

12 FOREIGN NEWS

Indonesia prepares to open East Timor to outside world

26.10.88 I

From Terry McCarthy
in Jakarta

THIRTEEN years after Indonesian troops invaded East Timor, the government in Jakarta appears to be on the verge of opening up the province.

President Suharto is due to visit East Timor next week, and there is mounting speculation that he will announce an easing of restrictions in the province, which has been under virtual martial rule since the military took over in 1975. According to diplomats who visited the island recently, senior government officials are increasingly pushing for an end to simple military domination in favour of a "more sophisticated approach".

Unlike West Timor, which became part of Indonesia when independence was won from the Dutch in 1948, East Timor remained a Portuguese colony until 1975. The Portuguese had barely left the island when the Indonesian army invaded. At least 60,000 East Timorese died during the invasion and ensuing famine.

Now Suharto has instructed the provincial governor to loosen some of the economic restrictions in the territory. East Timor has long been an embarrassment for Indonesian diplomacy. The UN does not recognise Indonesian sovereignty over the 6,000 square miles of jungle with a population of 650,000. Earlier this month Portugal's Foreign Minister told the United Nations the Indonesian annexation of the territory was a "thorn in the international conscience".

East Timor is relatively undeveloped compared to the rest of Indonesia, with average annual income of less than £115. But the central government has been pumping in aid, and this year's allocation of £16m is more per capita than any other province.

The capital, Dili, is still strik-

ingly Portuguese in its food and architecture. Portuguese wine and olive oil are imported through Singapore. The vast majority of East Timorese are Catholic and speak Tetun, a Portuguese-based language with some Indonesian influence. Diplomats who have been permitted to visit Dili say no one really advocates independence any more; but, one said, "there is still a lot of talk about asserting their own iden-

ment anyone wanting to visit the island needs a permit from the army, and the East Timorese (including Mr Carrascalao himself) must likewise get official permission to move outside their home village or town. Most business is controlled by the army, although this year, at the instigation of Mr Carrascalao, the growers of East Timor's renowned coffee beans have been allowed to sell their produce to other traders, getting a better price.

A small group of guerrillas, the Fretilin resistance fighters, still launch occasional attacks on the Indonesian troops from the jungle. But with no outside support their strength has gradually been whittled away, and last year the army claimed it suffered only five casualties in confrontations with Fretilin.

Observers say that even if Suharto makes no announcement during his visit, it is only a matter of time before East Timor is fully integrated into Indonesia. On a visit there earlier this month the Australian ambassador to Indonesia backed moves to open up the province, calling on the government to start treating East Timorese like other Indonesians.

Analysts in Jakarta say concessions to the East Timorese would go a long way towards silencing opposition in the UN to Indonesia's annexation of the territory — which most Western governments are beginning to regard as a *fait accompli*.

■ Indonesia's ruling Golkar party ended a five-day national congress yesterday, naming a retired general as party chairman, AFP reports.

Wahono, a former East Java governor known to be loyal to Suharto, was named to head the party of over 30 million members.



tity". Some locals even fear that this identity could be threatened if East Timor is opened up to the rest of Indonesia, which is largely Muslim.

But the Governor of East Timor, Mario Viegas Carrascalao, maintains that the economic benefits of opening up the region would outweigh the disadvantages. He has been the main proponent of easing travel and economic restrictions. At the mo-

Guardian

News in brief

Violence in Timor protest

19.1.90

Several people have been injured during a demonstration in East Timor, the former Portuguese colony invaded by Indonesia in 1975. The US embassy in Jakarta confirmed yesterday that a demonstration of 50 to 100 people greeted its ambassador, Mr John Monjo, when he arrived in the disputed territory on Tuesday, writes *Juliet Rix in Jakarta*.

The embassy could give no details of the protesters' demands, but a demonstration during the Pope's visit in October demanded independence from Indonesia, which has been repeatedly accused of human rights abuses in East Timor.

Guardian

A call for the world to recognise Indonesia's invasion of East Timor

18.9.90 G

ON SEPTEMBER 14, the Portuguese prime minister, Cavaco Silva called on the world community to recognise that Indonesia's invasion of East Timor 15 years ago was just as serious as Iraq's invasion of Kuwait.

As he said, this would give the people of East Timor "hope of being able to decide their own future."

It is unforgivable for Indonesia's grave transgression, which has cost the lives of some 200,000 of the people of East Timor — nearly a third of the entire population — to go unpunished when so many governments are prepared to go to war with Iraq over its invasion of Kuwait.

A guerilla movement, cut off from outside help, is waging armed struggle in the countryside, while young people in the urban areas have started their own intifada to call for an end to Indonesian occupation and for Indonesian troops to go home.

Last week, hundreds of young Timorese held a pro-independence demonstration in Dili at a Mass attended by more than 20,000 people, the third such demonstration in less than a year.

Now we are getting reports of many arrests, in Dili and other towns.

Timorese dare not venture out at night because Indonesian troops in civilian clothes are roaming the streets armed with batons and iron bars, beating up anyone they find.

Such human rights abuses have been the daily fare of the Timorese ever since Indonesian troops first violated their homeland.

It is not difficult to imagine that the East Timorese people feel isolated and let down. How many times must they hear politicians insist that Saddam Hussein's aggression must not be allowed to go unchallenged as this might be an encouragement to others?

Why was Suharto never exposed to such worldwide opprobrium?

The UN General Assembly is to meet shortly. All governments, including our own, should press for an internationally-supervised act of self-determination in East Timor, to end the nightmare through which the Timorese people have lived for the 15 years since December 1975.

Carmel Budiardjo,
Organising Secretary,

Tapol,
The Indonesia Human Rights
Campaign.

111 Northwood Road,
Thornton Heath,
Surrey.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 31, 1988*

Congressmen sign East Timor letters

Nearly half the members of Congress asked Secretary of State George Shultz yesterday to use his influence in solving the 13-year armed conflict in the Indonesian territory of East Timor.

Forty-seven senators and 182 House members from both parties signed letters drawn up by Sen. David Durenberger, Minnesota Republican, and Rep. Tony Hall, Ohio Democrat.

The letters cite continuing human rights abuses in East Timor, including the torture of Timorese under interrogation by the Indonesian military and the transfer of political prisoners to the capital of Jakarta. They also said international human rights organizations have been denied access to the region and that the Roman Catholic Church has been intimidated.

"By sending this letter now, my colleagues and I want to ensure that the East Timor tragedy receives increased attention, both from the Reagan administration and its successor," Mr. Durenberger said in a statement.

4A • MONDAY, OCTOBER 31, 1988 • USA TODAY

IN WASHINGTON . . .

INDONESIA CONFLICT: Forty-seven senators and 182 House members — nearly half of Congress — asked Secretary of State George Shultz to help solve the 13-year armed conflict in the Indonesian territory of East Timor, where one-fifth of the original population has died as a result of military operations. They cited human rights abuses.

The Boston Globe

Founded 1872

East Timor's human rights

Since the advent of Mikhail Gorbachev, US efforts to ameliorate human rights in the Soviet bloc have achieved identifiable successes. Raising an outcry about Soviet human rights violations, however, takes less political fortitude than does insisting that a strategic ally of Washington stop torturing and massacring victims of its dominion.

Fortitude of the latter kind is invoked by two letters sent to Secretary of State George Shultz. A letter signed by 47 senators and another signed by 182 congressmen asks the executive branch to exert its influence with Indonesia to protect the human rights of the predominantly Roman Catholic population of East Timor. That former Portuguese colony was invaded in 1975 by Indonesian troops using US weapons — only hours after President Gerald Ford and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger had departed from Jakarta.

The senators' letter requests that relief organizations be permitted to "expand their operations to help provide relief and protection to the civilian population throughout East Ti-

mor." Until now, the Indonesian military and intelligence forces have restricted the agencies' access to a population that has suffered terror on a scale comparable to the Khmer Rouge depredations in Cambodia. International human rights organizations estimate that more than 150,000 Timorese — out of a population of 700,000 — perished as a consequence of the Indonesian invasion, as well as the repression and the Jakarta-induced famine that followed.

The representatives' letter cites Pope John Paul II's call for "respect for the ethnic, religious and cultural identity of the Timorese people." Both letters plead for an end to persecution of the Catholic clergy and ask that the State Department help end the torture of Timorese political prisoners and that the US foster a just and peaceful solution to the conflict.

While recognizing the strategic considerations that mold US policy toward Indonesia, the lawmakers evince the political courage to demand an American human rights standard that would be the same for client dictatorships and communist regimes.

The Manila CHRONICLE

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Lawmakers urge Washington to seek Timor settlement

WASHINGTON — US senators and representatives of both parties on Monday urged an end to 13 years of bloodshed in East Timor and the admission of observers from international humanitarian agencies to the Indonesian-ruled territory.

US Secretary of State George Shultz was asked to press the cause of peace in East Timor in two letters to him, one bearing the names of 182 members of the House of Representatives and the other those of 47 senators.

The United States should work for an East Timor settlement with Indonesia, Portugal and other interested parties, said the lower house letter. Indonesia annexed East Timor 13 years ago. Portugal

formerly ruled the territory.

"Given the constructive role Indonesia is playing in seeking an end to the Vietnamese occupation in Kampuchea, we believe it is appropriate for a similar effort to be made regarding East Timor," the letter added.

