

American Aid To Indonesia Ignores Human Rights Abuses

By RICHARD DUDMAN

Chief Washington Correspondent
of the Post-Dispatch

WASHINGTON

AMID ALL THE TALK about human rights, the country with perhaps the worst record has been getting increasing amounts of economic and military aid from the Carter administration.

Amnesty International, the private organization that won the 1977 Nobel Peace Prize for its monitoring of human rights violations, has charged that Indonesia is holding more political prisoners without trial than any other country in the world.

In its annual report, Amnesty says: "Despite recent government promises, there has been no significant change in the long-standing and massive violation of fundamental rights. More than 55,000 prisoners, perhaps as many as 100,000, all detained without charge or trial since 1965, are now in their thirteenth year of imprisonment."

Amnesty and other groups familiar with Indonesia's past performance were understandably skeptical when the government announced Dec. 20 that it was releasing 10,000 of the prisoners.

The excuse that additional releases would only add to the high unemployment in Indonesia hardly seemed persuasive. As Amnesty pointed out, the unemployment rate is not the fault of the prisoners. The organization said it would not believe that the 10,000 had been released until their names and the dates and places of the action had been published.

Despite this systematic repression, the Ford administration and later the Carter administration proposed large increases in military aid for Indonesia. Last March, the Carter administration asked \$58,000,000 in military aid for Indonesia

in the current fiscal year (1978). This amounted to a 28 per cent increase over 1977, when the aid level was doubled from 1976.

IN A SURVEY of the situation in the Nation of Nov. 26, Arnold S. Kohen observed that Carter's policymakers seemed to have placed Indonesia in a "not-to-be-criticized" category. Kohen attributed this to a bonanza enjoyed by American oil companies and multi-national corporations since the present military regime came to power in 1965. He noted that Indonesia has important other natural resources such as rubber, tin and timber and is strategically located at the crossroads of the Indian and Pacific oceans.

Human rights violations are an old and well-established issue in Indonesia. A new issue, equally significant from the point of view of U.S. policy, is Indonesia's attempted grab of East Timor in 1975.

The grab has not been completely successful, and the Carter administration now is in the position of partly underwriting a major, if little known, war in the southeast Pacific — a war that some Indonesians have come to call their Vietnam.

THE ISLAND of Timor is 300 miles northeast of Australia. When Indonesia invaded in 1975, the east half had been a Portuguese colony for most of the previous 400 years, except for the Japanese occupation during World War II. The west half was Dutch and now is part of Indonesia.

After Portugal's dictatorship was overthrown in 1974, East Timor was promised its independence. Indonesia seemed to accept this outcome but then began intervening, covertly at first and later in an open invasion.

Some observers thought the Indonesian government contrived an imperialistic diversion to distract attention from the scandal and bankruptcy of the state oil corporation, Pertamina. An exaggerated fear that East Timor's population of 850,000 was becoming influenced by Communists could have been another

factor.

East Timor's representative at the United Nations, Jose Ramos Horta, said recently in an interview here that Indonesia now has 35,000 to 45,000 regular troops in East Timor, backed by seven U.S. warplanes supplied in September 1976. He said the weapons are 90 percent American-supplied.

RAMOS-HORTA said East Timor has only 15,000 regular troops, plus up to 30,000 irregulars, armed with mortars, anti-tank rockets, anti-aircraft guns and land mines, but lacking tanks, armored cars, planes and helicopters.

He said 50,000 to 100,000 persons were killed in the past two years of war, most of them in the first few months. Now the fighting has become stalemated, with the outnumbered East Timor forces controlling two thirds of the territory and 90 percent of the population.

In a strange coincidence, Indonesia's invasion of East Timor began Dec. 8, 1975, nine days after the former Portuguese colony announced its independence, and just one day after a visit to Jakarta by then President Gerald R. Ford and Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger, with a promise to continue U.S. "security assistance."

There was widespread speculation that Ford and Kissinger had given a green light. Kissinger said at the time, when asked about the impending invasion, that "the United States understands Indonesia's position."

WHEN THE Indonesian government announced its annexation of East Timor in July 1976, the Ford administration in effect approved of the move, declining to join in a rather general UN condemnation of it.

Last March, the Carter administration position, given by Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Robert B. Oakley, was that there was "no useful purpose in reopening an issue already decided."

Aggression was thus converted into suppression of an insurgency, and continuing U.S. military aid could have a facade of legality.

JAN 12 1978

2

GUERRILLAS IN TIMOR STILL FIGHT INDONESIA

21 Months After Being Brought
Under Jakarta Rule, Ex-Colony of
Portugal Is Not Yet Secure

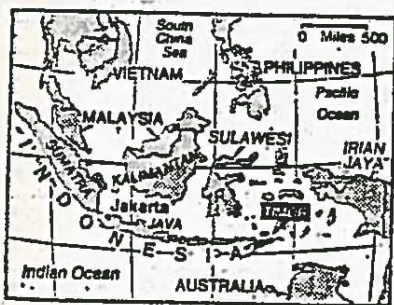
By HENRY KAMM

Special to The New York Times

JAKARTA, Indonesia, April 15—Twenty-eight months after Indonesia's invasion of Portugal's former colony of Timor and 21 months after the region's integration as Indonesia's 27th province, Jakarta's military forces are still fighting an antiguerrilla war throughout the eastern half of the island. Western Timor has always been part of Indonesia.

Because of continuing insecurity, the former colony remains a restricted area. Foreigners, particularly journalists, are barred, and only occasionally foreign dignitaries are taken on carefully guided tours, presumably in an effort to prove to the outside world that Indonesian rule is taking hold.

In an interview this week, Vice President Adam Malik suggested that the



The New York Times/April 19, 1978

situation was not so bad as military restrictiveness suggested and blamed excessive caution for the attitude.

A visit to Timor would still be risky, said Gen. Ali Murtopo, Indonesia's Information Minister. "Not in a sense of military operations on a big scale," he said, "but there are certain places where we don't have enough control."

Antiforeign Feeling Reported

The general explained that trouble to visitors would not come from the left-wing liberation movement called the Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor, generally known as as Fretilin, which conducts the guerrilla struggle, but from antiforeign feelings among Timorese, the origin of which he did not explain. "When they see a foreigner they have a prejudice and would make moves that make trouble," he said.

General Murtopo said about 1,000 Fretilin fighters continued to operate in Timor's mountains, which, except for the narrow coastal plain, would be all of the former colony. The Indonesian Army, he said, is engaged in "tactical operations" against them.

Informed foreign sources said that perhaps as many as 20,000 troops were still operating in Timor, including officers performing functions normally reserved for civilian administrators but often exercised throughout Indonesia by the military. The total combat strength of the Indonesian armed forces is estimated at 180,000.

Qualified foreign observers said that few combat units of the Indonesian forces had not at one time been put into action on the island. The Information Minister said that the air force was not engaged in tactical operations, an assertion that finds limited credence among the observers. No information was available on the level of casualties in the Timor fighting.

'Search-and-Destroy' Missions

A diplomat described the situation as "search-and-destroy" missions in the forbiddingly difficult interior against scattered Fretilin groups that limit their actions to raids on villages in search of food. No supplies of any kind are thought to be reaching the rebels. Their international backing appears to be limited to highly vocal groups of Australian left-wing students who have made of eastern Timor an issue similar to Vietnam, with Indonesia playing the American role.

The diminishing of supplies of the Fretilin guerrillas appears to have caused them to lose much of their hold over the significant part of the population of about 600,000 whom they have forced to live in regions under their control. Foreign sources give credence to Indonesian reports of a heavy flow of refugees to regions firmly in Government hands.

Because of the island's extreme poverty, which made it a drain on the Portuguese treasury, Indonesia's usual food shortfall has been increased and the Government has to cope with the logistical problem of feeding the population it has gained. There is no indication that the coffee plantations that were the colony's principal source of income are being put back into production.

With the Fretilin movement seemingly destined to die by attrition, there are indications that Jakarta is shifting its emphasis to re-establishing normal administrative structures. The Government is thought to have established control over the major populated places, notably the capital, Dili.

Most People Live in Mountains

Dili's population before the fighting never exceeded 15,000. Most of Timor's population lives in mountain villages that are not reachable by any form of modern transportation.

Unrest and clashes are also reported from West Irian, the Indonesian part of New Guinea. Diplomatic sources see a greater long-term problem there for Indonesia in establishing domination over a largely tribal population that has never been centrally governed.

Trouble is centered on the Baliem Valley or the central highlands, where an American company, Freeport Minerals, is exploiting huge copper reserves. On a number of occasions last year a pipeline carrying its produce to port was cut and storage tanks were blown up.

General Murtopo said troubles in West Irian, another area from which the foreign press is barred, were caused by traditional tribal warfare. Jakarta has deployed considerable military and police forces in the area. Little is known about events in this remote region and the extent of Indonesia's success in dominating it, but the small Free Papua movement asserts that its guerrilla fighters are in the field. They aspire to independence.

April 26, 1978

29,000 Indonesians, Held as Reds, Are Being Freed After Testing

By HENRY KAMM

Special to The New York Times

JAKARTA, Indonesia — "We already knew that they all are Communists," said the major general who administered psychological tests to 29,000 political prisoners in 1976. "The tests were only to determine the degree of their Communist inclination?"

General Sumitro, who studied psychology at the universities of Leyden in the Netherlands and Freiburg in West Germany, declined to disclose the results of the tests. He referred the questioner to Admiral Sudomo, chief of internal security, who two days earlier had referred the questioner to General Sumitro.

Admiral Sudomo said he had ordered the tests to be given before the gradual release of the prisoners, the last of tens of thousands who were rounded up after a 1965 coup attempt. Ten thousand of them were freed last December, the admiral said, with the 19,000 others to be released by the end of next year.

He declared that all prisoners would be freed, regardless of their test scores, but that an inadequate score would subject the prisoner to greater supervision after his release. General Sumitro suggested, however, that performance on the test helped determine the order in which prisoners might be freed.

Asked whether those who fell into the "diehard" Communist category would have sufficiently reformed by the time of their release so that they would not constitute a risk, the general said:

"I cannot predict what they will be in 1979. I feel that there is some security risk, because Communism is a latent risk for our nation. I advise that control over them must be strict. The community must help control them. The community must control their attitude."

General Sumitro said community leaders would be told on a prisoner's return to his home that he was "a diehard Communist" and would have to be controlled "so he will not commit errors."

He declined to be specific on how the control would operate, but added: "We

Indonesians have very deep feelings. It is easy to forgive others for their wrong deeds. From this basic feeling we hope the prisoners will also have good feelings."

Explaining the testing procedure that he devised, General Sumitro said five tests had been administered by a specially trained group of 200 assistants.

First came a basic intelligence test. Two others were tests not especially devised for Indonesia, including an American test, the Edwards Personal Preference Schedule. Its application to Indonesia's political prisoners, the general said, was to test the firmness of their convictions and motivation and their capacity to influence others.

"It shows us if they are good fighters," General Sumitro said. "If their score is high, that's bad for us."

The other test was on political attitudes designed by Hans Jurgen Eysenck, the British psychologist. The degree of intensity with which Communist sentiments were held was scored on a scale ranging from "tough-minded" to "tenderness."

The two final tests were "thematic differentiation" tests especially devised for Indonesian conditions. General Sumitro declined to disclose what questions were asked.

He said the test scores were fed into a computer and supplemented with interrogation files and observations recorded about prisoners during their detention. This determined a classification into one of four classes, ranging from "diehard" through "not so hard," an even lower degree and, finally, category "zero."

General Sumitro said testing of a control group had shown that the results were 80 percent accurate. Admiral Sudomo disclosed that he had ordered the psychological testing after he had inquired from the Central Intelligence Agency whether it had "some equipment" to detect Communists and was told it had none.

NEW YORK TIMES, SUNDAY MAY 7, 1978

Mondale Lauds Indonesia For Freeing Prisoners

JAKARTA, Indonesia, May 6 (AP) — Vice President Mondale met with President Suharto today and said recent Indonesian actions on human rights had received a "very favorable reaction" in the United States.

After the two-hour private meeting, Mr. Mondale told reporters his discussion with Mr. Suharto had focused on Indonesia's release of 10,000 political prisoners last December and its pledge to free 9,000 more by 1979. Most were seized after an abortive pro-Communist coup in 1965, but by official count about 200 were imprisoned this year.

None of the 19,000 detainees has been given a trial.

The subject of human rights had been

considered the toughest issue likely to come up during Mr. Mondale's 40-hour visit here, the third stop on his Southeast Asian tour. The Vice President said he and Mr. Suharto "reviewed the importance the American people attach to this issue."

Amnesty International, the London-based human rights group, has criticized the Indonesian Government for long-term mass detentions and has charged that it abuses its prisoners.

JAKARTA, Indonesia, May 6 (Reuters)

The United States and Indonesia today signed a \$30 million loan agreement to help finance a rural electrification program.

Freed Indonesian Prisoner Goes Home To Find His Wife Remarried, No Job

By BARRY NEWMAN

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

JAKARTA—For 12 years, uncharged and untried, Tatang was a political prisoner of the Indonesian government. In December, he was given two shirts, two pairs of trousers, a pair of shoes, a small travel bag, and his freedom.

His release and that of 10,000 others, registered positively on Washington's human-rights meter. During his recent visit here, Vice President Walter Mondale told Indonesian President Suharto of America's "favorable reaction."

But for Mr. Tatang, the homecoming was less than triumphant. The Indonesian government didn't give him any money. He doesn't have a job, and his chances of finding one are slim. His years in confinement left him with "bad lungs" and a painful case of rheumatism.

When he arrived at his tiny home in one of Jakarta's cramped villages, he discovered that his wife had long ago married someone else.

Today he sits with his friend Sukatma in an airless room at the Council of Churches, seeking a few cents for bus fare. Mr. Tatang is 46 years old. Mr. Sukatma is 60. Both are small and dark-skinned. They wear velvet Indonesian caps and dingy white shirts with ball-point pens in their breast pockets, befitting their former status as oil-company clerks.

Mr. Tatang and Mr. Sukatma have spent nine of the past 12 years on the prison island of Buru. There, Mr. Sukatma also developed "bad lungs." He clutches a handkerchief and turns away every few minutes to cough convulsively. When they were healthy, the two were able to work the fields on Buru and grow rice. If they were healthy again and could keep their freedom, neither would object at this point to going back.

"It is better," Mr. Sukatma says, "than being destitute in Jakarta."

Freedom and Tribulation

The release of political prisoners is the cornerstone of America's much-talked-of human rights campaign, but for Mr. Tatang and Mr. Sukatma, freedom has meant only another round of tribulations. Like many newly released prisoners here, they have been greeted not by rejoicing but by suspicion resulting from government rhetoric that for years sought to justify their detention. Old and ill, many have returned to find their homes broken and their pensions wiped out. In a poor society where welfare is unheard of, they now are among the poorest.

If Mr. Tatang and Mr. Sukatma harbor a trace of bitterness they keep it prudently concealed. They are simply men glad to be free.

"It came as a surprise," Mr. Sukatma says. "I thought I would die on Buru."

"It was just my luck," says Mr. Tatang of his long incarceration. "I'm not angry. I accept it."

Both were swept up with hundreds of thousands of others in the months after the unsuccessful Communist coup of late 1965. (In a sense they are indeed fortunate; at least as many were murdered.) More than a decade later, the government still held at least 30,000. But, possibly in response to

outside prodding, it released a first batch in December and promises to release most of the remaining 20,000 by the end of next year.

Like all the others, Mr. Tatang and Mr. Sukatma were thought to have Communist connections. "We were members of a labor union," Mr. Tatang says. "It was supposed to be a front. I didn't know. To me it was just a union." They were fired, and shortly afterward they were arrested. "They told me I was 'implicated' in the coup," Mr. Tatang says. "They never told me what they thought I did."

For more than three years, they were kept in a Jakarta jail, and in 1969 they were shipped to Buru. That was the last either man saw of his family. Then for eight years, the two former clerks became subsistence farmers. "There was enough food," says Mr. Tatang, who is still a devout Moslem, "but it was spiritually hurtful. My thoughts were always in Java."

In December, Mr. Tatang and Mr. Sukatma returned. They were among the first 1,500 prisoners taken by ship to Java and then by train to their old home, Jakarta. "We were escorted," Mr. Tatang says, "not guarded. They took me to my village and turned me over to the village chief. He took me to my front door, and I was free."

"I cried and hugged everybody," he goes on. "Three hours later, my wife came. She told me she had married again and said, 'Forgive me.' I did."

Mr. Tatang and his wife had four children; now she has five more. With the four that are his, Mr. Tatang has moved next door, into the one-room shack occupied by his aged mother. Being so near his former wife is painful, but his 19-year-old son has a job, so at least there is rice.

A Better Homecoming

Mr. Sukatma's homecoming was better. He found his 50-year-old wife and 16-year-old daughter still waiting. His daughter is going to sewing school, and his wife has been supporting her by taking in laundry. In a good month, she can make the equivalent of \$25. With another mouth to feed, of course, things are more difficult. "We eat simply," Mr. Sukatma says.

"It's hard for someone who was never a prisoner to find work," he says, "let alone someone like me." A relative tried to get him a position at a bus company, but Mr. Sukatma was rejected. He tried for a job in the Jakarta city government and was rejected again. He is too old, Mr. Sukatma says, and "people are afraid."

