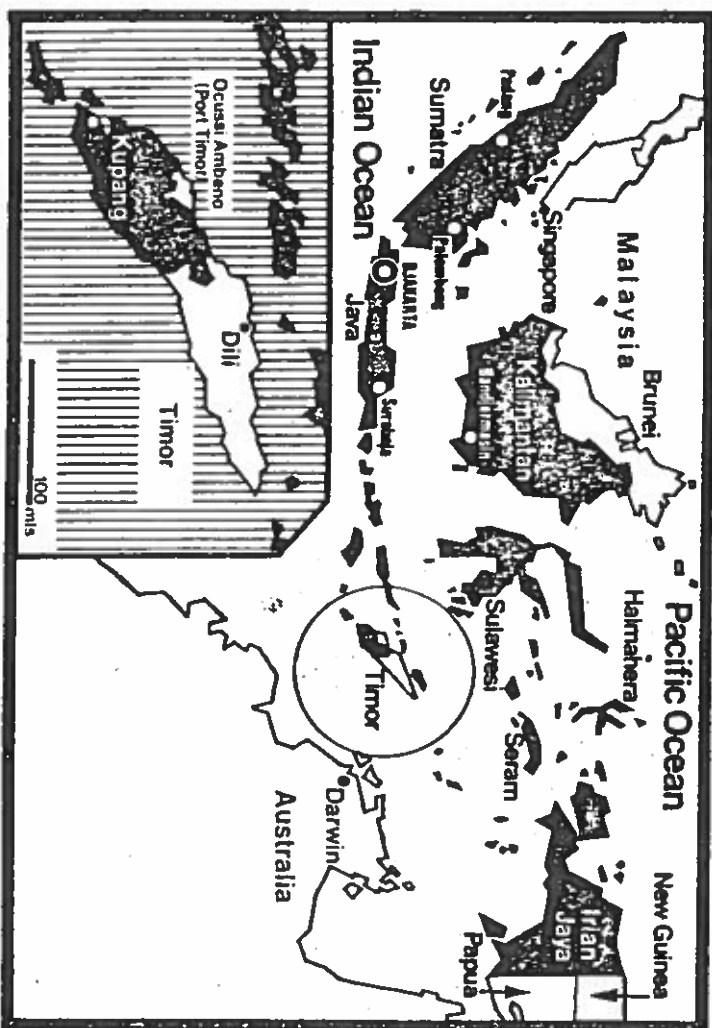
The Indonesians aimed to starve out the Fretilin resistance and in so doing have starved the whole of east Timor, according to an aid official who has worked in Portugal's Asian ex-colony. For four years East Timorese refugees in Portugal and Australia have been anguished but helpless observers of the systematic elimination—by mass execution, bombardment and, now, starvation—of their people.

Today, a famine engulfs the country, which International Red Cross Officials have compared to that of the Biafran civil war, and is perhaps as severe as that in Cambodia.

The former Portuguese colony was invaded by Indonesia in December, 1975, after a brief civil war in August, during which the Portuguese Administration abandoned the territory. Indonesian troops landed in Dili, the capital, 10 days after Fretilin (the Revolutionary Front of Independent East Timor) declared independence on November 28, 1975.

Human rights campaigners have since claimed, before the famine became public, that as many as 200,000 of East Timor's population of 650,000 may have been killed under the Indonesian military occupation.

Ruling a far-flung empire troubled by regional secessionism, the Indonesians justified their intervention on the grounds that a left-leaning independent regime on their doorstep was an insupportable provocation. Indonesian officials blame



the famine on the 1975 civil war, which, they say, disrupted agricultural production and displaced large sections of the population. However, an international Red Cross team, which worked in East Timor for three months before the invasion, denied at the time that there was a serious food or refugee problem.

The many foreign journalists working in the territory then also testified that civilian life and agricultural production had returned to normal by December, three months after the civil war. There is a weight of evidence that the famine is the

result of the use of starvation as a military strategy to crush opposition to Indonesia's takeover.

The International Red Cross has been readmitted to East Timor to administer a six-month relief programme, having been barred by the Indonesian Government since 1975. After international pressure, an aid team went there in July this year, to assess the situation and map out a relief programme. It reported that 75,000 refugees were gathered in 13 Indonesian Government camps, of whom 60,000 are facing starvation.

Of these, they say 20,000 cannot be saved—they will die whether aid reaches them or not. Since Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975, there has been a steady trickle of information to East Timorese refugees abroad, despite a military blockade around the island.

Father Leoncio do Rego, aged 63, is the best available witness to the causes of the famine. He arrived in Portugal last June, after three years in the mountains with the Fretilin resistance, in the central South coast area.

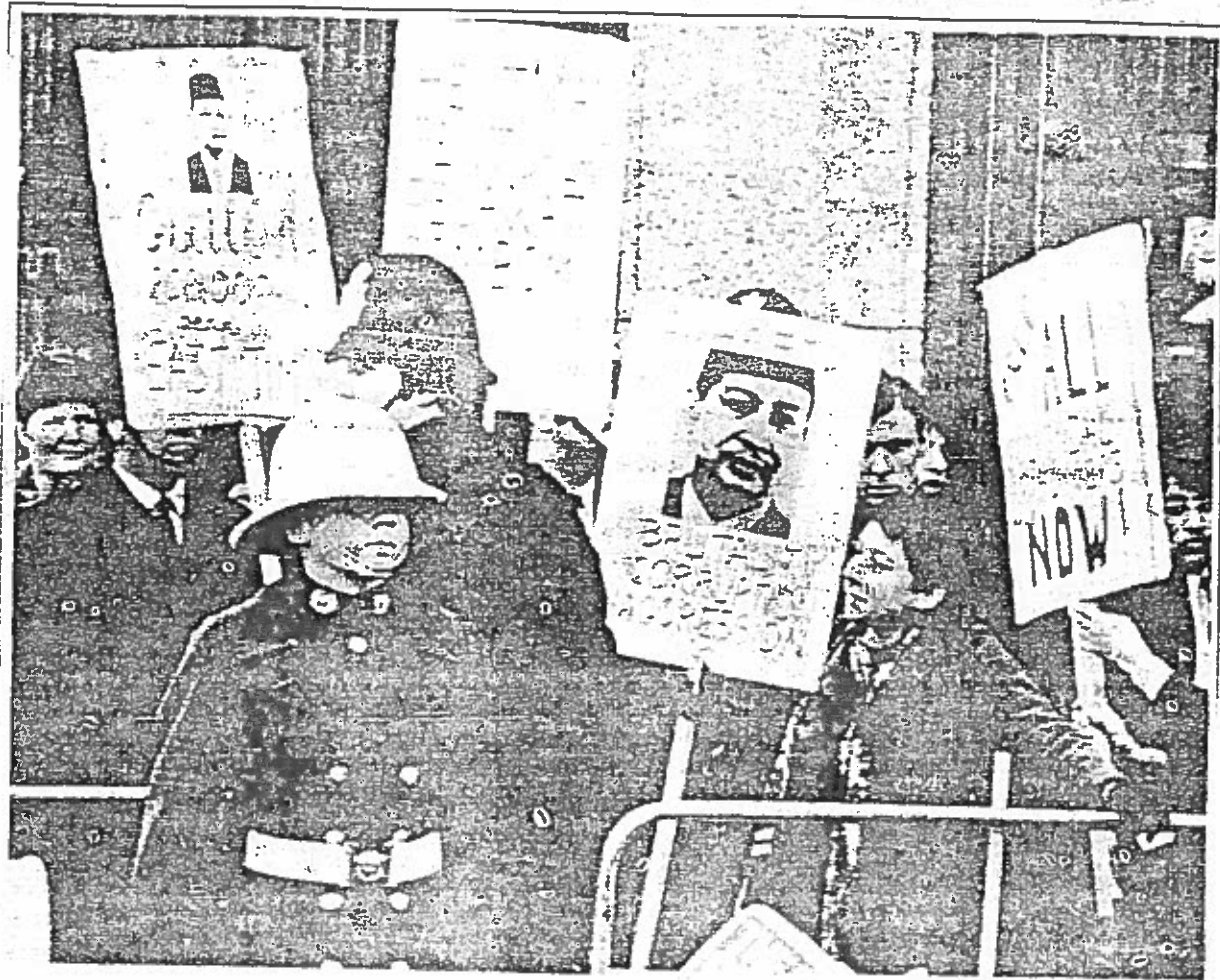
Contrary to Indonesian claims, the priest testified that the invading troops had met widespread resistance.

He said that from 1975 the Indonesians had regularly bombed the interior of Timor, concentrating particularly on destroying crops. He surrendered in January, near starvation; in the last days before surrender he was reduced to chewing the hide of a buffalo.

Father Do Rego claimed that "about one third" of the population in his area had died since 1975, most from starvation. He believes that the Indonesian authorities had a deliberate policy of cutting off food supplies to starve out the resistance, but added that direct bombing of crops was not the overriding cause of famine. He said the constant flight of the civilian population ahead of Indonesian bombing raids and infantry advances in 1977 and 1978 had made it impossible for people to tend crops.

In 1976 a Government inquiry was initiated into the abandonment of Timor by the former Governor, Mario Lemos Pires. The inquiry reported directly to President Ramalho Eanes and its findings have never been published. Reliable sources close to the President say it is not likely to be in the near future.

Portugal is still, in UN eyes, the administering power in East Timor. But whereas in 1976 it took a strong stand against the Indonesian invasion, a recent speech by Prime Minister Maria de Lourdes Pinheiro to the General Assembly made it plain that Portugal no longer accepts a special responsibility for Timor.



THE TIMES WEDNESDAY NOVEMBER 14 1979



President Suharto of Indonesia and Mrs Suharto with the Queen and Duke of Edinburgh at Buckingham Palace when they arrived yesterday on a state visit. Report, page 7.

Protests as Royals welcome Suharto

INDONESIAN dictator, President Suharto, was greeted by the British royal family at Victoria station yesterday when he arrived for a four-day state visit.

He was also confronted with groups of demonstrators protesting at his mass murders and prison camps in Indonesia and East Timor where nearly a quarter of the population have died from famine since Suharto's army invaded the island in 1975.



GUARDIAN DIARY



Martin Wainwright

Not in front of the kids

FOR humanitarian reasons, we must all hope that President Suharto has a nice, comfy bed at Buckingham Palace. But the dreams of the State Visitor are another matter. Carrying responsibility for the starving East Timorians must make it difficult to nod off at night, especially with the rich juices of the palace menu carrying out their digestive sabotage.

The president has already been, and will continue to be, dogged by protesters over East Timor, as well as by the friends of his many thousands of political prisoners. But one little change in the arrangements made to please our guest may have escaped his notice, so the Diary is pleased to pass it on.

When State visitors come to Buckingham Palace, the authorities frequently invite contingents of rosy-cheeked schoolchildren to cheer the important arrivals at the palace gates. The ploy is a good one, as heads of state love to feel that the children are on their side; and the children, for their part, love missing morning lessons.

President Suharto, though, has caused a rare break in this arrangement, in the form of one of the schools turning the Royal invitation down. Three crocodiles arrived, from London secondary schools in Victoria, Battersea and Chelsea. But the first-years from Pimlico school stayed in their classrooms instead.

Parents had discovered the possibility of their children clapping sweetly at the Indonesian leader and several complained to the governors and head. The latter, Mr Rodney Usher, decided against the visit, explaining that he had been reliably warned that his 11-year-olds might encounter hostile demonstrations.

Masked picket for President

MRS THATCHER welcoming President Soeharto to 10 Downing Street yesterday when the Indonesian leader called on the second day of his four-day State visit to Britain. They discussed the problems of South East Asia, and in particular the problems of Cambodia.

On his arrival in Downing Street the President was comforted by demonstrators wearing Indonesian face masks and carrying placards accusing his regime of brutality and repression.

And while he was in No.

10 a deputation of Labour MPs led by Mr Stanley Newens delivered a letter to the Prime Minister expressing "deep concern" about the decision to invite him to Britain.

The letter, signed by about 40 Labour MPs, accused the Soeharto Government of massacring up to a million people during its rise to power and of being responsible for 150,000 to 200,000 deaths through intervention in East Timor in 1975 following a civil war there.

Protests greet Suharto



Timorese Battle Famine; Relief Officials Compare It to Biafra, Cambodia

By Paul Zach
Special to The Washington Post

AKATIRA—The Indonesian province of Timor is battling a famine and outbreak of disease that some relief officials here are calling as bad as Biafra and potentially as serious as Cambodia.