There is growing sentiment in Congress "that the next administration ... be forced to deal with the human rights problems and continuing conflict" on the island, said Democratic Congressman Tony Mall, principal author of the House letter.

About 150,000 people, nearly one-fifth of East Timor's original population, died as a result. The House letter declared support for a 1987 recommendation of the confer-

ence of US Catholic bishops that the US government should influence Indonesia to bring peace to East Timor, which has a predominantly Roman Catholic population.

Indonesia on Monday publicly acknowledged the execution of two former communists 20 years after their conviction and defended the move saying communism was still a threat.

Minister of the state secretariat Mardiono told reporters after talks between President Suharto and Dutch Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers that the executions about two weeks ago of former guards of late President Sukarno for their role in an abortive coup in 1965 were legal.

The Washington Post

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 3, 1988

U.S. Is Nudging Indonesia On Rights in East Timor

Associated Press

The United States has been pressing Indonesian officials about the human rights and well-being of people in East Timor, a former Portuguese colony annexed 13 years ago by Indonesia, the State Department said Tuesday.

Department spokesman Charles E. Redman was commenting on open letters from more than 200 U.S. senators and representatives urging the Reagan administration to work with Indonesia and Portugal in ending 13 years of violence and bloodshed in the territory and in gaining admission of international observers.

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—Charles Redman

respect for human rights in East

Timor," Redman said. "In pursuit of that goal, we continue to make East Timor an element of our overall diplomatic dialogue with the government of Indonesia, and the issue is raised in high-level meetings between Indonesian and U.S. officials."

Redman said the United States "accepts Indonesia's incorporation of East Timor" without acknowledging that it was "a valid act of self-determination."

He did not comment directly on the lawmakers' demand for admission of international observers but said the United States watches the situation closely and supports "discussion between the governments of Indonesia and Portugal under the auspices of the U.N. secretary general, who continues to have a mandate from the General Assembly to resolve this issue."

The New York Times

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 21, 1988

A13

Jakarta's Human Rights Record Is Said to Improve

By STEVEN ERLANGER
Special to The New York Times

BANGKOK, Thailand, Nov. 20 — In an extensive report on Indonesia issued today, a human-rights organization said that some improvement had been made in political and civil rights, but that the country was now stable enough to do better.

The organization, Asia Watch, based in Washington, urged the United States to do more to encourage the Jakarta Government to further relax restraints on civil rights and political expression.

Thirteen years after Indonesia invaded the former Portuguese colony of East Timor and later annexed it, the

report says, "some of the worst excesses of the occupation forces have abated, but the Timorese people continue to suffer daily violations of fundamental rights," with restrictions on freedom of speech, association and travel amid "a climate of fear."

In the last year, the report says, more than 100 political prisoners have been released from prison in East Timor, and in recent years "there have been comparatively few documented cases of disappearances, torture or extrajudicial execution" common in the period after the Indonesian invasion of December 1975. The Indonesians overthrew a de facto administration of the

Revolutionary Front of East Timor, or Fretilin, which had won a civil war in the confusion following rapid Portuguese decolonization. The rebels continue to oppose Indonesian authority.

Limited Access to East Timor

But such progress merely highlights continuing shortcomings, the report argues, citing severe restrictions on access to East Timor by independent journalists and investigators, a pervasive security apparatus, continuing arrests and detentions on "arbitrary grounds" and a failure to account for "all but a handful of the many thousands thought to have 'disappeared' since 1975" while in custody.

The Indonesian Government has said it is gradually lifting restrictions on travel to East Timor and has allowed some journalists and diplomats guided visits to the island. It also allows the International Committee of the Red Cross to operate there.

On Oct. 28, 47 United States Senators and 182 Congressmen signed a letter criticizing Indonesian rule over East Timor and expressing concern over "a 13-year-old conflict between guerrillas and Indonesian forces, food shortages and human-rights violations." The letter asked the Secretary of State, George P. Shultz, to press Jakarta to allow access to the island by "international observers and humanitarian organizations."

On Friday, 379 Indonesian parliamentarians issued a letter in response,

denying any abuses of human rights in East Timor and suggesting that the Jakarta Government allow foreigners to visit the island whenever free movement of Indonesians is permitted.

The 348-page Asia Watch report, which was written by Diane F. Orentlicher, a consulting lawyer for the organization, also criticizes the prosecution of Muslim dissidents "on political charges in trials lacking any semblance of fair process." The report says that Indonesia's judiciary is not fully independent and has acquiesced in doubtful prosecutions of Government critics on charges of subversion.

A Consensus Model

Physical abuse of detainees "appears to be common throughout Indonesia," the report says, and restrictions continue on the rights of former

political prisoners, over 20 years after their involvement in the then-legal Communist Party. The party was blamed for a failed coup in 1965.

The report acknowledges that as a "fractured mosaic of islands" with a history of political instability and regional and ethnic conflict, Indonesia's case for a consensus model of parliamentary decision-making is persuasive. The Indonesian Government emphasizes deliberation, compromise and consensus rather than voting, which is regarded as divisive.

But after more than 20 years of political calm and economic development, "the cult of stability" is overemphasized, the report argues, and a greater range of political expression, activity and dissent could be tolerated without harm.



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INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER

industry would develop capability in processing rubber, timber and plastic.

Nguyen van Linh hopes for promotion of cooperation

HANOI — The Secretary General of the Vietnamese Communist Party, Nguyen Van Linh, hopes for further development of cooperation in various fields between Indonesia and Vietnam as part of the efforts to boost South-South cooperation.

Van Linh expressed the hope when he received Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas here Saturday. In this context, he mentioned the importance of intensifying the exchange of experiences between the two countries.

Vietnam is interested in stepping up cooperation with Indonesia, which is much experienced in conducting development activities in various fields, particularly in the economic sector, according to the Vietnamese leader.

The time has come for Vietnam to cope with hardships it has faced and not to repeat the errors it have made in the past, he revealed.

The Vietnamese Government and people are currently carrying out economic development oriented to the growth of the private sector leading to the creation of a fair competition between the public enterprises and the private companies in yielding the best products, Linh explained.

Thus the two countries have a wide opportunity to promote bilateral cooperation, according to Alatas.

In this connection, he stated that Indonesia offers its experiences in oil exploration and

INDONESIAN OFFERS

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In this connection, he stated that Indonesia offers its experiences in oil exploration and

vestment has strategic value, because we have abundant raw material, produced by oil and gas processing, while petrochemical industry is able to quicken the growth of downstream and small scale industries, which are work intensive in nature and are able to produce many export commodities.

Meanwhile the improvement of chemical industry in our country will become a motor for economic activities in general.

To stabilize petrochemical industry, now we are preparing upstream petrochemical industry, such as aromatic and olefin.

Soeharto added that capability of building communication infrastructure is limited and "we should have to determine appropriate priorities."

(S/01)

US Congress delegation arrives here

By Our Reporter

United States Senate Minority leader Robert Dole and five other members of the US Senate and House of Representatives arrived Saturday for a four-day visit to Indonesia.

The purpose of the visit is for the Congressmen to familiarize and update themselves about current regional issues and to consult with leaders here. The group had visited the Philippines, Thailand and Singapore.

Five members of the US Senate are Senator James A. McClure (Idaho), Senator Frank H. Murkowski (Alaska), Senator Arlen Specter (Pennsylvania), Representative Lawrence Coughlin (Pennsylvania), and Representative William Lehman (Democrat Florida).

Also accompanying the delegation are their wives and a number of staff members. Among the wives is Elizabeth Dole, who was US Secretary of Transportation until she resigned from her cabinet position to join her husband's campaign.

for the presidential nomination. A press conference has been scheduled for 4 pm at the Bobodur Hotel here today, embassy sources said.

US Senator Ken Conrad (North Dakota) was also here last week along with some American businessmen to explore possibilities of increasing trade ties between the two countries.

Some of the senators who arrived here Saturday are part of the 47 senators who signed the statement on East Timor asking the US government for intervention on the problem.

Indonesian MPs had also signed a petition asking Foreign Minister Ali Alatas to immediately respond to the aforementioned statement of the American senators, who had been misinformed about the developments in East Timor.

(m/01)

CONGRESS DELEGATION — US Senator Robert Dole (left) and Ambassador Paul Wolfowitz visited the Pancasila Sakri Memorial, Sunday. The US Congress delegation led by Senator Robert Dole arrived here Saturday.

By Our Reporter

The Indonesian Government welcomes the statement signed by 390 MPs refuting the contents of the letter sent by American Congressmen to Secretary of State George Shultz asking for US intervention on the East Timor problem.

Chairman of Commission I (Defense, Foreign Affairs and Information) of the House of Representatives Imron Rosyadi made this remark after handing over the 25-page petition to Foreign Minister ad interim L.B. Moerdani, Friday afternoon.

He said the Government was aware that the American senators forwarded their petition basing their information on old and inaccurate developments of the subject.

Rosyadi stressed that the letter of the US congressmen had touched on the decolonization process and alleged that it was done through invasion and forced annexation by Indonesia.

"But, it is open knowledge," he said, "the process was a result of the implementation of the right of self-determination of the people of East Timor in accordance with UN Resolution No.1514 (XV), 1541 (XV) and 2525 (XVI)".