Mr. Tatang hasn't gathered the will to search for work. "I'm sick," he says, "My arms hurt." In 1976, a Jakarta flood washed away his primary-school certificate and all evidence of his former employment. "I have no letters, no degrees, no documents," he says. His aim is to open a cigaret stand—"the kind you wheel at the side of the road"—but that requires \$250 in capital, and nobody is offering to supply it.

"There are men in my village who were never arrested," Tatang says. "They have homes. They have pots and pans. Some of them have pensions. My life could have been stable. I could have had a pension, too."

California's Family Affair

Pat Brown's Indonesian Oil Business Could Dash Son Jerry Brown's Presidential Hopes

Barbara Gluck Treaster / Sygma

BY TIM BRICK



President Suharto gives Indonesian oil industry solid roots in the U.S.



The Brown family has solid roots in the Indonesian oil industry. Left to right: Mrs. Brown, Jerry, Kathy Brown Rice and Pat; in the background, Sally Quinn.

Los Angeles. In 1974 he was the California gubernatorial candidate who had marched in civil rights and anti-war demonstrations. In 1978 he is the presidential candidate who is bucking the nuclear establishment and getting set to challenge Jimmy Carter for the Presidency. But in Sacramento a special federal grand jury has been impaneled that could mar Jerry Brown's clean image and damage his future aspirations.

The impaneling of the grand jury, announced April 4 by U.S. Attorney Herman Sillas, marks the culmination of a year-long federal investigation into political corruption in the California capital. The probe apparently has uncovered graft and vote-buying, but the most explosive issues involve the Sacramento political dealings of the current governor's father, ex-governor Pat Brown, particularly his relationship with the

country which is now California's major energy supplier.

Since Pat Brown surrendered the governor's mansion to Ronald Reagan in 1967, he has served as an unofficial ambassador to Indonesia, the string of islands Richard Nixon once called "the greatest prize in the Southeast Asia area." The elder Brown and his family have invested heavily—financially and politically—in the police regime that overthrew the left-leaning Sukarno government in the mid-60s. Brown was then personally asked by the new president, General Suharto, to tour the country to train the new governmental officials.

During Jerry Brown's three years as governor, the Indonesia/California connection has been strengthened. Despite his professed preference for "appropriate technologies," the younger Brown has pushed two interim solutions to California's energy problems: low-sulphur oil and liquified natural gas, both of which are to come in massive quantities from the Southeast Asian archipelago.

Pat Brown opened doors for Pertamina,

Indonesia's state oil company, during its U.S. expansion in the late 60s. Brown's prestigious law firm, Ball, Hunt, Hart, Brown & Baerwitz, served for three years as legal counsel and was registered as a foreign agent for Pertamina. The former governor, who calls himself "the busiest lawyer in the United States of America," handled most of the work. "I introduced them to everyone back there in Washington," Brown says.

In return, the Indonesians set up the Brown family in the oil business and became the family's partners. Brown, his wife, daughters and grandchildren own 31 percent of the U.S. International Investment Corporation (USIIC), a holding corporation, which in turn owns 100 percent of Perta Oil Marketing Corporation, USA, and 50 percent of Perta Oil, Hong Kong. Pertamina owns the other half of the Hong Kong operation which functions as a tax dodge—a convenient ploy since Brown's Indonesia holdings are worth \$100 million.

Pat Brown controls USIIC through a voting trust, although the stock is split

Tim Brick, a free-lance writer, is co-coordinator of CAUSE (Campaign Against Utility Service Exploitation), a Los Angeles-based consumer group.

NATIONAL NEWS

among his entire family except for the current governor. "Jerry has absolutely no regard for money," the elder Brown says of the man who has made austerity a political commodity. "I offered Perta stock to Jerry, but he turned it down."

Until recently the senior statesman was surprisingly open about his relationship with the Indonesian government, which he claims is not really repressive. "They've got a lot of political prisoners there. There's no question about that," he admitted last spring. The government acknowledges "slightly more than 30,000"; Amnesty International, which calls the repression "without parallel today," places the figure closer to 100,000.

"But I've never heard of any killings there like in Chile or Argentina," Brown said earnestly. Yet it's difficult to believe that Brown is ignorant of major events in recent Indonesian history, from the establishment of the current military government (which was accompanied by the slaughter of 500,000 people) to the late-1975 invasion of East Timor.

Pat Brown's connection and business associate was a flashy Indonesian officer named Ibnu Sutowo. It was Colonel Sutowo, according to *Fortune* magazine, who played a key role in bankrolling the military maneuvers that forced Sukarno from office. Sutowo then went on to consolidate the government oil operation, build its international sales and use the profits to finance everything from fertilizer plants to island resorts.

Sutowo has now been arrested and replaced by U.S.-trained Indonesian technocrats known as the "Berkeley Mafia." Their strategy to bail out Pertamina and the Indonesian government, which is dependent on petroleum revenues, relies on the sale of massive quantities of low-sulphur oil and highly volatile, high-priced liquefied natural gas to Japan and California. It sounds very much like the energy policy of another Berkeley graduate, Jerry Brown.

In California, Indonesian fuel sales have climbed from 250,000 to 500,000 barrels per day since the inauguration of the current Brown administration and now make up more than half the state's oil imports. Every major electric utility in the state relies heavily on low-sulphur, low-polluting Indonesian fuel oil.

Last year's legislative battle over liquefied natural gas (LNG) focused attention on the Indonesian connection. Jerry Brown exploded in a Capitol conference when LNG opponents accused him of shielding his family's Indonesian interests and allowing them to color state energy policy. "You're saying that I'm corrupt,"

the 39-year-old governor roared, "and I'm telling you that you are full of shit." Brown gathered up his papers and stormed toward the door, but halted there, recovered his composure and made it clear that he would not discuss the topic. composure and made it clear that he would not discuss the topic.

The LNG drive in Sacramento could not be stopped once Jerry Brown assumed leadership. The most powerful political and economic forces in the state were behind the campaign and applied their pressure through the California Council on Environmental and Economic Balance, whose founder and leader, Pat Brown, has made it the most powerful energy and land use lobby in Sacramento.

The final legislation, worked out by his son and the utility companies, clears the way for the construction of an LNG port on the rugged coast at Point Conception, 40 miles above Santa Barbara. "The environmental restrictions we won during the Reagan administration have now been gutted by the Brown administration," a local attorney complained.

Pat Brown denies any arm-twisting and swears that he has no financial interest in the frozen gas. Perta, Brown's oil marketing company, was not directly involved in the LNG sale, but the elder Brown does admit that energy officials from Indonesia's Pertamina and the Southern California Gas Company did "use space on the 10th floor"—the USIIC/Perta suite above his private office—for contract negotiations.

When Brown visited Indonesia in 1976, Minister of the Mines Mohammed Sadli, who is one of the officials charged with cleaning up after Sutowo, did ask the former governor to "expedite" the LNG matter—but for no fee, Brown emphasizes.

The California utility consortium sponsoring the project did pay a fee. Brown's law office has received more than \$42,000 for advice on LNG legislation.

The Indonesian connection is sure to be an issue in this year's California gubernatorial campaign. The *Sacramento Union*, a Republican newspaper, has charged that because Indonesian oil is low polluting, the Brown administration's air standards are tougher than necessary and designed to enrich the Brown family.

Governor Jerry Brown can probably survive such charges arguing that tough air standards are, in fact, needed. But Jerry Brown is running for President, perhaps in 1980, and in the rough and tumble of post-Watergate politicking, his convenient energy policies will be closely scrutinized. It will be hard to defend his

JERRY'S GAME PLAN

Jerry Brown's Presidential aspirations are no secret; in fact, they have become the subject of articles in virtually every national feature magazine this year. Just how much of this is hype and how much reality?

"If the next Presidential election campaign were starting today, I'm convinced Jerry Brown would be challenging Jimmy Carter..." writes Ed Salzman in *New West* magazine. Brown's electoral strategy depends on Carter's relative strength inside the Democratic Party by 1979.

It's now 1978 and the incumbent's strength is highly questionable. With the exception of the Panama Canal Treaties, every major presidential package has been mired in Congress (where his own party dominates), and he's been hit with two major scandals (the Lance and Marston affairs). Carter's popularity is rapidly deteriorating; there are already rumors that he won't run again.

So Brown's path seems pretty clear. California political pundits claim that Brown will begin to put together an organization for the 1980 primaries relying as much as possible on grass roots movements, particularly "anti-nuke" and environmental groups. (It is worth remembering that Brown snagged Carter in each primary where they met in 1976.)

Observers feel that Brown is still impressed by the spirit, though not the results, of the McCarthy campaign and feels his nuclear policies are to Carter's energy program what McCarthy's anti-war stance was to Johnson's militarism. But unlike McCarthy, Brown has proven himself a slick politician, able to wheel and deal when he has to. The problem is the wheeling and dealing (as the above article shows) could produce the one false step that could spoil Jerry Brown's game plan. —Alfredo Lopez

father's close relationship to the Indonesian generals, their continued repression and brutality, Perta's \$21,000 contribution to his 1974 campaign and recent California energy policy.

Jerry Brown's protestations of disinterest may not be enough for a presidential candidate, but that is the defense the former seminarian has chosen. "On this Indonesian thing," he told his LNG critics, "I don't know anything about it. I try not to." □

The Sun Keeps Trying To Set on a Colonial Past

By BERNARD D. NOSSITER

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y. — When the New Hebrides, the South Pacific island chain, became independent as Vanuatu on Wednesday, barely a score of archipelagoes, desert wastes and other remote places on this earth remained as conceivable candidates for statehood, still under the United Nations' watchful eye over dependent territories.

An earlier and less bureaucratically euphemistic age would have called them colonies. They range from miniscule Pitcairn island, where 60 descendants of the Bounty mutineers sell stamps and fish, to South-West Africa, where 850,000, mostly black residents, are the center of a political struggle to escape the white-dominated rule of South Africa.

The independence hopes of eastern Timor have been crushed by an Indonesian army which has virtually destroyed a guerrilla movement and replaced colonial Portugal. On Africa's northwest coast, Morocco is fighting for Western Sahara against an independence force backed by two rich, radical neighbors, Algeria and Libya. British Bermuda, the United States' Virgin Islands and Micronesia, however, are in no hurry to cut their ties to London or Washington. They want more subsidies rather than to go naked into a possibly dangerous world. Others — Gibraltar and the Falkland Islands — are caught between middling powers. Spain challenges Britain's hold over Gibraltar; Buenos Aires wants London to yield the Falklands lying off Argentina's southern shores.

Most United Nations members are former colonies and take a keen interest, particularly in territories still ruled by Western nations. The world body's Special Committee on the Situation with Regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples meets once a year to examine progress toward the colonials' goal of determining their own fate.

The United States reports to the committee on Guam, the Virgin Islands, American Samoa and the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (where Micronesia is due next year to become a state freely associated with the United States). On the whole, says the American diplomat who does the reporting, the forced accounting is a good thing, even though the Special Committee, heavily dominated by third worlders, complains that the United States has not done enough to persuade its islanders of the joys of self-rule.

The most critical case is South-West Africa; its independence is a war cry for Africans. The United Nations has been conducting a tortuous negotiation with South Africa through five Western mediators, including Washington. Meantime, guerrillas of the Southwest Africa People's Organization raid South-West Africa and, in turn, endure South African air strikes usually at base camps in Angola. Agreement has been all but reached on a demilitarized zone strad-

dling the South-West African border that would clear the way for United Nations-supervised elections. Pretoria, however, fearing that the United Nations would tilt the electoral balance to the guerrillas, has delayed signing the agreement. Africans worry that South Africa will cede power to a local council dominated by whites. (Last week, South Africa announced formation of a new territorial defense force to be under the local council's control.) However, the belief persists that South-West Africa — as Namibia — will inevitably follow Zimbabwe as a new African nation.

The outlook has been far less certain in the Western Sahara since its phosphates, nomads and desert were abandoned by Spain in 1975. The Polisario Front is thought to field 10,000 to 15,000 fighters, equipped by Algerian and Libyan oil money. They are opposed by 60,000 Moroccans aided by \$232 million in United States helicopters, jet fighters and other matériel. Morocco contends that 75,000 nomads can't make a state and that the fighters are largely Mauritanian mercenaries. Rabat says it has contained the Polisario and seeks talks with Algiers to end the struggle.

The United Nations doesn't like to choose between third world "colonialists" but tilts towards Algeria, whose resolutions win more votes each year. Apart from Washington, Morocco has good African friends — Egypt, Senegal and Zaire. But the Polisario, and Algeria, are winning the political struggle. The front is close to recognition by the Organization of African Unity. If that happens, the United Nations majority will dutifully follow and the Polisario (an acronym for Peoples Liberation of Saguia el Hamra and Rio de Oro) will attain the status of government-in-exile enjoyed by the Palestine Liberation Organization.

The tragedy in East Timor after Portugal left, also in 1975, went all but unnoticed. Indonesia's invading army slaughtered, raped and pillaged on a scale large enough to bring mass famine and disease to the 700,000 inhabitants. A local guerrilla force, Fretilin, fights on but its strength is estimated at a pitiful 600. The United States believes that Indonesia's annexation is an accomplished fact. The Special Committee walks gingerly around this one and only Mozambique speaks loudly in support of Fretilin (the Front for Timor's Revolution and National Liberation).

Argentina wants the 200 Falkland Islands near the eastern tip of South America, but Britain won't give them up without the consent of 1,857 inhabitants. The possibility of offshore oil is the real concern. In Guam, the United States naval base accounts for nearly one-fifth of the 110,000 inhabitants. The United Nations committee regularly reproaches Washington for failing to inform them of their "inalienable right to self-determination and independence."

However, experts on colonialism believe the only plausible candidates for eventual nationhood are Namibia, Western Sahara, East Timor, the Turks and Caicos islands in the Caribbean and Bermuda.

GUARDIAN (LONDON) Aug. 4, 1978

Rights in Indonesia

Although Tom Wicker (IHT, July 26) is probably right in stating that the "improved climate of human rights" under the Carter administration helped lead to the December, 1977, release of 10,000 of Indonesia's long-term political prisoners (and, most recently, the release of 4,000 political detainees on the day of the Wicker column appeared), one must look at these releases and other aspects of the Carter Indonesia policy with caution.

Many of the prisoners released last December after more than 12 years imprisonment without trial were broken in health and advanced in years. These ex-prisoners now face severe discrimination in their quest for employment, barred as they are from working for the government or undefined "vital enterprises".

Furthermore, although the Indonesian government claims that they will have released all political prisoners by the end of 1979, this only covers the 20,000 officially acknowledged prisoners. Most knowledgeable observers, including Amnesty International, believe the actual figure to be at least twice the amount. Yet, the Carter administration accepts the official Indonesian government figures.

On other aspects of Carter's Indonesia policy, it should be noted that Vice President Mondale's recent visit to Jakarta (as reported in The New York Times on May 14) saw an agreement being made which would speed up the release for U.S. commitment to sell Jakarta a squadron of A-4 ground-attack bombers useful only for purposes

of counter-guerrilla warfare. The Carter administration, by agreeing to this sale and through other policy actions, is choosing to ignore continuing fighting and chilling reports of Indonesian atrocities in East Timor, and indeed is facilitating further human rights violations in that unfortunate country.

ARNOLD KOHEN.

London.

Published with The New York Times and The Washington Post

Page 6 Saturday-Sunday, August 5-6, 1978

Herald Tribune

INTERNATIONAL

US forges new links with South-east Asian states

From Jonathan Steele
in Washington

Mr Vance welcomed the Foreign Ministers of the five members of the Association of South-east Asian Nations to Washington yesterday in an effort to boost the fledgling organisation and signal an end to American lack of interest in South-east Asia. President Carter will address the gathering at the White House today.

This lavish US attention follows the previous American contact with ASEAN in Manila last September, when an Under-Secretary of State for Economic Affairs headed the US delegation. In briefing reporters, American officials have been emphasising the alleged contrast between tension among the Communist countries of South-east Asia and the cooperation between Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, and Thailand, ASEAN's member countries. They also maintain that ASEAN is "definitely not a successor to the South-east Asia Treaty Organisation," which ended in June last year.

ASEAN was formed in 1967 but was largely ignored by the rest of the world in the early years. Recently it has started "dialogue" with Japan, Aus-

tralia, Canada, New Zealand, and the Common Market.

While the US for obvious domestic reasons prefers to stress the economic aspects of ASEAN, the organisation's members are less coy. The Foreign Minister of the Philippines, Dr Carlos Romulo, told the opening session here yesterday that ASEAN was the "sole bulwark of the free enterprise system" in all of South-east Asia and its political cohesion had grown in its 11 years of existence. Throughout that time its outstanding problems had remained the same, he said—"the first is to curb domestic insurgency."

The critics of ASEAN claim that the organisation is developing ever larger security ties. Most countries are linked militarily to the United States.

The five Intelligence Chiefs meet regularly to discuss internal security and they are working on a series of extradition treaties to prevent political refugees from taking shelter in one another's countries.

The Carter Administration has made some moves to try to improve human rights in the ASEAN countries. Palt Derian, head of the State Department's Office of Human Rights, toured the area last year and held talks with government leaders. But earlier this spring

as a sign of renewed American interest after what officials call the "traumatic aversion" which Americans felt after the defeat in Vietnam, Vice-President Mondale made a goodwill tour.

