

The Boston Globe

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 28, 1985

East Timor: hidden genocide

Today, Christians commemorate the feast of the Slaughter of the Holy Innocents, King Herod's extermination of male infants, One of whom who might have been a political threat to his reign. Ten years ago this month, Indonesia invaded the former Portuguese colony of East Timor, establishing a brutal occupation and declaring a unilateral annexation.

The suffering of the Timorese people compares with the worst crimes against humanity in this century. The Indonesian regime killed off between 100,000 and 200,000 people from a population estimated at 650,000 before the invasion.

Particularly shameful has been the silence, or complicity, of the international community. Amnesty International has documented "a consistent pattern of violations of human rights in East Timor," including extra-judicial executions, widespread torture and "disappearances."

"These violations of human rights have occurred in a situation in which the fundamental freedoms of expression, assembly, association and movement do not exist."

The head of the Catholic Church in Timor (where most people are Catholic) has described systematic Indonesian programs to expunge Timorese culture and identity; to curtail religious freedom; and, most recently, to impose a birth control program on the decimated Timorese population by distributing contraceptive pills and devices.

Although church leaders and Pope John Paul II have spoken out against the violations of human rights in Timor, the Indonesian regime has succeeded in drawing a curtain around its captured colony and cajoling other governments into accepting, as a matter of *Realpolitik*, the subjugation of the Timorese.

Jakarta has restricted and controlled access to the island by humanitarian organizations, journalists and diplomats. Outsiders allowed to visit during lulls in the fighting between Indonesian troops and Fretilin, the nationalist resistance forces, are guided and indoctrinated by their Indonesian hosts, in a manner reminiscent of tours once provided to

visitors in Stalin's Russia.

Strategic considerations, oil-exploration contracts and political blackmail have persuaded many nations to condone or accept Indonesian annexation of Timor. Liberal democracies ignore the "resettlement camps" that resemble concentration camps; developing nations emerging from their own anti-colonial struggles wink at Indonesia's colonization of Timor, treating envoys of the island's independence movement as inconvenient troublemakers.

The government of Australia accepts Indonesian sovereignty on East Timor while it negotiates with Jakarta for the development of offshore oil deposits. New Zealand's prime minister, David Lange, praised the "economic well-being" and "liberty" of the Indonesian occupation so hypocritically that the Fretilin representative at the UN was provoked to retort: "As long as nuclear weapons pose a threat to the Anglo-Saxons in New Zealand and Australia then Lange is concerned . . . but when there is a military dictatorship in the region waging conventional war with weapons supplied by Western countries, then I hear no similar concern being expressed on the world stage by Mr. Lange."

No nation has been more complicit with the Indonesian crimes in East Timor than the United States. The original invasion was launched hours after former President Ford and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger had concluded a visit to Jakarta. The Indonesians invaded with military equipment supplied by Washington, and throughout the past decade US governments have accepted Indonesia's colonization of Timor while the State Department repeatedly defined the agony of the Timorese as an improvement in the human rights situation.

The shame of Indonesia's conquest of East Timor is shared by an American administration that wants to lament human rights violations in Cuba, Poland and the Soviet Union. To earn that right, the US must first dissociate itself from the genocide committed in East Timor by its Indonesian ally.

The Boston Globe

SATURDAY, MAY 3, 1986

ROUGH ROAD TO SUMMIT

Misfortune follows Reagan

By Walter V. Robinson
Globe Staff

TOKYO - For the United States, it has been an unusual week: Murphy's Law overpowered American

NEWS ANALYSIS

public diplomacy. And the extraordinary good fortune President Reagan normally enjoys fell victim to an ill-considered public relations slogan.

For Reagan, the weeklong plague of ill fortune respected

neither time zone nor geography. On both sides of the Pacific, on both sides of the equator, on both sides of the international date line, things went awry, often in apparent fulfillment of the Murphy dictum: If something can go wrong, it will.