Indonesian authorities are blaming the tragedy developing in Timor on a drought and on the lingering effects of a brutal civil war that followed Indonesia's takeover of the former Portuguese colony in 1975.

Indonesia has been accused by Timorese exiles and some international human rights groups of fostering the famine through its occupation policy there. Among their charges are that Indonesian troops forcibly take food that was to have gone to the Timorese people.

While the plight of Cambodian refugees in Thailand has been drawing most of the attention, officials of the U.S.-based Catholic Relief Services have mounted a virtually unnoted effort here to distribute 9,000 tons of food to 240,000 people in East Timor. Volunteers from the International Red Cross and Indonesian Red Cross are rushing aid to another 60,000 villagers some of whom have been reduced to skeletons loosely draped with skin.

Indonesian authorities are blaming the tragedy developing in Timor on a drought and on the lingering effects of a brutal civil war that followed Indonesia's takeover of the former Portuguese colony in 1975.

Indonesia has been accused by Timorese exiles and some international human rights groups of fostering the famine through its occupation policy there. Among their charges are that Indonesian troops forcibly take food that was to have gone to the Timorese people.

I have been doing this sort of work

for 14 years, but East Timor is the worst I have ever seen," said Frank Carlin, the head of the Catholic Relief Services office in Indonesia.

Interviewed while directing operations in East Timor, about 1,500 miles east of Jakarta, Carlin and a handful of coworkers admitted they face a difficult task convincing the world of the need for aid in yet another pocket of suffering in Southeast Asia.

The stricken province comprises the eastern half of Timor Island, nearly 400 years ago for use as its coffee plantation. When the Portuguese pulled out in 1974, they left behind a single high school, a native population of 653,000 that was 90 per cent illiterate and only 13 miles of roads.

The absence of roads and facilities in the hostile jungles and mountains is hampering relief work. About \$1.2 million of the \$7.7 million budgeted for East Timor by the Red Cross is going for the charter of helicopters.

The Red Cross and Catholic relief groups, with aid mainly from their own coffers, and the governments of the United States, Australia and West Germany, have managed to set some shelves of high-protein biscuits, sugar, dried milk powder, rice, cooking oil, even soyu bean, and some medical supplies to the docks of the province's capital city, Dili.

But transferring the supplies from the docks to the needy has been slowed by overgrown jungle trails and limited carrying capacity of helicopters. Red Cross delegate Cedric Neukomm said his organization needs an additional \$1 million to charter ships and increase the operating hours of helicopters.

Neukomm, a veteran of Red Cross work in critical areas, said he found conditions in East Timor worse than

See TIMOR, A22, Col. 1



Sick and hungry children of the village of Laga in East Timor. The Red Cross and Catholic Relief Services have mounted an aid effort in the province.

Famine in Timor Perils Thousands; Aid Effort Grows

TIMOR, From A21

in Lebanon, Biafra or Bangladesh. "What you have is a situation where people for four years have been on a starvation diet. Obviously, many will die and continue to die. But they still have a chance and a will to live and if we can get the supplies to them in time they will survive," he said.

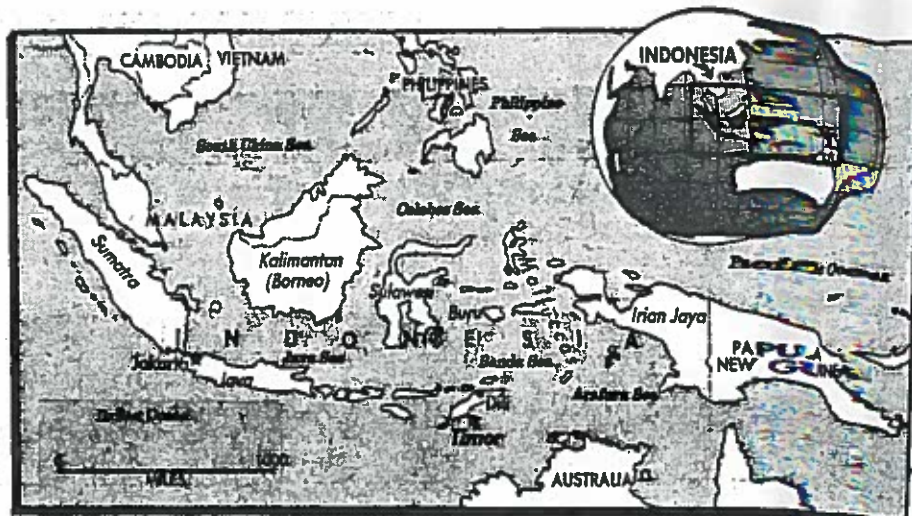
Rescue workers report that as many as nine people die each day from starvation in the vicinity of the village of Halotia, 50 miles southwest of Dili. Red Cross doctors, who conducted a

McCarthy Favors Draft Registraton

NEW HAVEN, Conn. Nov. 14 (AP) — Former U.S. senator Eugene McCarthy say American youths should be registered for the draft because today's military is "unrepresentative and underqualified."

McCarthy, in a debate on draft registration Tuesday, said the military should reflect the makeup of the public and the volunteer Army is not representative of the public. The former Minnesota senator also said that "if we continue to follow the present method we won't get the personnel we need."

Barry Lynn, chairman of the Committee Against Registration and the Draft, said drafting people 18 to 26 years old is unfair. He said that would not be a reflection of the public because the age bracket is only a small percentage of the country's population.



By Richard Forno-The Washington Post

survey there, discovered 80 percent of the 8,000 villagers had malaria. Farther east, in Laga, doctors estimated malnutrition and disease claim three to five victims each day.

The terrain that has impeded transfer of supplies also has made it impossible for officials to determine the full extent of the problem.

U.S. Embassy officials, who have helped dole out \$5.1 million in aid, said they believe the worst is behind them and substantial progress has been made in dealing with about 5,000 critical cases.

Other officials in East Timor said they fear only the fringe areas of suffering have been reached so far and that heavy rains expected in December could cut off supplies and lead to more deaths.

About one-fifth of East Timor's population of about 600,000 is believed to have fled from coastal areas to the mountains during fierce fighting that broke out in 1975 between a procommunist independence group called Fretilin and a movement favoring merger with Indonesia.

The Indonesian government later launched an all-out invasion to bolster the latter group. After eight months

of civil war, President Suharto announced in July 1976 that East Timor had been incorporated as the 27th province of Indonesia, a move still drawing fire from other Third World countries in United Nations debates.

To temper the criticism, Indonesia has allocated \$15 million for development in East Timor this year. Thus far, most government contributions have gone for window-dressing like the introduction of color television in Dili.

Bitter battles between Fretilin guerrillas and Indonesians continued after annexation. The violence drove thousands of villagers into the mountains in search of refuge. It was not until Fretilin leader Nicolau Lobato was killed by Indonesian militia in an ambush late last year that the fighting subsided and people began returning from the mountains.

The island's poor soil barely allows subsistence level agriculture for residents in the best weather. But a drought last year wiped out the corn crop and the people took to eating the seeds that were to be used for this year's planting. Thus, there was little food for those returning from the mountains.

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East Timor is in good hands?

In his completely biased article about East Timor ["Warfare, Starvation Cripple Island Ruled by Indonesia," Oct. 31] Henry S. Bradsher tends to be so malicious toward Indonesia that one cannot fail to detect his intention to disrupt the existing good and friendly relations between the United States and Indonesia. Consciously or unconsciously, the article lends itself to be a tool of propaganda and fabrication by a small gang that calls itself Fretilin.

Besides misleading your readers on the true situation in East Timor — and, for that matter, about Indonesia — I am surprised at his claim that "an Indonesian Embassy spokesman in Washington reported having no information on this or other aspects on the situation in East Timor." I can definitely state that no Indonesian Embassy spokesman has ever been contacted by Mr. Bradsher.

To our people in East Timor, the article not only did injustice but implied denial of their right to self-determination which, as a matter of fact, they have carried out freely by their own choice of integration with Indonesia.

It is common knowledge that Portugal as a colonial power that at one time administered East Timor did not fulfill its responsibility to implement decolonization there. Not only that, Portugal abandoned East Timor irresponsibly and favored a small leftist gang that called them-

selves Fretilin by supplying them with a tremendous number of arms and ammunition, which provoked the people in East Timor into chaos and civil strife. Naturally enough, the people rose against the Fretilin gang and declared their decision to integrate with Indonesia.

Indonesia welcomed this decision, and by due act of the Indonesian Parliament the integration was accepted and promulgated on July 17, 1976. Since then, it is clear that the people of East Timor have conducted their right to self-determination, and East Timor has become an integral part of the Republic of Indonesia. Hence, East Timor is Indonesia's internal affair.

It follows that the welfare and the security of the people in East Timor are naturally the responsibility of the Indonesian government. Any word of the so-called Indonesian army invasion is a mere fabrication trumpeted by the Fretilin gang and certain adventurous leftist elements in Australia. What is true is that the Indonesian army was there after the process of integration with Indonesia had been completed. It is, of course, the duty of our national armed forces to see to the security of the Indonesian people, including our people in East Timor.

To write that warfare and starvation prevail in that part of Indonesia is an attitude that deliberately wants to discredit Indonesia. If it were

true, which it definitely is not, how could Indonesia lend its helping and humanitarian hands to save and help tens of thousands of Vietnamese refugees that have shocked the world? Not a single, sensible man will believe that the Indonesian government deliberately lets its people in East Timor starve while foreigners like those Vietnamese refugees are being taken care of.

Since integration took place, the Indonesian government has taken every measure to alleviate the East Timor people's suffering as the result of the chaos created by the Fretilin gang.

Food and other relief goods have been received by the needy people. The Indonesian Red Cross is working with the International Committee for the Red Cross assisted by the Indonesian government in the distribution of relief goods. Cooperation and contribution in this relief effort has also come from UNICEF and the governments of friendly countries like Canada, the United States, Japan, Australia, New Zealand, the Federal Republic of Germany, the Netherlands and ICRC itself. Even the American Catholic Relief Services has been given the opportunity to participate in these efforts.

To imply that half the East Timor populace has now perished is nothing but the stereotyped propaganda of the Fretilin gang. The government of East Timor province and, for that matter, the Indonesian government have so far never been conducting a population census.

East Timor is now taking a breath of freedom within independent Indonesia. The people have led a normal life in their bid for development. Gradually but certainly they will catch up with the progress achieved by other parts of Indonesia. Health care, education, vocational training, infrastructures and all necessary aspects of life which support development have been improved and are being galvanized by the government.

The current development of East Timor is now being incorporated in the implementation of Indonesia's third Five-Year Development Plan (1979-1984). And East Timor is now an open territory.

Ngurah Gedhe,
Minister Counsellor,

Embassy of the Republic of Indonesia
Washington, D.C.

(NOTE — Mr. Bradsher says he asked the embassy's press section for information on the situation in East

The Washington Star

Sunday, Nov. 18, 1979

THE NEW YORK TIMES, MONDAY, NOVEMBER 19, 1979

Letters

Indonesia's Brutal 'Resettlement' of the Timorese

To the Editor:

I was very disturbed by misleading statements contained in the Oct. 31 Reuters dispatch about the situation in East Timor. The correspondent stated that "neutral observers say there is no evidence to support the charges published abroad that half the population has been wiped out in genocidal action by the Indonesian army."

During the past year, my office has received considerable information about human-rights violations in East Timor. These reports, primarily from church officials, indicate that since 1975 — not 1975 to 1976, as claimed by the Reuters dispatch — the Indonesian army has used extremely brutal tactics to destroy widespread popular resistance to annexation. Indiscriminate killings, saturation bombing and crop destruction appear to have been common tactics designed to drive hundreds of thousands of people out of the mountains into Indonesia's "resettlement" camps.

Most reliable reports point to a very high death toll. American officials now believe 100,000 are dead, but relief and church officials quote significantly higher figures. The report of one-half of the population having been killed originated with Indonesian officials. Whether one talks about half of the population or 100,000 deaths, it is clear that Indonesia is responsible for a massive catastrophe which should be compared to the Cambodian tragedy.

Aid missions in East Timor report

that tens of thousands of people are severely threatened by disease and famine. The present relief efforts are not sufficient to deal with the magnitude of the crisis. Only three International Red Cross officials are stationed in East Timor full time. The presence of more international relief officials is essential to prevent the theft and corruption of relief aid attributed to the Indonesian military. The Indonesian Government must allow international agencies like Unicef and the U.N. High Commission on Refugees to operate in East Timor as well.

Because information about East Timor is so scarce — the area having

been closed off to journalists by the Indonesian authorities for the four years — it is essential that reports of the East Timor tragedy be scrupulously researched. Reliance on Indonesian officials or unidentified "neutral observers" can only further obfuscate the public's cloudy perceptions of the situation.