Liberal and religious groups which monitor human rights say that Mr Mondale's visit softened the Carter Administration's stance. The Vice-President announced the sale to Indonesia of a squadron of reconditioned A-4 counter insurgency bombers. The 16 planes are being offered at a cut price and may fall below the \$7 millions figure, above which congressional approval is required.

Last December Indonesia, which has one of the highest totals of political prisoners in the world, announced that 10,000 would be released. Amnesty International estimates that perhaps as many as 100,000 were in detention at that time.

Besides the extra prestige which they hope to gain from this week's two-day meeting in Washington, the ASEAN Foreign and Finance Ministers have some specific economic demands. They want special trade preferences, firm American commitments on investment, and more aid for refugees from Indo-China.

incurion by Indonesian troops and the bombings close to Papua New Guinea's territory have unsettled Port Moresby and, for the general populace, the long-held latent paranoia about their giant neighbour has come firmly to the fore.

► *John Shaw writes from Canberra:*

There is anxiety here lest Australia become the meat in the sandwich. Australia has a positive and understandable interest in good relations between its nearest and most important neighbours, and every time Jakarta reaches for its guns — as in 1961, 1963 and 1975 over Irian, Malaysia and Timor — Canberra becomes very nervous.

Australia has a defence agreement with Papua New Guinea requiring the governments to consult on matters affecting common security interests, and has military experts attached to Port Moresby's forces. Thus the Australian priority now is to persuade the Indonesians to scale down their activities. The potential analogy is the 1963 *Konfrontasi*, when Australian troops faced Indonesians across Malaysia's Kalimantan border.

Then, facing aggression against a treaty partner, Australia had no choice but to support Malaysia. This time, with Indonesia facing a genuine guerilla problem, the choice for Australia could be much harder. Canberra's emerging policy is to prevent that choice having to be made.

INDONESIA

Developing a feeling of unity

East Timor welcomes its President as thoughts turn to the future

By A Correspondent

Dili: Anyone who did not know the capital of East Timor would never guess that in 1975 a brutal war claimed at least 10,000 lives and made more than 100,000 people homeless. There are few scars of war like burned, bombed or damaged buildings, or gaping craters on roads or at airports. Instead this correspondent, who previously visited the remote area in 1974 when it was still under Portuguese colonial rule, in mid-July found more roads with modern traffic lights, more shops and more buildings, and people seeming to mingle naturally with Indonesians.

Indonesian President Suharto came to East Timor to commemorate the second anniversary of its integration with Indonesia, which followed the bloody civil war between a pro-Indonesian faction and the leftist Fretelin movement which sought independence. During the war thousands of Timorese were forced at gunpoint to leave their homes and work for the Fretelin army in the mountains. The Indonesian military intervened in December 1975 and integration follow-

ed on July 17, 1976. Suharto offered an amnesty in August 1977, and according to Deputy Governor Francisco Lopez da Cruz, more than 60,000 Fretelin fighters came down from the mountains to surrender.

The "smiling general," as Suharto is known, also came to heal the wounds of war forever with a call for "unity and development," and the East Timorese responded with enthusiasm. The biggest approbation for the Suhartos was in the district of Maliana, about 160 kilometres southwest of Dili. More than 10,000 East Timorese gave the Suhartos a tumultuous greeting. They flocked to the mountainside farming area in colourful traditional dress, beating their drums and spears as a sign of welcome to their leader. Obviously overwhelmed by the massive reception, the normally reserved Suharto discarded his usual dry style of reading his address, and instead spoke to the people spontaneously through an interpreter in *Tatum* — the native language of East Timor.

The thrust of his speech was on unity and development. Suharto told the Timorese that Maliana would become the centre of rice and other food crops for East Timor in five years. The President said the plan, which includes four

Jakarta's most sensitive spots

Insurgency has been a running sore in Indonesia's side for many years

By A Correspondent

SINCE Indonesia regained Irian Jaya from the Dutch, it has had endless problems with the separatist grouping which calls itself the Free Papua Movement. The fact that this rebel movement has survived for more than 15 years must be a constant annoying reminder to Indonesian authorities of the weakness of security in their outlying areas (including East Timor). The Government still designates Irian Jaya a "sensitive spot," meaning people need special permits to visit the area.

When Papua New Guinea's Prime Minister Michael Somare visited Indonesia in January 1977, a communique issued at the end of his six-day trip said: "The two territories of each of the two countries should not be used for activities of certain elements opposing each other's countries." The

Indonesians, who assured Somare they had no expansionist dreams, were more than happy to hear that Port Moresby would not allow any anti-Indonesian rebels from Irian Jaya to use Papua New Guinea as a sanctuary. Like good neighbours, they both agreed to step up trade and economic cooperation. The Indonesians promised to extend technical assistance in several fields, including oil exploration.

Papua New Guinea has an estimated population of 2.7 million; Irian Jaya, a vast province rich in oil, uranium, tin, nickel, copper and timber, has only 830,000. Many Irian Jayans who have crossed the border have admitted they want to stay and work in Papua New Guinea because it is economically stable.

On the recent border incidents, Indonesian Ambassador Major-General Bursiri Surjowinoto told the *REVIEW* in Jakarta: "The border is not a line you can see — it was dark." He said Indonesian troops were under strict orders not to go within half a mile of the border, so as to avoid any misunderstandings. "We have apologised to Papua New Guinea's Government. We have good relations with them. In fact

they have conducted a clean-up operation of anti-Indonesian rebel elements in the northern border area. We appreciate this. It is a sincere effort to maintain good neighbourly relations with us." He said the bombing raids were to flush out rebels from the jungle where about 200 Free Papua Movement rebels are still operating with bows and arrows and spears and some with guns.

Indonesia is also facing problems in the northernmost tip of Sumatra, a land mass rich with oil and timber. The trouble is coming from a small element of an outlawed Muslim movement called Aceh Merdeka, begun in 1976 by a fanatical Aceh Muslim by the name of Hasan Tiro. The outlaws have so far killed two foreigners, an American and an Australian working in an contracting company in Aceh. The authorities have arrested 39 of the group's members, and the military commander of the province has issued orders for the arrest of nine of its leaders, including Hasan Tiro, dead or alive. Aceh was once the base of a fanatical Muslim movement that wanted to create the Islamic state of Indonesia and which was wiped out by the army in 1953.



The Suhartos arrive in Dili: Healing the wounds; Dili today: Modernising.



or more dams, will turn 17,000 hectares of dry land into lush farmland at an estimated cost of Rps 1.3 billion (US\$3.12 million). The crowds applauded, shouting: "Long live President Suharto." They carried hundreds of red and white Indonesian flags, posters and banners hailing integration with Indonesia. Suharto concluded his speech with the traditional loud cry of Indonesian revolutionary fighters, "Merdeka" (freedom), four times and each time the response from the crowd was a thunderous echo.

HOWEVER, not all East Timorese were happy with the visit. About 3,000 armed members of the Fretelin movement still roam the jungles of East Timor. Independent sources in Dili and Maliana said Fretelin conducts sporadic attacks on small towns far away from Dili to attract the world's attention. However, the sources agreed that since July 1976 East Timor has virtually been controlled by the Indonesian army.

A high-ranking Indonesian official said Suharto's trip to Maliana showed

the weakness of Fretelin's claim that it is still a force to be reckoned with. On the other hand, others wondered why it has taken Suharto two years to visit East Timor. As if in answer to this query, another Indonesian official said: "One lone man with a gun can create trouble for many. We see it in Northern Ireland and other parts of the world, and it can happen here of course."

Although on constant alert, the military has shifted its emphasis from security to development, rectifying what they call centuries of neglect by the Portuguese. They contend that with no support from the population or outside forces, Fretelin members will either die natural deaths from starvation or surrender to the Indonesian military.

The Indonesians have started development by building new airports and opening the airport at Dili to civilian traffic, meaning no more restrictions on business in Timor. Also, East Timor is now linked to other parts of Indonesia with the introduction of Indonesian television via its domestic satellite.

Coming into FOCUS



Singapore '78

Singapore's Administrative Director of Culture, Lee Yip Loy, summing up future prospects for young people in Singapore, warns: "There's no point in just being rich." Quite right, so he is attacking Singaporean lethargy towards culture in the schools.

The Ministry encourages schoolchildren to write simple poems which, taking advantage of the national enjoyment of music, are set to music written by Singaporeans. And one of the most flourishing cultural forms in Singapore today is art: this FOCUS, appearing in the REVIEW of August 11, reproduces in colour some of the most pleasing from the collection of the 100 best drawings by children.

The greening and Leisure Dome lifestyle of the Lion City is examined, its aspirations to be the communications centre of Southeast Asia are assessed; there is a lengthy overview of the republic's economy, articles on offshore oil activity and the popular burgeoning Central Provident Fund, shipping and the Government's strides forward to make English a more effective *lingua franca*.

Other in-depth surveys will include:

Malaysia '78 _____ September 1
Merchant Banking '78 _____ September 22
China '78 _____ October 6

For further information on the
FAR EASTERN ECONOMIC REVIEW
and advertising details, please contact the
General Sales Manager, GPO Box 47,
Tong Chong Street, Hongkong. Tel. 5-820161

U.S. Human-Rights Laws: Trade Barrier?

By Rowland Evans and Robert Novak

WASHINGTON — The conflict over President Carter's human-rights program broke into an embarrassing boil on Aug. 3 when one of this nation's best Asian friends, Philippine Foreign Minister Carlos Romulo, boycotted Assistant Secretary of State Pat Derian's brief appearance at a meeting here of U.S. Asian allies.

As Mr. Carter's human-rights spearpoint, Derian wields a sharp weapon which drew blood on her visit to Manila last year. "She was rude to President Marcos," one ranking diplomat said. "Romulo was boycotting her here as an individual, not as a U.S. government official."

Allies of Derian insist she was only doing her duty in Manila. They insist, too, that the wave of new laws requiring strict human-rights accountability before U.S. arms, police equipment or ordinary commercial goods can be approved for export are making her job more complex than it used to be.

Under Attack

True or not, Derian and her rapidly expanding Office of Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs are under attack — still largely subterranean — from the administration's political and economic specialists, from trade experts in the Commerce Department and from U.S. manufacturers. Thus far, the effect on the dauntless Derian, a veteran of the Mississippi civil rights wars, is not noticeable.

On July 17 she hired liberal arms-specialist Stephen Cohen from the State Department's policy-planning staff to supervise all security-assistance exports (arms and police equipment) from the human-rights standpoint. Cohen

was the 10th top professional named to Derian's staff. At least two more are wanted.

Human-rights activists at the State Department argue that new laws linking arms sales to human rights made the hiring of Cohen mandatory. But the Pentagon, jealous about its arms-control powers, is angered. Cohen's new role is also resented by some officials in the office of Lucy Benson, under-secretary of state for security assistance.

Special Clout

More to the point is Derian's zeal as a political activist. High-ranking diplomats report that to push human-rights goals of Jimmy Carter, Derian is blunt. She informed the leaders of at least one foreign country with a poor human-rights record that, as the only assistant secretary of state sworn in by Mr. Carter himself, she possesses special clout. Insiders say she is the only assistant secretary who rates a regular private weekly session with Secretary of State Cyrus Vance.

Some sins attributed to her may be exaggerated. For example, con-

sider the case of the \$411 worth of steel "groin protectors" and helmets for riot police in Indonesia (which has human-rights problems but sells the U.S. 9 percent of its imported oil). In fact, that deal was approved Aug. 4 after a delay of a mere two weeks.

But Mark Schneider, Derian's top aide and Sen. Edward Kennedy's former legislative assistant, apparently had disapproved the deal. His initials appear on a confidential memorandum on which a lower-ranking official had written "no go" for the "groin" gear. Indeed, the higher-up decision to overrule Schneider may have resulted from press inquiries, curious over the fate of Indonesia's request.

Delays

These "protectors" are significant (except for those who wear them) only as a symbol of how encompassing the U.S. human-rights role has become. The larger problem is agonizing delays in getting Derian's approval for big, lucrative, commercial deals between U.S. manufacturers and foreign buyers in countries found guilty of human wrongs.

More than \$600 million worth of U.S. exports to Argentina (including \$270 million for Allis-Chalmers generators) have been held up more than four months. An additional half-billion dollars in military sales is in the same "hold" category, with no assurance that export licenses will be granted.

"Argentina is looking to Europe and Japan, even to the Soviet Union, for other sources for this stuff," a State Department economic expert said. "Once these trade patterns change they tend to stay changed."

Although both the military and commercial portions of these potential sales to Argentina are restricted by new human-rights laws which limit Derian's discretion, she and her mushrooming empire at State seem to want more, not less, restraints. That is clear from the initials "M.S." on the original decision to reject the "groin protectors."

Such zeal has led Derian into deep trouble with the Philippines in the past. It could lead her into trouble with the White House in the near future.

Funds Spent by World Banks

Aid to Unpopular Nations Survives Vote in House

By Mary Russell

WASHINGTON, Aug. 4 (WP) — The White House and congressional supporters of foreign aid won an unexpected victory yesterday when the House narrowly defeated attempts to prohibit international banks from using U.S. contributions to assist such unpopular countries as Uganda, Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam.

President Carter had complained that such restrictions tied his hands in setting foreign policy and that the banks are not allowed to accept money from member nations with strings attached.

Last year such amendments passed the House by better than 2-to-1 majorities and tied up the foreign-aid appropriations bill in House-Senate conference until Mr. Carter agreed to instruct U.S. representatives on the banks' boards to vote against loans to such countries.

This year the situation was expected to be worse, both because it is an election year and because the tax revolt triggered by California's Proposition 13 has made the always unpopular foreign-aid bill less popular than ever.

But on a 203-198 vote, the House defeated an amendment by Rep. C.W. Young, R-Fla., that would have prohibited indirect aid to Laos, Cambodia, Uganda and Vietnam.

It also defeated, by a 360-41 vote, an amendment by Rep. Tom Harkin, D-Iowa, that would have prohibited indirect aid to Nicaragua, the Philippines, Indonesia, Korea, Uruguay, Chile and Argentina, countries where Rep. Harkin said rightist dictators had violated human rights. By voice vote the House also defeated attempts to prohibit indirect aid to Mozambique and Angola.

international
Herald Tribune

Aug. 13, 1978



Timor: Isolated

'60,000 died in Timor invasion'

A CLAIM that between 60,000 and 100,000 people have been killed in the former Portuguese colony of Timor since Indonesia invaded it in December 1975, is made in a book about to be published in Britain.

East Timor, Nationalism and Colonialism is by an Australian journalist Jill Joliffe, and is based on refugee accounts and her own experiences on the island which has a population of 600,000 and is 400 miles north of Darwin. The massacre of civilians and the widespread use of terror by Indonesian troops is well-documented.

Indonesia's take-over of Timor has remained one of those brutal acts of territorial expansion about which the world is largely ignorant, partly because of the isolation of the island at the eastern end of the Indonesian archipelago and also because Indonesia has maintained utmost secrecy about the occupation.

The invasion followed an internecine struggle on Timor involving nationalist forces called Fretilin and pro-Indonesian forces. It was largely brought about by Indonesian fears that Fretilin, which had gained supremacy, was pro-communist and that an independent Timor might encourage rebellion by secessionist forces within the rest of the archipelago.

Jon Swain

E. Timor Trying to Cope With 125,000 Refugees

By Norman Peagam

DILI, East Timor, Sept. 11 (NYT) — Twenty minutes south of here by helicopter, some of the estimated 125,000 persons displaced from their homes by the war in East Timor are being resettled in the village of Remexico.

Once a stronghold of the Fretilin guerrilla movement, which opposes Indonesia's 1975 annexation of East Timor, Remexico was captured by government forces long ago, apparently after heavy fighting. The few concrete buildings in the village are scarred by bullet holes and shell damage; one lies completely in ruins.

About 4,000 original inhabitants and refugees live there, in huts made of thatch and bamboo, eking out a bare existence by growing coffee in the surrounding hills. A few days ago, they were joined by another 200 refugees from the mountains where Fretilin guerrillas still roam.

Dressed in rags, barefoot, the bellies of their naked children swollen with malnutrition, the new arrivals lined up in the hot sun to receive tee shirts donated by the Indonesian Red Cross.

Few Drugs

In the village clinic, stocked with a few basic drugs and medicines, an emaciated woman connected to a blood drip lay motionless on the concrete floor. Her eyes were open and fixed in a vacant stare. An official said she was a cholera victim.

Foreign ambassadors taken to the village by the Indonesian authorities, including U.S. Ambassador Edward Masters, came away shocked by the condition of the refugees that they immediately contacted the governor of East Timor, Arnaldo dos Reis Araujo, to investigate possible foreign humanitarian assistance.

The United Nations, which would normally offer aid in such circumstances, cannot take action in East Timor because a majority of the UN General Assembly does not recognize the Indonesian takeover, since it was carried out by force.

According to local authorities, 125,000 persons have come down from the mountains — where virtually no government presence exists — in the last three years of guerrilla warfare, while perhaps as many as 50,000 others have died, many of them from disease or starvation. They estimate that 20,000 may remain in the hills, most of them probably in the same condition as the new arrivals at Remexico, if not worse.

Humanitarian Problem

As one of the ambassadors said, "It is clear that the main problem in East Timor now is not security. There is a humanitarian problem of major proportions and, in the longer term, the problem of promoting economic development in a place where not even the most basic infrastructure exists."