Items:

● Reagan's Washington proclamation that the public relations theme of his trip would be "the winds of freedom" in the countries he was to visit had barely been uttered when several

human rights organizations and scores of congressmen accused his first foreign host, Indonesia,

Terrorism may become the dominant topic at the economic summit, but for the meeting's Japanese host, the key issues are still money and trade. Page 6.

of massive human rights violations, including the routine stifling of dissent.

BALI, Page 4



President Reagan's batik shirt was a gift from Indonesian President Suharto. AP PHOTO

Reagan trip to summit has been a rough road

■ BALI

Continued from Page 1

The Indonesian government decided to expel three reporters seeking to cover Reagan's visit there, plucking two of them off a plane just moments before Reagan's arrival.

● During a rest stop in Honolulu, Reagan's private courtesy telephone call to the ousted Philippine leader, Ferdinand E. Marcos, became a discordant public embarrassment when Marcos invited a television crew to videotape the call in an apparent effort to sustain his drive to return to power.

Filipino leaders expressed outrage that Reagan would even consider calling Marcos. The White House, acting much like a meter maid surprised at seeing cars parked illegally, expressed outrage that Marcos would seek such political advantage.

As if that was not enough, a senior White House official later poured gasoline on Filipino embers of resentment, declaring that Reagan would have liked to see Marcos in person. That comment did little more than set a very public stage for Secretary of State George P. Shultz.

The secretary, during an extraordinary exercise in acerbic diplomacy before television cameras in Bali, complained about the Philippine government's treatment of Marcos. Barely pausing for rhetorical breath, Shultz then pronounced himself baffled that Filipino leaders would question the strength of the American commitment to their new government.

It was as comical and hapless a series of events as has bedeviled the Reagan White House in some time.

Even in the Soviet nuclear power plant disaster, the White House made a politically ill-timed policy statement. With much of the world's attention riveted on Kiev and fearful about nuclear plants closer to home, the White House chief of staff, Donald T. Reagan, offered a ringing defense of nuclear power's safety and asserted that more such plants should be built.

The White House was not seeking to make much news this week, hoping only for pleasant-sounding accounts of cordial but hardly pivotal diplomatic exchanges. Reagan's Hawaiian and Indonesian

visits were planned principally as rest stops en route to the summit that begins here tomorrow.

Yet at almost every stop, unsettling events occurred that were not included in Reagan's carefully written script for the longest trip of his presidency.

In Indonesia, the White House policy of "quiet diplomacy" — protesting only in private about human rights issues — was abandoned for the moment as the White House faced intense questions in the wake of the concerns expressed by human rights groups.

After the White House publicly acknowledged that it was concerned about Indonesian treatment of its population, the country's foreign minister, Mochtar Kusumaatmadja, accused the United States of slandering his country.

After that rebuke, Shultz applauded Indonesia's human rights progress, raising eyebrows with a claim that its attainment of self-sufficiency in rice production was a "great victory for human rights." And he asserted that another such human rights gain has been made by economic development in East Timor, without mentioning charges that Indonesia has engaged in genocidal practices in putting down an independence movement that began when Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975.

Even in Guam, where the president and his entourage stopped briefly for refueling, the lieutenant governor of the tiny US possession in the western Pacific used his introductory remarks, as Reagan looked on in apparent bewilderment, to complain that the federal government has done little to satisfy Guam's desire to achieve commonwealth status.

Murphy's Law knew no personal or familial bounds, either. Gaston Sigur, the assistant secretary of state for Far Eastern affairs, slipped and fell in a Bali bathtub and required 10 stitches to close a wound in his forehead.

As if that wasn't enough, Nancy Reagan's side trip to Malaysia and Thailand presented its own potential hazards yesterday. Just as she was to depart, the White House learned that Thailand's National Assembly had been dissolved and elections for a new government scheduled.

BOSTON GLOBE

May 9, 1986

Springtime rite *Blah*

Ronald Reagan, a man who styles himself a great patriot, is establishing an annual springtime tradition of dishonoring his country. Last May, our leader paid tribute to SS murderers in West Germany's Bitburg Cemetery, blandly rationalizing that torturers and mass-exterminators were also victims of Nazism.