The petition had also mentioned about famine and lack of food in the province. "Be fair, gentlemen. Since East Timor became part of the Republic of

Indonesia, the agricultural sector had improved by leaps and bounds, and the region is self-sufficient, accordingly," Imron Rosyadi asserted.

The MPs categorically criticized the demands of the Congress petition which wanted the Indonesian Government to stop its intimidation of the ethnic Catholics by majority. The Indonesian MPs said this was utter non-sense, because after integration, the progress of the Catholic religion and the adherents has increased from day to day.

Replying to questions from newsmen, the MPs said the petition of the American Senators was made in the framework of the election campaign in the United States. In general, from the 47 members of the Senate and 182 members of the Congress who signed the Statement, are from the Democratic Party. And, the Jewish lobby, it seems, also played quite a role. "If Dukakis had won the Presidential election, he would help remove the capital of Israel from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem", Imron Rosyadi said.

Another MP (from the Golkar faction), Theo Sambuaga, said the DPR had made the petition to the Indonesia Foreign Minister, because it was hurt on the Statement of the Senators, which had been based on untrue facts. As a Nation, we are hurt," he added with a solemn tone.

"What is true is that after 13 years of integration, East Timor has made progress in all fields of development, hand-in-hand

with the progress in other parts of the country.

Portugal had left helicopter, without any sense of responsibility for the land which they had colonized for more than 400 years. This had caused chaos. It is indeed an irony, that, it is Portugal now who is flexing muscles and making widespread campaigns discrediting Indonesia.

The Secretary-General of the United Nations had initiated direct talks between Indonesia and Portugal.

(m/ S. Pemburuan/01)

US Congressmen's allegation on East Timor baseless

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"What is true is that after 13 years of integration, East Timor has made progress in all fields of development, hand-in-hand

KOKI'S CORNER
(1556)

A PELAYAN BY ANY OTHER NAME IS STILL A SERVANT

I commented last week on President Aquino's angry reaction to a reported entry in the new Oxford dictionary making a racist slur on the Philippines by defining "Filipinas" as servants. As there are hundreds of Indonesians working abroad as household help I said that hopefully the word Indonesian is not made to mean servant also.

Commenting on my comments my comrade-in-pojok, Dr. Clerk of Merdeka daily said he did not care which word is used for Indonesians working abroad as long as they are earning foreign currency for the state. "What is in a name," dr. Clerk said.

In Indonesia a name is all important. So much so that when a name is thought to be shameful we give the thing or person a nicer sounding name with the same meaning. Though Indonesians working in foreign countries are mostly doing household chores, we don't like calling them "pelayan" (servants) which is considered degrading. We prefer to call them TKI (tenaga kerja Indonesia = Indonesian workers) or TKW (tenaga kerja wanita = women workers). The name is changed but the work done remains the same.

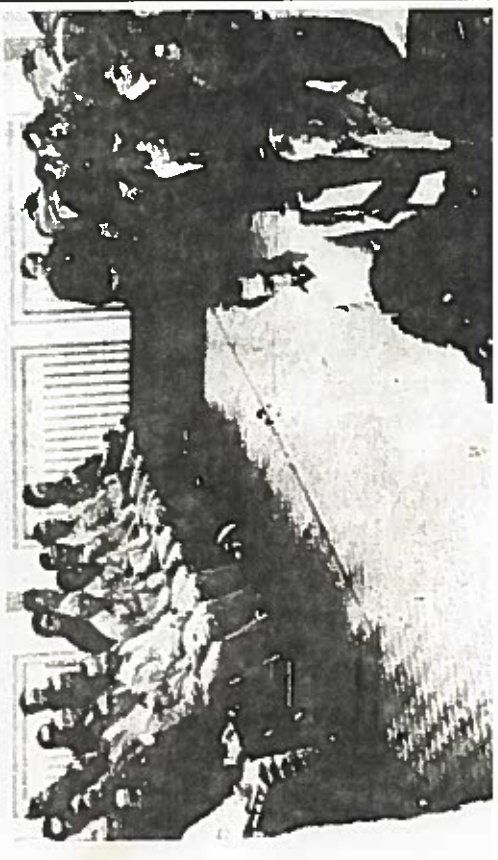
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TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 22, 1988

Senators urge more access for foreign press to East Timor P.

JAKARTA (JP): Visiting U.S. senators urged the Indonesian government to give more access to the foreign press to East Timor, the former Portuguese colony. "It would be useful if there is more access by members of the foreign press to East Timor, so that there will be understanding on what's going on in the area," U.S. Republican Senator Arlen Specter of Pennsylvania said in a press conference here yesterday.

The six-member congressional delegation, headed by Republican Senator Robert J. Dole of Kansas, met yesterday with Indonesian leaders, including President Soeharto, Foreign Minister Ali Alatas and House Speaker Kharis Suhud.

Senator Specter said that he had conveyed the appeal on the broader access to the foreign press to the Indonesia's youngest province when he and his colleagues met with the House speaker. A number of U.S. Congressional members, in a recent statement conveyed to American Foreign Secretary George Shultz, expressed their concern over the alleged human rights abuses in East Timor, which they said

needed more attention from the Indonesian government. Senator Dole said that the "human rights issue is very important in American society as it was raised by President Reagan when he met with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev."

Dole, however, said his delegation's visit to Indonesia was not for the purpose of raising question on East Timor. "We come here not for that purpose... we primarily wanted to learn not to preach," he said.

Dole said that he and his colleagues were invited to visit East Timor to assess the situation in the country's 27th province. "But we regret that time did not permit us to accept the Indonesian government's invitation to visit East Timor on this occasion. Some of us hope to do so in the future," he explained.

While meeting with Foreign Minister Alatas, the U.S. congressional delegation was briefed on the Kampuchean issue, Dole said.

"We reaffirmed that the U.S. shares ASEAN's goals, and supports the idea of ASEAN taking the lead on the issue," the senator said. The 65-year-old Republican senator, who had been President Reagan's chief voice in

the Senate, said that he also exchanged views with the Indonesian leaders on the question of the U.S. security presence in the region, including the American base facilities in the Philippines.

"We indicated our determination that the United States remain a strong, positive, and stabilizing force in the region. We also expressed our strong feeling that the U.S. presence directly benefits all the free nations in the region," he added.

The U.S. senators also met with the American Chamber of Commerce here yesterday. Dole said that "we want to see the trade relations between Indonesia and America grow."

The American Congressmen also urged Indonesia to move forward to complete implementing regulations for the recently enacted copyright law reforms, and to introduce and pass patent legislation protecting pharmaceutical and other patents.

The U.S. Congressional delegation's visit to Indonesia is a part of their Southeast Asian tour. Before reaching Indonesia, the group visit the Philippines, Thailand and Singapore. The delegation left for Bali yesterday.

Suhud blasts U.S. Congressmen on East Timor issue

JAKARTA (JP): House of Representatives speaker Kharis Suhud said here yesterday that anti-Indonesia lobbyists may have influenced U.S. congressmen to make an issue of East Timor.

"The lobbyists may have worked for Portugal, which formerly colonized East Timor," Suhud told reporters after meeting with a delegation of U.S. legislators.

Accompanied by U.S. ambassador to Jakarta Paul Wolfowitz, the legislators included Republican Senators James A. McClure, Arlen Specter and Republican Representative Lawrence Coughlin.

It is surprising that members of the U.S. congress raised the East Timor issue at a time when the question is scarcely being discussed in international forums. There must be a mastermind behind this action, he said.

The House speaker made

the remarks in reference to the highly publicized petition made by members of the U.S. congress to Secretary of State George Shultz charging that the decolonization process in East Timor had been "interrupted by Indonesia's invasion."

The legislators also expressed concern over reported human right violations, food shortages and health problems in Indonesia's youngest province.

The remote eastern territory integrated with Indonesia in 1976 following a bloody civil war upon the hasty withdrawal of the Portuguese colonial administration.

Recently, more than half of

Indonesia's House members signed a petition countering the U.S. congressmen's charges.

