

Indonesia briefly lifted the veil of secrecy surrounding East Timor, claiming peace has returned to the territory it invaded in 1975.
(Story on Page 8)

The Asian Wall Street Journal Weekly March 11, 1985

Promotional Tour?

Indonesia Lifts the Veil From East Timor, Claiming Independence War Has Ended

By STEVEN JONES

LOSPALOS, East Timor—Almost 10 years after it began, the war for independence in Indonesia's troubled East Timor province is getting harder to find.

When a helicopter carrying foreign journalists—the first to travel to East Timor in more than 18 months—lands near the district military headquarters of Lospalos, the only troops out in force are Boy Scouts.

Hundreds of children line the road singing patriotic Indonesian songs as representatives of three foreign news organizations and an Indonesian newspaper walk to a meeting with district civilian and military leaders.

Lospalos is situated in the high plains in the eastern part of the province. The level, green terrain here provides a stark contrast to the mountainous and rocky terrain elsewhere in the province. Plans are proceeding for a government sugar plantation and sugar mill, which would be the largest industrial employer in East Timor. Housing and government offices are sprouting everywhere.

The journalists aren't in Lospalos just to see community improvements, however. We also are here on this government-sponsored visit to see whether peace has returned to the eastern end of the island, and whether prosperity lies on the horizon, as the government alleges.

Guerrilla Remnants

The area surrounding Lospalos, along with the hills near the towns of Viqueque and Baucau, remain East Timor's least-secure areas. In the mountains are the remnants of the leftist Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor, or Fretilin. Opposing them, according to Jakarta, are 7,000 Indonesian soldiers.

Frettilin was one of three political groups that vied for rule in East Timor in 1974-75, when Portugal announced it was withdrawing from its impoverished Asian and African empire. Civil war broke out in Timor. The Portuguese governor fled to nearby Atauro island, and Frettilin took control.

In November 1975 Frettilin proclaimed the territory's independence. But Indonesia invaded, pushing Frettilin to the mountains. Then, at Jakarta's urging, the two other Timorese political parties declared themselves in favor of integration with Indonesia, and a provisional government was formed. (The western half of the island, formerly a Dutch colony, had been part of Indonesia since 1945.)

100,000 Deaths

An estimated half of the 600,000 population fled to the mountains, only to stagger down in 1979-80 under the weight of famine and disease. According to independent and diplomatic observers, more than 100,000 people died as a result of fighting, hunger and sickness.

Indonesia's forcible annexation of East Timor became an international issue. The United Nations and international human rights groups condemned the action, and Portugal still claims sovereignty over the area.

But after nearly 10 years, world-wide concern for East Timor has dwindled. The annual U.N. vote on Indonesian sovereignty over East Timor has slowly shifted to Jakarta's side. The issue hasn't been put to a General Assembly vote for the past two years.

The U.N. Commission on Human Rights currently is meeting in Geneva, however, and likely will take up allegations of continuing rights violations in the territory. The discussions are confidential; but nonetheless embarrassing to Jakarta, which

would like to end scrutiny of its East Timor policies once and for all.

It may only be coincidental that the Indonesian government invited foreign journalists into East Timor at the start of the Geneva talks. But while Jakarta officials deny any such link, it's no secret that Indonesia is upset by what it characterizes as outdated and unfounded charges against Indonesia. Amnesty International, for example, charged last year that Indonesian troops continue to imprison, torture and kill East Timorese opposed to Jakarta's rule. Indonesia has denied the allegations.

Indonesian officials tell the journalists that peace returned to the province after a brief resumption of fighting in late 1983. Officials say great progress is being made

Magr. Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo, says the number is probably too high. But he says he trusts local citizens' claims that soldiers killed 84 civilians in attacks on two villages near Viqueque in September 1983. The 37-year-old bishop, a Timorese educated in Portugal and Rome, has been critical of human rights abuses by Indonesian soldiers and by Frettilin guerrillas.

Gov. Carrascalao denies the bishop's charge, though he says perhaps 20 civilians died during the 1983-84 fighting.

The dispute over this one incident illustrates how hard it is to get accurate information in East Timor. There are few objective sources, and much of what's available comes third- or fourth-hand, often months after an alleged incident. That's due partly to primitive communications facilities, partly to people's fear of reprisals from the warring sides, and partly because Jakarta strictly controls foreign access to the island.

Reporters flying from place to place by helicopter are unable to accurately gauge the level of fighting. Although Indonesia says there are 7,000 soldiers in East Timor, few of them are visible. The armed policemen who meet us at every stop are said to be there to foil would-be kidnappers. And although the journalists are aware that there is a military air base near Baucau, our pilots fly us out to sea when we leave the town, precluding even a glimpse of the airfield. A priest in one village says that two armored troop carriers that usually rumble over village roads have been hidden from view.