This May he hobnobbed with President Suharto of Indonesia, whose democratic finesse includes practicing genocide on the people of East Timor.

Reagan has the audacious hypocrisy to label his visit to this creature "the winds of freedom."

Such visits by Reagan are an affront and outrage to the freedom-loving people of the United States, and of the world.

Continuing with this dishonorable springtime tradition, next year, perhaps our president could pay homage to Alfredo Stroessner of Paraguay and Augusto Pinochet of Chile, and label his journey "friendship for fascism."

JEFFREY R. RYAN

Watertown

Rights record a cloud on Reagan trip

■ REAGAN
Continued from Page 1

in prison, it doesn't do much for the winds of freedom," one official lamented.

Another official, citing what he said was internal White House disagreement over the selection of the theme, said Reagan's stop here made its choice "awkward" because of the Indonesian government's poor human rights record. "It's likely to be an embarrassment for us," he added glumly.

According to aides, Reagan, who will meet with Suharto tomorrow, will raise human rights concerns with the man who likes to be called "the smiling general." These concerns include reports of torture; imprisonment without trial of political opponents; the reported killings of several thousand criminals by government security forces; and restrictions on free speech and association, which have been tightened in the last year.

Reagan also arrived here armed with pleas from 21 senators and 125 House members, including Sen. John F. Kerry and nine of Massachusetts' 11 House members, that he protest Indonesia's continued occupation of the former Portuguese colony of East Timor.

According to human rights groups, between 100,000 and 200,000 of the 700,000 people in East Timor have died since Indonesia invaded and annexed the area in 1975.

The administration, however, believes that such problems are best dealt with through "quiet diplomacy," and that to raise public objections, as President Carter did with some countries, is counterproductive. So the White House



President Reagan waves to the crowd as Indonesian President Suharto looks on during arrival ceremony yesterday. UPI PHOTO

has indicated that it will not publicly confirm whether Reagan raises the issue.

But the senior officials, who declined to be quoted by name, said Reagan will, as one of them said, "take the nice guy approach." Reagan, he said, will talk about the problems that human rights abuses created for former Philippine President Ferdinand E. Marcos.

"The President will tell him that he needs to stay on top of the human rights situation," one official said.

Secretary of State George P. Shultz, however, will be more direct and critical when he meets with Indonesian Foreign Minister Mochta Kusumaatmadja, according to the officials.

In some respects, the case against Dharsono illustrates many of the objections that human rights groups have lodged against the 20-year tenure of the 64-year-old Suharto. The former Army general exerts strong control over the government, the armed forces and the principal political party in a country that, with a population of 173 million, is the world's sixth largest.

Dharsono's prosecution grew

out of a peaceful 1984 demonstration by a Moslem group, according to Asia Watch, a Washington-based human rights organization. Government troops, saying they were facing a riot, fired on the crowd, with estimates of the dead ranging from 30 to several hundred.

Dharsono, who had been a senior army commander and a close ally of Suharto, signed a "white paper" challenging the government's account of the inquiry and urging an Independent Inquiry.

He was tried and convicted under the country's antsubversion law, with the trial court concluding that his call for an inquiry amounted to subversion.

The US State Department, which criticizes Indonesia's human rights record in more cautious language than that employed by Asia Watch, noted in its own report, "In all such security related cases, it is widely believed that the government will ensure conviction irrespective of the evidence presented in court."

The controversy over the Indonesian government's policies has tended to obscure the principal reason for Reagan's three-day visit to this hauntingly beautiful island, south of the equator in the Indonesian archipelago.

At the ASEAN meeting, the first Reagan is holding with officials of the group of six noncommunist states - Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand, Singapore, the Philippines and Brunei - mutual security concerns, especially Vietnam's occupation of Cambodia, will be discussed.

Economic issues will be discussed as well, including ASEAN complaints about Japanese barriers to their exports; and irritation at the United States, most notably by Thailand, over American farm legislation that subsidizes US rice exporters at considerable cost to Thailand.