Lives depend on the American public's attention to the tragedy in East Timor. I sincerely hope that The New York Times will lead in the effort to investigate the devastation of the Timorese people.

TOM HARKIN
Member of Congress, 5th Dist., Iowa
Washington, Nov. 2, 1979

Stephen S. Rosenfeld

The Policy of Famine

This Thanksgiving the big news on the international food front is that starvation is back as a pretty well accepted political tactic.

True, denying food and imposing malnutrition, disease and death upon large numbers of civilians, for a political purpose, has never really gone out of style. But after World War II, which did after all produce a certain revulsion against the deliberate infliction of suffering on masses of non-combatants, there perhaps was a time when a carelessly hopeful person might have thought the mold had cracked.

Not so. The situation in Cambodia, where Vietnam and its puppet regime, with Soviet approval, have been forcing a surrender-or-starve choice upon the Cambodian people, is merely the most conspicuous, vicious and "successful" case. The Indonesians, who enjoy American patronage, have been doing it inconspicuously in rebellious East Timor for years. The different parties in the Rhodesia war have been doing it in their various fashions, also for years. The Nigerians in their war against Biafra, Ethiopia in its struggle against secessionists...

Note well: I am not talking here about simply using food as a political carrot or stick, which is common both in the export policies of the United States and in the internal-distribution policies of many local governments. I am talking about military operations aimed at driving farmers off the land, destroying crops and seeds, rendering fields uncultivable, denying relief—in brief, operations aimed at causing the sort of human loss that makes societies buckle.

In the American self-image and in much of our practice, we are a generous people eager to feed the hungry everywhere without letting politics intrude. Yet in Vietnam, even as we sent in shiploads of food aid, we spread the herbicides and conducted the bombing that made some part of that aid necessary. Our record is mixed enough to warrant some humility.

As it happens, the practice of deliberately inflicting hunger for political aims has flourished even as the conquest of hunger has been widely accepted, in official pronouncements, as an important international goal.

It suggests a certain failure of imagination that so little attention has been given to the matter of man-made famine. People of good will have labored hard, for instance, to ensure that governments would not loose exotic germs or chemicals upon civilian populations, but the coarser and more common threat of food denial is little noted. The international community has been struggling to organize better to cope with natural disasters,



but the man-made disaster of enforced starvation falls outside the pale.

Perhaps it is that the use of food as a political lever has become so ordinary, so legitimized by regular unremarked practice, that people—Americans, in particular—don't focus on the use of food as the ultimate political lever until it's too late, as in Cambodia.

An oft-cited CIA study of 1974 suggested countering "oil or economic strangulation" with "food strangulation" and observed grandly, "As the custodian of the bulk of the world's exportable grain, the U.S. might regain the primacy of world affairs...."

So it is that many Americans speak now of the desirability of cutting off food exports to Iran. A case can be made that a cutoff would merely reduce the quality of the Iranian diet and cause the government problems of control, without starving anyone. But it is a slippery slope.

You might have thought that the spread of powerful modern weapons would help preclude starvation situations—by putting the means for a knock-

out punch into the hands of societies that otherwise might conduct their political disputes as protracted peasant wars.

But the spread of these weapons has not confined battles to armed combatants on battlefields. The spirit of the age has energized many popular causes, and people tend to struggle on. It is precisely the difficulty of routing out low-level resistance, especially in the countryside, by planes and tanks that has given food-denial tactics their opening.

The civilian victims are customarily removed, by remoteness and the starver's censorship, from the news coverage that might help the humanitarian community mobilize the political community. The starver's troops often limit or deny the victims the benefits of international relief, if it is offered.

It has become a cliché that we should all fight the "war on hunger." It should become the common political rule that we will allow no one to wage war by hunger. That would be cause for thanksgiving.

Timor Priest, Charging Genocide, Seeks U.S. Help

By KATHLEEN TELTSCH

A frail 63-year-old priest who says he witnessed a three-year "genocidal war" by Indonesia against the people of East Timor is in the United States seeking help from Congress and the United Nations for the Timorese.

The Rev. Leoneto Viera do Rego went to Timor 23 years ago to teach and serve as a mission priest when the island, which is 400 miles off the Australian coast, was a Portuguese colony. When he left this June he vowed to enlist outside help for what he calls simply "the cause."

The cause, he said in a recent interview, is to insure that food and other relief being sent to Timor are delivered to

the sick and starving Timorese and are not taken by Indonesian officials and troops, who have occupied the territory since December 1978.

The cause is also to persuade United Nations members to call for the withdrawal of Indonesian forces and for independence for the Timorese. There appears to be little prospect of achieving this goal because Indonesia has annexed the territory.

Congress Plans Inspection

A committee from the United States Congress is scheduled to go to the area next month, presumably to check on the distribution of \$8.8 million in American assistance.

Father do Rego said he was stunned to

discover after leaving Timor how little was known about the events that began when Indonesia invaded its small neighbor after a short civil conflict that led to Portugal's withdrawal.

During the next three years he lived with members of the Timorese resistance, called Fretelin, who fled to the highlands. He said that bombardment and systematic destruction of croplands in 1978 were intended to starve the islanders into submission. He surrendered in January and, after a month in an interrogation camp, was permitted to leave, reportedly because the Vatican interceded.

In recent days a House subcommittee has held hearings on reports that famine in the territory was comparable to that in

interview that resistance against Indonesia had collapsed because the Timorese were too weak to continue the struggle.

The Portuguese-born priest indicated that Roman Catholic Church officials in his homeland had discouraged his speaking about his experiences, probably out of concern that Indonesia might halt an aid program of the Red Cross and Catholic Relief Services.

Indonesia Said to Cooperate

The Rev. Robert Charlebois of the Catholic agency, who spent six days in Timor in October, said the devastating impact of the food shortage was obvious. "Every child I saw was suffering from malnutrition," he said. However, he said that the Indonesian authorities were now cooperating fully with foreign relief officials, who have complete control over the supplies and their distribution.

Cambodia, if not worse. Relief organizations have testified that at least 150,000 of the 650,000 Timorese have died, primarily from starvation and disease.

At the hearings, witnesses and Administration officials disagreed on the causes of the crisis. Government spokesmen tended to attribute the famine to Portuguese neglect and to the islanders' inadequate subsistence farming. Representative Tom Harkin, Democrat of Iowa, told the House Subcommittee on East Asian and Pacific Affairs that Indonesia was responsible because it invaded East Timor, carried out saturation bombing and prevented farming. He also said the United States shared responsibility because it had furnished Indonesia with the weapons used.

Father do Rego, who attended the Washington hearings, said during the in-

Americans familiar with the Timor situation said that the conditions described by Father do Rego undoubtedly prevailed when Timor was virtually sealed off from outsiders but that there had been a definite improvement since Indonesia decided to permit foreign help.

Navy Test-Fires Trident Missile

CAPE CANAVERAL, Fla., Dec. 13 (UPI) — The Navy successfully test-fired a Trident 1 missile today from the nuclear submarine Mariano Ballejo while she was submerged 50 miles off the coast of Cape Canaveral. The Trident 1 is more powerful and has a much longer range than the Poseidon or Polaris missiles. It can hit targets up to 6,900 miles away.

REMEMBER THE NEEDS!

OVERSEAS

Relief is reaching East Timor but thousands have already died from Indonesian starvation policy

From David Watts
Dili, East Timor, Dec 13

An old woman lies on her side, huddled in the foetal position, on a bamboo bed. Even from the back her ribcage is visible. Only her eyes move. The skin on her face and matchstick arms and legs is like taut, dark brown parchment.

Around her in the tiny temporary hospital in the east of the island of Timor are a dozen other shadows of human beings. Most of them will die. In palm-frond huts around this collection centre for the "mountain people" of East Timor, organized by the International Committee of the Red Cross and the Indonesian Red Cross, others are lying too sick to be moved.

The camp, on a piece of flatland close to a river which fills occasionally now as the wet season starts, is symbolic of the suffering brought on East Timor through war and famine during the last few years. No one knows how many of the "mountain people" have died of starvation and disease this year but since the Red Cross did a survey of their plight in April it is believed that the number of deaths runs into the thousands.

Nobody knows precisely how many East Timorese are still in the mountains but there can be few remaining alive. Of those that have come down to the lowland areas, 134,000 are being treated by Catholic relief services in 120 centres and the Red Cross has plans to help another 66,000.

Since the Red Cross operation began in October, 36,000 people have been contacted and are being treated in eight relief centres for severe malnutrition and countless diseases.

Most of these people have been saved from the brink of starvation by the relief services in what must be one of the most remarkably successful rescue operations of recent years.

Others will die, but at least help is coming to the innocent victims of the vicious starvation policy practised by the Indonesian armed forces against Marxist, militant and civilian

alike in East Timor's little-known war, which has been fought out of sight of the world since 1975.

I was the first representative of a British newspaper to visit East Timor since news of widespread starvation and malnutrition reached the outside world. With a party of European and Scandinavian correspondents, four centres established for the East Timorese were visited in a tour supervised by the Indonesian military. Diplomats have so far not been allowed to travel farther than the capital, Dili.

With the Portuguese revolution the Portuguese Governor, posted here as a punishment, threw in his hand and fled to an off-shore island. Civil war broke out involving Fretilin, a Marxist grouping with a military arm composed largely of soldiers formerly in the Portuguese colonial army.

One week after Fretilin declared an independent state and the rival Apodeti group announced integration with Indonesia, the Indonesian Army invaded in force.

Fretilin's 2,500 fighters, equipped with modern German sub-machine guns and mortars, took to the mountains taking with them an estimated 100,000 lowland Timorese who were either relatives or people "co-opted" into the movement to provide support by growing food.

The Indonesian armed forces sealed off East Timor from the rest of the world with air and naval patrols to prevent outside assistance reaching the Fretilin fighters.

The civilian population was constantly forced to flee from place to place. It was impossible for the lowlanders to return to the few fertile areas around river valleys and even the highlanders were unable to practise their own, crude slash and burn agriculture.

The people were reduced to stealing what they could, and when they could not get supplies they lived on leaves, mice and dead dogs, according to an official of the Indonesian Red Cross. They ate the dogs after they had died because their animist beliefs prevented them from killing them.

But the real crisis for the mountain people came in 1977-

78 when the Indonesian military, tiring of the inconclusive campaign, launched a big sweep through the east of the island to eradicate the last of the Fretilin forces. Using paratroop drops and North American Rockwell Bronco counter-insurgency aircraft they fought through the island, denying the Fretilin forces sanctuaries and food supplies.

General Dading Kalbuadi, who commanded Indonesian operations in East Timor, told me that he had employed a variety of techniques culled from the Indonesian fight for independence against the Dutch, and his own experience as part of the United Nations force deployed in Vietnam to monitor the ceasefire.

Here and there throughout the eastern half of the island there is evidence of what appears to have been napalm attacks by the Bronco aircraft. Made desperate by the situation in the mountains the people began to flock down to the lowlands in search of food and shelter.

The food and medical aid for the East Timorese, which has come from Australia, Japan, Scandinavia and other European countries as well as \$6.2m worth (£2.8m) from the United States, is taken by lorry or flown in two French-built Alouettes, an American-built Jetranger helicopter and a British-built Islander fixed-wing aircraft. Total relief work now under way stands at \$15.2m.

Though the relief programmes are working well now and probably a relatively small percentage of those at present receiving assistance will die, the Indonesian Government must bear a heavy responsibility for not having called in outside help much sooner.

The Government says that some relief centres have been in existence for a year. In that year thousands of lives have been needlessly destroyed and far from bringing in assistance the Jakarta Government blocked the return of the International Committee of the Red Cross. It is a serious accusation to add to that of the annexation of East Timor by armed force, for which Indonesia still stands condemned.

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

"First the blade, then the ear,  then the full grain in the ear."

Tuesday, December 18, 1979

East Timor — the other famine

The same kind of outpouring of compassion and assistance in response to the tragedy in Cambodia is called for in another seldom noticed corner of the world. Thus far little public attention has been given to the tens of thousands of victims of famine and war on the tiny Indonesian island of Timor.

Much of the industrial West probably has never heard of the former Portuguese colony north of Australia and west of New Guinea, no larger than the state of Connecticut. The crisis in the eastern half of Timor is not as large, does not involve nearly as many people, as the tragic situation in Cambodia. But the proportion of the island's total population battling malnutrition is as large or larger. Attention and helping hands are urgently needed to aid East Timor residents struggling to survive after being driven from their homes and farms during four years of conflict.