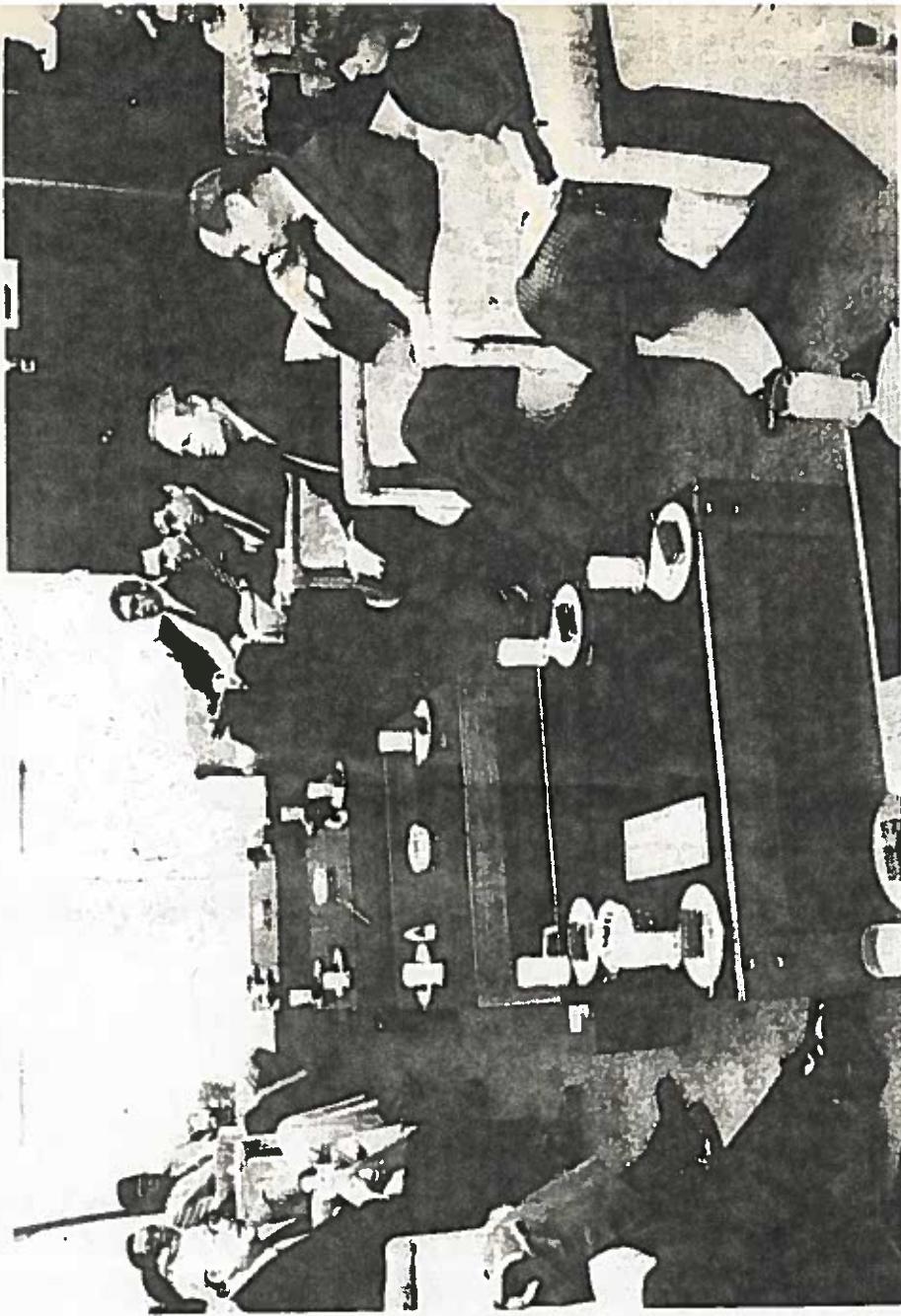
Kharis Suhud said the delegation called on the Indonesian government to open East Timor for foreign journalists to visit. "We take the proposal as input," he said.

Suhud suggested that Indonesia will not invite foreign journalists to visit the province mainly for financial reasons.

The Indonesian government has invited foreign newsmen to visit the province but their reportage was focused mostly on negative aspects, he said.

On a separate occasion, the armed forces faction in the House told the press that the United States legislators' action is "an intervention in Indonesian domestic affairs and the faction deplores it."

Faction spokesman Surodoro Syamsuri emphasized that it is the East Timorese people's determination to integrate with Indonesia and that the fact that the area is part of Indonesia cannot be denied.



DPR VISIT: Members of a visiting congressional delegation from the United States including Senator Arlen Specter (second from right), Senator James A. McClure (third from right) and Lawrence Coughlin (right) met yesterday with members of the Indonesian House of Representatives (DPR) and House Speaker Kharis Suhud (left). The delegation was accompanied by Ambassador Paul Wolfowitz (fourth from right). (UPI/Arif Hidayat)

Syamsuri was cautious when commenting on the possibility of opening up the territory like the rest of the province across the country.

If the province is opened up we should be watchful about the visitors as some of them may "fan" the local people into undermining the authorities, but on the other hand it will show the world the development success there, he said.

The "openness" also does not mean that capital intensive projects should be allowed to invade East Timor making the traditional people destitute, he added.

At present both domestic and foreign visitors are obliged to obtain permits from the authorities before entering the territory, but the restrictions have been eased lately.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 28, 1988

Indonesia's Human Rights Record Worse

To the Editor:

Your account of Asia Watch's recent report on Indonesia (news story, Nov. 21) implies that our overall findings were of improvement.

Our principal conclusion was that as other Asian nations have been transformed in the 1980's by democratic change, in Indonesia, "formal controls on political life have expanded, and a broadening cross-section of Indonesian society has suffered politically motivated human rights violations." To cite a few examples:

- In 1985, the Government of President Suharto imposed severe restraints on political activity and participation in social organizations.

- The Government has been clamping down on Islamically based political activity with special ferocity. In the last decade, the Government has

prosecuted Muslims on political charges in trials lacking fair process.

- Twenty-three years after a foiled coup attempt for which the Government blames the Indonesian Communist Party, which was then legal, hundreds of thousands thought to have supported the party are still denied basic rights. The restraints extend to their children. The restrictions were imposed without legal process.

- The Government has clamped down on the "moderate opposition," elder statesmen and former military officers who have pressed for democratization. They have been subjected to administrative sanctions. Several have been convicted on trumped-up subversion charges.

Of East Timor, you accurately state our conclusion that "some of the worst excesses of the occupation forces have abated." However, while current abuses have not produced the suffering that accompanied successive military offensives from the 1975 invasion through 1984, when thousands perished in executions and war-related hunger and disease, severe abuses continue. After publication of our report, Asia Watch learned that hundreds of Timorese were arbitrarily detained in East Timor and Jakarta in late October. There are also continued reports of torture in military detention centers, warranting the appeals you mention, led by Senators Dave Durenberger and Carl Levin, and Representative Tony Hall.

You also suggest that Asia Watch believes that some of the restraints imposed by President Suharto might have been justified earlier. Asia Watch has never taken such a position. We noted that the restraints are a legacy of a situation long past, directed against "threats that are no longer apparent."

ARYEH NEIER
Exec. Director, Human Rights Watch
New York, Dec. 12, 1988

The Timor gap

Oil in troubled waters

By Dr. KEITH SUTER

Official and business euphoria over the Timor sea exploitation agreement between Jakarta and Canberra should not obscure its potential legal, technical and environmental problems.

The September 1988 agreement between Australia and Indonesia over the Timor Gap has solved some problems for Australia but has the potential to create future ones. It will also force Portugal to either attempt to reassert its status as the administering power of East Timor or admit that its role in deciding East Timor's fate has now evaporated and that Portugal can be ignored.

The Timor Gap refers to the gap south of East Timor in the maritime boundary between Indonesia and Australia. The Gap has acquired gradually increasing significance in the light of progress made in writing a new law of the sea, in the need to find new oil and gas reserves, and in the improvements in technology in gaining access to such resources in areas under the sea.

The basic maritime boundary between Australia and Indonesia is set out in two Australian-Indonesian Agreements. An Agreement of 18 May 1971 fixed seabed boundaries in the Arafura Sea from west of Cape York to north of Arnhem Land, and an Agreement of 9 October 1972 extended the 1971 seabed boundary westward through the Timor Sea. Australia ratified both Agreements in November 1973.

The agreed boundary line was not a median (that is, equidistant) line between Australian and Indonesian land territory. It was a compromise between the Indonesian position that there was a single continental shelf between the two countries (for which a median line would be appropriate) and the Australian position that there were two shelves, with the Australian shelf extending north to the Timor Trough, a long and deep (over 3,000 metres deep in places) geological feature running east-west for hundreds of miles south of the Timor coast.

The Timor Gap in the agreed boundary was the subject of separate negotiations between Australia and Portugal in the early 1970s. East Timor was a low priority for Portugal at this time. Portugal was willing to bide its time awaiting the outcome of the Third UN Law of the Sea Conference. The Conference was dealing with, among many other things, the delimitation of maritime boundaries between adjacent states. Additionally, Australia did well out of its negotiations with Indonesia (which perhaps did not appreciate the potential wealth of the area) and so gained about 70 per cent of the seabed between it and Indonesia. Portugal was unwilling to be so generous and hoped for some negotiating advantage to come from the Third UN Law of the Sea Conference.

Law of the Sea

The First UN Law of the Sea Conference in 1958 adopted treaties which comprise the basic law of the sea. Some issues were not resolved at the 1958 Conference (such as the width of the territorial sea) and so a Second Conference was held but this was also unable to resolve the contentious issues. The Third UN Law of the Sea Conference began in late 1973. Portugal's delay was reasonable since no one could have predicted that the

Conference's sessions would drag on until 1982. (I attended the 1975 session and the feeling was that if any new treaty was going to emerge and this seemed unlikely because of the deadlock that year - then it would be done by the end of the decade).

In its 1971/2 negotiations with Indonesia, Australia's position had been based on the 1958 Geneva Convention on the Continental Shelf. That Convention defines the continental shelf as 'the seabed and subsoil of the submarine areas adjacent to the coast but outside the area of the territorial sea, to a depth of 200 metres or, beyond that limit, to where the depth of the superjacent waters admits of the exploitation of the natural resources of the said area'. It also provides that where the same continental shelf is adjacent to the territories of two adjacent states, in the absence of agreement, the boundary shall be determined by application of the principles of equidistance.