In fact, Thailand's ambassador to the United States, Kasem Kasemsri, hinted in a recent interview in Washington that Nancy Reagan, during a side trip she will make to Thailand later this week, might well be greeted by demonstrators angered by the US rice subsidies.

Indonesia expels 3 journalists

BALI, Indonesia - In a rebuff to President Reagan, Indonesian security officials last night detained two Australian journalists who arrived here on the White House press charter flight after they had been denied entry visas. They were quickly expelled from the country.

The action came just minutes before Reagan arrived aboard Air Force One. He was greeted by Indonesian President Suharto and a stylistic Balinese welcome dance performed by brightly costumed teen-age girls.

Earlier yesterday, the Indonesians, apparently upset with reporting by the New York Times, also expelled one of its reporters, Barbara Crossette, who had arrived separately to cover the Reagan visit.

The expulsion of Crossette and the two men, Jim Middleton and Richard Palfreyman, came despite a concerted effort by the White House and US Ambassador Paul Wolfowitz to persuade President Suharto's government to allow them to cover Reagan's visit here.

Edward Djerejian, a deputy White House press secretary, appealed to the Indonesians to let the journalists, who represent the Australian Broadcast Corp., cover the visit. "They would not budge," he declared.

Palfreyman and Middleton left Bali on a Tokyo-bound commercial airliner last night. Crossette was detained earlier in the day and left on a flight to Singapore.

The Indonesians, angered at recent Australian newspaper reports charging that Suharto's family has enriched itself through massive corruption, refused to grant visas to any Australian journalists seeking to cover Reagan's three-day visit here.

Crossette, an American citizen who covers Southeast Asia, had written on the same subject, in an article that also likened Suharto in some respects to deposed Philippine President Ferdinand E. Marcos. She had recently completed another article about political dissent here.

Before the press plane landed here, Middleton acknowledged that reporters from his country have had "prickly relations" with the Indonesians for more than a decade, and he said, "Some countries feel a free press is important. Indonesia, quite obviously, feels quite differently."

CBS News correspondent Bill Plante, who is president of the White House Correspondents Association, said he "deplored" the Indonesian action, and added that many of the association's members agreed with him.

- WALTER V. ROBINSON

In East Timor, human rights are trampled upon . . .

MARTINHO DA COSTA LOPES

LISBON - When President Reagan visits Indonesia this week, he should not forget the plight of my native East Timor, a former Portuguese colony which was invaded and occupied by Indonesia in 1975.

While the situation may not be well known, it is possible that more than 200,000 persons in East Timor - as many as one-third of the population - have died because of Indonesian military action over the past 10 years. Indonesian operations have been carried out largely with American-supplied military equipment.

Today, severe repression continues; there is heavy pressure and intimidation directed at the Roman Catholic Church by the Indonesian military. (The people of East Timor are mainly Roman Catholic.) Reagan, the first American president to travel to Indonesia since East Timor was invaded, should not ignore the tragedy of my country.

The reason why many people have little knowledge of the events in East Timor is because the Indonesian military has taken all measures to hide the true nature of the situation from the eyes of the world. East Timor's borders have been closed to almost everyone. Rare exceptions include journalists who are given little chance by their Indonesian hosts to move freely about the territory, much less communicate with the East Timorese people. Tens of thousands of Indonesian soldiers have been sent to East Timor to crush nationalist resistance and keep tight control over the native population.

During the time that I served as Apostolic Administrator of East Timor, I saw how Indonesian authorities misled foreign visitors. Soldiers in plainclothes would be presented as native East Timorese, military equipment would be moved out of sight, and security forces would ensure that the local population could not make contact with most foreigners.

Some foreign visitors requested permission from the Indonesian authorities to speak with me as head of the church, but before such meetings could take place, the bishop's residence (my home) was searched and Indonesian intelligence officers were usually present at the meetings.

My situation was bad, but the situation of my fellow Timorese was, and continues to be, incomparably worse.