Same Answer

Every time we ask civilian or military leaders to describe the security situation, the answer is the same: "It's fine. You're here, aren't you?"

It's a point well taken. The government clearly considers the situation sufficiently under control to let journalists visit, though on strictly monitored conditions.

Military strategy has shifted since the end of the offensive that began in August 1983. The military is taking a more defensive posture, protecting important villages and development projects, rather than seeking out the enemy, according to Indonesian and diplomatic officials.

Gov. Carrascalao says he would be willing to resume talks with Frettilin, but only to discuss the group's surrender and to arrange protection for its members.

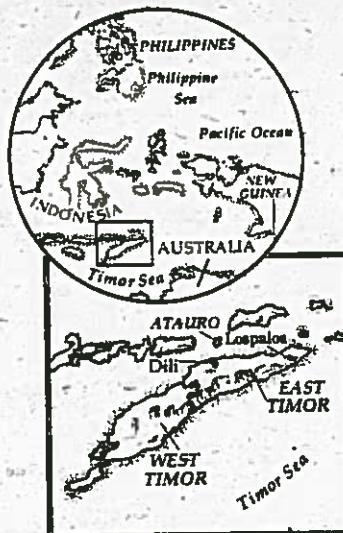
The governor says he hasn't had any direct contact with Frettilin since May 1983, when the two sides held the second of two rounds of discussions in the mountains. He says Frettilin betrayed him after the talks, misrepresenting his positions and taking advantage of an unofficial cease-fire to attack in August 1983, when the 16 soldiers were killed.

'Don't See an End'

Bishop Belo says Indonesian rule is a fact of life for East Timor, but that Frettilin is "still defending the idea of independence. I don't see an end," the bishop adds. "There are children with them who are being trained to fight."

But here in Lospalos, as in Viqueque and in Baucau, the children are going to new schools, getting a free education in a place that the governor says produced only 10 college graduates in 40 years of Portuguese rule. Now they have the chance to see a doctor, and shelter and food are improving.

Still, in the hills is Frettilin. As long as 30 or 40 guerrilla fighters remain, there will be Indonesian soldiers in East Timor watching the hills and watching the people, reminding them that the war hasn't ended.



in improving living conditions and local administration.

By most accounts, fighting between Indonesian troops and Frettilin guerrillas continues, though at a sporadic and low level. Indonesian armed forces chief Gen. Benny Mardjani told Reuters news agency in December that Frettilin numbered 500 to 700 armed men. He said there were about 7,000 Indonesian troops in East Timor.

'Impossible to Be Sure'

The governor of East Timor, Mario Carrascalao, puts the Frettilin figure lower, at about 200. But, he says, "It's impossible to be sure." He says there are 30 to 40 guerrillas who will never quit. Foreign diplomats estimate that Frettilin fighters number from 500 to 1,000.

The last encounter between Frettilin and Indonesian troops reported by Jakarta occurred in August 1983, when guerrillas killed 16 army engineers who were building a road near Viqueque. That attack shattered two years of relative calm, and led to a major Indonesian army offensive.

Diplomats say Indonesia increased its troop strength at the time to 10,000. Regular soldiers and the civil guard stepped up search-and-destroy missions against Frettilin. Most of the action took place near Lospalos, Viqueque and Baucau, areas that traditionally have been strongholds of Frettilin support and centers of guerrilla activity.

The aggressive policy continued into early 1984. Frettilin supporters have charged that Indonesian troops killed as many as 200 civilians in reprisal raids on villages thought to support the guerrillas.

The Catholic bishop of East Timor,

TRIBUNA LIBRE

Los españoles apenas saben nada de la suerte que ha corrido Timor oriental, mi tierra, donde a lo largo de los pasados nueve años la guerra, el hambre, las enfermedades y las ejecuciones se han cobrado más de 100.000 vidas; es decir, más de la sexta parte de la población timoresa. Para el que vive en Madrid esto puede parecer remoto. Pero desde finales de la pasada década, más de 100 timoreses vienen y trabajan en la capital de España y otros lo hacen en otras ciudades españolas. Y el problema de Timor está relacionado íntimamente con Portugal, que gobernó el país durante cuatro siglos, hasta abandonarlo en 1975. En Lisboa hay una comunidad de aproximadamente 1.000 timoreses, y siguen llegando a Portugal cada mes testigos de terribles acontecimientos en nuestra patria. Durante la visita que el próximo mayo hará el presidente Ronald Reagan a Lisboa y a Madrid, la comunidad timorense —al igual que la cuestión de Timor oriental en general— podría ser objeto de atención.