Outside the capital, there are vir-

tually no roads. There is no industry of any significance and minimal agriculture. Even before the war began in December, 1975, when annual basic food requirements included 60,000 tons of rice and 40,000 tons of maize, the island only grew about 25,000 tons of rice and 15,000 tons of maize.

Production and sale of the territory's only export, coffee, was controlled by the Portuguese colonial authorities until late 1975 and now appears to be in the hands of the Indonesian military.

In the dry season, the earth is cracked and parched and fresh water is precious; in the rainy season, the land is flooded. Not even the most rudimentary irrigation facilities seem to exist.

The illiteracy rate among the population of 650,000 is said to be more than 90 percent. Under Portuguese rule, there was only one high school in the country.

Little Activity

Here in the capital, a small quiet town of 30,000 persons on the edge of the sea, hemmed in by high mountains, the streets are almost empty. Apart from the few stores owned by those Chinese who could not afford to leave, and the wharf where Indonesian ships unload goods from Singapore, there is little activity.

Diplomats brought here on an official visit by Indonesian Foreign Minister Mochtar Kusumaatmadja believe that East Timor, one of the poorest and least developed areas in the world, is likely to be a significant drain on Indonesian resources for many years.

This year, the central government in Jakarta has allocated about \$25 million for East Timor — far more than the Portuguese spent in a single year — and officials say there are plans to build a small dam and many schools, in which all teaching will be in the Indonesian language.



Refugees displaced by the war in East Timor arrive in the village of Remexico, south of Dili, where they will be resettled. This is one of the first pictures of the re-settlement operation.

"Age" 13/9/78

Haven of bamboo and thatch

DILI, September 12. — Twenty minutes south of here by helicopter some of the estimated 125,000 people displaced by the war in East Timor are being resettled in the village of Remexico.

Once a stronghold of the Fretilin guerilla movement which opposes Indonesia's 1975 annexation of East Timor, Remexico was captured by Government forces long ago.

About 4000 residents and refugees live in huts made of bamboo and thatch, eking out a bare existence by growing coffee in the surrounding hills.

A few days ago they were joined by 200 refugees from the mountains where Fretilin guerillas still roam.

In rags and barefoot, the bellies of their naked children swollen with malnutrition, the arrivals lined up in the hot sun to receive tee-shirts donated by the Indonesian Red Cross.

In the village clinic, stocked with a few basic drugs and medicines, an emaciated woman lying on a concrete floor received a blood transfusion. Her eyes were open but fixed in a vacant stare. An official said she had cholera.

Foreign envoys taken to the village by the Indonesian authorities came away so shocked by the condition of the refugees

tacted the Governor of East Timor, Arnaldo Dos Reis Araujo, to explore the possibilities of providing foreign humanitarian assistance.

The United Nations, which would normally offer aid in such circumstances, cannot act in East Timor because a majority of the General Assembly does not recognise the Indonesian takeover.

According to local authorities 125,000 people have come down from the mountains in three years of guerilla warfare.

Perhaps as many as 50,000 others have died, many of them from disease or starvation.

In CANBERRA a Liberal MP said the Indonesian Government could have been guilty of the "greatest cover-up of atrocities since World War II".

Tasmanian backbencher Mr. Michael Hodgmann told Parliament last night that up to 40,000 Timorese had died from starvation caused by the use earlier this year

bullshit floated by the Indonesians

of detainees

East Timor: Beyond the Fighting

By NORMAN PEAGAM

DILI, Indonesia—Almost three years after Indonesia invaded and took control of East Timor, remnants of the Fretilin guerrilla movement continue to roam the mountains of this remote island, apparently unharassed by the government. But they no longer seem to pose a serious threat to the consolidation of Indonesia's rule.

A party of foreign ambassadors and journalists brought here recently by Indonesian Foreign Minister Mochtar Kusumaatmadja on a carefully organized official visit have seen no sign of military activity and are inclined to believe Indonesian claims that Fretilin is now a spent military force.

The visit was clearly timed to coincide with the convening of the United Nations General Assembly next month, at which a resolution condemning the Indonesian takeover will almost certainly be taken up. Fretilin has already circulated a draft resolution, but it must be formally proposed by a member state. In previous years, Communist governments and former Portuguese colonies in Africa have been able to muster a majority to condemn the takeover because it was accomplished by force.

One of the poorest and least developed areas in the world, with a population of only 650,000, East Timor lies at the far end of the Indonesian archipelago, about 1,200 miles from Jakarta and only 350 miles from the northwest coast of Australia.

The island rises up from the sea in endless waves of barren brown mountains cut by valleys parched by the sun. With its sparse vegetation, sandy river beds, and lack of cultivated fields or human settlements, the territory seems an arid and desolate wasteland.

It was governed by the Portuguese for over four hundred years until late 1975. But then, following political upheavals in Portugal, civil war broke out between rival Timorese factions, including the Front for the Liberation of East Timor (Fretilin), which called for immediate independence and social and economic reforms.

With the encouragement of radical Portuguese army officers, the Fretilin leadership soon veered toward Marxism. Fearing for its own security, Indonesia invaded and annexed the territory in December 1975, reportedly killing thousands of civilians in the process.

About 3,000 armed and trained Fretilin members fled into the rugged mountains of the interior, where they have since attempted to wage a guerrilla war.

During the past three years, as many as 50,000 people may have died in the hostilities or from disease or starvation, a senior Timorese official here said. Many others are homeless and destitute.

But according to local officials, defectors, and former prisoners of Fretilin, the movement has been irrevocably weakened by internal conflict, lack of supplies, and loss of popular support. They say it is in no position to regain the offensive.

Leopoldo Joaquin, a 39-year old former central committee member of Fretilin, who left the mountains and surrendered seven months ago, says Fretilin "practically does not exist any more." Of the estimated one thousand remaining members, he says no more than 700 are armed with antiquated rifles. The rest carry primitive spears. Ammunition is scarce and no new supplies are being received. The guerrillas roam about the mountains in groups of fewer than 20, sleeping in touch with one another by firelight, and avoiding contact with govern-

ment forces. He believes most of them would like to surrender but are afraid to do so.

All of those interviewed said that military clashes were rare and they hardly ever saw government forces, apart from military aircraft dropping leaflets. The government seems content to concentrate its presence in the lowlands near the coast in the expectation that, starved of supplies and reinforcements, the guerrillas can't hold out indefinitely.

The Indonesian commander of military operations in East Timor, Brigadier Gen. Dading Kalbuadi, says there are "only a few pockets" of resistance left, all in the southern half of the island. But during the present visit, diplomats and reporters were only able to travel along the northern seaboard.



Gen. Dading commands 4000 regular troops, of whom about 800 are Timorese — a significant decline from the 15,000 stationed here in previous years — and 8000 members of a village-based militia. As if to demonstrate its confidence, the government plans to transfer the general in the near future and replace him with a colonel.

"We are gradually closing in on them," he said, "and they will be effectively finished as a fighting force, by the end of the year."

Meanwhile, however, the authorities are facing a major problem in caring for the victims of the war, a crisis for which they seem poorly equipped.

Twenty minutes south of here by helicopter, some of the people displaced from their homes by the conflict are being resettled in the village of Remexio.

ONCE a Fretilin stronghold, Remexio was captured by government forces long ago, apparently after heavy fighting. The few concrete buildings in the village are scarred by bullet holes and shell damage. One lies completely in ruins.

Some 4,000 original inhabitants and refugees live there, in huts made of thatch and bamboo, eking out a bare existence by growing coffee in the surrounding hills.

The day before our party arrived, they were joined by another 200 refugees from the mountains.

Dressed in torn rags, barefoot, the bellies of their naked children swollen with malnutrition, the new arrivals lines up in the hot sun to receive tee shirts donated by the Indonesian Red Cross.

In the village clinic, stocked with few basic medicines, a woman lay motionless on the concrete floor, seemingly on the point of death. Her open eyes were fixed in a vacant stare. An official said she was a cholera victim.

The visiting ambassadors came away so shocked by the condition of the refugees that they immediately contacted the governor of

East Timor, Arnaldo Dos Reis Araujo, to explore the possibilities for providing humanitarian assistance.

According to the local authorities, 125,000 people have come down from the mountains — where virtually no government presence exists — in the past three years, while as many as 20,000 others may still remain in the hills, most of them probably in the same condition as the new arrivals at Remexio, if not worse.

INDONESIAN Foreign Minister Mochtar Kusumaatmadja seemed sanguine about the situation. Asked whether his government would accept foreign aid earmarked for East Timor, he said, "Yes, if it is given with no strings attached. If non-governmental agency is preferred, it should be the Indonesian Red Cross. But we don't want to create an artificial situation in which people become dependent on aid. Some other parts of Indonesia are also badly off. I think the problems here are manageable."

Nevertheless, after 400 years of colonial neglect, the new authorities are having to start from scratch.

Outside the dusty capital, there are virtually no roads. There is no industry of any significance and minimal agriculture. Even before the war began, when annual food requirements included 60,000 tons of rice and 40,000 tons of maize, the island only grew about 25,000 tons of rice and 15,000 tons of maize.

Production and sale of the territory's only export, coffee — about 6,000 tons a year used to be sold abroad before the war — was controlled by the Portuguese authorities until late 1975. It now appears to be in the hands of the Indonesian military.

In the dry season, the earth is cracked and parched and fresh water is precious. In the rainy season, the land is flooded. Not even the most rudimentary irrigation facilities seem to exist.

The illiteracy rate among the population is said to be over 90%. Under Portuguese rule, there was only one high school in the whole country.

Even in the capital, a small quiet town of about 30,000 people on the edge of the sea, hemmed in by high mountains, the streets are almost deserted. Apart from the few stores owned by those Chinese who couldn't afford to leave, and the wharf where Indonesian ships unload goods from Singapore, there is little sign of any activity.

As a result, diplomatic observers believe East Timor is likely to be a significant drain on Indonesian resources, as Jakarta "digests" its newly acquired territory. This year, the Indonesian government has allocated about \$25 million for East Timor — far more than the Portuguese ever spent in a single year. Officials say there are plans to build a small dam and many new schools, where all teaching will be in the Indonesian language. They have already set up television sets in public places as a further step toward cultural assimilation.

But much remains to be done, and some of it urgently. As one of the visiting ambassadors said, "It is clear that the main problem in East Timor now isn't security. There is a humanitarian problem of major proportions and, in the longer term, the problem of promoting economic development in place where not even the most basic infrastructure exists."

Norman Peagam is a freelance journalist who has written extensively on Asia.

from Afghanistan. One Western diplomat here added: "If Kabul tries to stir up the Pashtun and Baluch cauldron, it could find itself facing demands from the Pathan areas of eastern Afghanistan for the right to opt for independence along with their tribal relations in Pash-tunistan."

While Soviet diplomats are certainly aware of these dangers, it is by no means clear that the Afghan leadership is. The Taraki government's basic "lines of revolutionary duty" published in May include a commitment to seek a "solution of the national issue of Pashtun and Baluch people on the basis of their own will and on the basis of historical background," though it adds that the question should be settled "through understanding and peaceful political talks" between Afghanistan and Pakistan.

The day after Zia's departure, Afghanistan's official media quoted Taraki as saying he hoped the Pashtun and Baluch questions could be settled through negotiation.

After initial hesitation, Pakistan has chosen to handle the problem in a low key and not allow it to infect other aspects of the relationship between the two neighbours. Pakistan has consistently refused to hold a self-determination plebiscite for its Baluch and Pathan minorities in response to Afghan demands, and the martial law government has expressed concern at a recent revival of regionalism by several prominent politicians in Baluchistan.

After bouts of serious tension with Afghanistan over the Pashtunistan issue in the early 1960s and again in the early 1970s, Pakistani officials claim the Bhutto government reached an understanding with the Daud regime that the matter should be resolved within Pakistan under the framework of the 1973 constitution, which granted a certain quantum of autonomy to the provinces. Daud, himself a Pathan as is Taraki, was a prime mover behind Afghanistan's support for Pashtun and Baluch rights in Pakistan.

Some reports (REVIEW, May 5) even suggest that Bhutto and Daud had prepared a draft agreement in August 1976 under which leaders of the banned National Awami Party from the North West Frontier Province and Baluchistan were to be released by Pakistan, in exchange for simultaneous recognition by Afghanistan of the Durand Line as the permanent border between the two countries.

In the wake of the Taraki-Zia talks, Pakistani diplomats in Kabul claim to detect "a certain degree of reassurance creeping back into the situation." But they concede it is still too early to tell whether the left-wing rulers of Afghanistan are genuinely looking for a settlement formula, or simply keeping their options open for the future. □

INDONESIA

Timor's arithmetic of despair

Jakarta faces a huge task in putting an end to the suffering in its newest province

By David Jenkins

Remexio (East Timor): The three large Puma helicopters had only just settled on the outskirts of this tiny hill town when a Foreign Ministry official noticed something amiss in the welcoming arrangements. Along the dirt track leading to the town was a small red-and-white Indonesian flag flying upside down on a bamboo pole. "It is well-meaning," said the official, righting the flag with an embarrassed smile. "It just needs a small adjustment."

For the people of East Timor, learning how to fly the Indonesian flag correctly is one of the more minor adjustments of daily life. As many as 60,000 Timorese — one-tenth of the population of this former Portuguese colony — have died in the past three years, according to Deputy Governor Francisco Lopez da Cruz. Another 125,000 have passed through or are still living in squalid refugee camps, and officials estimate there could be as many as 100,000 more people still hiding in the mountains.

For the Timorese it is the arithmetic of despair, a social and political upheaval of such magnitude that its significance is still only dimly understood. Today, two years after its official incorporation into Indonesia, East Timor is in a state of deep collective trauma.

In Remexio, as in most other towns, the people are stunned, sullen and dispirited. Emaciated as a result of deprivation and hardship, they are struggling to make sense of the nightmarish interlude in which as much as half the population was uprooted.

Recently, as a party of foreign diplomats called in on Remexio during a three-day inspection tour of East Timor, they found bewildered residents drawn up in two rows, jiggling Indonesian flags and mouthing the words *merdeka* (freedom) to the prompting of local cheerleaders. It was, as Indonesian officials themselves admitted, something less than an effusive welcome.

"These people are totally stunned by what has happened," a senior East Timorese official told the REVIEW. "Thousands died in this *kabupaten* (district). The people are shocked both by the severity of the killing and by the recent political changes. Four-fifths of them wouldn't know what they are doing. I could give them a Portuguese flag and they would wave it."

For Remexio, a hamlet of 4,000 people in the parched brown mountains

behind Dili, the trauma began in mid-1975 when rival Timorese factions turned on one another in what was to become an especially horrifying civil war. Remexio was, almost to a man, on the side of Fretelin, the leftist political grouping which was seeking immediate independence for the Portuguese territory. In the months that followed, the town was to pay heavily for its political affiliations.

ATTACKED by members of the conservative UDT faction in late 1975, it was to suffer even more severely at the end of the year and in early 1976 as Indonesian "volunteers" let loose their full fury on Fretelin units dug in around the town. The scars of the recent fighting are apparent everywhere. Each of the half-dozen brick and mortar buildings in the town is pockmarked from automatic weapons-fire, as is the stately Catholic church which sits on a hill overlooking the main square.

The townspeople are undernourished and desperately in need of medical attention. Many have recently come down from the hills, where they lived on tapioca and leaves — and berries so poi-

FAR EASTERN ECONOMIC review INDEX

The *Far Eastern Economic Review* is now publishing a quarterly index which details by category and date everything that has appeared in the *Review*. The index is available on a quarterly basis. Subscribe now and each quarterly index will be sent to you automatically as soon as it becomes available. A vital research tool, the *Review* index will save hours of needless searching for information. ORDER YOURS TODAY! Only HK\$50.00 (US\$10.00) for 4 quarterly issues. Just complete the coupon below and send with your payment.

The Circulation Department,
Far Eastern Economic Review,
GPO Box 47, Hongkong.

Please send my order for the Far Eastern
Economic Review QUARTERLY INDEX.
I enclose HK\$50.00 (or its equivalent in
local currency) in payment.

Name _____
Address _____

0929

sonous they have to be cooked six times before they can be eaten. Tuberculosis is a major problem, and with so many people sleeping on the damp ground at night there is danger of widespread pneumonia. The children in Remexio are so undernourished that one ambassador said they reminded him of victims of an African famine.

Remexio is a singularly depressing place. It is not, however, by any means unique. Timorese officials say there are 14 similar "transit camps" in the province, many of them worse than Remexio. "This is nothing," said one official. "At Suai things are much worse and there are many more people. There is an urgent need for humanitarian aid."

Government officials make no bones about the fact that they face major difficulties as they set about the twin tasks of caring for the refugees and establishing the most rudimentary infrastructure in the province. "I have never seen poverty like this in any other part of Indonesia," Foreign Minister Mochtar Kusumaatmadja told the REVIEW. "It is a legacy of 400 years of Portuguese neglect."

Now, as the foreign minister's visit showed, the main problem facing the government in East Timor is not so much Fretelin, a divided and disputatious grouping which poses little military threat, but the care and welfare of the refugees. Unfortunately, the administration is severely handicapped in its capacity to deal with this task. There is a serious shortage of food, medicine and clothing, compounded by the problem of "bureaucratic leakages," the Indonesian euphemism for corruption.