For more than 10 years the people of East Timor have suffered hunger, sickness, absence of justice and war. Hostilities continue, as do large-scale abuses of human rights. It is believed that a new Indonesian military offensive is scheduled to start in May, which would only aggravate conditions in the territory.

Despite huge losses of human life in a place that was underpopulated to begin with, the people of East Timor are now subjected to a sweeping birth-control program instituted by the Indonesian government and financed by the World Bank. In many cases women are not aware of what is being done to them when they receive injections from Indonesian paramedics. In addition, there have been sterilizations of men and

women without their consent, carried out while they were seeking general medical treatment.

These are instances in which the rights and feelings of the people are being trampled upon. This cycle of suffering can only be ended by a just settlement that recognizes the right of the East Timorese people to determine their own future, free of all pressure. The US State Department has repeated on several occasions that no valid act of self-determination has taken place in East Timor. This is the fundamental issue.

For the moment, practical steps must be taken to alleviate the plight of my people and assure their continued existence. There should be an end to abusive birth-control programs and protection of the church and the population as a whole. There also should be greatly expanded access for international relief organiza-

tions, including independent foreign medical teams and church and human-rights organizations.

The Indonesian authorities claim that they are developing East Timor and spending more money there than in any other part of Indonesia. The truth is that the people of East Timor are paying dearly for this. Their economic resources have been plundered, while they gain little benefit from what the Indonesians provide. Their national identity has been assaulted. They are suffering ethnic, cultural and psychological genocide.

I would only hope that Reagan remembers the feelings of the people of East Timor during his talks in Indonesia.

Martinho da Costa Lopes was apostolic administrator of East Timor from 1977 to 1983.

. . . but Reagan is remaining silent

MARY McGRORY

WASHINGTON - President Reagan has at hand a peerless opportunity to prove that he meant it when he said in a March 14 message to Congress, "The American people believe in human rights and oppose tyranny in whatever form, whether of the left or the right."

His host in Indonesia, Gen. Suharto, is a world-class fascist. He seized power in a coup in 1965, and killed half a million of his countrymen to consolidate it.

He is as corrupt as Ferdinand Marcos, as repressive as Gen. Augusto Pinochet of Chile, and if he has not matched the record of Pol Pot, the butcher of Cambodia who murdered 2 million Cambodians, he is, in the small island of East Timor, which lies about 1,100 miles off Indonesia, trying to wipe out what remains of the shrinking population.

East Timor offers an ideal chance for Reagan to show that he was not kidding when he said, in his 1985 State of the Union message, "Freedom is not the sole prerogative of a chosen few, it is the universal right of all God's children."

East Timor, a Portuguese colony for four centuries, expected independence when Portugal withdrew. Instead, in 1975, it was invaded by Suharto, who instituted a reign of terror that continues

to this day. The most conservative estimates put the East Timor casualties at 100,000. The 550,000 who survived are subject to intimidation, relocation, crop destruction, arrest, torture and disappearance. Ten thousand have fled.

Rep. Tony P. Hall (D-Ohio), one of the few voices raised on the issue, calls what is happening "the hidden holocaust." He wrote to the president on the eve of the trip, calling on him to urge Suharto to permit international organizations some access to the suffering island. No reporters are allowed in; official visitors are subject to total control.

The number of political prisoners cannot be exactly ascertained. After a clamor was raised by Amnesty International - which Suharto, incidentally, calls "a communist organization" - several thousand were released. Now, according to Hall, detainees have been moved to secret prisons and detention camps, where there is no chance of any international human rights group poking its nose.

The resistance, however, soldiers on. Suharto's government calls the guerrillas "bandits," and sets their number at 500. Their friends say they are 2,000 strong - enough to tie down 10,000 of Suharto's crack troops.

Despite their courage and their cause, they are not called freedom fighters by

the Reagan White House. They have not qualified under the so-called "Reagan Doctrine" for arms money. Instead of lending them a hand, Reagan seeks \$37 million in military aid for Suharto, who will use it to put them down.