De resultados de la invasión indonesia, la situación de Timor oriental se ha descrito como la de "un El Salvador sin cámaras de televisión". Ello alude no sólo al nivel de atrocidades, sino también al modo como el aparato militar indonesio ha intentado ocultar la verdad, asilando a Timor oriental del exterior. Una hambruna creada por las operaciones militares indonesias se abatió sobre Timor oriental entre 1978 y 1980, causando decenas de miles de víctimas. Desde entonces, las ofensivas militares indonesias —encaminadas a acabar con el Fretilin, movimiento independentista no comunista que sigue resistiéndose— han causado nuevos sufrimientos.

Hay que subrayar que la resistencia timorense es la de un país de menos de 600.000 habitantes frente a los ejércitos de la nación indonesia, con una población de 160 millones. Y que, entre tanto, las organizaciones humanitarias internacionales no han podido operar libremente en el territorio, respondiendo a necesidades urgentes, por haberse impedido el Ejército indonesio. Y que, por vez primera, la Iglesia católica de Timor oriental está padeciendo persecución.

La tragedia de Timor

MARTINHO DA COSTA LOPES

El autor de este artículo pide que la visita a Portugal y España, el próximo mes de mayo, del presidente estadounidense sirva para dar a conocer la situación de Timor, por Indonesia.

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vor de una retirada indonesia —y tras tantas muertes y tanto sufrimiento ocultado, ¿quién puede reprochárselo?—. Sin una solución política basada en el diálogo, la tragedia seguirá indefinidamente.

EE UU, del lado indonesio

Al igual que en Centroamérica, Estados Unidos es una pieza clave en el problema de Timor. Debido, al parecer, a estrechos vínculos políticos y comerciales con Indonesia, que es país productor de petróleo, EE UU se ha situado claramente del lado indonesio en el conflicto. De hecho, Henry Kissinger, entonces secretario de Estado, estaba en Yakarta, capital de Indonesia, en 1975, el día antes de la invasión de Timor oriental. Era del dominio público que Indonesia iba a invadirnos cuando declaró aquel día que "Estados Unidos entiende la postura indonesia en este asunto". Desde entonces, la mayor parte del material de guerra indonesio ha sido proporcionado por EE UU.

Martinho da Costa Lopes fue obispo-administrador papal de Timor oriental de 1977 a 1981.

El presidente Reagan debería también hablar de Timor oriental durante su visita a Lisboa. Aunque no formen parte del conflicto Este-Oeste, los sufrimientos, las necesidades, los derechos de las gentes de Timor oriental son tan reales como los de los pueblos de Centroamérica o Afganistán. Si poco lo que directamente puede hacer España, la tragedia de Timor oriental, que está íntimamente ligada tanto a sus vecinos ibéricos como a EE UU, debe estar en la conciencia de los españoles.

La ONU sigue reconociendo la soberanía legal portuguesa en este territorio. Actualmente, la cuestión de Timor está siendo discutida entre Portugal e Indonesia bajo los auspicios del secretario general de la ONU, Javier Pérez de Cuellar. Sin embargo, en estas conversaciones todavía no participan representantes timoreses. La comunidad internacional timoresa contempla con profundo temor la posibilidad de que Portugal concluya con Indonesia un acuerdo que ignore la razón esencial de este conflicto que dura ya nueve años; es decir, el deseo del pueblo de Timor oriental de decidir su propio futuro. En círculos gubernamentales de Lisboa se ha hablado de un tratado que, aun dando cabida a ciertas consideraciones humanitarias y culturales, reconocería la soberanía indonesia. Se mejante trato no sólo no contribuiría en absoluto a acabar con la actual guerra de Timor, sino que haría que la situación de su pueblo empeorara todavía más.

Sencillamente, lo único que Indonesia quiere y necesita de Portugal es la firma de Lisboa en un documento de este tipo; una vez que obtenga la firma, Indonesia no

lendrá que cumplir sino con requisitos menores, a efectos cosméticos. Y lo decisivo es que, mientras cumpliera mínimamente con ellos —pues poco pueden hacer las Naciones Unidas para forzar a Indonesia a seguir las cláusulas de un tratado—, Indonesia podría hacer uso de este convenio en su sostenido esfuerzo por desviar la atención internacional de la tragedia de Timor. En lugar de ensanchar las vías de acceso internacional al territorio —como tal convenio, tal vez, estipularía—, Indonesia podría manifestar, sin más, que lo había hecho y cerrar por entero Timor oriental a efectos internacionales. Las acciones indonesias de los pasados nueve años sugieren que éste sería el resultado.