The provisions of the 1982 Convention on the Law of the Sea relating to the continental shelf (especially Article 76) and to boundary delimitation are not perfectly clear. Indonesia's view is that every country is entitled to a continental shelf of at least 200 nautical miles (nm) if no other country's interests are affected (regardless of whether or not the shelf actually extends that far), so that where the adjacent or opposite coastlines are less than 400 miles apart, as in the case of Timor and Australia, a median line would be appropriate.

Australia does not accept that view, maintaining, on the contrary, that there are two separate propositions embodied in Article 76 of the Law of the Sea Convention. The first is that the coastal state is entitled to exercise jurisdiction over its continental shelf throughout its natural prolongation. The second is that where the continental shelf does not extend out to 200 nm, the coastal state is entitled to exercise jurisdiction over the seabed, regardless of its nature, out to 200 nm. In Australia's view, the concept of natural prolongation of the continental shelf, is expressly preserved in Article 76 of the convention and indeed is given primacy.

Recognition

Running alongside the problem of delimiting the boundary through the Timor Gap there has been the related problem of Australia's recognition of Indonesian control over East Timor. Australia is in the minority of the world's nations in recognizing this control. The need to do so has arisen specifically out of Australia's desire to resolve the Timor Gap problem.

The term 'recognition' means a formal acknowledgement or declaration by a government that it intends to attach certain customary legal consequences to an existing set of facts. The principal object of recognition, then, is to clarify the possessors of international rights and duties.

Recognition is an essential feature of international relations because it designates who is responsible for what actions under the terms of international law. By recognition, a government declares formally what it perceives as a

certain state of affairs. The usual examples of recognition are of a new nation or of a new government. But recognition applies to a wide variety of events in international relations, such as a government recognising that certain other governments are neutral in a conflict, or that there is a conflict underway, or that a blockade is being implemented.

Recognition is done in two ways. Full de jure recognition is accorded when, for example, a new government comes to power and seems likely to remain in power. De facto recognition, by contrast, is of a more temporary nature in that from certain facts it would seem at present that, for example, a new government is currently running a nation. In due course that government will either be accorded full de jure recognition or a new government will take its place.

On July 20, 1976, the then Australian Minister for Foreign Affairs stated that 'the Government had long held the view that the process of decolonisation in East Timor should be based on a proper act of self-determination preferably carried out with the 'observation and participation of the United Nations . . . The Government regretted . . . that further efforts were not made by the UN to play a more decisive role' in dealing with the situation in the territory. In other words during 1976 and 1977, Australia did not recognise Indonesian control over East Timor. The UN during this time regarded Portugal as the administering authority of East Timor.

However, on January 20, 1978, the then Australian Minister for Foreign Affairs announced that 'the Government has decided to accept East Timor as part of Indonesia'. The government had decided that, although it remained critical of the means by which integration was brought about, it would be unrealistic to continue to refuse to recognise de facto that East Timor was part of Indonesia.

In other words the 1978 decision was to accept at least temporarily that Indonesia controlled East Timor. Later on full de jure recognition could be accorded to that control or perhaps East Timor, through its continued guerrilla campaigns, could become independent of Indonesia as well as Portugal and so be accorded full de jure recognition as an independent nation.

When did Australia shift from de facto to full de jure recognition? It may well have been as far back as February 1979 when Australia commenced negotiations with Indonesia over delimiting the boundary through the Timor Gap. By opting to negotiate with Indonesia - rather than Portugal Australia signalled that it considered Indonesia rather than Portugal as the nation governing East Timor (in effect a province of Indonesia).

Agreement

The Australian-Indonesian negotiations culminated on September 5, 1988 when the governments announced that an agreement had been reached in which the Timor Gap had been divided into three areas totalling about the size of Tasmania. The largest and potentially richest area, 'A', will be jointly developed, with tax revenue based on company profits and shared equally. A ministerial council will oversee a joint development authority. Area 'B' will be under Australian control, with Indonesia receiving 16 per cent of resources as tax revenue. Area 'C' will be under Indonesian control, with Australia receiving about 10 per cent of corporation tax. At first sight, the September 1988

Agreement has much to commend it. The region covered by the Agreement (especially Area 'A') is potentially very rich (perhaps Australia's best oil prospect) and so may ensure Australia's continued energy independence into the next century. It is the peaceful settlement of an international dispute in which the 1958 and 1982 treaties have been unclear, if not unhelpful. It removes a potential source of aggravation in the fragile relationship between Australia and Indonesia. From the point of view of treaty-creation, it is a remarkably imaginative approach, which may well help other nations which are 'zone locked'.

Australian newspaper editorials were uniformly positive in their response. *The Age*, for example, of 8 September, editorialized that 'if this spirit of co-operation can be extended to other areas, it may mark the beginning of a new, mutually beneficial era of tolerance and understanding between Australia and Indonesia.'

However, the euphoria should not obscure some problems. These arise mainly from the legal quagmire which may be presented if Portugal takes the agreement to the International Court of Justice. There will also be technical problems of getting the joint development authority to work effectively. Finally, there are the wider issues arising out of the need to find more energy rather than use the present energy more conservatively.

The UN still regards Portugal as the administering power of East Timor. Portugal also considers itself to be the administering power. The agreement may bring the issue to the boil. If Portugal continues (what it appears to me) its policy of lackadaisical interest in East Timor, then it will miss an important opportunity to reassert its authority. After all, Australia and Indonesia can be seen as dividing up Portugal's potential wealth. Additionally, Indonesia can use this agreement as further evidence of East Timor's absorption into Indonesia and so urge UN

members to accept that the East Timor issue has been resolved and should be dropped from the UN's agenda.

Portugal's obvious option is to take Australia and Indonesia to the International Court of Justice for this 'interference' in Portugal's 'internal affairs'. Just to appear as a defendant at the ICJ will cause Australia and Indonesia some embarrassment. If the ICJ decides against Australia and Indonesia, then Australia and Indonesia will have to decide whether or not to disobeY the ICJ.

UN breach?

Just to make life even more complicated for the Australian and Indonesian Governments there is another issue about which I remain somewhat unclear. The 1982 UN Conference on the Law of the Sea adopted a resolution dealing with territories whose people have not yet attained full independence or other self-governing status recognised by the UN. The Conference was concerned that such territories could have their rights waived by a foreign governing power so that even after they obtained independence they may have lost out from some or all of the benefits of the new Law of the Sea.

This resolution says that in the event of such territories, the new Treaty shall be implemented for the benefit of the people of the territory with a view to promoting their well being and development. Any exercise of these rights shall take into account the relevant UN resolutions. Current UN policy remains that of opposing Indonesian control over East Timor and calling for an act of self-determination.

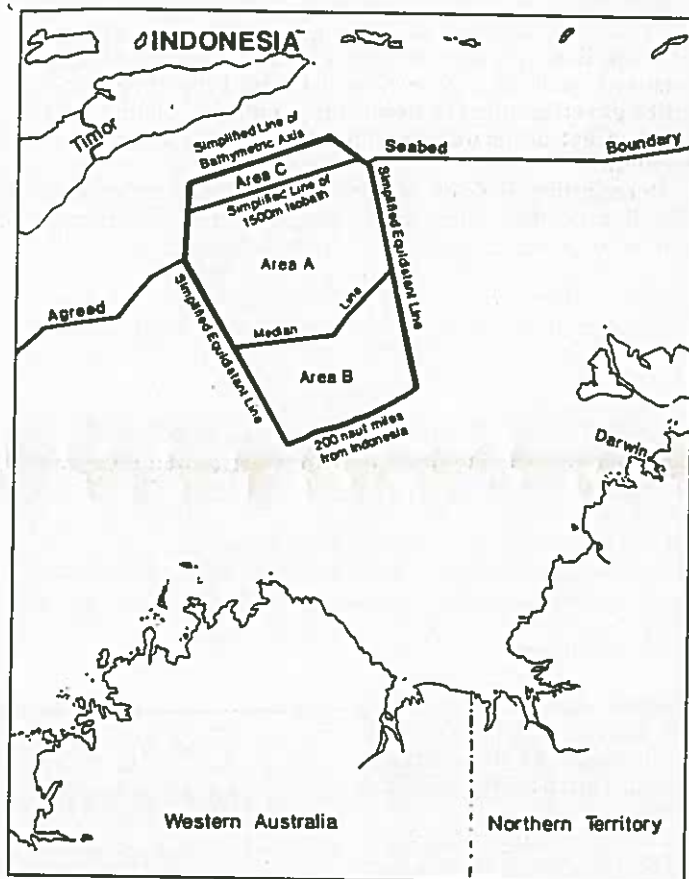
*The agreement may bring
to the boil the issue of who
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potential wealth.*

In other words, Australia would seem to be acting contrary to that resolution. In 1984 I wrote to the then Foreign Minister on this matter and a member of his staff replied that 'our legal advice is that the resolution has no bearing on these discussions either as to their nature or substance'? I also wrote to the Legal Counsel for the UN Secretary General in New York and was advised that 'the UN so far has not taken a position with regard to this matter and I therefore cannot give comments or advice to you'.