Recent hearings before the House Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs painted a grim picture of what living conditions are like for the more than 200,000 refugees there said to be suffering from malnutrition. One international relief official described the remote island's history as "one of unrelenting deprivation and oppression." And a veteran worker called the acute malnutrition on the island the worst he had run up against in 14 years of assisting refugees.

But there were also glimmers of hope in the congressional testimony that since fighting between guerrilla groups and Indonesians, who invaded the island four years ago, has subsided in recent months, aid from the

US, West Germany, and Australia is finally starting to get through. The United States so far has sent \$7.8 million in emergency assistance and commodities via international relief organizations, and a relief official testified that monitoring and access to the hostile jungle and mountain regions of the island have improved sufficiently for him to report that foodstuffs and other emergency supplies are now making it to some desperate villagers.

But some other relief workers as well as Timorese refugees charge that Indonesian troops have in some cases confiscated food intended for the Timorese. To ensure future aid reaches those in need more outside observers ought to be allowed to monitor the food distribution, even if, as some State Department officials aver, extensive monitoring would be offensive to Indonesia.

It may be too much to hope that the people of East Timor, who have an identity quite distinct from Indonesians, will ever gain the self-determination denied them since Indonesia's takeover. But at the least the West — and Indonesia's big ally, the United States, in particular — has an obligation to try to curb Indonesian strong-arm tactics.

Relief agencies are seeking rehabilitation grants from the US of \$5 million. With the hungering in Cambodia, Africa, and elsewhere calling for world attention, it would be easy for wealthier nations to overlook East Timor. But conscience and compassion for even the remotest of "neighbors" on this small planet must not allow that to happen.

The New York Times

Founded in 1851

ADOLPH S. OCHS, Publisher 1896-1935

ARTHUR HAYS SULZBERGER, Publisher 1935-1961

ORVIL E. DRYFOOS, Publisher 1961-1963

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An Unjust War in East Timor

Americans have only gradually become aware of the unjust war Indonesia has been waging in remote East Timor. The former Portuguese colony has suffered a ruthless military occupation since Indonesia invaded it in 1975 and proclaimed its annexation a year later. The fighting, disease and starvation may have claimed a third of East Timor's 600,000 inhabitants — no one can say for sure, because Indonesia has restricted access by the international relief agencies.

Although most of the weapons of suppression are American-made, Washington has muted its concern for the familiar pragmatic reasons. Indonesia, the most populous Moslem nation, is a major oil supplier; its military government is rightist and repressive. But American silence about East Timor contrasts oddly with the indignation over Cambodia; the suffering is great in both places.

In East Timor, as in Cambodia, an unoffending people is starving following invasion by an aggressive neighbor. Here, too, refugees with bloated bellies are being crammed into resettlement camps. Jakarta asserts control only by bombing the populated coastal areas, forcing Timorese into the mountains and devastating their rice economy.

When the Portuguese empire was crumbling in 1975, little attention was paid to the poor and primitive colony of East Timor. Indonesia already controlled the western half of the island and coveted the rest. Two independence movements vied for power in East Timor,

one being the leftist Fretilin party, and that conflict served as the pretext for Indonesia's attack.

Though Washington says it "understands" the seizure, it disagrees with Indonesian claims that "self-determination" prompted it. The annexation has been repeatedly condemned by the United Nations and has found no legal support anywhere.

Portuguese priests who have fled East Timor say a third of the population has died. Indonesia disputes this number, but former Foreign Minister Adam Malik said in 1977 that the military casualties were 50,000, perhaps 80,000. By that reckoning, at least one of ten East Timorese is a casualty of "integration."

Members of Congress have finally begun to ask why Indonesia should be exempt from American censure. But these protests have elicited only mumbles from the Carter Administration; it still sells military hardware to Indonesia. The acquiescent silence of America is no more just than the war.



Refugees From East Timor Report Famine Situation

By JAMES M. MARKHAM

Special to The New York Times

LISBON — Newly arrived ethnic Chinese refugees from the former Portuguese colony of East Timor say that famine conditions and some fighting have been continuing there, that Indonesian soldiers behave as a harsh occupying army and that high-ranking officers systematically divert and sell international relief supplies.

The accounts furnished by the refugees are current from September to Oct. 31, when the last of them left East Timor. More recent reports from East Timor

Second of a series.

have said that international relief efforts have had some effect in moving the area from war and famine toward survival.

A woman who got out of the East Timorese capital of Dili in October and, like others, said she paid bribes totaling roughly \$2,000, reported: "Everyone wants to leave. It is the land of the devil."

All the fresh arrivals, who have joined a Timorese colony of 2,000 refugees here, are from the dwindling Chinese community in East Timor, which is 350 miles north of Australia in the eastern end of the Indonesian archipelago. They freely acknowledged that Indonesian officers permitted them to leave because, as one man put it, "they think that Chinese will not cause problems for them." It is impossible, they say, for Timorese or the few Portuguese stranded there to leave.

A Group Apart in East Timor

Like overseas Chinese scattered around Southeast Asia, those in Timor were a group apart, more interested in commerce than in politics. Four days of intensive interviews here, involving 11 people whose remarks were translated from the Chinese, suggested that their community had suffered as severely from the Indonesian occupation as have the non-Chinese Timorese.

Some were extremely reluctant to speak, and all pleaded that their identities and even their dates of leaving be kept confidential for fear of Indonesian reprisals against family members whose freedom they hoped to purchase.

A lanky teen-age boy just arrived in Lisbon with two siblings virtually refused to answer questions until an interpreter suggested jokingly that perhaps he liked the Indonesians. The boy smiled slyly and, barely audibly, said, "The Indonesian soldiers beat us, but we ran away."

Asked what happened after the invasion of Dili in December 1975 he said: "The Indonesians lined us up on the wharf, making us face the sea, and they shot many people. Maybe a hundred." He said that he and others, expecting execution, were spared, perhaps because of their age. An impressive man in his 50's said that Indonesian parachutists, on landing in Dili, fired wildly at anyone in sight. Other refugees recounted that if an Indonesian soldier was found dead in front of a house, its occupants, with the exception of women, were summarily shot.

The refugees interviewed all came from Dili, and only one said he had recently visited villages outside, to the east, where, he said, "it is normal that 30 people die in a day."

Diversion of Aid Alleged

Among the refugees' assertions were these:

Ranking Indonesian officers have organized a system, using soldiers as middlemen, to divert Indonesian, Red Cross and other humanitarian relief, chiefly rice, to shops in Dili. "We talked to the small soldiers and they complained they were not getting enough from the big ones for selling it," a man replied when asked to furnish evidence of the corruption. Added another: "If they receive from the Red Cross of Australia, they give it as if it came from the Indonesian Red Cross. But they give only a little bit to the people and sell most."



Ethnic Chinese from East Timor recently joined other refugees, seen practicing songs, at camp outside Lisbon

Last April the International Committee of the Red Cross invited people in Dili to fill out forms permitting them to declare whether they wanted to become Indonesian or Portuguese citizens; many opted for Portuguese nationality, and many of those who did were discharged from whatever jobs they might have held and were otherwise discriminated against. "It was a trick to make people take Indonesian nationality," a young man asserted. "If you changed and said you wanted to be Indonesian, you could get your job back."

The refugees said that there was little genuine commerce in Dili and that economic activity centered on selling food to Indonesian troops garrisoned in the seaside town. The soldiers were depicted as eager to serve out their six-month tours, take advantage of the time to extort money and other favors from the local population, and go home.

Questioned intensely, one man insisted that when he left Dili in mid-October planes, which from his description and drawings appeared to be small American-made Bronco observation planes, were conducting bombing runs in the nearby mountains. "I saw with my own eyes the bombs brought to the planes on little carts," he said emphatically. He also said that twice a week transport planes from Surabaya, Java, flew out Indonesian casualties that had been ferried to the military hospital in Dili by helicopter. Others, including the young man who said he visited villages in the eastern section of the island between January and May, related that anti-Indonesian guerrillas from Fretilin, the revolutionary group, were still conducting resistance around the town of Baucau. He and others said that the fragmented leftist movement maintained a good information network "and anything that happens in Dili they know about."

Dili, in the words of one refugee, is "a world of terror" full of informers and spies. Police units forcibly break up small groups on the streets, residents are afraid of being arrested for listening to foreign radio broadcasts, mail is censored, the use of Portuguese is forbidden and the Timorese live in fear of being denounced as sympathizers of the guerrillas by members of an Indonesian-sponsored group called the Timorese Popular Democratic Association.

Suffering, Torture, Jail

One of the men, saying that his brother had been falsely denounced as a Fretilin member, added: "He suffered a lot. He was tortured with electricity. He was in jail for 16 months. If it is a lady, they go with cigarettes on the face and on the body."

Several refugees said that guerrillas who had surrendered under an amnesty program were initially allowed to return to their homes but later "disappeared" and were believed to have been slain. Low-level former members were obliged to serve as scouts in the Indonesian Army, the refugees added.

Last year, according to the refugees, prisoners held in Dili were freed and then fled into the mountains. "They always

husband, a Portuguese, was seized and taken into the mountains by Fretilin — the name is an acronym from the Portuguese for Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor — after the 1975 invasion. "They are weak, but they do not care," she went on. "Now I do not know where my husband is. Some say he is fighting with Fretilin. Others say he is dead. I do not know."

When important outsiders, particularly foreign journalists, visited Dili, the refugees said, the Indonesians removed tanks and other military vehicles from the town, naval vessels were withdrawn from sight and soldiers and policemen went into the streets in plainclothes, pretending to be Timorese and warning people against talking to the visitors. "When journalists go there they are never free," a man recounted, adding, in reference to the Indonesian President: "And people are forced to shout 'Viva Suharto!' There are many police in multi watching, and if people say anything else they are dealt with later."

Few Fixed Political Views

Few of the newly arrived Chinese appeared to have any fixed political views. A tall, tough-looking man said that after the invasion he was taken into the mountains by the guerrillas because they suspected him of being a member of the Timor Democratic Union, a group that initially supported association with Portugal leading gradually to independence. During his time in the mountains, he said, the Indonesian Air Force constantly bombed the guerrillas. He said he managed to surrender to the Indonesians and

served briefly as a scout.

His sentiments seemed to lie more with the one-time Fretilin captors than with the Indonesians. "When they hit you," he said of the Indonesians, rising angrily to his feet, "you have to say 'thank you!'"

The Chinese maintained that a tight Indonesian naval blockade and the absence of a seagoing tradition among the Timorese prevented people from fleeing by boat. To depart legally from Timor, they said, they paid large bribes, which varied according to their suspected wealth, to two Indonesian colonels, whose names or documents they showed were recorded with official stamps, as J. F. Sinaga and Bam Sang. Using Indonesian identity cards, they were then permitted to fly to Jakarta.

No Bribes — Sometimes

In the capital, they said, the Portuguese-interest section of the Dutch Embassy issued them Portuguese passports. "And there you do not have to pay anything," a refugee said. "They are very nice." The Netherlands, which was the colonial ruler of Indonesia, including the western part of Timor, has represented Portuguese interests in Jakarta since Portugal broke diplomatic relations after the invasion of East Timor.

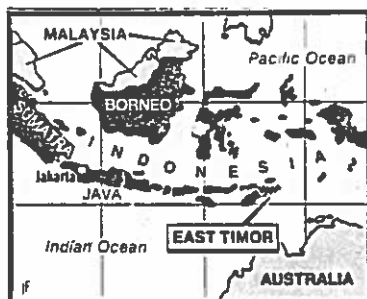
Further bribes to immigration officials in Jakarta are required to secure departure from Indonesia, the refugees said with the result that dozens of Timorese-Chinese have been stranded. Most will manage to get out fly to Singapore whence they follow a low-cost Aeroflot route that takes them through New Delhi and Moscow to Lisbon.

THE NEW YORK TIMES

TUESDAY, JANUARY 29, 1980

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

Tuesday, January 15, 1980



Is Timor aid being stolen?

By Jimmy Burns
Special to The Christian Science Monitor
Lisbon

According to Timorese refugees just arriving here, the Indonesian authorities are embezzling part of the international aid currently being channeled to starvation-struck East Timor.

The refugees allege that Indonesian officials are keeping some of the donated food and medical supplies back and then distributing them to local shopkeepers. The aid is, in turn, sold at hugely inflated prices rather than given to the population, they say.

These charges are difficult if not impossible to substantiate. But they appear to corroborate the views expressed by representatives of the Americans for Democratic Action (ADA) at last month's congressional hearing on East Timor. The ADA representatives contended that, given Indonesia's past record in Timor, there was a need for increased monitoring by outside observers of the distribution of foreign relief.