What have they done wrong? They are being persecuted by a dictator who is not a communist. The rationale of Suharto's slaughter was to foil a communist insurrection. In addition to its great wealth in oil and other natural resources, Indonesia has control of three strategic passes that Reagan cited when he was defending Marcos.

The State Department maintains that "a basic change for the better is taking place."

With Suharto, State has been seeing light at the end of the tunnel for the last 10 years.

According to a White House press spokesman, the president is not planning to raise the almost forgotten question of East Timor while he is in Bali - it is "an internal matter." Perhaps he feels it would spoil the visit - or divert attention from his prime topic, terrorism.

So much for his promise of evenhandedness with dictators and a helping hand for liberty lovers everywhere. He was just making it up as he went along.

Mary McGrory is a syndicated columnist.

The Boston Globe

(N)

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 30, 1986

Indonesia's human rights record a cloud on Reagan 'freedom' tour

By Walter V. Robinson
Globe Staff

BALL, Indonesia — When President Reagan meets here tomorrow with the foreign ministers of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, the first secretary general of the 19-year-old organization won't be there.

That's because the former official, retired Indonesian Army Lt. Gen. Hartono Dharsono, is serving a 10-year prison sentence, imposed last year for the crime of subversion: He publicly questioned the government of President Suharto.

Nor are Reagan and his aides likely to see any articles critical of Suharto in the Indonesian press. That's rarely tolerated.

Last year, one editor who wrote an unflattering article about the Suharto government received an 8-year jail term. Two other journals that sought to write about the country's wealthy ruling class — which includes many members of Suharto's extended family — were shut down.

Reagan's selection of the theme, "Winds of Freedom," to highlight the economic and democratic gains of the countries whose leaders he will meet with this week and next is proving to be an embarrassment, senior administration officials conceded yesterday.

"If they've got all these guys languishing REAGAN, Page 20

The Boston Globe

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 30, 1986

In East Timor, human rights are trampled upon . . .

MARTINHO DA COSTA LOPES

LISBON - When President Reagan visits Indonesia this week, he should not forget the plight of my native East Timor, a former Portuguese colony which was invaded and occupied by Indonesia in 1975.

While the situation may not be well known, it is possible that more than 200,000 persons in East Timor - as many as one-third of the population - have died because of Indonesian military action over the past 10 years. Indonesian operations have been carried out largely with American-supplied military equipment.

Today, severe repression continues; there is heavy pressure and intimidation directed at the Roman Catholic Church by the Indonesian military. (The people of East Timor are mainly Roman Catholic.) Reagan, the first American president to travel to Indonesia since East Timor was invaded, should not ignore the tragedy of my country.

The reason why many people have little knowledge of the events in East Timor is because the Indonesian military has taken all measures to hide the true nature of the situation from the eyes of the world. East Timor's borders have been closed to almost everyone. Rare exceptions include journalists who are given little chance by their Indonesian hosts to move freely about the territory, much less communicate with the East Timorese people. Tens of thousands of Indonesian soldiers have been sent to East Timor to crush nationalist resistance and keep tight control over the native population.

During the time that I served as Apostolic Administrator of East Timor, I saw how Indonesian authorities misled foreign visitors. Soldiers in plainclothes would be presented as native East Timorese, military equipment would be moved out of sight, and security forces would ensure that the local population could not make contact with most foreigners.

Some foreign visitors requested permission from the Indonesian authorities to speak with me as head of the church, but before such meetings could take place, the bishop's residence (my home) was searched and Indonesian intelligence officers were usually present at the meetings.

My situation was bad, but the situation of my fellow Timorese was, and continues to be, incomparably worse.

For more than 10 years the people of East Timor have suffered hunger, sickness, absence of justice and war. Hostilities continue, as do large-scale abuses of human rights. It is believed that a new Indonesian military offensive is scheduled to start in May, which would only aggravate conditions in the territory.