Another source of problems will arise from the detailed operations of the 1988 agreement, especially in Area 'A'. Issues to be covered and then implemented in practice (no agreement can ever cover every eventuality) include: the application of a mining code; licensing and administration; collection and sharing of revenue; marketing; the application of public regulatory laws covering matters such as immigration, customs and quarantine; and the application of a system of private law, including general civil and criminal laws.

Finally, there are the wider issues long identified by environmentalists about why Australia (and Indonesia) should be so concerned about developing new oil reserves, rather than learning to live responsibly with what we already have. Given the somewhat freer political climate in Australia, the Indonesians may find their partner more susceptible to environmentalists' pressures than does Indonesia and it may become impatient with the restraints under which its partner has to operate.

In short, the September 1988 agreement may have solved (from Australia's and Indonesia's point of view) one set of problems only to have them replaced by others. It is too soon for a celebration.



Timor gap: zone of cooperation.

DEPT BACKGROUNDERS

WARNINGS

THE news weekly magazine *Tempo* received a stern warning from the Department of Information on 11 October. The warning is linked to the magazine's carrying the letter in its 8 October issue of Oei Tjoe Tat S.H., a former Minister of State and member of Baperki (*Badan Permusyawaratan Kewarganegaraan Indonesia* - Indonesian Citizenship Consultative Board).

By printing a letter by a former member of Baperki, which the Information Department's press release said was affiliated with the PKI, *Tempo* had paid no attention to the agreed policy of the government, press and public through the Press Council on the importance of maintaining a 'clean environment' (a phrase used loosely to mean 'political hygiene' or freedom from leftist contamination).

Oei Tjoe Tat wrote to *Tempo* about the controversy over Sukarno sparked by the publication of the book *Siapa Menabur Angin Akan Menuai Badai* (*Whoever Sows the Wind Shall Reap the Whirlwind*) by Col (ret) Soegiarso Soerjo. Part of his letter read 'The current atmosphere and situation can hardly be considered perfect for many people who know something about the first Indonesian President

News Briefs...

to put forward their opinions without psychological and other obstacles.... It can not be expected that this stability oriented government will adopt a firm attitude and policy based on pure objectivity.'

In another incident, the daily newspaper *Merdeka* received a strong reprimand for an editorial of 30 September in which it was stated, 'The G30S (rather than the government-preferred G30S/PKI) is being commemorated in the country... Reviewing the background, interactions, and consequences of the G30S we find that there were complicated interactions and contradictions such that the mind cannot easily digest them. Historians to this day...are still combing the depths to discover the unknown truth.'

Merdeka had also received a warning in October 1987 for an editorial titled 'The Destruction of Local Ideologies' which among other things said, 'The New Order has bulldozed local ideologies and people's opinions at the grassroots'.

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RIVER POLLUTION

INDONESIA faces serious pollution problems in several vital rivers. Among the worst affected is the Bekasi River in West Java, which is reported to be black, viscous, extremely polluted and very smelly. The problem, which emerged about six years ago, has killed off most marine life in the river and rendered it unfit for human consumption and other domestic uses.

The pollution in the Bekasi River is caused by paper, textile and tanning factories which discharge their waste untreated into the river. The worst offender is the paper factory PT Kertas Bekasi Teguh, established in 1982.

Other rivers badly polluted by industrial waste include the Cikarang and Ciliwung rivers in West Java, the Sepatih, Brantas and Surabaya rivers in East Java, the Riam Kiwa river in South Kalimantan and the Asahan river in North Sumatra.

Suara Pemburuan 19, 22 Sept, 22, 26, 29 Oct

CRUSH FOR JOBS

A crowd of about 50,000 applicants seeking jobs trampled seven people to death when trying to get into a packed stadium in Surabaya. Hundreds of young men and women suddenly started pushing and shoving after lining up since early in the morning for 1200 jobs offered by the East Java Governor's office.

At least 28 people were injured. *Jakarta Post* wrote that the incident made it clear that the main problem in the country was the creation of an adequate number of jobs which could absorb the swelling number of first job seekers. Every office, government or private, experiences that even if just five jobs are announced, hundreds or sometimes even thousands of applicants turn up.

There are constant reports that in some government offices money is demanded before applicants can have a reasonable chance of being accepted, sometimes amounting to millions of rupiahs for jobs requiring university degrees.

The workforce in East Java is estimated to have climbed from 14,848,900 in 1987 to 15,146,000 in 1988, while there were only jobs for about 13 million people.

Indonesia News Service 152

Human Rights Violations in Indonesia

The following is excerpted from an Asia Watch report, released last month, on human rights in Indonesia and East Timor.

* * *

In recent years, as one after another Asian nation has been transformed by democratic change, it seemed only a matter of time before the Indonesian government, too, would begin to loosen the bonds of political control. Political activity there has long been stifled by sweeping restraints, and their justification has grown increasingly remote.

Roiled by political instability, regional conflict and economic devastation under the leadership of its first president, Sukarno, Indonesia has enjoyed more than two decades of political calm and economic development under the New Order government of President Suharto. Nevertheless, Suharto and a small core of close associates, supported by the military, continue to maintain a tight grip on political life.

The New Order government has spun an extensive web of formal restraints on political activity and speech, and a military apparatus that spreads across the vast archipelago—reaching down to the village level—enforces them. Political parties are heavily regulated and their activities severely circumscribed. Public debate is confined within narrow parameters, and the government brooks little dissent.

Coercive Power

The New Order government has fashioned an electoral system that is so heavily weighted in its own favor that polls serve as little more than controlled acts of legitimization. Political candidates are vetted by the government, and are prohibited from criticizing government programs during election campaigns. Army support for the government-backed party, Golkar, has made the coercive power of the state an integral part of the political process.

Sweeping restraints cripple the development of independent institutions necessary to the operation of a genuine democracy. The Indonesian press is governed by an extensive regime of formal controls, and press organs operate under the pervasive threat of closure.

All manner of social organizations are legally required to register with the government and to submit to its "guidance." They are also required to adopt Pancasila,

the state ideology, as their sole principle, and can be disbanded by government order. Student councils have been prohibited from organizing at universities since 1978.

Indonesia's courts are not, in any meaningful sense, independent, and the judicial system has been abused to silence voices of dissent. The New Order government has interpreted criticism of its policies as "subversive," and a pliant judiciary has repeatedly acquiesced in sham prosecutions of

Moslems who identify less with Islamic beliefs than with traditional Javanese mysticism. The vast majority of Indonesia's Moslems long ago relinquished aspirations to create an Islamic state, and independent observers agree that there is no prospect of an Iranian-style revolution in Indonesia.

Nevertheless, government policy continues to reflect a basic mistrust of Islamic political intentions. In recent years, the government has clamped down on political

tionalism" and "religion" among the enemies of the state, and called on the armed forces to play a partisan role in national politics.

The petition was lawful, but this did not prevent the government from retaliating with sweeping sanctions.

Military officials announced that the government would not renew the work permits and business licenses of the signatories of the Petition of 50; that petitioners' lines of credit to state banks would be cut off; and that the signatories would not be permitted to participate in government tenders. Academics who signed the petition were forced to resign or were discharged from their teaching positions.

Throughout the 1980s, formal controls on political life have expanded and a broadening cross-section of Indonesian society has suffered politically motivated human rights violations. Nevertheless, Indonesia's human rights practices have received scant attention from the Reagan administration.

The reasons for the comparative silence are undoubtedly complex. Perhaps the most important factor has been the persuasive power of the "cult of stability." Most Indonesians do not fault the U.S. government for preferring the stability of the present to the turmoil of the past; they do too. But many who supported the firm measures taken by the New Order government when it first came to power now caution that the enduring restraints threaten to reverse the government's most significant accomplishments: political stability and economic growth. They believe that freedom to debate public issues is the only assurance of lasting political stability, and a necessary condition of satisfactory economic development.

Monopoly Concessions

These are not the views of radical extremists who would deliver their country back to a state of disorder. Their concerns are shared by most disinterested observers who have studied Indonesia. Last year The Wall Street Journal concluded that Indonesia's limited freedoms had "correspondingly" limited its development. In "an atmosphere of constricted public criticism," the Journal wrote, a crop of monopoly import concessions had grown up—some of which had gone to companies controlled by Suharto's relatives—"that further strangle an economy long choked with regulations, high tariffs and inefficient, state-run enterprises."

Perhaps the greatest cost of Indonesia's political strangulation has been its effect on the nation's youth. A generation has grown up under conditions that stunt the development of political maturity. Speaking of Indonesia's youth, one foreign diplomat recently observed that the New Order "has produced hundreds of people who have great material benefits but who have been completely robbed of intellectual growth, of the capacity for independent thinking. . . . There is a lack of intellectual liveliness." Last year, then Armed Forces Commander Benny Murdani argued to the same effect: "Obedience and loyalty must not produce passive and waiting people . . . who are like robots, or automatons, that move only when commanded."

In this setting, proponents for democratic change in Indonesia believe that the U.S. government's silence on human rights is misplaced. And they do not understand why the nation they regard as the greatest democracy in the world is unwilling to support their own democratic aspirations. Speaking to an American journalist, a spokesman for the Petition of 50 suggested that statements of U.S. officials in fact undermined those aspirations. "The least you can do," he urged, "is not praise the Indonesian government so loudly and so often."