In Remexio, government officials say, 56 people have died of "severe illness" despite emergency food aid which includes 0.4 kilo of rice per person per day for an initial three days and 0.6



The new beat: Javanese policeman with Maliana women.

kilo of maize per person per day for three months.

In Bobonaro district in the far west of the province, resources are spread even more thinly. According to the *bupati* (district head) of Bobonaro, Joao da Silva Tavares, a total of 36,000 refugees have come out of the hills in the past 12 months, some of them naked after two or three years away from civilisation.

MOST of these people were "very ill" when they arrived and a number of them died, Tavares said. To date 65% of these people have been resettled. Nevertheless, there are still many thousands in the towns of Liquica, Ermera, Maliana, Ainaro, Same and Suai, and additional refugees were still appearing, the *bupati* said, "because they cannot stand it any more in the hills." Fretelin guerillas order them to grow rice, he said, and then confiscate their crops.

Although acknowledging a shortage of relief supplies, Tavares strongly denied reports that refugees were dying of starvation in Bobonaro. Church relief workers have claimed that as many as

500 refugees a month have died of starvation in this district.

Indonesia is saddled with this enormous humanitarian and development problem as a result of its takeover of East Timor in December 1975. Alarmed by the prospect that leftist forces would come to power in the restive edge of the archipelago, the Jakarta government sent as many as 30,000 troops into East Timor as "volunteers." In a series of brief but bloody engagements these forces gained control of the major population centres, and laid the groundwork for a rushed political convention which petitioned Jakarta for "integration" with Indonesia.

Today, there are about 12,000 troops in the province, though sources differ on the composition of the force. Brigadier-General Dading Kalbuadi, the military commander of East Timor, says he has 8,000 local *Hansip* (civil defence) men under his command, plus 4,000 regulars. The regular force includes two Timorese battalions of 400-500 men each, he says, and a total non-Timorese strength of about 3,000. Other sources in Timor say a more accurate break-



The INDOSUEZ Network

The French bank with experience in Asia since 1875

One more reason why Indosuez can best serve your banking needs

BANQUE DE L'INDOCHINE ET DE SUEZ
"INDOSUEZ"



Incorporated in France with limited liability

BANGKOK
Bank Tower Building, 152 Wireless Road
Tel: 2522111-9

HONG KONG
Alexandra House, 11 Des Voeux R.O. C.
Tel: 5 265111 (12 lines)

KUALA LUMPUR
13 Jalan Raja Chulan
Tel: 201072 (10 lines)

MANILA
Comptroller Plaza, Ground Floor
Ramon de Alcala
Makati, Metro Manila
Tel: 809341-3

OSAKA
Kokutoku House Building
29-1 Honmachi 4 Chome
Nagato-ku
Tel: 0616 251 4431

SEOUL
91, Seongsu-dong 30
Chung-gu
Tel: 241700

SINGAPORE
Swire House
31, Raffles Way
Tel: 2202111

TOKYO
Fourth Bank Building
Marunouchi, Chiyoda-ku
Chome 1-2
Tel: 03131 582 0211-0

JAKARTA
Bersama 111, 111 Office
B.D. 77 Building
S. D. 101, 101
Tel: 40572 42510

Head office in Paris, branches, subsidiaries and affiliated banks throughout the world.



Maliane raja and wives, youth in traditional dress: Serious shortages.

down would be 6,000 *Hansip* and 6,000 regulars.

The Indonesian units, backed by helicopters and OV10 anti-insurgency aircraft, are deployed against a Fretelin force of anything from 200 to 300 men. According to government sources, Fretelin operates in small bands of five to 20 men. Fretelin troops are armed with G-3 rifles and Mausers as well as traditional weapons.

By and large, a stand-off seems to have developed on the military front. Fretelin units seldom attack Indonesian positions (though they occasionally ambush Indonesian patrols), and Indonesian officers are apparently making little effort to go in and finish their opponents off. As in Irian Jaya eight years ago, Jakarta seems ready to wait, enticing the guerillas down when possible with promises of amnesty and material advancement.

"We have no intention of wiping them out," said a senior Indonesian Foreign Ministry official. "We want to invite them to join in the development effort." In the long run, the Indonesians say, the sheer hopelessness of the Fretelin cause will bring an end to all meaningful opposition.

Already this policy is meeting with some success. On September 14 last year, Fretelin Radio announced the arrest on charges of high treason of Xavier do Amaral, the diminutive ex-schoolteacher who was president of the revolutionary group and of the Democratic Republic of East Timor (DRET).

According to Fretelin, do Amaral was preparing a counter-revolutionary coup in conjunction with the Indonesians. The activities of do Amaral and those working with him had caused "enormous, immeasurable damage to the East Timorese people." The arrest of do

Amaral, the most popular and politically attractive man in the Fretelin line-up was, in itself, a major bonus for Indonesia. But there was more to come.

Early this month, an Indonesian patrol stumbled across a small Fretelin force in the hills outside Remexio. The group consisted of several Fretelin guards and their prisoners, and when the Indonesians came into view the guards fled, abandoning their charges. Among those left behind was do Amaral, shockingly wasted after 12 months in captivity. Now recuperating in Jakarta, do Amaral is expected to play a central role in Indonesia's continuing psychological war against Fretelin remnants in East Timor.

Already the Indonesian authorities have been getting considerable mileage out of Arsenio Horta, 28, the anti-Fretelin younger brother of Jose Ramos Horta, until recently the DRET "foreign minister." A captive of the leftist forces until early this month, the younger Horta paints a grim picture of conditions in the so-called "liberated zones."

"Arsenio Horta provides the answer to those people who entertain mistaken notions about Fretelin," said Suryono Darusman, director-general for political affairs at the Foreign Ministry. "He had the opportunity to get a first-hand impression of Fretelin and he has seen they are just a bunch of adventurers and torturers, people who are not interested in the welfare of the Timorese."

Whatever the validity of that assessment of Fretelin, one thing is clear: Indonesia, having taken Timor, must now show that it does have the welfare of the Timorese people at heart. East Timor has always been a minus area in terms of food production and infrastructure. Today the need for significant input is greater than ever. ■

ASEAN

Looking for more friends abroad

Southeast Asia is aiming at more economic links with other regions, leaning on Japan in particular

By Rodney Tasker

Jakarta: While the five Asean countries' main preoccupation these days is to mould a comfortable relationship with rival communist powers China and Vietnam, officials of the regional grouping have been quietly working on the less dramatic task of strengthening economic links with Asean's non-communist trading partners.

Depressed by the snail's pace progress in domestic economic cooperation among the Five, Asean officials are trying to gain some cheer by exploiting the apparent goodwill shown towards the bloc by its industrialised friends.

Encouraged by what they perceive as a solid United States commitment to the region expressed at the ministerial-level US-Asean dialogue in Washington in August, the Five are teeing-off for a similar pledge-seeking mission to the EEC in November, while at the same time prodding Japan to honour its promises to forge a special relationship with the region.

If anything, this exercise is as difficult for Asean as grappling with conflicting friendship assaults by the communist countries, because in the world's current protectionist mood no one is about to throw blank cheques in the direction of a comparatively insignificant grouping of developing countries, despite its impressive reservoir of resources, strategic location and growth potential.

The upcoming meeting with the EEC will be the first at ministerial level — most of the Asean foreign ministers are expected to go to Brussels for one-day talks with their counterparts from the nine European countries. The dialogue with the EEC has been one of Asean's longest, and a joint study group of senior officials from the two blocs meets regularly to discuss commercial, industrial, development and agricultural cooperation. Trade between the two is balanced, with Asean exporting US\$3.69 billion worth of goods to the EEC in 1976 and importing goods to the value of US\$3.46 billion.

Although Asean's draft agenda for the meeting is not yet finalised, two broad schools of thought have already emerged on how this round of the dialogue should be approached: some officials among the Five think that the affair should be similar to the recent

INDONESIAN INFLUENCE FELT

E. Timor Emerges From War, Isolation

From Reuters

DILI, Indonesia—Although the scars of the bitter civil war that preceded the merging of East Timor into Indonesia are still visible on its buildings, this little seaside capital seems to have recovered surprisingly well from its ordeal.

After the Portuguese colonial ru-

lers departed in December, 1975, pro-Indonesian forces, later aided by regular Indonesian troops, defeated left-wing Fretilin independence guerrillas in an eight-month civil war.

East Timor has been virtually cut off from the outside world since then, but now the remaining Fretilin guerrillas roaming the mountains are

thought to number fewer than 250.

The emergence of East Timor from its isolation was signaled by a recent visit by Indonesia's President Suharto, his first to the province since its incorporation.

There has been no census, but provincial officials say Dili's population has risen to about 40,000 from 25,000

before the chaotic departure of the Portuguese and the civil war—and not only because of the influx of soldiers, administrators and advisers from other parts of Indonesia.

Most of the houses and business premises destroyed or damaged during the fighting have been rebuilt and repaired, and many new buildings are going up.

Bullet holes still are visible in the walls of the governor's office and other buildings, but most of them have been repaired, some only very recently—the mortar and paint were still wet when Suharto arrived.

The port and airport of Dili recent-

ly were reopened by the government.

The harbor, scene of heavy fighting, is a picture of peaceful activity. Piers and warehouses have been repaired and upgraded.

Rates at three of Dili's better hotels are relatively expensive, as they are in most Indonesian provincial capitals. But the Portuguese-influenced food here is good and of a wider variety than in many other parts of the archipelago.

Shops, many of them owned by Chinese, and markets are well stocked with foodstuffs and goods mainly imported from Java.

One of the best souvenirs a tourist can take home from East Timor is one of the unique handwoven sarongs the local people have been producing for hundreds of years.

East Timor craftsmen are also highly skilled gold and silversmiths, and their jewelry is comparatively cheap. But the visitor soon finds that haggling over prices is not common in East Timor, as it is in other parts of Indonesia.

One of the most striking changes since colonial times is likely to go unnoticed by foreigners, unless they

Please Turn to Page 3, Col. 1

WARD BIG DAYS SALE

Save \$5 to \$20.

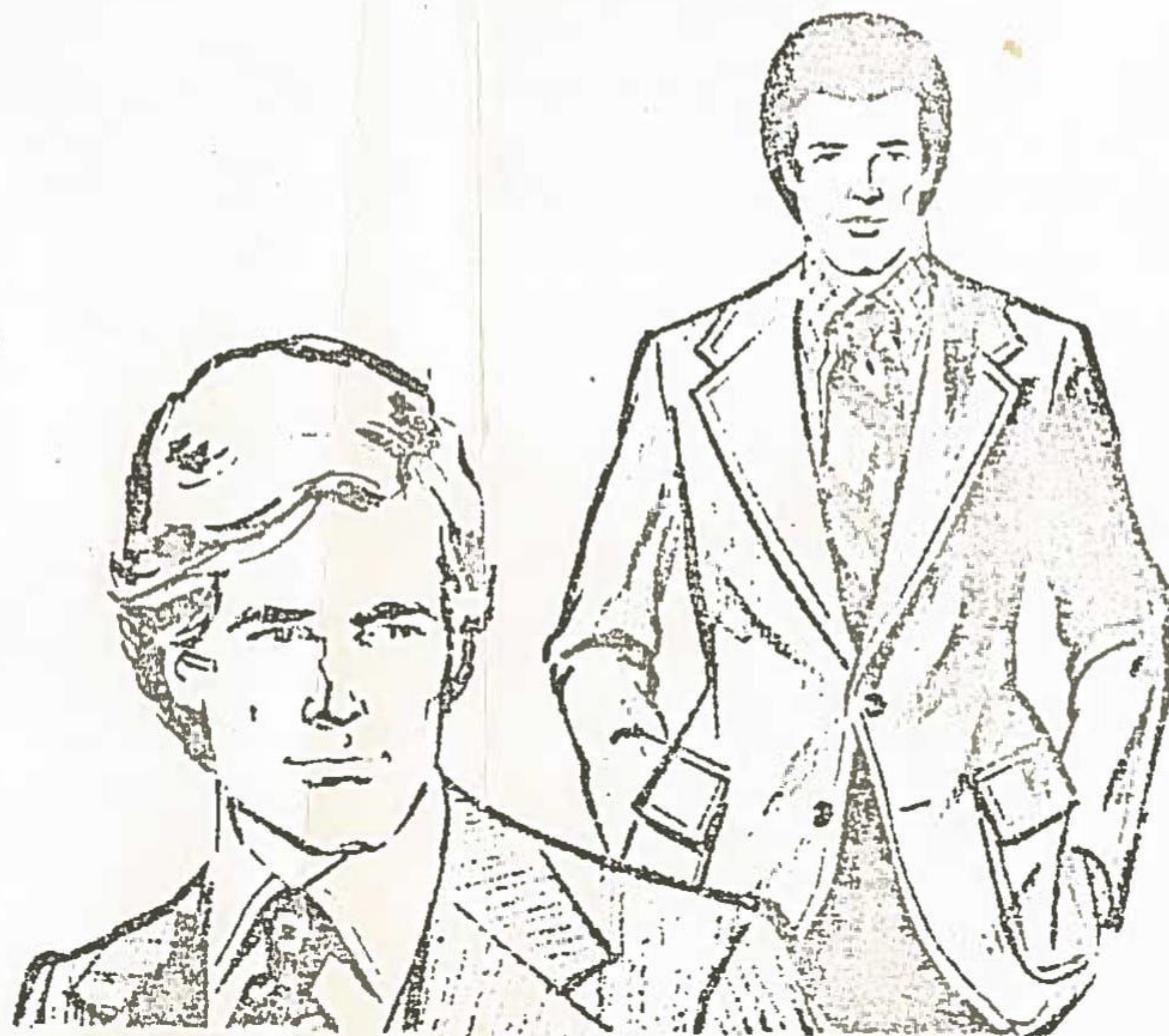
Classic corduroy
to mix and match.

VESTED SUITS,
REGULARLY \$75

54⁹⁷

SPORTCOATS,
REGULARLY \$45

29⁹⁷



SAVE \$3 to \$4

MEN'S LIGHTWEIGHT LINED WARM
UP OR UNLINED GOLF JACKETS

Poplin golf jac. Cotton/
poly poplin. 2 side pockets.
Nylon jac. Brushed cotton
lining. Snapfront. 2 pockets.

6⁹⁷
EACH

REG. 9.99 TO 10.99

EMERGING EAST TIMOR

Continued from Second Page
were here while the Portuguese were still in charge.

Ordinary people now walk the tree-lined, paved streets in the center of Dili, and children play noisily outside the offices of Gov. Arnaldo dos Reis Araujo, who spent 23 years in jail as a subversive element under Portuguese rule.

In colonial times, native East Timorese were strictly forbidden to step on the paved roads. No one, certainly no children, was allowed anywhere near

the seat of the provincial administration.

Hordes of neatly uniformed schoolchildren, in a territory where 95% of the population still were illiterate after more than 400 years of Portuguese rule, are another symbol of change.

Television has come to East Timor. A huge neon sign blinks the call letters "TVRI" from the top of one of the steep mountains surrounding the city, marking the position of a relay station hooked into Indonesia's tele-

vision network by Suharto during his visit.

There are only about 150 television sets in Dili, but appliance dealers anticipate a boom in the next few months.

To follow the programs, and to generally keep in step with the times, many older people are taking lessons in Bahasa Indonesia, the Indonesian national language now taught in all schools. But among themselves many speak Portuguese or Tetum, the most widely used East Timorese language.

Television is not the only new telecommunications link between East

Timor and other parts of Indonesia. Members of the presidential party were surprised to find that it was already possible to telephone Jakarta direct from Dili.

Telex links are not yet established but several East Timorese are being trained as telex operators in Java, and this facility is expected to be available in Dili soon.

Life has changed a lot in Dili. Although its people will eventually forget the language of their colonial rulers, their Portuguese heritage will be felt for a long time.

It is not just the many signposts and

inscriptions that have not yet been changed from Portuguese to the Indonesian language, nor so much that the city's layout and architecture are typically Portuguese.

What makes Dili an undeniably Portuguese-influenced city is the attitude of its people and their way of life.

Fishermen hauling their nets use techniques found hardly anywhere else in the archipelago, undoubtedly taught to their ancestors by one of the early missionaries who converted 50% of the East Timorese to Roman Catholicism.

Los Angeles Times

Wed., Sept. 27, 1978—Part VI

Hawaii Tops List for Insurance Sales

HONOLULU (AP)—Hawaii led the nation in buying ordinary life insurance in 1977, according to the American Council of Life Insurance.

The council said newly purchased life insurance totaled \$4,958 per household in Hawaii last year, followed by \$4,867 in Utah and \$4,789 in Alaska. The United States average was \$3,313.



Save 25%.
Cozy knit terry sleepers
keep infants warm, comfy.

Kohjin Cordelan* matrix fiber (vinyl-nylon) and nylon with comfortable 2-way stretch action. Convenient, easy removing snap front, crotch and legs. Flame resistant.* Come in sizes XS, S, M, L.
*Meets Federal Test Standard DOC FF 3-7.

319
REG. 4.29



SAVE 40% TO 54%

FINE BENT LON NYLON HOSE

San Francisco Chronicle 12, 18, 1974

Collapse Forecast for the Revolt of East Timor

Jakarta

After waging years of bitter warfare in a bid to gain independence for the former Portuguese colony of East Timor, the left-wing FRETILIN independence movement is reportedly near collapse.