The United States so far has contributed approximately \$1.8 million to the International Committee of the Red Cross' relief efforts and \$6.9 million in funds and commodities to the Catholic Relief Services. CRS has requested an additional \$5 million from the US to be spread over a three-year period.

*Please turn to Page 9

From page 1

Is Timor aid being stolen?

"We appeal to anyone left in the world with a minimum sense of human rights to insure that relief goes directly to our people," said S., a refugee who insisted on remaining nameless for fear of reprisals against his family. He arrived here on Jan. 8 along with four other men and one woman, the latest group to have braved a long, costly, and seemingly dangerous trail.

Since the Indonesian invasion of East Timor in 1975, more than 2,000 Timorese have arrived in Portugal. Most of them, like S., are housed in a squalid camp a few miles from Lisbon belonging to the Portuguese Red Cross.

S. managed to escape from Dili, the main town on East Timor, late last year after paying 80,000 Indonesian rupiahs (\$129) for a visa and the air ticket to Jakarta, the Indonesian capital. In Jakarta he paid a further 1,200,000 rupiahs (\$1,935) for necessary papers and an air fare to Lisbon through Singapore.

He left Jakarta on a temporary tourist visa although he arrived in Singapore with a smuggled Portuguese passport he had bought for 6,000 rupiahs (\$9.67) from the Dutch Embassy in the Indonesian capital. (The Dutch have been carrying out consular activities for the Portuguese ever since Portugal broke off diplomatic relations with Indonesia in 1975.)

S. calculated that half of the total 1,286,000 rupiahs (\$2,074) he had paid went in under-the-table bribes to Indonesian officials. "There is no other way to get out," he said. S. confirmed that a family reunion program agreed to more than a year ago by the Austri-

lian and Indonesian governments to facilitate the emigration from Timor of at least 600 people had fizzled completely — without a word of protest from either side.

To his knowledge no more than 100 Timorese had left because of the program. S. believed that none of his fellow countrymen had attempted leaving by boat. Shipping to and from East Timor is now closely controlled by the Indonesian authorities.

This is not the only way that officials are making things difficult. Increasingly, tickets and visas are being distributed to Timorese judged to be politically safe, in other words, those who would not talk to the press.

But is every Timorese trying to get out?

"If every Timorese who wanted to leave was allowed to go, only the stones would be left," said S.

The authorities, clearly fearing the consequences of a mass exodus, are clamping down even on loopholes.

Refugees insist that starvation still exists in many parts of East Timor and that fighting between the Indonesian military and Fretilin, the Timorese liberation movement, was still continuing in the mountains to the east of the island.

The refugees underlined the manipulative skills of the local authorities when it came to visits by Western journalists. Embarrassing witnesses were temporarily removed during the period of the visit, while those who remained were too frightened to talk.

Clearly the months ahead will see growing demands to what is really going on in Timor.

Recent events here indicate that one of the major initiatives in this respect may come from the Portuguese, who are already demonstrating feelings of collective guilt about their former colony.

Portuguese President Antonio Ramalho Eanes has handed Portugal's military watchdog, the Council of the Revolution, a lengthy dossier on Timor that is believed to recommend an immediate diplomatic offensive to secure a just future for the local population.

The President is obliged by his country's Constitution to bring East Timor to independence. Also this week Portugal's new center-right government announced that the question of Timor would become one of its major foreign policy involvements over the next few months. According to government sources the aim is to solve what is increasingly becoming a burdensome refugee problem here.

Because the Timorese currently living here possess Portuguese passports, no international organization bears responsibility for them. The cost of their upkeep and organization thus falls on an already stretched Portuguese state.

The US, like Portugal, is another country that recently has begun to demonstrate signs of collective guilt. The Indonesians used US weapons and relied on US diplomatic support for the invasion of East Timor in 1975. Successive US administrations have considered Indonesia important because of its status as a staunchly anti-communist and oil-producing nation.

The State Department until recently looked like being as wrong about East Timor as about Iran (significantly Indonesia is nominally an Islamic nation), although East Timor specialists believe that attitudes are at last beginning to change.

The Washington Post

AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER

No Bleep on the Moral Radar

THE QUESTION of East Timor continues to hover at the edges of the United States' political and moral radar screen. It only begins with the fact that the place is hard to locate: it's an island—actually, half an island—in the Indonesian archipelago. Until things came apart in the mid-1970s, it was an obscure outpost of the Portuguese empire. In the locals' struggle for the succession, one side surged ahead and proclaimed independence; but barely a week later, the Indonesian army moved in, using American weapons and diplomatic support, and annexed it. Indonesia is currently friendly and anti-communist, a big oil producer, the most populous Moslem country in the world: all reasons why, informed critics feel, the United States has mostly averted its gaze from what Indonesia has been doing to East Timor. What Indonesia has been doing, these critics say, is mercilessly grinding the people down.

When such reports appear, as they do from time to time in the press or at the occasional congressional hearing, a curious thing happens. Frightful stories are told of massive numbers of Timorese deaths caused by the guns or famine-inducing pacification policies of the Indonesian army. Lately there have been heart-rending accounts of the brutalization of ethnic Chinese trying to depart a place where their

community has lived for 100 years. Then the American officials come on, suggesting that the critics' information is out of date and perhaps politically skewed. There is, it is said, no real merit to allegations that the food aid that has been going into the country since last year is being diverted or stolen by Indonesian soldiers. A certain sympathy is solicited for American efforts to induce the reluctant Indonesians to allow international agencies to distribute food and to admit a few foreign visitors. East Timor, after all, has to be fitted into the broader context of American interests in Indonesia.

East Timor exists in a geographical eddy and a political eddy. Indonesia has smarted under the persistent Third World criticism organized by other former colonies, but it has not smarted enough to make the changes that would bring the refugee and relief-agency horror stories to an end. It is very hard to make a strong claim to push East Timor higher up the list of American priorities. But it should also be very hard for American diplomats not to convey to Indonesian authorities, quietly but insistently, that an increasing number of Americans are baffled by Jakarta's policy in East Timor and that it cannot be in Indonesia's interest to let the question fester more.

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US role in plight of Timor: an issue that won't go away

Legislators take new interest in American policy, aid there

By Daniel Southerland
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

A policy of deliberate indifference to human rights violations by Indonesia in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor is coming back to trouble the US State Department.

Thanks in part to sporadic press reports and the testimony of scholars studying the problem, a small but growing number of congressmen is taking an interest in the plight of the East Timorese.

The congressmen are concerned, to start with, because the Indonesians, in violation of an arms agreement with the United States, used American weapons when they invaded East Timor in December 1975. But their concern also derives from humanitarian considerations: Widespread starvation followed the Indonesian invasion. According to some accounts, it was at one point of a magnitude comparable to the starvation that has occurred in Cambodia.

All of this is of more than academic interest because, for one thing, American aid in the form of food and medicine, now is being sent, through international organizations, to East Timor. The question of adequate monitoring to determine that the aid reaches those in need is a live issue. So is the question of whether increased numbers of Timorese should be allowed to leave the island.

The Indonesian government blamed the famine in East Timor on hardships allegedly caused by Fretilin, the Timorese independence movement. The US has pointed to a combination of factors, including war, drought, erosion, and deforestation. But refu-

gees and a number of other witnesses from the island itself have blamed the Indonesian invasion, which, some of them say, included a deliberate policy of denying food to Fretilin supporters.

At any rate, at one point last year, more than 200,000 people, or two-fifths of the population of East Timor, were said by experts to be suffering from malnutrition.

The Carter administration has proclaimed human rights to be at the center of its foreign policy. To find out about human rights violations in Cambodia, the State Department has intensively interviewed Cambodian refugees. But Francisco Fernandes, a Roman Catholic priest who served for several years as head of the Timorese refugee community, said he knew of no attempt by US officials to seek out and interview any of the more than 2,000 such refugees who have been living in Portugal for the past several years.

Even today, with the magnitude of the East Timor problem better known, refugees going directly to the State Department in Washington with their stories find that most officials there give the benefit of the doubt to the Indonesians.

"He acted like a lawyer for the Indonesians," said one refugee after talking with a State Department official recently.

The State Department some time ago reduced East Timor to the status of an aid problem. Allegations from refugees that American food aid is being diverted for profit by the Indonesian military compel State Department attention. But one official complained that conclusive specifics were lacking in the refugee accounts. In past situations of this type, however, specifics have not been readily available in an atmosphere of military occupation and intimidation.

Based on such experiences, outside ob-

servers are led to conclude that what the people in East Timor actually think or feel seems to be of secondary consequence to most State Department officials.

What many Timorese would like, at least as it filters through from a handful of refugees and scholars working on the subject, is the departure of the Indonesians and control over their own affairs. The Timorese identity and languages are distinct from those of the Indonesians.

But in deferring to Indonesia on this issue, the Carter administration, like the Ford administration before it, appears to have placed

The State Department some time ago reduced East Timor to aid-problem status.

big-power concerns ahead of human rights: Indonesia is an anticommunist, largely Muslim, oil-producing nation with the fifth-largest population in the world. It commands sea lanes between the Pacific and Indian oceans. Assistant Secretary of State Richard Holbrooke recently declared it is potentially one of the great nations of the world.

US policy toward East Timor has been made for the most part by the State Department's Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs, headed by Mr. Holbrooke. The bureau most concerned with human rights, which is headed by Assistant Secretary Patricia Derian, was barely getting organized in 1977 when East Timor policy was first set by the Carter administration.

However, it was Ms. Derian, not Mr. Holbrooke, who was in the position of having to answer questions about East Timor, among other subjects, at a recent congressional hearing. Mr. Holbrooke let it be known he was too busy preparing for a trip to appear at the Feb. 6 hearing. He did have the time, however, to play host at a black-tie dinner later the same day.

Recently, Ms. Derian's bureau has begun to take a more active interest in East Timor.

US Rep. Matthew McHugh (D) of New York has proposed holding new hearings on the monitoring of food distribution in East Timor that would bring in more witnesses from outside the State Department.

Rep. Tony Hall (D) of Ohio plans later this week to introduce an amendment to the foreign aid bill which would urge Indonesia to allow the press and international relief agencies freer access to East Timor. The resolution also would call on the Indonesians to permit freer emigration from East Timor.

Rep. Lester Wolff (D) of New York, chairman of the House subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs, recently returned from a brief trip to East Timor to report that while the

food situation in the territory had apparently improved, more medical supplies and personnel were needed.

The Indonesian government claims to have created no obstacles to the departure of Timorese who want to join family members living in Australia and Portugal. But Australian and Portuguese diplomats contend that the Indonesians are reluctant to let many Timorese leave the island for fear that they might publicize what has happened there.

Access to East Timor by the news media remains limited.

The origins of American policy can be traced to a 1975 visit to Indonesia by President Gerald Ford and Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger. They happened to be in Jakarta, the Indonesian capital, after a trip to China, the day before the invasion of East Timor occurred.

Brent Scowcroft, an Air Force general who was President Ford's national security adviser at the time, said the President and Secretary Kissinger did not encourage the invasion but also did not oppose it.

"I guess it was fundamentally a matter of recognizing reality," said General Scowcroft. "We really had no reasonable options. . . . It made no sense to antagonize the Indonesians. . . . East Timor was not a viable entity."

General Scowcroft and other officials, past and present, contend that the US did suspend military equipment deliveries to Indonesia following the invasion. But, according to Benedict Anderson, a Cornell University expert on Indonesia, the record shows that at least four separate offers of military equipment, needed mainly for American-supplied "counterinsurgency" aircraft, were made to Indonesia during the claimed period of suspension. Professor Anderson also argues with the assertion that East Timor was incapable of being self-supporting.

A State Department official, who asked to remain unidentified, said Secretary Kissinger adopted a policy that was supportive of Indonesia on the East Timor question, in part because of uncertainties created in Southeast Asia in 1975 by the fall of Saigon. Indonesia remained a staunch and powerful friend in a sea of turmoil. And, he said, the Carter administration decided it did not want to "get into a contest" with Mr. Kissinger over this. But the official added that both administrations underestimated Timorese resistance to the invasion.

"The Indonesians couldn't handle it, but they didn't want to let people know how much they'd botched things," this official said. "So they just let people starve."

"We decided: Let's focus on the humanitarian problems and try to get people in there to help," he continued. "But this shoves a whole lot of ethical questions under the rug."

"It has not been a policy of benign neglect," said another State Department official. "It's been a policy of malign neglect."