Despite huge losses of human life in a place that was underpopulated to begin with, the people of East Timor are now subjected to a sweeping birth-control program instituted by the Indonesian government and financed by the World Bank. In many cases women are not aware of what is being done to them when they receive injections from Indonesian paramedics. In addition, there have been sterilizations of men and

women without their consent, carried out while they were seeking general medical treatment.

These are instances in which the rights and feelings of the people are being trampled upon. This cycle of suffering can only be ended by a just settlement that recognizes the right of the East Timorese people to determine their own future, free of all pressure. The US State Department has repeated on several occasions that no valid act of self-determination has taken place in East Timor. This is the fundamental issue.

For the moment, practical steps must be taken to alleviate the plight of my people and assure their continued existence. There should be an end to abusive birth-control programs and protection of the church and the population as a whole. There also should be greatly expanded access for international relief organiza-

tions, including independent foreign medical teams and church and human-rights organizations.

The Indonesian authorities claim that they are developing East Timor and spending more money there than in any other part of Indonesia. The truth is that the people of East Timor are paying dearly for this. Their economic resources have been plundered, while they gain little benefit from what the Indonesians provide. Their national identity has been assaulted. They are suffering ethnic, cultural and psychological genocide.

I would only hope that Reagan remembers the feelings of the people of East Timor during his talks in Indonesia.

Martinho da Costa Lopes was apostolic administrator of East Timor from 1977 to 1983.

Indonesia's human rights record a cloud on Reagan 'freedom' tour

By Walter V. Robinson
Globe Staff

BALI, Indonesia - When President Reagan meets here tomorrow with the foreign ministers of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, the first secretary general of the 19-year-old organization won't be there.

That's because the former official, retired Indonesian Army Lt. Gen. Hartono Dharsono, is serving a 10-year prison sentence, imposed last year for the crime of subversion: He publicly questioned the government of President Suharto.

Nor are Reagan and his aides likely to see any articles critical of Suharto in the Indonesian press. That's rarely tolerated.

Last year, one editor who wrote an unflattering article about the Suharto government received an 8-year jail term. Two other journalists that sought to write about the country's wealthy ruling class - which includes many members of Suharto's extended family - were shut down.

Reagan's selection of the theme, "Winds of Freedom," to highlight the economic and democratic gains of the countries whose leaders he will meet with this week and next is proving to be an embarrassment, senior administration officials conceded yesterday.

"If they've got all these guys languishing in prison, it doesn't do much for the winds of freedom," one official lamented.

REAGAN

Continued from Page 1

Another official, citing what he said was internal White House disagreement over the selection of the theme, said Reagan's stop here made its choice "awkward" because of the Indonesian government's poor human rights record. "It's likely to be an embarrassment for us," he added glumly.

According to aides, Reagan, who will meet with Suharto tomorrow, will raise human rights concerns with the man who likes to be called "the smiling general." These concerns include reports of torture; imprisonment without trial of political opponents; the reported killings of several thousand criminals by government security forces; and restrictions on free speech and association, which have been tightened in the last year.

Reagan also arrived here armed with pleas from 21 senators and 125 House members, including Sen. John F. Kerry and nine of Massachusetts' 11 House members, that he protest Indonesia's continued occupation of the former Portuguese colony of East Timor.

According to human rights groups, between 100,000 and 200,000 of the 700,000 people in East Timor have died since Indonesia invaded and annexed the area in 1975.

The administration, however, believes that such problems are best dealt with through "quiet diplomacy," and that to raise public objections, as President Carter did with some countries, is counterproductive. So the White House



President Reagan waves to the crowd as Indonesian President Suharto looks on during arrival ceremony yesterday. UPI PHOTO

has indicated that it will not publicly confirm whether Reagan raises the issue.

But the senior officials, who declined to be quoted by name, said Reagan will, as one of them said, "take the nice guy approach." Reagan, he said, will talk about the problems that human rights abuses created for former Philippine President Ferdinand E. Marcos.

"The President will tell him that he needs to stay on top of the human rights situation," one official said.