Suharto

The increasingly undemocratic nature of Suharto's rule has drawn criticism from widely disparate sources, including military leaders and former officials of the government.

government critics and others on charges of subversion.

In this setting, the government has sought to maintain its legitimacy by fashioning what one observer calls a "cult of stability."

Hundreds of thousands of persons suspected of past involvement in the Indonesian Communist Party (Partai Komunis Indonesia, or PKI) are subject to severe restraints on basic rights, imposed without legal process. The restrictions are based on their supposed activities more than 20 years ago, when the PKI was a legal party that commanded the support of a large segment of the nation.

Indonesians often assert that their government is just as much afraid of the "extreme right"—they are referring to Islamic fundamentalists—as the extreme left. While such comparisons inevitably invite dispute, there can be little question that a prevailing suspicion of Islamically motivated political activity has animated a broad range of government actions, some in violation of fundamental human rights.

Although 85% of Indonesia's population counts itself as Moslem, dominant political power has always been held by nominal

Islam with a special ferocity. Throughout the past decade, scores of Moslems have been prosecuted on political charges in trials lacking any semblance of fair process.

The extent to which New Order government has constricted the realm of permissible political speech is most starkly evident in its treatment of the moderate opposition. Throughout the past decade, the increasingly undemocratic nature of Suharto's rule has drawn criticism from widely disparate sources, including military leaders and former civilian officials of the New Order government. Their protests have been systematically repressed.

The most prominent embodiment of the moderate opposition is a group of influential citizens, including former cabinet ministers, two former prime ministers, retired military officials and religious leaders, known collectively as the "Petition of 50 Group." The name dates to 1980, when 50 of the citizens signed a petition to Parliament expressing concern about the views expressed by President Suharto in two recent speeches. The president's remarks struck out at a broad spectrum of perceived political opponents, ranking "na-

Slapstick Adventures of an Expatriate in Tokyo

By CLYDE MCAVOY

Despite a well-deserved reputation for high-tech advances, some low-tech encounters still confound the Japanese. The simple egg, for example, is either presented raw or cooked to a rubbery consistency and served cold. And the mysteries of central heating, let alone the thermostat, have

The Bookshelf

More Max Danger: The Continuing Adventures of an Expat in Tokyo
By Robert Collins

Charles E. Tuttle Co.; 180 pages; \$8.95

yet to be mastered.

Foreign traders assigned to live and do business among these contradictions sometimes cannot, for the life of their products, manage a consistently cheerful existence in Japan. That's clearly not the problem for Max Danger, the thinly disguised alter ego of longtime expatriate Robert Collins, whose first book on Max's laugh-aloud misadventures in dealing with Japan went through four printings before you could mispronounce *shikatanai* (it can't be helped).

The publication of "The Adventures of

Max Danger" last year set off a spree of write-alikes attempts by expatriates and their families in the Tokyo Weekender, the local English-language newspaper that serializes Max. On top of this, a major producer of television sitcoms is negotiating for rights to bring Max to the attention of prime-time viewers in America.

Now, in "More Max Danger: The Continuing Adventures of an Expat in Tokyo," the author doesn't wait for the laughs to die. In exploits he characterizes as "some true, some almost true, and some that should be true," Mr. Collins finds humor in dealings with the Japanese that would have others writing to their congressmen.

Does the trade deficit worry you? Not Max. He points out that in the U.S.-Japan exchange Americans are getting automobiles, television sets, computers, wristwatches and other hard products, while in return the Japanese are getting only pieces of paper. "What if the Americans are really winning the trade battle?" he asks.

More often very than sidesplitting funny, the author this time out sets us up for his discoveries of hidden layers of the Japanese psyche by fine-focusing on Max's everyday business and social encounters. But slapstick still abounds. When Max agrees to the obligatory few drinks after work

with his Japanese staff and ends up drunk, in Yokohama and in a chicken costume, the reader likely will have to brush tears from the eyes to complete the chapter.

Each such chapter stands alone, and this affords Mr. Collins a broad canvas on which to paint the various situations in which an average foreigner living in Japan is likely to find himself. Max's experiences thus range from being a guest at a Japanese wedding to going through summer bachelorhood in Tokyo, from dealing with the police about a burglary to losing his shoes at an exclusive Japanese restaurant.

In an upside-down society, from a Westerner's point of view, opportunities for gaffes abound. Always leave the elevator first if you're a man, he warns, and leave last if you are a woman. Don't forget, Max instructs women, to push the "close" button as you leave for the convenience of any men who may remain on the elevator. Always slurp your soup, never bow from the waist while standing with your back against paper doors, and, unless you want a wet necktie, do not experiment with knobs and dials on toilets in modern Japanese bathrooms.

Mr. McAvooy is an expat in Tokyo who gets off the elevator first.

Indonesia's rulers step up genocidal war in East Timor

BY ERLING SANNES

U.S. Senator Dave Durenberger and a bipartisan group of 39 senators have written to Secretary of State George Schultz expressing their concern over conditions in the Southeast Asian country of East Timor, and particularly about "a renewed Indonesian military offensive against Timorese insurgents."

In their letter the senators noted that past Indonesian military offensives in East Timor "have been characterized by grave human rights violations, including summary executions, forced marches, relocations, torture, political imprisonment — including a catastrophic famine in 1979-80."

The new offensive, launched in November 1986, has been code-named *Operasi Kikis*, or Operation Eradicate, according to *Timor Link* published in London. From 30 to 50 Indonesian battalions involving 27,000 to 45,000 troops are reported to be involved. Twelve of these battalions have been directed to locate and capture Xanana Gusmao, guerrilla leader of the Revolutionary Front for Independent East Timor (Fretilin). Indonesian military chief Beni Murdani has announced there will be no "mercy this time."

Since 1981 there have been a number of Indonesian military offensives, supported by heavy artillery and aerial bombardment. In previous operations the local population has been conscripted and driven ahead of armed Indonesian units towards surrounded Fretilin guerrillas — who are left with no alternative but to shoot at the civilians or surrender.

Many of the founding leaders of Fretilin have either been captured or killed. However, documents that have been smuggled to Portugal describe how five members of the Fretilin leadership evaded the Indonesian dragnet and rebuilt the organization in 1982. Today it is an effective popularly supported liberation movement in control of large parts of the country.

The failure of the Indonesians to destroy Fretilin has had a demoralizing effect on

Indonesian troops. During one offensive it was reported two units of Indonesian troops refused to advance in battle. In another report, Indonesian soldiers are described as being "fed up with the war" and Indonesian officers "are already aware that Indonesia is militarily and politically unable to dominate the situation."

Independence in 1975

When Portugal's Salazar dictatorship fell in 1974, the new government in Lisbon began the process of decolonization in East Timor, which had been a Portuguese colony for more than 400 years. Fretilin assumed control of the country in September 1975, after crushing a coup attempt by the right-wing Timorese Democratic Union. The Independent Democratic Republic of East Timor was proclaimed on Nov. 28, 1975.

The Indonesian and U.S. governments were opposed to an independent East Timor, particularly under a left-wing government. On Dec. 7, 1975, Indonesia, using U.S. supplied military equipment, invaded East Timor and initiated a mass slaughter.

The government was overthrown and East Timor was annexed as Indonesia's 27th state. Twelve years later the East Timorese are still fighting the invaders for their independence.

Warfare, executions, "disappearances," and starvation have decimated the population, which numbered about 650,000 in 1975. Writing in the April 30, 1986, *Boston Globe*, Martinhoda Costa Lopes, Catholic apostolic administrator of East Timore from 1977 to 1983 said, "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."

Sealed off

Since the 1975 invasion, Indonesian forces have virtually sealed the country off from the outside world. Only a few journalists have been allowed to enter, and official visitors are subject to total control. But some news has trickled out, mainly through religious underground channels.

In a four-page document smuggled from East Timor to Portugal, the present apostolic administrator, Carlos Ximenes Belo, accused Indonesian military authorities of carrying out summary executions and mass arrests.

In 1985 Amnesty International published a report, *East Timor: Violations of Human Rights*, listing the names of 550



people who were reported to have been victims of extrajudicial execution, torture, or who had "disappeared." The report concluded that Indonesian forces in the territory have engaged in cruel and brutal conduct constituting serious violations of human rights.

A recently issued update to the original report documents some 40 more cases of "disappearances."

The Indonesian government retaliated against the London-based human rights organization by issuing a blacklist of Amnesty members with instructions to its embassies around the world to refuse visas to Amnesty International members should they apply to enter Indonesia.

Jose Ramos-Horta, a founding member of Fretilin and its representative at the United Nations for the past dozen years has written an account of the shameful silence, complicity, and hypocrisy surrounding East Timor. In a remarkable book, *Funo: the Unfinished Saga of East Timor* (Trenton, N.J., The Red Sea Press, 1987), Ramos-Horta reveals that the UN has behaved like an ostrich when confronted by the human tragedy that has been occurring in East Timor. ("Funo" means liberation war in Tetun, the indigenous language of East Timor.)

In the days following the 1975 invasion both the UN General Assembly and the Security Council formally deplored Indonesia's invasion and called for the immediate withdrawal of troops. The U.S., Canadian, and several West European representatives were among the 43 to abstain. Similar resolutions were adopted by the General Assembly each year until 1982 but with declining support.