Refugees Say Rebels in East Timor Are Still Fighting the Indonesians

By JAMES M. MARKHAM

Special to The New York Times

LISBON, July 23 — Four and a half years after Indonesia invaded and annexed the Portuguese colony of East Timor, guerrillas are still harassing Indonesian troops there, according to newly arrived refugees and letters smuggled out of the territory.

New information about the situation in East Timor, including the extent of starvation, has become difficult to obtain, particularly as the Indonesian authorities appear to have been able to reduce the flow of refugees bribing their way out to Portugal.

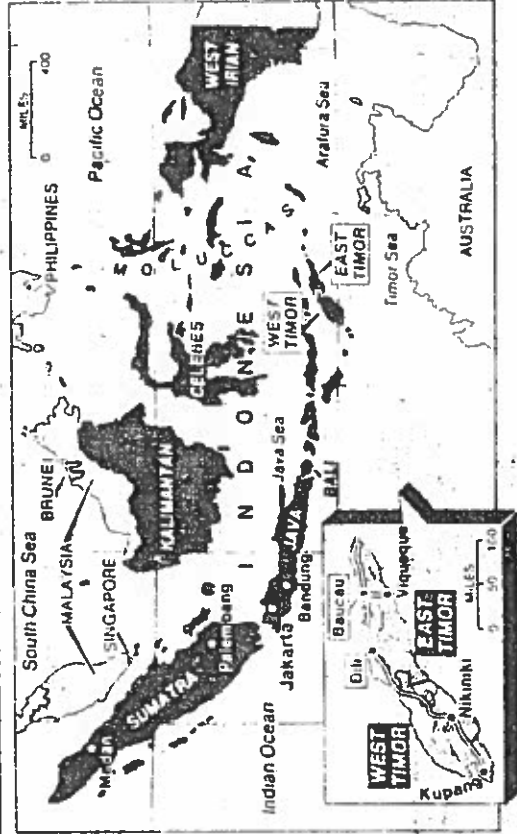
New refugees, all of them ethnic Chinese, are afraid of speaking to journalists in case they might jeopardize the chances of relatives seeking to get out of what they describe as a land of hunger, corruption and violence.

A group of Chinese who have just joined the 2,000 Timorese refugees in Portugal asked that they not be identified as a condition for giving information about Dili, the capital of East Timor. They left Dili at the end of last year and, like others who preceded them, had to spend months in the Indonesian capital of Jakarta before being allowed to fly to Lisbon.

\$3,000 Bribes Reported

One young man said he had paid bribes of \$3,000 a person to arrange departures from Dili and Jakarta for himself and several relatives. He said that 500 to 600 other East Timor Chinese had had enough money to bribe their way out but that recently the Indonesian Government had sharply restricted exit visas, leaving a number of people who had already left Dili stranded in Jakarta.

An elaborate system of smuggled letters keeps the Timor refugees here and in Australia fairly up to date on the situation



The New York Times / July 29, 1980

Sometimes the soldiers who are wounded fight and cry out to the doctors because there is no medicine for them, no antibiotics."

Confirming accounts of earlier refugees, those in the new group said that when they left Dili, OV-10 Bronco reconnaissance planes took off regularly from its airport loaded with bombs, except when foreign visitors were there. "It's a small place," said one refugee, "and everyone knows what happens. When a visitor comes, everyone knows, because things change."

The refugees appeared to be surprised by the persistence of the anti-Indonesian guerrillas, which they attributed more to the deadly reprisals against Fretilin fighters who had surrendered than to what they said was a slight improvement in the availability of food in Dili. "They have no choice but to fight," one of the ethnic Chinese said. Of the food situation, he said: "We can't keep a lot of food in the house because if we do the Indonesian soldiers will come and steal it. A lot of Chinese shops are closing because they are afraid of the soldiers."

Indonesian military activity and ceased to pose a significant problem."

Fretilin, a leftist movement whose name is an acronym for the Timor National Liberation Front, controlled East Timor after a brief civil war in the summer of 1975 before the Indonesian sea and airborne invasion of Dili on Dec. 7, 1975. The movement has been badly splintered, and there appears to be little coordination between its guerrilla elements in East Timor and its diplomatic representatives outside, who receive support from the Government of Mozambique, another former Portuguese colony.

The refugee who told of the hospital said that Indonesian officers lived in the military hospital, less than a mile away, and that when foreigners visited Dili patients were moved from the civilian to the military hospital, which was described as clean and well equipped though rarely used.

Hospital Reported Crowded

"In the Antonio de Carvalho," this refugee said, speaking in the Chinese Hakka dialect through an interpreter, "it is very dirty and crowded, and patients lie all over the floor. Visitors never go there. The only medicine there is from the Portuguese time, and it is used up. The Red Cross gives medicine to the hospital, but it is sold by the Indonesians in Dili and patients have to buy it back."

in the former colony. Many of these letters reported an attack or some kind of fighting in Dili itself on May 13, information that startled the Timorese here by its boldness.

One refugee with first-hand information about the civilian hospital in Dili — known under the Portuguese as the Ant6nio de Carvalho Hospital, now as the Wira Husada — said Indonesian military casualties were regularly admitted there with civilians, many of the latter suffering from edema or malnutrition.

The Indonesian casualties, which this refugee said ran as high as 50 to 100 a week, were reportedly ferried to Dili from the countryside by helicopter and evacuated by Hercules C-130 military transports to Java on Mondays and Thursdays. Most suffered from bullet and mortar wounds, according to this informant, and "many, maybe half," died. Eight Indonesian doctors worked at the hospital, the refugee said.

Conflict With U.S. Report

The refugees' accounts and other Timorese accounts of continued fighting appeared to conflict with the testimony of Assistant Secretary of State Richard C. Holbrooke, who told the House subcommittee on foreign operations on June 10 that it "was not until late 1978 and early 1979 that centrally directed Fretilin armed activity was fully contained by In-

Kennedy slams Jakarta

The Australian, 21 Nov. 1979
From GRAEME BEATON: WASHINGTON: TUESDAY

SENATOR Edward Kennedy today accused Indonesia of covering up the tragic conditions in East Timor.

He compared the "tragedy in Timor" with the starvation in Kampuchea and said the situation "had drawn serious charges of human rights violations" for many years.

In the journal, *Congressional Record*, Senator Kennedy said "the spectre of mass famine" could no longer be kept secret.

"Over 250,000 people in East Timor — half the total population — now face critical starvation conditions, due to the ravages of a civil war," he said.

Senator Kennedy commended the relief work being undertaken in the former Portuguese colony.

"But if the spectre of Biafra and Kampuchea is not to be entirely repeated in East Timor, we must move not only to provide food and medicines," he said.

"We must act as well to give strong diplomatic support to efforts to bring peace as well as relief to the people of Timor."

Senator Kennedy submitted two articles to the journal. Both included criticism of Indonesia's policies towards East Timor and drew the parallel between the island, 560km north of Australia, and Kampuchea.

Senator Kennedy's attention comes at a time of growing awareness in Congress and in the U.S. media of the East Timor situation.

Relief is reaching East Timor but thousands have already died from Indonesian starvation policy

from David Watts
Dili, East Timor, Dec 13

An old woman lies on her side, huddled in the foetal position, on a bamboo bed. Even from the back her ribcage is visible. Only her eyes move. The skin on her face and matchstick arms and legs is like taut, dark brown parchment.

Around her in the tiny temporary hospital in the east of the island of Timor are a dozen other shadows of human beings. Most of them will die. In palm-frond huts around this collection centre for the "mountain people" of East Timor, organized by the International Committee of the Red Cross and the Indonesian Red Cross, others are lying too sick to be moved.

The camp, on a piece of flatland close to a river which fills occasionally now as the wet season starts, is symbolic of the suffering brought on East Timor through war and famine during the last few years. No one knows how many of the "mountain people" have died of starvation and disease this year but since the Red Cross did a survey of their plight in April it is believed that the number of deaths runs into the thousands.

Nobody knows precisely how many East Timorese are still in the mountains but there can be few remaining alive. Of those that have come down to the lowland areas, 134,000 are being treated by Catholic relief services in 120 centres and the Red Cross has plans to help another 66,000.

Since the Red Cross operation began in October, 36,000 people have been contacted and are being treated in eight relief centres for severe malnutrition and countless diseases.

Most of these people have been saved from the brink of starvation by the relief services in what must be one of the most remarkably successful rescue operations of recent years.

Others will die, but at least help is coming to the innocent victims of the vicious starvation policy practised by the Indonesian armed forces against Marxist militant and civilian

alike in East Timor's little-known war, which has been fought out of sight of the world since 1975.

I was the first representative of a British newspaper to visit East Timor since news of widespread starvation and malnutrition reached the outside world. With a party of European and Scandinavian correspondents, four centres established for the East Timorese were visited in a tour supervised by the Indonesian military. Diplomats have so far not been allowed to travel farther than the capital, Dili.

With the Portuguese revolution the Portuguese Governor, posted here as a punishment, threw in his hand and fled to an off-shore island. Civil war broke out involving Fretilin, a Marxist grouping with a military arm composed largely of soldiers formerly in the Portuguese colonial army.

One week after Fretilin declared an independent state and the rival Apodeti group announced integration with Indonesia, the Indonesian Army invaded in force.

Fretilin's 2,500 fighters, equipped with modern German sub-machine guns and mortars, took to the mountains taking with them an estimated 100,000 lowland Timorese who were either relatives or people "co-opted" into the movement to provide support by growing food.

The Indonesian armed forces sealed off East Timor from the rest of the world with air and naval patrols to prevent outside assistance reaching the Fretilin fighters.

The civilian population was constantly forced to flee from place to place. It was impossible for the lowlanders to return to the few fertile areas around river valleys and even the highlanders were unable to practise their own, crude slash and burn agriculture.

The people were reduced to stealing what they could, and when they could not get supplies they lived on leaves, mice and dead dogs, according to an official of the Indonesian Red Cross. They ate the dogs after they had died because their animist beliefs prevented them from killing them.

But the real crisis for the mountain people came in 1977-

78 when the Indonesian military, tiring of the inconclusive campaign, launched a big sweep through the east of the island to eradicate the last of the Fretilin forces. Using paratroop drops and North American Rockwell Bronco counter-insurgency aircraft they fought through the island, denying the Fretilin forces sanctuaries and food supplies.

General Dading Kalbuadi, who commanded Indonesian operations in East Timor, told me that he had employed a variety of techniques culled from the Indonesian fight for independence against the Dutch, and his own experience as part of the United Nations force deployed in Vietnam to monitor the ceasefire.

Here and there throughout the eastern half of the island there is evidence of what appear to have been napalm attacks by the Bronco aircraft. Made desperate by the situation in the mountains the people began to flock down to the lowlands in search of food and shelter.

The food and medical aid for the East Timorese, which has come from Australia, Japan, Scandinavia and other European countries as well as \$6.2m worth (£2.8m) from the United States, is taken by lorry or flown in two French-built Alouettes, an American-built Jetranger helicopter and a British-built Islander fixed-wing aircraft. Total relief work now under way stands at \$15.2m.

Though the relief programmes are working well now and probably a relatively small percentage of those at present receiving assistance will die, the Indonesian Government must bear a heavy responsibility for not having called in outside help much sooner.

The Government says that some relief centres have been in existence for a year. In that year thousands of lives have been needlessly destroyed and far from bringing assistance the Jakarta Government blocked the return of the International Committee of the Red Cross. It is a serious accusation to add to that of the annexation of East Timor by armed force, for which Indonesia still stands condemned.

the conference committee sought to recruit the two positions.

The World Bank had said it could not accept contributions with political strings attached.

As committee members blasted Vietnam for its invasion of Kampuchea (Cambodia),

East Timor urgently needs transport vehicles to speed up relief efforts

Ingo Hertel

Jakarta

Indonesia said on Nov. 2 that cash and transport vehicles such as helicopters were more urgently needed than foreign food donations to help starving people in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor.

Foreign Minister Mochtar Kusumaatmaja told reporters that most of the food needed could be procured in sufficient quantities from local stocks, faster and cheaper than supply shipments from abroad.

The Indonesia Red Cross (PMI), in a joint effort with the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), and the American-based Catholic Relief Service (CRS) are at present engaged in an emergency operation for half of East Timor's estimated population of 600,000.

According to relief workers in East Timor, thousands of people may die if sufficient quantities of food and medical supplies are not distributed before December, when the rainy season sets in and makes the villages in the interior of the province inaccessible.