East Timor's military commander, Brigadier General Dading Kalbuadi, predicts that FRETILIN (Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor), which fought and lost a bloody civil war to keep East Timor independent and outside Indonesian control, will collapse by the end of this year.

One former guerrilla leader says the revolutionary fighters are poorly armed, starving and suffering from disease.

Kalbuadi's estimate also brings into focus the plight of thousands of villagers still under FRETILIN control or in refugee camps. They are reported to be facing the threat of starvation, disease and death themselves.

Politically, Indonesian official circles hope the collapse of FRETILIN will hasten international recognition — so far denied — of Indonesian control of East Timor.

The former Portuguese territory was incorporated into Indonesia in July of 1976.

The integration took place after pro-Indonesian forces, backed by Indonesian regular troops, had defeated FRETILIN, ending eight months of civil war that left 20,000 to 30,000 people dead and more than one-sixth of the population of 650,000 homeless.

Nevertheless, FRETILIN fighters continued to wage guerrilla warfare from mountain hideouts, controlling and allegedly terrorizing villagers.

The U.N. General Assembly so far has withheld recognition of the 1976 merger on the grounds that it was brought about by military intervention, rather than by free elections.

Meanwhile, the Indonesian army drive against FRETILIN has been steadily reducing rebel strength and effectiveness.

Leopoldo Joaquin, a guerrilla leader who surrendered seven months ago, gave the strength of the guerrillas as less than 1000 poorly armed men.

He said they were without food, medical supplies, ammunition and clothing. They were suffering from malaria, tuberculosis and malnutrition.

Morale began to break down rapidly, he said. Hundreds of men, desperate and tired of being

Asia

constantly on the run and starving, have since surrendered.

General Kalbuadi says that FRETILIN has fewer than 100 men carrying firearms and possibly another 200 to 300 men armed only with spears and knives.

The main problem facing Indonesian authorities is how to reach more than 5000 villagers still under FRETILIN control.

The villagers, probably unaware the civil war is over, are said to have been either dragged along as prisoners with the roaming guerrilla groups or are afraid to leave the mountains into which they had been forced from their homes to grow food for FRETILIN.

Officials say the involuntary guerrilla helpers are bound to die of starvation and disease if they are not found soon.

There were also 40,000 other villagers in refugee camps facing a similar fate because of a lack of humanitarian aid, they added.

One sign of FRETILIN'S deteriorating strength can

be seen in the fact that a radio station run by the guerrillas — a small portable transmitter — has not been heard for several months.

The U.N. General Assembly called on Indonesia to withdraw all of its troops from East Timor last year to permit a referendum on the merger issue.

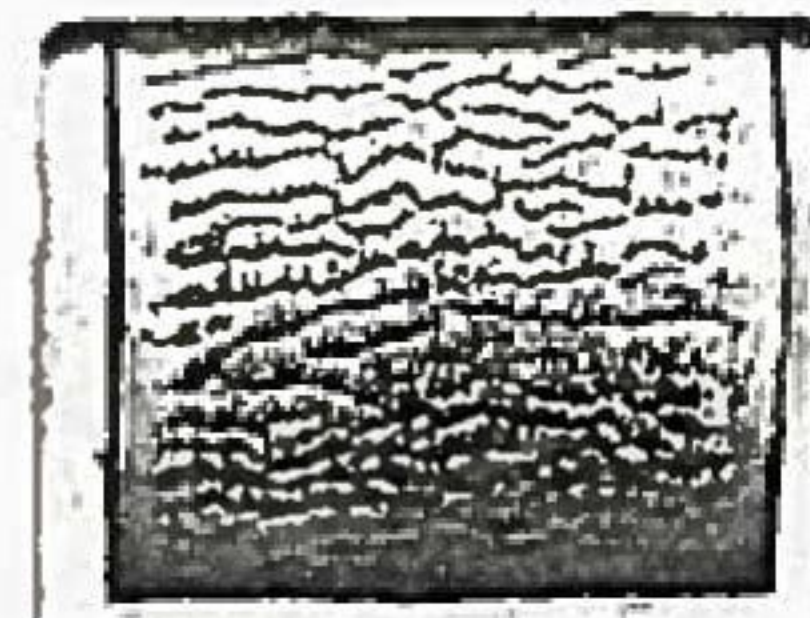
But Indonesia is unlikely to comply, maintaining that the merger was the wish of the vast majority of the people of East Timor.

Eleven diplomats, including the U.S. and Australian ambassadors, toured East Timor in September. They appear to have accepted that FRETILIN is on the brink of collapse.

FRETILIN'S decline was accelerated in August of 1977 when moderate socialists willing to negotiate peace were ousted from the guerrilla leadership by a radical group of young Communists and pro-Communists.

Details of the purge became known in September when former FRETILIN President Francisco Xavier do Amaral, who had been held prisoner by the radicals since his ouster last year, was freed by government soldiers.

Reuters



East Timor's Travail

Mass starvation threatens Indonesia's 'captive' province

SEAH CHIANG NEE

Seah Chiang Nee is Foreign Editor of the independent "Straits Times" of Singapore, from which this is excerpted.

From the air the former Portuguese colony of East Timor, now integrated into Indonesia as its twenty-seventh province, resembles nothing that a seasoned traveler in Southeast Asia has not seen. Clusters of thatch-roofed bamboo huts dot the coastal plains and the banks of a few rivers which have little water in them. The endless, forbidding mountains of the interior are bald, dry, and hard; green—the color of life—thrives only in tiny patches.

The similarities between East Timor and other Southeast Asian lands end here. For its estimated 650,000 people, 90 per cent of whom are illiterate, are bowed beneath agonizing hunger, disease, and suffering, exacerbated by recent civil war. Every week scores of starving people, dressed in rags, drag children with sunken eyes, bloated stomachs, and ugly leg sores down tortuous mountain paths to rehabilitation centers.

I saw some of them arrive at the camp at Remexio. There they were handed new clothes and formed into two lines of flagwaving humanity to greet visiting foreign ambassadors. Some women swayed weakly, their hands grasping Indonesian flags, moving only slightly as they mumbled messages of welcome.

At a Red Cross station, a Timorese woman slept on a stretcher on the floor of one room, a piece of cloth protecting her face from swarms of flies. A medical aide occasionally went into the room to fan them away. He told me the woman had come down from the hills two days earlier and was suffering from cholera.

Remexio is surrounded by high mountains. Supplies can be flown in only by helicopter. Some of the buildings carry the scars of war; bulletholes spatter the walls. The leftist anti-Indonesian Fretilin once controlled this area. One small building had been razed.

The visiting ambassadors were clearly moved by what they saw at Remexio. A few shook their heads in disbelief. The Ambassador of Papua New Guinea told me, "We are a poor country but I have not

seen anything like this. I am shocked to see the condition of these people."

The state of these starving people has surprised many Timorese officials, too. "We have been doing our best, but the problem is how to get them to come down from the hills. Getting food to them is impossible," one said.

Starvation is not new in East Timor. Even in the best of times, the former Portuguese rulers weren't able to feed the people. What has accentuated the problem for the Indonesians is that the eight-month-long war [pitting the separatist Fretilin against Indonesian "volunteers"] is believed to have killed 20,000 and has left one-sixth of the population homeless.

Mario Caraslao, a senior Timorese official attached to the Indonesian Foreign Ministry, told me that possibly as many as 100,000 people are still living precariously in the mountainous interior. Many fled there to escape the fighting. Today they are still too afraid to come back. How do they survive? "They eat palms and leaves," Caraslao said. Unless they come to the rehabilitation centers many will die of hunger and disease. He added that those who make it to the centers are often too weak to stand. Some die after they arrive, from the sudden intake of food. Others die of malaria.

The danger of large-scale starvation is Indonesia's immediate problem here, and there is an atmosphere of hopelessness because Jakarta can do little more than it has done already—a substantial amount. When President Suharto visited the territory he pledged an immediate allocation of \$24 million for development. Part of the money will go to build a dam near Marliano, which already shows signs of recovering from the war.

But Indonesia will be burdened by East Timor for at least five to ten more years. Every day a growing population waits at rehabilitation centers for the next meal. This population is dealing Indonesia's economy a serious blow. Observers believe that foreign aid is urgently needed if the situation is to be turned around.

Indonesian Foreign Minister Mochter Kusumaadmadja has said that any aid for East Timor should be channeled through aid agencies. However, his Government would not object to receiving government-to-government aid provided it was earmarked for East Timor and given without political strings. "We have other areas where aid is just as badly needed," he said.



"I think we've got a false bottom here, sir!"

Punch/London

(Sept. 11)

ALAS WORLD PRESS REVIEW

Chomsky Accuses U.S. On East Timor Conflict

Special to The New York Times

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y., Dec. 1 — Noam Chomsky accused Washington today of complicity in enabling Indonesia to continue a three-year-old repressive war against the former Portuguese colony of East Timor and blamed "submissive" American media for not reporting atrocities.

The charges by Professor Chomsky, the linguistics expert from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, were made in a statement read for him in the General Assembly's colonialism committee. The committee is considering proposals urging that the Timorese be allowed to decide their political future.

In his statement as a private petitioner, Professor Chomsky said that although Indonesia had sealed off East Timor and denied entry to even the Red Cross, reports filtering out indicated that 50,000 to 100,000 Timorese had been killed. He charged that the atrocities had been denied or concealed by the United States Government. He said the United States sees economic advantage in good relations with Indonesia and has continued to provide military assistance.

The professor accused the American press of having given distorted accounts of the fighting after Indonesia sent troops into East Timor in 1975 and of not reporting the continued opposition against Indonesia, which until two months ago would not allow foreign correspondents to visit East Timor.

He cited articles in The New York Times and also complained that inadequate attention was being given to the situation, saying: "Times editors and correspondents are much too busy seeking evidence of Communist atrocities to bother with the possible massacre of 100,000 Timorese at the hands of a U.S. client using American arms."

Foreign correspondents still face tight restrictions in East Timor, to clarify a point from the Times account: reporters' visits are carefully organized by the Indonesian military.

The text of Professor Chomsky's UN address is available for \$1.00 from Timor Information Project, 410 Stewart Ave., Ithaca, NY 14850.

PRESS CLIPS

By Alexander Cockburn

All the News that Fits

We are moving into that season of the year when the press reviews the ebb and flow of events through the long months and by implication gives itself a slap on the back for keeping the American people in touch.

Spare a thought for East Timor in this context. Having spared the thought, then spare a minute to look the place up

on a map. East Timor forms half of an island a few hundred miles northwest of Darwin, Australia. It was once a Portuguese colony and now has been annexed by Indonesia, which has slaughtered anywhere from 50,000 to 100,000 of its inhabitants. The foreign minister of Indonesia, Adam Malik, estimated, in 1977, the number killed as "50,000 people or perhaps 80,000" and, naturally, as a statistician of massacre he is somewhat prejudiced.

The formal incorporation of East Timor into Indonesia took place in July of 1976, since which time the independence movement known as Fretilin has been leading an armed struggle against the annexation, which was of course promptly recognized by the United States. This struggle has prompted Indonesian barbarity on a level which has moved the Australian Parliament Legislative Research Service to conclude that there is "mounting evidence" that the Indonesians have carried out "indiscriminate killing on a scale unprecedented in post-World War II history."

During these unpleasant events the United States has been stepping up military aid to Indonesia, while simultaneously giving the Carter administration's good housekeeping seal of approval in the form of the 1978 Human Rights report of the State Department, which stated, in a series of singular falsehoods, "Questions have been raised concerning atrocities by Indonesian troops in East Timor in 1975 and 1976 prior to the incorporation of East Timor into Indonesia. The Indonesian Government withdrew and disciplined offending units guilty of individual excesses; but most of the human losses in East Timor appear to have occurred prior to Indonesia's intervention."

These lines are hypocritical enough to have been written by Fritz Mondale himself, who took a trip to Jakarta and sponsored the sale of some U.S. counter-insurgency planes there, while proclaiming that he had satisfied himself on the matter of human rights violations.

You might assume that the press—or at least *The New York Times* in the intervals when it was not on strike—would have kept an eye on the situation. You would be wrong.

In 1976, when the Indonesians were commencing their massacres, the *NYT* devoted half a column to East Timor. In 1977, when the carnage was burgeoning to major proportions, the coverage dropped to five lines. There was a brief flicker of hope for East Timor fans on March 1, 1977 when the *NYT* carried a nine-line Reuters dispatch about a petition to President Carter by the majority of the Australian parliament, scarcely an agent of communism, "charging atrocities by Indonesian troops" and asking President Carter "to comment publicly on the situation in East Timor." The report was dropped from the late city edition and thus did not make it into the *Times* index or the microfilm archive.

Thus far in 1978 East Timor has received no mention in *The New York Times* at all. A tiny report by Katherine Teltsch on a lengthy statement on East Timor made by Professor Noam Chomsky before the United Nations was printed in an early edition but once again fell from grace later in the evening. I attended a press conference given by Chomsky before his U.N. address. No other journalist from any American publication was in evidence, though it is possible that one was hiding behind the curtains.

This shunning of East Timor as a newsworthy massacre story does carry some interesting implications. Chomsky remarked that the harshest critics of the regime in Cambodia claim that 100,000 have been slaughtered since April 1975. Thus in Cambodia and East Timor the time frame for alleged atrocities is about the same, the numbers of those allegedly slaughtered is roughly similar (though 5 to 10 times higher in

East Timor relative to the size of population). And the evidence is somewhat comparable.

Yet whereas the American media have dwelt extensively on the horrors of Cambodia there has been more or less absolute silence, outside Australia, in the case of East Timor. What we have, in fact, is a peculiarly striking example of editorial and reportorial selectivity in the matter of our old and trusted friend "human rights." The fact that the Administration is exhibiting the same selectivity does not make the situation any more palatable.

There is one further point. Despite the efforts of George McGovern there is not much the United States can do about Cambodia, short of praying that the Vietnamese and the Thais will dismember the place. East Timor, on the other hand, is being ravaged by a client and ally of the United States, in the form of Indonesia. Even if Carter and his subordinates such as Richard Holbrooke (ever the trainee in sponsorship of mass murder) cannot move themselves to comment or action may we not expect some expression of indignation in *The New York Times*, which finds room in its heart for hanged cats and—on Monday—no less than three articles on the Op-Ed page about Israel.

The recent UNESCO declaration on news organizations stated that the mass media round the world "contribute effectively to promoting human rights, in particular by giving expression to oppressed peoples who struggle against colonialism, neo-colonialism, foreign occupation, and all forms of racial discrimination and oppression and who are unable to make their voices heard within their own territories." Utter nonsense, naturally, as the *NYT* index entries under the heading of East Timor so well attest.

MARY McGRORY: Spies who leave your illusions out in the cold

The trial of Ronald Humphrey and David Truong afforded us glimpses of our government at work. They were not reassuring.

You take the quality of the reporting done by the State Department.

A wonderfully precisely spoken young Irishman named Benedict Anderson, a native of County Waterford who teaches at Cornell, said the cables he read contained numerous mistakes, enough to induce "a lack of confidence in the caliber of the people making these assessments."

The caliber of the Justice Department lawyers induced an even greater lack of confidence.

Prosecutor Frank Dunham, a short, truculent man determined to show the jury they were in the presence of a vigilante, opened his questioning of Anderson by asking him if he was "an acknowledged Marxist."

The judge, Albert Bryan Jr., was napping at the time, and didn't hear

him. When defense lawyer Michael Tigar objected that it was "wildly improper" and the judge, for once, sustained the objection, Dunham mumbled belligerently that he had a "reason for asking" — and then never gave it.

"Do you put more reliance on an article in the Bangkok Press than in the Washington Post?" he thundered at the Irishman in the dock, as if he were about to close in for the kill of a dangerous subversive.

"That would depend on what it was about," Anderson replied.

Dunham expressed an Archie Bunker-like indignation whenever he heard that a person remotely associated with David Truong or his anti-war cause mingled freely with the stalwart types at the State Department. Then Gareth Porter, an anti-war Asian expert, triggered his wrath by recounting a visit, in broad

daylight, to the office of Richard Holbrooke, the man in charge of Far Eastern Affairs.

"Did he call you or did you call him?" he bellowed.

The State Department was represented by a fair-haired young man named Kenneth Quinn, Holbrooke's special assistant, who changed his assessment of the damage done by the purloined cables — apparently when the president's personal interest in the matter was called to his attention — and solemnly testified that information about our human rights policy is "sensitive."

But for the ordinary taxpayer, it was the official "spies" who caused the greatest disillusionment. Dung Krall, the double agent, and Robert Hall, her "case officer," were a pair that raised new doubts about the CIA.

They spent most of their time haggling over money.

Mrs. Krall was something of a shrew on the subject, it appears. She was, Hall said, "a first-rate agent," but her mind was seldom on her work. She was always about to quit if the Company did not up her salary.

After months of negotiation, she got a raise, from \$700 to \$1,200 a month. These bargaining sessions were not secret. Her husband, a U.S. Navy officer, was once present, and exceptionally quick on the take. According to Hall, he scooped up \$1,200 from the table, and an FBI agent had to "liberate" the funds.

At one terrible moment, she threatened to write a book. Hall and his FBI counterpart, William Fleshman, were extremely concerned. She could certainly compose a manual, "How to Get a Raise from the CIA."