Ramos-Horta establishes that one of the major problems in rallying support for East Timor in the UN is Indonesia's importance in the area for Washington, one of its main arms suppliers.

Ramos-Horta quotes Patrick Moynihan, the U.S. ambassador to the UN in 1975, as saying, "the Department of State desired the UN prove entirely ineffective in what-

ever measures it took. The task was given to me and I carried it forward with no inconsiderable success."

The present U.S. ambassador to the UN, Vernon Walters, was bombarded by questions on East Timor by Portuguese journalists during a visit to Portugal early last year. Walters said, "It should be recognized that East Timor is under effective Indonesian control" and that East Timor is an issue which should be solved between Portugal and Indonesia without outside interference."

Pentagon's strategic interests

But, Washington also has strategic interests in East Timor. Pentagon observers believe there is a secret agreement between the U.S. and Indonesian governments to allow U.S. nuclear-powered submarines to pass through certain Indonesian waters without surfacing. These waters, known as the Ombai and Wetar straits run north of Dili, East Timor's capital, and provide deep-water passage from the Indian Ocean to the Pacific Ocean. These straits are regarded, after Gibraltar, as the second most crucial straits in the world to Washington's military interests.

Ramos-Horta documents one nation after another giving as their strategic, economic, or national interests when dealing with East Timor, while Indonesia applies pressure to reject discussion in the UN as interference in its internal affairs.

In an April 25, 1987, document that recently reached Portugal, 55 representatives of the National Resistance of East Timorese Students, made repeated emphasis to the uncivilized character of Indonesia's government. In the report the students say: "The blood of more than 200,000 martyrs and heroes is the guarantee and seed of independence at all costs in East Timor. We say that neither millions of rupiahs, nor the brutal progress made in East Timor will console us into becoming Indonesians, as [Indonesian president] Suharto, Murdani, and others affirm."

Is famine in Africa and other parts of the world caused by overpopulation?...

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Too Many Babies?

The myth of the population explosion



Available at bookstores listed on page 12 or by mail for 95 cents from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Please include 75 cents for postage and handling.

Foes of coup arrested in Burkina

BY SAM MANUEL

At least a dozen and a half prominent individuals have been arrested in the West African country of Burkina Faso. They are all former ministers, diplomats, and military leaders of the government of slain president Thomas Sankara.

Sankara and 12 of his aides were killed during a military coup Oct. 15, 1987, carried out by soldiers loyal to then minister of state and justice, Capt. Blaise Compaoré. The new regime calls itself the Popular Front.

Fourteen were arrested in connection with the Nov. 15, 1987, clandestine distribution of a declaration by a group calling itself the People's Democratic Regroupment—Thomas Sankara. The declaration called the October coup a "severe blow" to the Burkinabè revolution.

The 14 former officials are: Talata Eugene Dondassé, minister of financial resources; Alain Koeffé, minister of planning; Lt. Moussa Traore, head of Sankara's personal office; Maj. Abdoul Salam Kabore, minister of youth and sports; Laye Guire, head of the Fifth Military Region; Moussa Bila Sankara, ambassador to

Libya; Capt. Pierre Ouédraogo, secretary-general of the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution; Ousseini Compaoré, head of the police; Ernest Nongma Ouédraogo, minister of security; Alain Zoungrana, a former diplomat; Lt. Etienne Zongo of the presidential security; and lieutenants Blaise Sanou, Daouda Traore, and Bernard Sanou.

The People's Democratic Regroupment (RDP)-Thomas Sankara declared that it aimed to organize the "popular resistance that has not ceased to grow throughout the country," and the convocation of a conference of "all political forces who want to continue the experiment" started by Sankara.

The RDP-Thomas Sankara also demands that the new regime publish a full list of those killed during and after the October coup, a trial of those responsible for Sankara's murder, and release of those who have been arrested.

No announcement has been made concerning the arrests in the official press in the capital, Ouagadougou. The names of the 14 were made public by the RDP-Thomas Sankara. However, a larger

number of people have been arrested.

According to a Dec. 15, 1987, report from Agence France-Presse, the leaders of the RDP-Thomas Sankara include Vincent Ouédraogo, former Burkinabè ambassador to Cuba. Ouédraogo has been dismissed from his post by the Popular Front regime.

Valère Somé, former minister of higher education and scientific research under Sankara, has also been arrested along with Osmarou Idani, director of the national electric company; Basile Guissou, former minister of foreign affairs; and two others — Gilbert Kambire and Firmin Diallo. They are all leaders and members of the Union of Communist Struggle-Reconstructed (ULCR).

Another ULCR leader, Train Raymond Poda, former minister of justice, is being sought by the Popular Front authorities. The ULCR is one of the left parties that participated in the Sankara-led government.

The government headed by Sankara came to power as the result of a popular democratic revolution in 1983. It won widespread support within the population for carrying out social programs in the interests of peasants and workers.

EAST TIMOR SEEKS TO OPEN ITS DOORS

Remote Indonesian Province
Asking Jakarta to Lift Ban
on Travel and Contact

By BARBARA CROSSETTE

Special to The New York Times

JAKARTA, Indonesia — The Governor of Indonesia's disputed province of East Timor plans to ask the Suharto Administration to lift restrictions on travel and communications that have isolated the territory since Indonesia invaded and annexed it in the 1970's.

Gov. Mario Viegas Carrascalao, speaking in an interview recently in Jakarta, where he was attending the People's Consultative Assembly that re-elected President Suharto to a fifth five-year term, said a guerrilla war against Indonesian forces was now confined to eastern and southeastern sections of the mountainous province.

"There is no reason for East Timor to be closed," Mr. Carrascalao said, adding that the only problem lay in deciding to whom to open it. He fears that the Timorese could be "bankrupted" by invasions of more commercially experienced Indonesians.

"If we open it to nationals, the Timorese people are not competitive enough to face the new situation," he said. By

The Governor hopes for a revival of tourism.

"I am sure that the day that East Timor is opened to the public the main income will be from tourism," he said. "We have very, very beautiful beaches, landscapes. I don't see that we can lose if we compare this to Bali. Due to our different historical background, people will find something different here they will not find in other parts of Indonesia. We are not a polluted area. And we are a very open people."

The 50-year-old Timorese-born civilian Governor, who began his second five-year term in office in September 1987, said his major goals were to end the official corruption that has siphoned off needed revenues, develop the economy more rapidly and safeguard local cultures. He is asking for permission to devote 20 percent of the East Timorese curriculum for the study of local culture and languages — there are more than 30 of them scattered over 10 historical local kingdoms.

More Deaths Believed

Poverty and cultural dislocation have contributed to the ability of the Revolutionary Front for the Independence of East Timor to sustain a low-level insurgency for more than a decade. Most of East Timor's 648,000 people are Melanesian animists or Roman Catholics. Their Indonesian overlords, with the notable exception of the Governor, are often Javanese Moslems.

Governor Carrascalao says "under 100" Indonesian soldiers are still dying each year from ambushes that occur mostly at night, while civilians are victims of raids on villages.

Some diplomats and independent monitors of the situation believe that the number of military deaths may be nearly double that, and that there were a rash of attacks on Government convoys recently. The guerrillas appear to rely on stolen guns and ammunition.

Some steps have been taken to reduce political discontent. Recent visitors say that some members of traditional royal families who sided with Jakarta are serving in local and regional administrative positions.

The number of Timorese political prisoners held by the Indonesian Government, once in the thousands, is now 48 and is still falling, according to the International Committee of the Red Cross, which visits detainees.

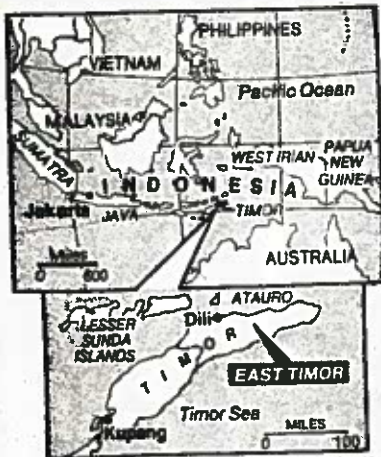
Some Hamlets Reopened

Diplomats say some may fear retribution from one side or another if they return to villages divided by the guerrilla war. Others married local women or thought job prospects were better near the capital.

The Red Cross's Jakarta office, which also surveys food supplies and village life in the province, says that some traditional hamlets are being reopened after years of forced relocations in "protected villages." Food supplies are reported to be adequate.

The Indonesian Government, however, continues to bar visits to East Timor except by diplomats and occasional invited guests, including parties of foreign and Jakarta-based journalists. Human rights groups cannot go there because of the Government's belief that they will not be objective.

East Timor was a poor Portuguese colony until a revolution in Lisbon in 1974 led to a freeing of all former territories. When in 1975 leftists briefly seized the colony, which shares Timor island with the Indonesian province of East Nusa Tenggara, Jakarta, backed by pro-Indonesian Timorese, crushed the revolt with great loss of life.



The New York Times / March 20, 1988

Officials in East Timor hope to revive tourism.

Independent accounts, the province's coffee growers are already victimized by a monopoly coffee-buying arrangement with an Indonesian company dominated by military officers. Coffee is the agrarian province's most lucrative crop; cocoa, vanilla and cloves are also being introduced.