Secretary of State George P. Shultz, however, will be more direct and critical when he meets with Indonesian Foreign Minister Mochta Kusumaatmadja, according to the officials.

In some respects, the case against Dharsono illustrates many of the objections that human rights groups have lodged against the 20-year tenure of the 64-year-old Suharto. The former Army general exerts strong control over the government, the armed forces and the principal political party in a country that, with a population of 173 million, is the world's sixth largest.

Dharsono's prosecution grew

out of a peaceful 1984 demonstration by a Moslem group, according to Asia Watch, a Washington-based human rights organization. Government troops, saying they were facing a riot, fired on the crowd, with estimates of the dead ranging from 30 to several hundred.

Dharsono, who had been a senior army commander and a close ally of Suharto, signed a "white paper" challenging the government's account of the inquiry and urging an independent inquiry.

He was tried and convicted under the country's antiriot law, with the trial court concluding that his call for an inquiry amounted to subversion.

The US State Department, which criticizes Indonesia's human rights record in more cautious language than that employed by Asia Watch, noted in its own report, "In all such security related cases, it is widely believed that the government will ensure conviction irrespective of the evidence presented in court."

The controversy over the Indonesian government's policies has tended to obscure the principal reason for Reagan's three-day visit to this hauntingly beautiful island, south of the equator in the Indonesian archipelago.

At the ASEAN meeting, the first Reagan is holding with officials of the group of six noncommunist states - Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand, Singapore, the Philippines and Brunei - mutual security concerns, especially Vietnam's occupation of Cambodia, will be discussed.

Economic issues will be discussed as well, including ASEAN complaints about Japanese barriers to their exports; and irritation at the United States, most notably by Thailand, over American farm legislation that subsidizes US rice exporters at considerable cost to Thailand.

In fact, Thailand's ambassador to the United States, Kasem Kasemsri, hinted in a recent interview in Washington that Nancy Reagan, during a side trip she will make to Thailand later this week, might well be greeted by demonstrators angered by the US rice subsidies.

Indonesia expels 3 journalists

BALI, Indonesia - In a rebuff to President Reagan, Indonesian security officials last night detained two Australian journalists who arrived here on the White House press charter flight after they had been denied entry visas. They were quickly expelled from the country.

The action came just minutes before Reagan arrived aboard Air Force One. He was greeted by Indonesian President Suharto and a stylistic Balinese welcome dance performed by brightly costumed teen-age girls.

Earlier yesterday, the Indonesians, apparently upset with reporting by the New York Times, also expelled one of its reporters, Barbara Crossette, who had arrived separately to cover the Reagan visit.

The expulsion of Crossette and the two men, Jim Middleton and Richard Palfreyman, came despite a concerted effort by the White House and US Ambassador Paul Wolfowitz to persuade President Suharto's government to allow them to cover Reagan's visit here.

Edward Djerejian, a deputy White House press secretary, appealed to the Indonesians to let the journalists, who represent the Australian Broadcast Corp., cover the visit. "They would not budge," he declared.

Indonesian authorities censored an article about the dispute in this morning's edition of The International Herald Tribune on sale here, pasting ink paper over the article.

Palfreyman and Middleton left Bali on a Tokyo-bound commercial airliner last night. Crossette was detained earlier in the day and left on a flight to Singapore.

The Indonesians, angered at recent Australian newspaper reports charging that Suharto's family has enriched itself through massive corruption, refused to grant visas to any Australian journalists seeking to cover Reagan's three-day visit here.

Crossette, an American citizen who covers Southeast Asia, had written on the same subject, in an article that also likened Suharto in some respects to deposed Philippine President Ferdinand E. Marcos.

Before the press plane landed here, Middleton acknowledged that reporters from his country have had "prickly relations" with the Indonesians for more than a decade, and he said, "Some countries feel a free press is important. Indonesia, quite obviously, feels quite differently."

CBS News correspondent Bill Plante, who is president of the White House Correspondents Association, said he "deplored" the Indonesian action.

- WALTER V. ROBINSON