Hall himself was something of a letdown. Robert Hall is a "war name" — perhaps derived from the off-the-rack emporium at which he

may have purchased the costumes he wore for his unaccustomed public speaking. The first number was a midnight-blue denim ensemble, which he may have thought disguised him as a middle-American on his way to a cookout. His second was a cream-color leisure suit of indifferent cut — perhaps a subliminal suggestion to the jury that he, too, is underpaid.

Neither Hall nor Krall worked very hard. They were, of course, not getting information, they were passing it to "the enemy" — with the approval of the FBI.

Hall, a most incurious spook, did not even peek in the dangerous packages. "Some technical books, some material out of the Congressional Record," was all he knew. Krall's job was to turn over the documents of Truong's gathering to the unsuspecting Vietnamese. Hall's value to the agency may have been as an auditor.

His most arduous duty was to review Mrs. Krall's expense accounts and disallow some items, like "operational gifts."

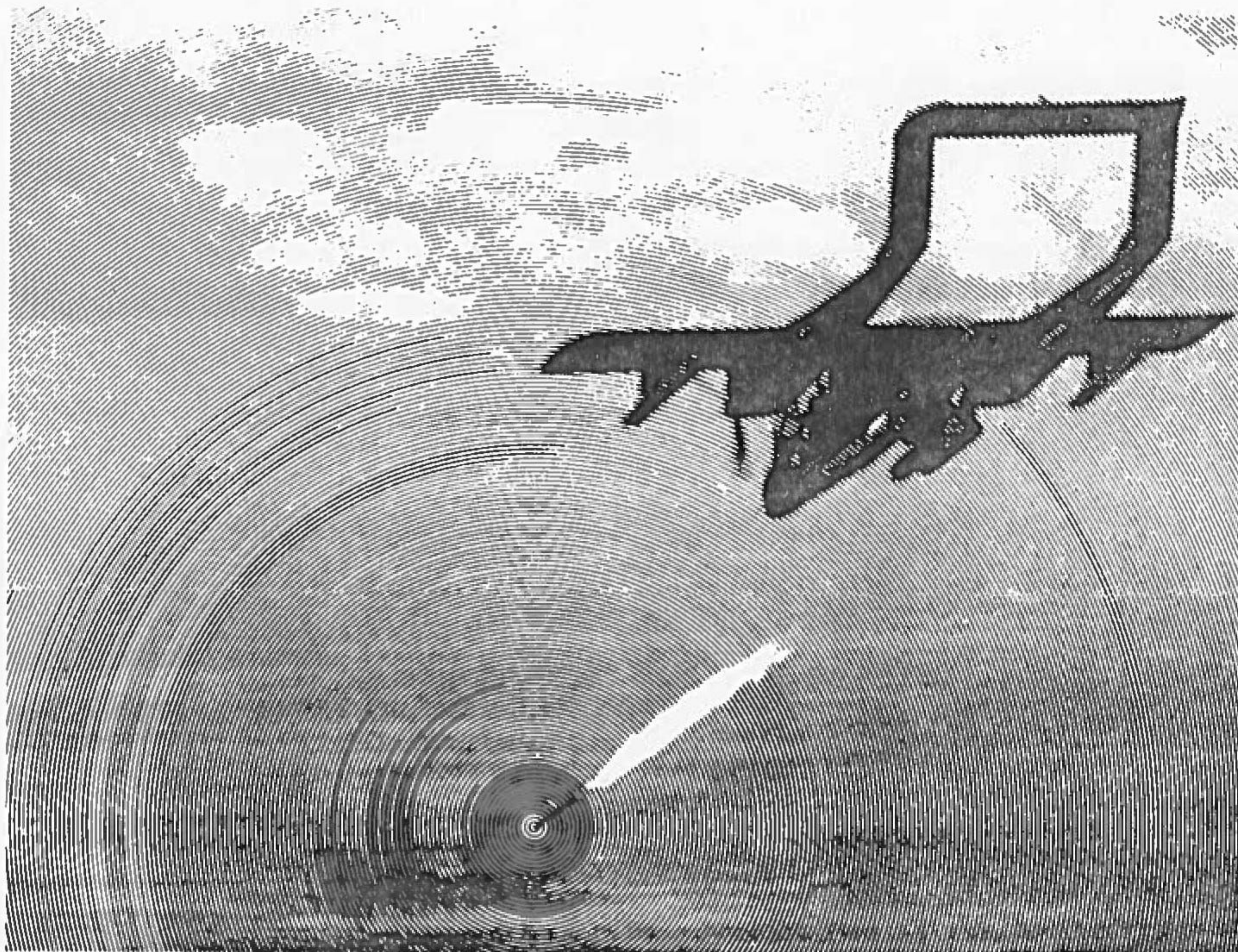
When the government decided to prosecute, Mrs. Krall became agitated at the loss of income involved in the blowing of her cover.

Hall turned her over to the FBI with some relief. As the price of her testimony, she demanded a "termination bonus" of \$45,000, which she did not get.

"Money is a poor motivation for anyone, I believe," Hall said piously.

It was the profoundest thing he said.

As a demonstration of our tax dollars at work, the expensive federal pageant at the Alexandria courthouse was a downer, reflecting no credit on its promoters, the president and the attorney general, and the lesser government lights who manned the floats.



The Bronco workhorse: Ask Timor about it.

Or Venezuela or West Germany or Indonesia or the U.S. Marines, Navy and Air Force.

Their reasons for choosing Bronco are numerous, but center around this: it's a real workhorse.

The Royal Thailand Air Force, for example, accumulated over 11,000 flight hours on 16 OV-10C's in its first two years of operation. About 5,000 hours were counter-insurgency missions of various types using mixed ordnance. Including suppression attacks on terrorist camps and mountain fortified positions; escorting ground troops through terrorist territory; patrol paradrops; reconnaissance; and rescue helicopter escort. With as many as five separate tasks conducted on a single flight.

Bronco's Combat Ready Rate during this time was a remarkable 90%. Testimony to its simple, reliable design. And its ability to stand up to rugged terrain, torrential rains, very high temperatures and humidity, sand and gravel operating surfaces and battle damage.

And since OV-10 incorporates features like quick, tight maneuverability, low-speed, short takeoffs and landings and long cruise periods, it's well suited for a variety of economic development and utility missions as well. Including spray operations, cargo and passenger transport, leaflet or loudspeaker communications, mapping and firefighting.

Over 870,000 flight hours of worldwide operation have proven that Bronco can fly many different missions. At operating costs that won't work a strain on any country's budget.

For more information contact Columbus Aircraft Division, Rockwell International, 4300 E. Fifth Avenue, Columbus, Ohio 43216 U.S.A.



Rockwell International

TRAGEDY IN WAKE OF INDONESIAN INVASION

Australian aid for starving Timor

BY OUR FOREIGN STAFF

FINANCIAL TIMES, LONDON, NOV. 2, 1978

INTERNATIONAL RELIEF efforts are slowly getting under way to help thousands of people in East Timor who are dying almost unaided by the rest of the world from the combined effects of war and famine.

According to some estimates, as many as 200,000 people may have died over the past four years in this former Portuguese colony, which is part of the Indonesian island belt. The figure represents nearly a third of an estimated population of 650,000, although a more likely figure for the number of deaths is thought to be 100,000.

Pictures in Australian newspapers of starving children's anguished faces and tortured bodies have alerted people to this small-scale tragedy on their doorstep, and Australia is to fly in 1,250 tonnes of corn, 30 tonnes of vitamin biscuits and plastic sheeting. The relief is in response to a request from the International Red Cross and the Indonesian Red Cross.

Information about casualties has come from Indonesian church groups, refugees, a trickle of relief workers and most recently a small group of Jakarta-based journalists who this week visited East Timor and confirmed the worst fears of Australian aid officials.

The Timor tragedy, if it can be described as such, began with the revolution in Portugal in 1974. This unleashed nationalist forces within Timor which plunged the colony into civil war, leading to Indonesia's armed intervention in late 1975. A guerrilla war followed between indigenous forces, known as Fretilin and Indonesian troops.

From all accounts, Indonesia



used extreme measures to wipe out Fretilin. Persistent stories throughout 1976 and 1977 spoke of Indonesian troops employing defoliants and saturation bombing to damp down guerrilla resistance. The drive against Fretilin was apparently effective. Guerrilla remnants were driven back into the mountains and now seem to pose little threat to the administration.

According to Major Ubaldo de Carvalho, one of the leaders of the Portuguese Armed Forces Movement, who was in London this week, Fretilin has recently suffered the loss of its president, Nicolaou Lobato, and the capture of radio equipment. Against it are 20,000 of Indonesia's approximately 240,000 armed forces.

Major de Carvalho complains about Western silence over Indonesia's invasion and the subsequent killing. Portugal has broken off diplomatic relations with Indonesia. Britain, worried that Argentina might act similarly in the Falklands, does not recognise the annexation. Nor do other SEC members.

The West has nevertheless been supplying Indonesia with arms. Britain, in co-operation with Aerospatiale of France, has supplied Puma helicopters and is proposing to supply eight Hawk bombers.

The Indonesian invasion and the ensuing war resulted in the incorporation of East Timor as Indonesia's 27th province. It caused such chaos, however, that agriculture was abandoned in some areas and thousands of tribespeople were displaced. The refugee camps into which these people were herded have since become the worst centres of starvation in a virtual duplication of the Kampuchean disaster.

Indonesia itself has emerged with little credit. Until recently it refused to allow representatives of the International Red Cross into East Timor to assist in relief efforts. It has also refused to allow foreign journalists to visit the country.

This reflects Indonesian concern about the appalling Press coverage it has received in Australia over the Timor affair, particularly after the deaths of five Australian journalists at the hands of Indonesian troops during the 1975 invasion.

Through all this, the Australian Government has attempted to remain aloof. In the past Indonesia has thumbed its nose at Australian complaints about the mistreatment of the Timorese people. But the announcement that Australian aid will now go in marks the first time the Indonesian Government has allowed Canberra to send help directly to Timor instead of through Jakarta.

Timor 'faced a Viet war'

DILI, Wed., AAP. — East Timor might have become another Vietnam if it had not been incorporated into Indonesia two years ago, an Indonesian Foreign Office spokesman said in Dili today.

He was speaking after a group of foreign envoys and journalists, led by Indonesian Foreign Minister Mochtar Kusumaatmadja, arrived for a first-hand look at East Timor.

"We shall let the ambassadors and journalists have a first hand report on the real situation in East Timor so they can check whether the integration of the territory into Indonesia was the wish of the East Timorese people or a mere fabrication," the spokesman said.

The visitors were greeted by outgoing provincial governor Arnaldo Dos Reis Araujo, East Timor military commander Brig. Gen. Dading Kalbuadi, and hundreds of people waving Indonesian flags.

East Timor became a part of Indonesia after Indonesian troops intervened in a protracted civil war between pro-Jakarta forces and independence-seeking, Left-wing Fretilin forces.

No ambassadors of communist states are in the visiting team, but Australia, which officially opposed East Timor's merger with Indonesia, is represented by ambassador Tom Critchley.

Australia changed its stand last January, extending "de facto" recognition to the merger.

Australia's decision to send its ambassador to

Timor was purely aimed at fostering good relations with Indonesia, an Australian embassy spokesman said.

Indonesia and Australia have had talks on a reunion program for Timorese families which were split by the war.

About 6000 East Timorese fled to Australia during the war and both governments have agreed that these refugees should be allowed to join

their families in either country.

Other ambassadors in the team are from New Zealand, Japan, India, Bangladesh, South Korea, Canada, the U.S., Egypt and Iraq.

Indonesian sources said the visit was intended to let more support for Indonesia's cause if the Timor issue was raised in the United Nations General Assembly session next month, as expected.

This is the figure that Rogers came up with

ald in
occa-
e and
he re-
as "a
als re-
no re-
de for
gment
owing
sident
ernor
assort-
allistic

Namibia, and he said he hoped this would lead to a more co-operative approach on other African problems.

Concerning Lebanon, Dr Waldheim complained that the UN peacekeeping force continued to be thwarted in its efforts to help restore the Beirut Government's authority over areas in the south, an obvious allusion to the military activity of the Israeli-armed Christian militia.

To resort to force was "an undesirable course" for a UN peacekeeping undertaking

ar' Dock strike 'nearly over'

Afri-
t was
efully
on be
uation
it was
were
agree-

From Reuter in Sydney

Hopes rose today for an end to the dockers' strike which has left more than 100 ships idle with goods piling up on wharves throughout Australia.

The three-day-old national stoppage has already delayed tens of thousands of containers and has already cost importers and exporters £10 millions, according to waterfront employers.

Dockworkers went on strike in protest against the lay-off of 800 men in Melbourne.

-Minister

day running of the country.

If President Turbay manages to clamp down on the kidnap gangs, smuggling consortia, and other criminal organisations dominating Colombia, he will earn some much-needed popularity as well as vindication for his position.

Earlier this year another piece of emergency legislation removed all legal responsibility for official killings in anti-kidnap and narcotics operations. Shortly afterward seven petty criminals were killed by secret police who mistakenly took them for kidnappers.

Colombian Left-wingers and labour organisers are now beginning to worry that such mistakes could become more widespread.

attached to a hot-air balloon for the ascent.—Reuter.

Flying home



Bruno Pontecorvo

ITALIAN-BORN nuclear physicist Bruno Pontecorvo, aged 65, flew back to Moscow yesterday after paying his first visit to Italy since he defected to the Soviet Union 28 years ago.—Reuter.

Death penalty

PENNSYLVANIA yesterday voted to restore the death penalty for murder with the overwhelming defeat of Governor Milton Shapp's veto of a capital punishment bill.—UPI.

30,000 deaths

BETWEEN 30,000 and 40,000 people have died in East Timor because defoliants destroyed their crops, Australian politician Michael Hodgman said in Parliament. Mr Hodgman said the Indonesian Government was responsible for the deaths.—Reuter.

'Lost' people

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL has estimated that 15,000 people have disappeared in Argentina since the March 1976 military coup. The agency says that human rights continue to be violated consistently.—UPI.

Less polio

POLIOMYELITIS in China has dropped by 90 per cent compared with 1950 levels, the New China News Agency said yesterday. — Reuter.

14/09/78

The Guardian

a mix, some, neutral
Sentiment expressed below. Masters
again!

Captured leaders confirm that the back of a three-year revolt has been broken

East Timor fight against Indonesia a 'hopeless cause'

From Peter Hazelhurst
 Jakarta, Oct 4

When a detachment of Indonesian troops stumbled upon a small group of left wing rebels on a sparse, windswept hillside near the small town of Remexio in East Timor six weeks ago, their officers at first did not realize the significance of their find.

After a brief exchange of shots the rebels fled, leaving behind a number of starving and emaciated prisoners. To the surprise of the platoon commander, one of the prisoners identified himself as Xavier do Amaral, a diminutive schoolmaster and president of Fretilin, the left wing organization which has been fighting for independence of East Timor

since the former Portuguese colony was annexed by Indonesia three years ago.

Mr Amaral revealed details of how he had been deposed and arrested on charges of high treason by young radicals in Fretilin last year when, disillusioned by a seemingly hopeless cause, he had called for a dialogue with the Indonesian Government.

The Indonesian Government received another success in its psychological war against the hard core of the weakened Fretilin movement last month. Disillusioned by the movement's hopeless fight against the superior odds of the Indonesian army, Mr Arsenio Horta, a 29-year-old Fretilin leader and brother of the movement's representative at the United

Nations, also surrendered to the Indonesian authorities.

After changing their allegiance, both the former rebel leaders were flown to Jakarta for medical treatment, and they are expected to assist the Indonesian Government in its attempts in future to persuade remaining members of Fretilin to lay down their arms.

But more important, and much to the jubilation of the Indonesian army, the two rebel leaders confirmed vague reports that the hard core of the rebel movement was in disarray and had split into opposing factions. Their capture also confirmed the assessment of Western diplomats that the Indonesian army had broken the back of a civil war and

rebellion which had claimed at least 60,000 lives and displaced some 130,000 refugees, in the harsh and sparse hills of East Timor in the past three years.

Western diplomats who were allowed to visit the otherwise inaccessible regions of East Timor last month, reported calm and quiet in the capital of Dili and other big towns.

Whether the United Nations likes it or not, East Timor is now *de facto* a part of Indonesia, one Western diplomat told *The Times*.

Senior Indonesian army officers estimate that the present strength of Fretilin is between 400 and 900 armed men. "They are no longer a threat, but they have nuisance value," Major D. Abidin, who was re-

cently stationed in East Timor, said.

The Government claims that Fretilin still control some 5,000 people in inaccessible regions of the island. "They are nearly starving and they force these people to cultivate rice and other food", an official in the Indonesian Foreign Office said.

Confronted at the time with the prospects of the rise of a Marxist state within Indonesia's vast archipelago, Jakarta in December 1975 sent an estimated 30,000 troops into East Timor, in the guise of volunteers, to consolidate a right wing victory. Fretilin took to the hills and has been urging a guerrilla war against Indonesian troops for the past three years.

Dili Is Talking About

Misery in Remexico

By Who TK Peagam
New York Times

Dili, East Timor

TWENTY MINUTES south of here by helicopter, some of the estimated 125,000 people displaced from their homes by the war in East Timor are being resettled in the village of Remexico.