The United States puts up about a fifth of the World Bank's capital—although only 10 percent of this amount is actually paid in. It supplies nearly one third of the contributions to the bank's easy loan affiliate, (Please turn to page 10, col. 3)

Trucks to transport food by land as long as the jungle and mountain tracks are open, helicopters to fly supplies and medical teams into isolated areas, and landing craft to establish food go-downs on beaches along the coast are necessary to win the race against time. But they are not available in adequate numbers.

Mr. Mochtar said Indonesia had never requested international aid for East Timor, which was incorporated into Indonesia in July 1976.

The reason was that Indonesia regarded the situation in East Timor as its internal problem, Mr. Mochtar said, adding that foreign aid would nevertheless be welcome if it were offered.

The CRS is looking after at least 240,000 people in more easily accessible areas by supplying them by road and sea, with much of the necessary transportation provided by the provincial government or the armed forces.

When a reporter remarked that the pictures of children taken last week in East Timor looked just as bad as those in Kampuchea or Biafra, after the African country's unsuccessful secessionist war against Nigeria, Mr. Mochtar added: "Or worse."

Indonesia has been sharply criticized abroad for its military intervention in East Timor's civil war and some opponents of Jakarta's East Timor policy, in Australia in particular, have accused the Indonesian government of a deliberate attempt to genocide in the former Portuguese colony.

Asked if he was concerned that the famine reports from East Timor might be used as ammunition by critics abroad, Mr. Mochtar said:

"Well, it certainly will be used. But I think we will have to live with it...it is a small price to pay."

—Reuters

Inside ...

Australian assails role of Indonesia in East Timor p. 3

Malaysia upset by MNCs marketing practices p. 6

Soviet naval force makes official visit to Vietnam p. 8

Thailand prepares camp tour for Rosalynn Carter p. 10



Refugees line up for food in Aranyaprathet camp

Religious News Service Photo

U.N. hosts pledging conference More than US\$210 million raised for Kampucheans

Michael Littlejohns

United Nations

Pledges totaling more than US\$210 million were made for emergency U.N. and Red Cross relief programs for the starving Kampucheans on Nov. 5.

Announcing the sum at the end of a day-long conference attended by 51 countries, Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim said he had received assurances that led him to expect "the necessary cooperation" would be forthcoming.

He appeared to be alluding to Vietnam and the Heng Samrin government in Phnom Penh. Earlier, Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, who led the U.S. delegation, conferred on relief plans with Ha Van Lau, the Vietnamese chief delegate.

"The logistical problems we are facing are extensive, and they are compounded by underlying political approaches and perceptions," Mr. Waldheim said.

"In the endeavor to surmount the obstacles, the need for practical negotiated arrangements is as important as the mobilization of resources."

Officials of UNICEF, the U.N. Children's Fund, and of the International Committee of the Red Cross, jointly supervizing the relief project, are trying to persuade the Vietnamese and Heng Samrin authorities to agree to the opening of Highways 5 and 6 from Thailand so that large quantities of food and medicine may be trucked in.

French Foreign Minister Jean Francois Poncelet suggested to the U.N. conference that relief supplies be parachuted in, to otherwise inaccessible areas.

Oleg Troyanovsky, the Soviet delegate, was one of a number of communist representatives who participated in the meeting, but none of them offered help through international agencies. Mr. Troyanovsky estimated the value of bilateral Soviet aid for Kampuchea at US\$85 million.

None of the major oil-exporting nations, whose assesses have multiplied with higher oil prices, pledged aid.

Among major pledges were US\$69 million by the United States and US\$55.5 million by the nine-nation European Economic Community.

Most delegates heeded Mr. Waldheim's request that they chew politics and focus only on the humanitarian aspects of the Kampuchean tragedy. Exceptions included Canadian External Affairs Minister Flora MacDonald and Chen Chu, the chief delegate of China.

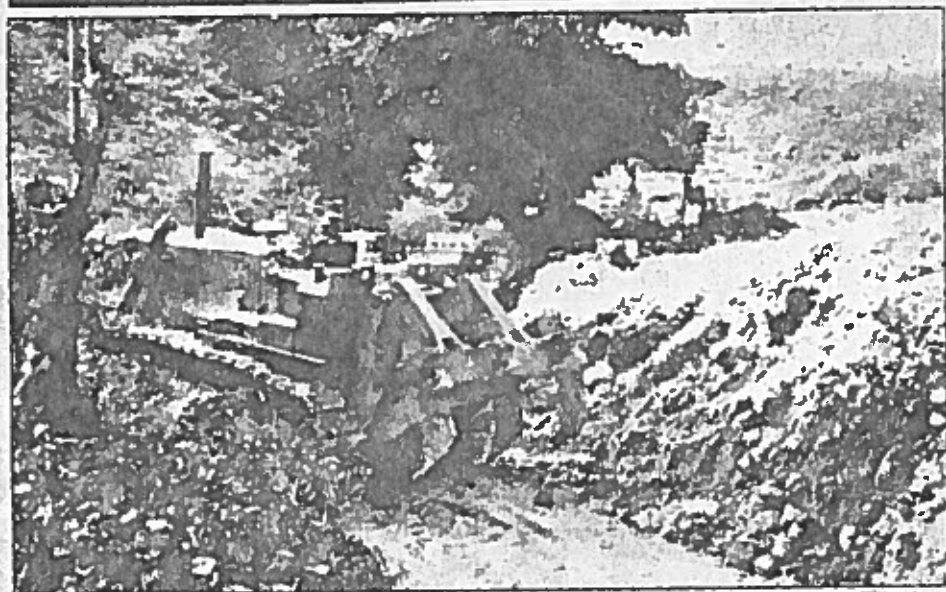
Ms. MacDonald called on the Vietnamese and the rival factions in Kampuchea to quit playing politics with the lives of millions of people and immediately allow the full and free implementation of relief operations to stem "this revolting flood of death."

Mr. Troyanovsky and the Vietnamese delegate both objected to her remarks, and Mr. Ha Van Lau interrupted the Chinese representative when he called for the immediate withdrawal of foreign "aggressors" from Kampuchea.

This was a case of "the thief crying thief," Mr. Ha Van Lau said.

—Reuters

Indonesia



Road construction on East Timor

Dept. of Information

Report condemns Indonesian gov't for maladministration in East Timor

Melbourne
A report prepared for the Australian Parliament says more than half the population of East Timor may have died since Indonesia annexed the territory four years ago.

The report was compiled by the Foreign Affairs Research Group of the parliamentary library. Its author was Mr. James Dunn, a former Australian consul to East Timor.

Quoting Indonesian church sources, the report said the population of East Timor had fallen from 688,700 in 1974 to 329,200 at the end of last year. Food supplies are said to be in such short supply that another 20,000 to 40,000 people could perish. The report blames an Indonesian army offensive launched in 1977 against remnants of the supporters of the Fretilin Movement for the present situation. The search-and-destroy mission forced thousands of people to flee from their mountain villages before they had managed to grow enough food for their own needs. When people fled cultivation stopped, and the famine and death started.

Indonesia tried to overcome the starvation by setting up strategic hamlets to accommodate the displaced persons, but the report alleges, through the sheer incompetence and neglect by Indonesian officials, not enough food and medicine was provided and the ordinary population suffered again with the camps becoming cen-

ters of disease and death. The report says that the corruption and maladministration by Indonesian authorities have prevented most international relief from getting to areas where it is needed. Of an aid bill of Australian \$6.9 million, \$3.38 million was for the hire of helicopters to distribute the aid.

Mr. Dunn said today that Indonesia was not making things easy for the Red Cross relief teams. He claimed that there were more than 100 helicopters in the Indonesian armed forces, some of which could and should be used to distribute the aid.

Mr. Dunn said there were similarities in the situations in Kampuchea and East Timor. He said it was dangerous for the Australian Foreign Affairs Department and the Australian news media to pretend that the East Timor annexation was a thing of the past. He said unless Australia did something about it, nothing would be done to help the Timorese, either politically or practically. The parliamentary report warns that the integration of East Timor by Indonesia is assuming the proportions of genocide.

Mr. Dunn commented that if the annexation had happened anywhere else in the world where there was a high level of Western influence or where there was a Western versus Communist interest, the present situation in East Timor would be attracting as much attention as Indochina is today.

—Melbourne Overseas Service(FBIS)

Catholic weekly quest role of Catholic relief

Catholic Relief Services (CRS), the U.S. Catholic Church's overseas welfare agency directing aid in East Timor alongside the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), is facing problems trying to resolve incongruencies between the aid program and the agency's philosophy, reports the National Catholic Reporter, an American Catholic newsweekly.

The official philosophy of CRS is to provide humanitarian aid, without political consideration. Bishop Edwin Broderick, CRS executive director, discussing East Timor with the NCR reporter said: "We hope that we are apolitical and if something falls through the net occasionally, it does. We're not infallible in our judgement but...our concept is not to engage in political motivations. We instruct our trainees, we instruct our people not to get involved in revolutions, the overthrow of the government, the politics of the place because we feel our effectiveness is curtailed by becoming political."

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Indonesia to buy rice from

Jakarta
Indonesia has accepted an offer to buy up to 100,000 tons of rice from North Korea in 1980, the Trade Ministry said Nov. 4.

The offer was made yesterday by visiting North Korean Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade Choi Goan Su at a meeting with the deputy chief of the Indonesian State Logistics Board (BULOG), Sukriya Atmaja,

The price of the North Korean rice as well as shipment schedules are yet to be negotiated.

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Strong earthquake strikes West Java

Jakarta
Relief and rescue teams on Nov. 5 handed out food and medical supplies to tens of thousands of people made homeless by a strong earthquake which struck West Java on Nov. 2.

According to latest reports from outlying areas at least 30 people had been killed and more than 200 injured when the earthquake, with an intensity of 6.4 on the Richter scale, jolted several districts.

Mr. Ajat Sudrajat, director of the volcanological department in Bandung, said at least four volcanoes in West Java, Galunggung, Guntur, Papandayan and Tangkuban Perahu were being actively watched. He said experts were taking crater temperatures and had placed seismographs to record possible tremors.

—Reuters

Pilgrims return frustrated

Jakarta
Three Indonesian pilgrims said on Nov. 6 that after hitchhiking for four and a half months to Mecca, they had to return home frustrated because Saudi Arabian authorities denied them entry into the Holy Land.

The three Indonesians, Mr. and Mrs. Jufri and Mr. Nasoha, started their long trek from Malang in East Java last May.

They walked through Singapore, Malaysia, India, and Pakistan and reached Damman in Saudi Arabia early last month. But the mayor of Damman refused them entry saying that foreigners could be accepted only through Jeddah and Jambo.

The trio returned to Jakarta by air. "It is all Allah's will," said Mr. Jufri.

—Reuters

Aussies want fact-finding tour of Timor

Jakarta
The speaker of the Australian Parliament, Sir Billy Snedden, has said that an Australian parliamentary fact-finding mission to East Timor would help clear up some misunderstandings between his country and Indonesia, the Antara News Agency reported on Nov. 5.

In an interview published by the agency Sir Billy said he was expecting an Indonesian invitation to the Australian Parliament for the visit.

Sir Billy left Jakarta on Nov. 4 after a one-week visit during which he met Indonesian President Suharto, Vice President Adam Malik and a number of other high government officials.

"The Australian people wanted to have good relations with Indonesia," Sir Billy

was quoted as saying. The parliamentary speaker said East Timor's incorporation into Indonesia in 1976 was "a fact."

An Indonesian parliamentary mission, led by Deputy House Speaker Mohammad Isaeni, is expected to visit Australia beginning Nov. 16.

—Reuters

Timor under debate at U.N.

United Nations
The General Assembly should recommend that the East Timorese, now under Indonesian rule, be free to determine their own future, the decolonization committee decided on Nov. 2.

The vote in the 152-member committee was 55 in favor, 26 against and 42 abstentions.

—Reuters

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Catholic weekly questions 'apolitical' role of Catholic relief in East Timor

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However, the aid in East Timor will be transported by CRS trucks moving in "guarded military convoys", said a Reporter source who heard the Indonesian CRS director describe the program. "The protection," the source said, "makes the aid part of the apparatus of military occupation. The supplies in military convoys make it look like CRS is an instrument of occupation and pacification."

The CRS director in Indonesia, Armando Sonaggere, denied that special protection was arranged for CRS. But he went on to say that there were some areas that were sensitive and some kind of protection would go along with it (the food aid).

One Washington official familiar with CRS—which had a 1978 budget of US\$257 million, about US\$179 million of which came from the U.S. government—criticized the East Timor plan saying the plan was "a careless way of making a decision, disposing of a lot of contributing money, but without any policy frame of reference."