Once a stronghold of the Fretilin guerrilla movement, which opposes Indonesia's 1975 annexation of East Timor, Remexico was captured by government forces long ago, apparently after heavy fighting. The few concrete buildings in the village are scarred by bullet holes and shell damage; one lies completely in ruins.

Some 4000 original inhabitants and refugees live there, in huts made of thatch and bamboo, eking out a bare existence by growing coffee in the surrounding hills. A few days ago, they were joined by another 200 refugees from the mountains where Fretilin guerrillas still roam.

★ ★ ★

DRESSED IN torn rags, barefoot, the bellies of their naked children swollen with malnutrition, the new arrivals lined up in the hot sun to receive tee shirts donated by the Indonesian Red Cross.

In the village clinic, stocked with a few basic drugs and medicines, an emaciated woman connected to a blood drip lay motionless on the concrete floor. Her eyes were open but



fixed in a vacant stare. An official said she was a cholera victim.

Foreign ambassadors taken to the village by the Indonesian authorities, including United States Ambassador Edward E. Masters, came away so shocked by the condition of the refugees that they immediately contacted the governor of East Timor, Arnaldo Dos Reis Araujo, to explore the possibilities for providing foreign humanitarian assistance.

According to the local authorities, 125,000 people have come down from the mountains — where virtually no government presence exists — in the past three years of guerrilla warfare, while perhaps as many as 50,000 others have died, many of them from disease or starvation.

As one of the ambassadors said, "It is clear that the main problem in East Timor now is not security. There is a humani-

tarian problem of major proportions and, in the longer term, the problem of promoting economic development in a place where not even the most basic infrastructure exists."

Outside the dusty capital, there are virtually no roads. There is no industry of any significance and minimal agriculture.

In the dry season, the earth is cracked and parched and fresh water is precious. In the rainy season, the land is flooded. Not even the most rudimentary irrigation facilities seem to exist.

Here in the capital, a small quiet town of 30,000 people on the edge of the sea, hemmed in by high mountains, the streets are almost empty. Apart from the few stores owned by those Chinese who could not afford to leave, and the wharf where Indonesian ships unload goods from Singapore, there is little sign of any activity.

★ ★ ★

DIPLOMATS BROUGHT here on an official visit by Indonesian Foreign Minister Mochtar Kusumaatmadja believe East Timor, one of the poorest and least developed areas in the world, is likely to be a significant drain on Indonesian resources for many years to come.

Mochtar seems optimistic about the situation. Asked whether his government would accept foreign aid earmarked for East Timor, he said "Yes, if it is given with no strings attached."

VOICE MAY 15, 1978

PRESS CLIPS

By Alexander Cockburn

A Better Class of Thumbscrew

News coverage of Vice President Mondale's trip to the Far East somewhat underplayed the tragicomic aspects of the jaunt. The basic purpose of Mondale's peregrination was to have him perform some modest jawboning re human rights with various tyrants in the region, the better to disguise transfers of arms and cash. Such was the vision of our old friend, Richard Holbrooke, the State Department's proconsul overseeing the Orient.

The man Holbrooke's concern for human rights possibly extends to the sentiment that a political prisoner should have the privilege of deciding the order in which his fingernails should be torn out. But there are some softies in the State Department who take the human rights crusade rather more seriously. Poor Mondale attempted to steer a course between the two factions.

Great was the excitement of the softies when it seemed that in Indonesia Mondale was to meet Yap Thiam Hien, a noted Chinese lawyer who has been zealous in his attempts to gain political justice in Indonesia. In fact, Mondale probably still thinks with emotion of his encounter with Yap and the ensuing constructive dialogue. No so. At the last minute, calculating the American visitors would not be able to distinguish one Chinaman from another, the crafty Indonesians substituted a ringer—Liem Bian Kie. This particular lawyer is one of Suharto's more astute political operatives. After his promo for human rights, Mondale seems to have assured the Indonesians that a squadron of F-5 aircraft and now also some A-4s would be coming their way. These can be counter-insurgency implements and could not, under international agreement, be used by the Indonesians for aggressive external purposes. They will, of course, be used against the people of East Timor, but since the U.S. has recognised the "annexation" of East Timor by Indonesia there is, as they say, no problem.

There is still a problem, though, for the 40,000-odd Indonesian political prisoners who remain in jail after 13 years. The uplifting news of Fritz's concern will no doubt buoy them in their travails.

CIA Said to Aid Indonesia Units In East Timor

SYDNEY, June 19 (UPI) — The CIA has sent military advisers to help Indonesian troops battle guerrillas in East Timor, a nationalist leader said yesterday.

The charge was made by Denis Freney, secretary of the Campaign for an Independent East Timor, a group seeking independence for the island in the Malay archipelago, 360 miles northwest of Australia.

Indonesian troops invaded the former Portuguese colony in December 1975 and annexed the island after the withdrawal of Lisbon troops led to clashes between the leftist Fretilin Party and two smaller independence movements. Mr. Freney said he had learned of the CIA involvement in East Timor through a radio message received by his group from Alarico Fernandez, security secretary for Fretilin's guerrilla government in East Timor.

He said the message reported that the CIA had sent military advisers to Jakarta to help the Indonesians stage a "second invasion" of the island by 15,000 fresh troops, who arrived in East Timor last month.

UPL

30,000 deaths

BETWEEN 30,000 and 40,000 people have died in East Timor because defoliants destroyed their crops, Australian politician Michael Hodgman said in Parliament. Mr Hodgman said the Indonesian Government was responsible for the deaths.—Reuter.

East Timor guerrilla group 'faces collapse'

From Reuter in Jakarta

After fighting for years in an attempt to win independence for the former Portuguese colony of East Timor, the Left-wing Fretilin Independence Movement is reported to be on the brink of collapse.

East Timor's military commander, Brigadier General Dading Kalbuadi, predicts that Fretilin, which lost a civil war to keep East Timor outside Indonesian control, will collapse before the end of this year.

Thousands of villagers, still under Fretilin control or in refugee camps, are reported to be facing starvation, disease and death. Indonesian officials hope

that the imminent collapse of Fretilin will hasten international recognition — so far denied — of Indonesian control of East Timor. The territory was incorporated into Indonesia in July 1976.

The civil war left between 20,000 and 30,000 people dead and more than one-sixth of the 850,000 population homeless. However, the Fretilin continued to wage guerrilla warfare from mountain hideouts, controlling and allegedly terrorising villagers.

The United Nations General Assembly has withheld recognition of the 1976 merger on the grounds that it was brought about by military intervention, instead of free elections.

The Guardian, September 25, 1978

PRESS CLIPS

By Alexander Cockburn

The Big Test

For those who have always felt repugnance at the work of Hans Jurgen Eysenck, there must be some gloomy satisfaction in the new uses to which his work is being put. The Indonesian generals are using his famous test, among others, to determine the attitudes of political prisoners. Those found to be "diehards" in the psycho-tests will not be released. Indonesia still has more than 20,000 political prisoners.

The psycho-test contains 400 questions, including, "Do you like to read newspapers that report about crime or about mountain expeditions?" or "Which do you prefer, kissing women or eating in restaurants?" or, more directly, "What will you do if you find that you do not agree with the government's policy?"

Henry Kamm reported on the psycho-tests in *The New York Times* last week (though not in the detail available in the excellent bimonthly *Tapol*, available for \$5 a year from P.O. Box 609, Montclair, N.J. 07042, if you are interested in Indonesia). Confidence in this Pulitzer prizewinner's respect for facts was mitigated somewhat by memory of his article on East Timor, published April 19. This former Portuguese colony was annexed by Indonesia just under two years ago, amid butchery of the inhabitants by the Indonesians estimated by a conservative Australian diplomat—testifying in Con-

Village Voice
9 VOICE MAY 8, 1978

gress—as possibly having cost the lives of 100,000 Timorese up to March 1977.

None of this from Kamm, of course, who was more interested in reporting that Fretilin (the Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor) enjoys international backing only from "highly vocal groups of Australian left-wing students." This is an odd statement, considering that the UN has passed no less than five resolutions calling on Indonesia to withdraw from East Timor, mentioning Fretilin each time as a party to the dispute. In November of last year, no less than 80 nations voted in the UN for Fretilin's right to be heard. Also, countries such as China give Fretilin diplomatic support—all which seems to amount to more than some Australian students.

In his sagacious assessment of the situation, Kamm may have been somewhat influenced by the splendid concern of Carter's human rights-oriented administration for the people of East Timor. This concern has been expressed in recognition of the Indonesian annexation and in continued supply of arms to the Indonesian government to terrorise and murder its new subjects. All that the East Timorese can look forward to is a pronouncement by President Carter that they should be allowed, like the Palestinians, to participate in the determination of their own future. Then they will know for sure there is no hope left.

WEEK IN REVIEW, MAY 14, 1978

Mondale Is a Nonexpert Who Matters

By TERENCE SMITH

WASHINGTON — On the third stop of his five-nation tour of Southeast Asia and the Pacific last week, Vice President Mondale spent two days in Jakarta discussing Indonesia's requests for additional military and economic assistance. As the talks concluded, an Indonesian minister drew aside an American official. "These sessions have been really useful for us," he said. "Now we have someone at the Friday breakfasts who understands Indonesia's problems."

The breakfast the Minister was referring to is the foreign policy review that President Carter conducts over coffee and Danish every Friday. The participants include the Secretaries of State and Defense, Mr. Carter's top national security and political advisers and Walter F. Mondale. Certainly more than any recent Vice President, Mr. Mondale has achieved a meaningful role in the making of foreign policy.

Given the limited and derivative nature of his office, the accomplishment was only possible with the encouragement of the President. That Mr. Mondale received at the outset of the Administration. Since then, he has played two separate but complementary foreign policy roles. The first, and most significant, is that of a close, trusted adviser to Mr. Carter, who speaks not as a foreign policy expert — he readily concedes he is not — but as a 12-year veteran of the United States Senate and seasoned observer of the ways of Washington.

Last week, he was playing the second role, that of a special Presidential envoy who meets with foreign leaders to discuss broad policy issues in the President's name. On the final leg of his 12-day, 28,000-mile journey, he stopped in Honolulu. In a 40-minute address, he laid out the Administration's Southeast Asia policy — an active diplomacy based on a new, post-Vietnam agenda of economic cooperation, political stabilization and enhanced respect for human rights.

The trip was the fifth foreign journey the Vice President has undertaken in the last 16 months. His previous missions have taken him to eight European nations, Japan, Canada and Mexico. Such travels, Mr. Mondale says, serve as a catalyst to galvanize the bureaucracy: "For two months before I make one of these trips, we isolate the major problems we have with each country and try to get decisions on them. In many cases, they have been hanging around for a year or more needlessly straining our relations."

The visit to Indonesia provides two apt examples. Jakarta has been seeking authority to purchase a squadron of A-4 ground-attack bombers to augment its antiquated air force. The request had been held up on procedural grounds and was flatly opposed by human rights advocates in the State Department who felt Jakarta should be compelled to release some of Indonesia's 20,000 political prisoners. Rather than make a final decision in advance, Mr. Carter asked Mr. Mondale to take soundings on the ground on both the plane request and the Suharto Government's attitude on human rights.

Once there, the Vice President found that the planes were indeed important to the Indonesians and with a little gentle prodding they could be induced to accelerate the release of the political detainees. Some hurried phone calls back to Washington and a few hours later, the Vice President was given the discretionary authority to grant the plane request if he felt adequate progress could be obtained on human rights. More talks with the Indonesians persuaded him that this was the case. Shortly before he left, he announced the plane sale.

Placed against the total of American arms sales abroad, which will amount to \$13 billion in fiscal year 1979, the A-4's are a minor item. But it is an example of the sort of deal that can be consummated on a Vice Presidential trip. Mr. Mondale was also authorized to advise the Thai government that it would be able to buy a squadron of more modern F-5E's, a sophisticated interceptor that could provide defense against any plane in the current Vietnamese inventory. "These deals are not headline items at home," the Vice President readily concedes. "But they are important symbols to these countries of our support."

Except for his overseas trips, Mr. Mondale tries to avoid an operational role in foreign policy. "I have no wish to substitute myself for Cy Vance or Harold Brown," he says. "I try to retain my role as an adviser to the President." In that capacity, Mr. Mondale has been influential in formulating the Administration's recent approach to the Middle East. He felt strongly, for example, that the Administration was speaking with too many voices on controversial elements such as the need for a Palestinian homeland. Reportedly, he urged the President to get back to the basic negotiating issues at the heart of the conflict, such as Israeli adherence to the Security Council resolutions calling for withdrawal on all fronts, a course that Mr. Carter subsequently adopted.

The inherent weakness in Mr. Mondale's foreign policy role is that he is rarely given the opportunity to follow through on a given issue or area. The first-hand knowledge he gained in Southeast Asia, for example, will dissipate quickly as he turns his attention to pending Congressional battles on the energy bill and tax reform. He may be able to speak with authority about Indonesia at next Friday's foreign policy breakfast, but by the following week his focus inevitably will be elsewhere. It doesn't seem to frustrate Walter Mondale. "I got used to that sort of fast-changing agenda in the Senate," he said. "Besides, politics is the common element in all of these matters, domestic and foreign."

Terence Smith is chief White House correspondent for The New York Times.

Prisoners of conscience



The Times (LONDON) August
Indonesia: 28, 1978

W. S. Rendra

By Clifford Longley

In August last year student unrest broke out in Indonesia, with demands for investigations into alleged corruption among politicians and civil servants. The uncontested election of President Suharto this year added fuel to these protests.

Earlier this year, in an attempt to suppress this growing unrest, several hundred students were arrested. The Government also banned seven newspapers, accusing them of publishing exaggerated accounts of the student disturbances.

Shortly afterwards a group of 14 intellectuals issued a statement condemning the Government's actions. It asked for measures against the students' organizations to be lifted, the release of student leaders, the end of what was described as the persecution of students, and the lifting of the ban on newspapers. One of the leaders of this group was the poet and playwright Mr Willibordus Surendra Rendra.

Mr Rendra continued to attack the Government, accusing it of fighting words with guns. In February the press was banned from reporting his speeches or activities. In April he gave a reading of his poems at the Jakarta Arts Centre, and smoke bombs were thrown into the audience by unidentified troublemakers. Two days later Mr Rendra was arrested.

He has since been held in a police interrogation centre in Jakarta, without formal charges. His family visit him once a week. It is reported that at the time of his arrest he was ill-treated.

Mr Rendra is 42, and widely regarded as one of Indonesia's leading poets. Four collections of his verse have been published. He has studied at the American Academy of Dramatic Art in New York.

THE WORLD

what is an unwinnable war. Despite the presence of more than 1,500 French troops and a squadron of Jaguar strike aircraft, Frolinat controls half the country. Habre's first task as prime minister will be to negotiate a ceasefire and a gradual French withdrawal.

Jon Swain

Pakistan crackdown

LIFE imprisonment in Pakistan has been extended from 14 years to 20 years, and some reports hint that the move has been made in anticipation of the appeal judgment on Ali Bhutto, former prime minister sentenced to death for complicity in a political murder.

The supreme court will next month decide to uphold his sentence, acquit him — or commute the sentence to life. If the death sentence is confirmed, Bhutto or his heirs can appeal to the president of Pakistan. There are reports that the ex-

tended 20-year sentence will also include those already serving life. It will bar the release of many lifers about to complete their original term.

Hasan Akhtar

Island diplomacy

DIPLOMATS based in Jakarta, the Indonesian capital, are being taken on tours of East Timor—the island territory that Indonesia took over from Portugal three years ago—in an effort to achieve world acceptance of the takeover.

One party of diplomats, including some from Soviet bloc countries, is to accompany Indonesia's foreign minister to East Timor next Friday. This follows a visit by President Suharto, accompanied by a planeload of ambassadors and diplomats from Singapore, Thailand, The Philippines and Malaysia. But Suharto has not invited anyone from his southern neighbour, Australia, which has been cool about the annexation.

Denis Reinhardt

(LONDON) SUNDAY TIMES, SEPT. 3, 1978

East Timor protest

From Mr Alf Lomas, MEP for London, North East (Labour)

Sir. The Labour members of the European Parliament have expressed their deep concern at the continued acts of aggression by the Government of Indonesia against the people of East Timor and every member has signed the following resolution, which has been submitted to the European Parliament:

The European Parliament, appalled at the acts of aggression of the Government of Indonesia against East Timor; concerned at the violation of basic human rights of the people of East Timor to self-determination as guaranteed in the UN Charter; concerned at the death, torture, imprisonment and forced resettlement of hundreds of thousands of people of East Timor.

1. Calls for the complete withdrawal of Indonesian troops from East Timor and recognizes the right of the people to self-determination;
2. Calls for the lifting of all restric-

tions on the 300,000 people now held in the strategic camps so that they can return to their homes;

3. Calls for an immediate end to executions, imprisonment, torture and censorship;

4. Instructs the President to forward this resolution to the Government of Indonesia and to the Governments of the member states of the EEC, urging the governments of the EEC member states to refuse any further economic aid until the above demands are met.

On May 6/8, the Intergovernmental Group of Indonesia will meet to fix the 1980-81 allocation of economic aid to Indonesia. We believe that the Government of Indonesia should be told that any economic aid given will be conditional upon that government behaving in a civilized manner towards the people of East Timor.

Yours faithfully,

ALF LOMAS.

742 Hoe Street.

Walthamstow, E17.

April 29.