(Please turn to page 11, col. 4)



Dept. of Information

Indonesian gov't tion in East Timor

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Indonesia to buy rice from North Korea

Jakarta

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The price of the North Korean rice as well as shipment schedules are yet to be negotiated.

At a meeting with Trade Minister Radius Prawiro, Mr. Choi discussed the possibility of North Korean tin purchases from Indonesia. No details were immediately available.

From 1975 to 1978, Indonesia imported some 420,000 tons of rice from North Korea, but no purchases were made during the current fiscal year ending March 31, 1980, because BULOG contracted ample supplies from Thailand, Burma, Pakistan, Australia, Italy and the United States.

—Reuters

Strong earthquake strikes West Java

Jakarta

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southeast Asia Record

Week of October 19-25, 1979



military Bangkok Post

relief efforts continue

short Asian tour

from starvation and the fighting between Vietnamese-led forces of the Phnom Penh administration and guerrillas loyal to ousted Premier Pol Pot.

More recently, shellfire across the frontier into Thai territory has killed nine people and wounded 19. Military authorities also report cases of "foreign forces" straying across the ill-defined boundary, perhaps by accident.

But one incident Oct. 24, first reported as a border intrusion, in which a Thai marine was killed and seven wounded, later turned out to have occurred when one of the troops in a border patrol stepped on a land mine, apparently left there many months ago.

Military sources on Oct. 25 reported the border area quiet. They said the main activity had been moving several hundred of the refugees to new holding areas further inside Thailand.

Meanwhile, Western officials here were (Please turn to page 6, col. 1)

Red Cross aid for East Timorese arrives in Dili amidst confusion

Ingo Hertel
Dili, East Timor

Emergency supplies for thousands of people facing starvation here on East Timor arrived Oct. 21 on an Indonesian navy transport ship.

The ship arrived from Jakarta 1,500 miles west of here with 700 tons of food and medical supplies donated by other countries through the International Red Cross.

Also on board were several trucks and landrovers for carrying the emergency supplies, which will be distributed by the Indonesian Red Cross across the mountain ranges of this island.

The Red Cross aid is aimed at supplying 60,000 villagers for the next six months. Another organization, the Catholic Relief Service (CRS), which with the Red Cross started a large-scale emergency operation here last month, is already looking after at least 240,000 people.

"Our program is based on a target figure of 240,000 but we reckon we have already reached about 300,000 people," CRS field representative Damasus Kaut told Reuters.

East Timor, formerly a Portuguese colony, was incorporated into the Republic of Indonesia as its 27th province in July, 1976, following eight months of civil war between the Fretilin Independence Movement and pro-merger forces supported by Indonesian regular troops and volunteers.

Relief workers say part of the present problem is that people are still coming down out of the mountains where they fled to escape the horrors of the civil war or had been forced to go to grow food for the Fretilin forces.

As well as the remaining civil war damage, there are tens of thousands of villagers who returned from the mountains last year and have missed the planting season.

Mr. Kaut told Reuters that a CRS director from New York assessed the situation of East Timor earlier this year.

"He has a lot of experience with this sort of operation and his conclusion was that

East Timor was the worst he has ever seen," he said.

The Indonesian Red Cross, which has so far spent 200 million rupiah (over US\$ 300,000) to transport the international relief aid, has also chartered three helicopters to distribute the supplies.

Unloading of the ship began Oct. 21 and Red Cross workers said they expected distribution to the villages to start on Oct. 22.

The Indonesian Armed Forces and the (Please turn to page 5, col. 1)

End to airfare dispute in sight

Canberra

Talks between Australian and Asian officials to end their long-running dispute over cheap airfares to Europe have moved toward a settlement, aviation sources said on Oct. 23.

Negotiations went into their second day in an attempt to conclude an agreement on the terms under which airlines of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) could join in the scheme of cut-price flights between Sydney and Europe.

Most of the hurdles have been overcome, said the sources, but some minor points have to be cleared up before a settlement can be announced.

The row blew up last year when Australia introduced cheap flights to Europe, cutting a third off the scheduled rate. But the scheme excluded Asian airlines and barred cut-price passengers from making stopovers in Asian cities during their journeys.

ASEAN said the scheme would harm their tourist trade and Australia, alarmed at the ensuing deterioration in relations, offered ASEAN a deal giving them 350 passengers a week and allowing passen-

(Please turn to page 2, col. 1)

U.S. senators present road convoy plan to Phnom Penh

Asst. Secretary of State meets with Vietnamese official in Bangkok

Graham Lovell

Bangkok

Three U.S. senators said on Oct. 24 that Phnom Penh authorities had agreed to consider their proposal for road convoys to take food and medical relief supplies to thousands of sick and starving people in Kampuchea.

They told a press conference here after a one-day visit to the Kampuchean capital that authorities in Phnom Penh said their suggestion would be taken up by the ruling Central Committee.

"And now the world is watching and waiting for their answer," said Republican John Danforth of Missouri.

"There is absolutely no reason why hundreds of thousands of people should be condemned to die. All that the people in Phnom Penh have to do is to say yes," he declared.

Senator Danforth and his companions, Democratic James Sasser of Tennessee and

Max Baucus of Montana, said they met Foreign Minister Hun Sen as well as officials of the International Red Cross and the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF).

They said they were told that about 2,250,000 people faced severe hunger problems and it was estimated that Kampuchea would need about 165,000 metric tons of rice during the next six months.

Senator Danforth said the Kampucheans assured them there would be no security problems for the road convoys from Thailand if they were authorized.

Part of the proposed route would be through areas believed still to be held by guerrillas loyal to ousted Prime Minister Pol Pot, who was overthrown last January by Vietnamese-led forces.

They said they had not approached Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge but they also said that many Khmer Rouge were receiving food through the Red Cross and UNICEF at the Thai border.

Many of the Khmer Rouge still fighting are encamped along the border with south-east Thailand. Others are among the thousands of refugees who have fled into Thailand.

The Senators said they would be returning to the United States and reporting to President Carter on Oct. 26.

Of their reception in Phnom Penh, they said they had been welcomed cordially and warmly.

"I think they were genuinely appreciative, and accepted at face value that ours was a purely humanitarian mission," Senator Sasser said.

The three senators told a Bangkok press conference the day before entering Kampuchea that their proposal to drive loads of relief from Thailand into war-ravaged Kampuchea had been given the blessing of Thai Prime Minister Kriangsak Chomanan and that Vietnam's foreign policy chief

(Please turn to page 9, col. 1)

Exp. 8/3/8C

Don Luce
198 Broadway

Indonesia

Red Cross aid for East Timorese arrives in Dili amidst confusion

(continued from page 1)

local provincial government are also assisting in the relief work.

Red Cross and other relief workers said the situation was confused and it was impossible to judge exactly how many people were destitute and in need of immediate help.

But they agreed that large numbers have died already and many more will die of malnutrition and disease if help does not reach them quickly.

"From my personal experience, I know that in the village of Laga, east of Dili, near Baucau, about four people died each day before the relief program started," one relief worker said.

"Now the figure in that relatively small area is down to one or two a day."

"One of the biggest handicaps apart from transportation problems is that starving villagers are milling about and it is impossible to say how many will be in this village or another two days from now.

"For instance, the official population figure the authorities gave us for Laga was 2,000 but when our relief convoy reached the place, it was greeted by a crowd more likely numbering 18,000," he said.

Officials, relief workers and clergymen who have been long in East Timor said the present situation was not the result of military activities.

Scattered and uncoordinated remnants of the Fretilin Independence Movement are still holding out in small areas of the eastern part of the province.

—Reuters

Murtopo denies responsibility in 1975 death of five reporters on East Timor

Jakarta

Indonesia on Oct. 20 denied any responsibility for the deaths of five Australian journalists in East Timor in 1975.

Information Minister General Ali Murtopo said in a statement: "The Indonesian government shared with the Australian Journalists Association (AJA) regrets over the sad deaths of the newsmen which occurred in a situation beyond anyone's control."

The statement was jointly released by publication by the information minister and visiting Australian journalists after a meeting here earlier in October.

"General Ali Murtopo referred to the sad accident which resulted in the deaths of the five journalists at Balibo and said that Indonesia had no involvement in these deaths," it stated.

General Murtopo said he would provide the AJA "information available to him on the deaths of the five newsmen and would

welcome receiving information the AJA has collected."

He also said he would inquire into the fate of another journalist, Roger East, whose death was unknown to him, the statement said.

The information minister said he would help facilitate access to East Timor for Australian journalists "to allow them to observe and report on the current situation."

East Timor is now open to the outside world and "would arrange for the AJA delegation to visit the territory," he said. According to reports at the time the five Australian journalists were killed in a crossfire between Fretilin forces in favor of an independent East Timor and pro-Indonesian forces.

Mr. East has been missing since Indonesian troops entered the East Timor capital of Dili early in December, 1975.

—Reuters

Go under special family reunion program

Timorese rejoin relatives in Australia

Dili, East Timor

More than 340 East Timorese have left for Australia since the beginning of this year to rejoin their relatives who fled the civil war in this former Portuguese colony four years ago, official sources here said on Oct. 24.

The first batch of 290 migrants under an Indonesian-Australian family reunion program left here last January. Another group of 60 East Timorese also were allowed to leave for Australia under normal immigration procedure, the sources said.

The total number of people eligible to leave for Australia under the reunion program, most of them East Timorese of

Chinese descent, is believed to be about 600, according to the sources.

As processing is still continuing, it is not known how many of these 600 will eventually leave for Australia.

Under the Indonesian-Australian family reunion scheme, East Timorese refugees in Australia also could return here. Informed sources said that so far only a few have made use of this option.

Agreement on East Timorese family reunions was reached in October 1976 following talks between President Suharto and Australian Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser.

—Reuters

Pertamina will sell surplus at right price

Jakarta

Indonesia will not sell an additional 30,000 barrels of oil to Japan this month at a price of less than US\$35 a barrel, Piet Haryono, president-director of the state oil company Pertamina said on Oct. 23.

In an interview with Reuters, he said negotiations on the price for the additional crude sought by Japan were continuing, and refused to directly confirm Pertamina

was asking US\$35 a barrel.

But in response to a question, he said that unless the Japanese importers were prepared to pay that price for the oil, "then they won't get it."

Indonesia's current benchmark price for light Sumatran crude is US\$21.12 a barrel.

Mr. Haryono said a surge in production resulting from this year's high crude prices

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Government app for bilateral relat

Jakarta

The Indonesian government has set aside a special fund in preparation for the normalization of relations with China, suspended since 1967, an influential member of Parliament said on Oct. 24.

The allocation was contained in the 1979-80 budget approved by Parliament last February, Chairman of the House Foreign Relations and Defense Commission Chalid Mawardi told Reuters.

This is the first time that such a fund has been set aside since Indonesia suspended its relations with China 12 years ago after

President Suharto

Kuala Lumpur

President Suharto of Indonesia has decided to visit Vietnam, according to authoritative sources here on Oct. 22.

The sources said the Indonesian Cabinet met recently in Jakarta to discuss the proposed visit and decided it should take place

Jusuf orders end to n involvement in business

Jakarta

All active Indonesian military officers have been ordered to end any direct business activities by Minister of Defense and Security and Commander of the Armed Forces General Jusuf. This was in the October 6 and 13 issues of *Tempo*, which also carried some background information and reactions from various sources with questions which remain unanswered.

General Jusuf was reported to have said that any officers who does not obey the decision will be discharged or given an early retirement. The chiefs of staff of the different branches of the armed forces and the national police have been instructed to submit lists of their personnel who are posted in non-military related jobs. The chief of staff of the army, General Widodo, estimated that 200-300 men in that branch would be affected.

The *Tempo* articles noted that the involvement of military personnel in the business world is widespread and has been considered a fact of life, but criticisms and complaints have been many. It is felt that officers doing business compete unfairly and are able to short-cut procedures.

In 1974, a prohibition similar to this last one was issued by President Suharto. However, several types of exceptions were allowed and the directive has been as frequently ignored as a companion presidential decision which called upon officers to lead lives which demonstrate a moderate standard of living. The new order goes further in some respects since those working in state companies now also come under the regulations. However, it is clear that at least some companies with military connections will remain unaffected, especially those with military directors who are no longer active officers. Moreover, it is uncertain to what extent the business activities of wives and children will be prescribed.

The first official military involvement in the business world came in 1957 when Colonel Ibnu Sutowo, under orders, founded the state oil company then known as Pertamina. Many state companies were formed that year as Dutch businesses were nationalized. Since that time, the business activities of the military, officially condoned or not, have spread greatly. Officially this was justified by citing a lack of qualified civilian experts. In addition, t