Además, si Portugal firmara un acuerdo de poca o ninguna sustancia, Lisboa se resistiría sin duda a admitir su error. Lisboa debe, por tanto, evitar la firma de un acuerdo que no refleje los deseos auténticos del pueblo timóreo.

Debo hacer hincapié en que no pondría objeción alguna si el pueblo de Timor oriental, sin paciones, decidiera ser parte de Indonesia. Pero estoy convencido de que el 90%, si no el 99%, votaría en favor de la agresión —de la lucha contra el comunismo. Indonesia lanzó a finales de 1975 una invasión sobre Timor oriental.

Indonesia Is Stepping Up Release Of Political Prisoners in East Timor

By STEVEN JONES

ATAURO, East Timor—Indonesia believes that the separatist movement in East Timor is under control. As a result, Jakarta says, it is speeding the release of political detainees still held on Atauro, an island 20 miles off the Timor coast.

East Timor's governor, Mario Carrascalao, says all of Atauro's 1,200 "temporarily displaced persons" are to be relocated by the end of the year.

Although diplomats find this timetable overly optimistic, the Indonesian government says it is committed to relaxing its hold on Timorese political prisoners. Since 1983, Jakarta says, it has released large numbers of Atauro detainees. It also says it recently began to accelerate the process of bringing to trial the hundreds of political prisoners who have languished for years in Comarca, a prison in Dili.

Isolating Supporters

Indonesian authorities began moving people to Atauro in 1980, eventually detaining some 4,200 men, women and children on the island. The aim: to isolate potential supporters of the leftist Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor, or Fretilin. Many of those moved were relatives of Fretilin members.

Fretilin won control of East Timor in the 1975 civil war, which broke out after Portugal announced it was ending its 400 years of colonial rule. Indonesia, fearing the establishment of a leftist beachhead on the eastern end of its archipelago, intervened in the conflict and ultimately invaded. East Timor was declared part of Indonesia in 1976.

Fierce fighting followed the invasion. Half the population fled to the mountains. Independent observers say that more than 100,000 people died between 1975 and 1980 as a result of hunger, disease and war.

Detainee Debate

But Indonesia now says the war is over, and that those still held in Atauro can be set free. In fact, Jakarta contends that the East Timorese on Atauro never were detainees, but were removed only temporarily from their villages. They weren't charged with any crimes.

Not everyone accepts that. "They are detainees," contends Robert Gaillard-Moret, Jakarta-based regional director of the International Committee of the Red Cross, or ICRC, which monitors prisoners in East Timor. "They can't leave unless the government lets them."

When relocations from Atauro began two years ago, many prisoners were moved to government-built settlements far from their former villages. That prompted charges that Jakarta was trying to keep political opponents under surveillance. Now, government officials and diplomats say, Indonesia is returning more detainees to their home districts and, in some cases, their home villages.

Least-Secure Area

About three-quarters of Atauro's remaining detainees come from the eastern district of Viqueque, perhaps East Timor's least-secure area. Viqueque was the site of a Fretilin ambush against army engineers in August 1983, the last reported encounter between the rebels and Indonesian troops. Guerrillas still mount occasional attacks in the area.

The government is cautious about plans to relocate people in Viqueque. "We're not going to take the risk of sending people back before an area is 100% safe," says Gov. Carrascalao.

The governor says he fears that some of the purported Fretilin supporters on Atauro will face reprisals from anti-Fretilin villagers once they return. Those nervous about relocating in their villages can be moved elsewhere, he says. Of the 3,000 persons released from Atauro since early

1983, 600 have been resettled outside their home districts, according to government statistics.

But some of the detainees clearly want to go home. For Miquel, a 24-year-old who has spent three years on Atauro, home is Viqueque, where his wife and child still live.

The ICRC says it plans to follow relocated detainees to ensure they are treated well. "We don't want to close the file on these people until we've seen them back in their former areas," says Mr. Gaillard-Moret.

As the relocations from Atauro proceed, Indonesia meanwhile says it is accelerating trial procedures for political prisoners in Comarca prison. Over the years, hundreds

of political prisoners have been held there. Some 200 remain. Gov. Carrascalao says about 100 prisoners have been tried and sentenced in recent months, and adds that the trials will continue.

Most face charges under Indonesia's anti-subversive law. They are accused of being members or active supporters of Fretilin. Sentences range from two to 15 years.

"At least now they have sentences that will end," says a diplomat. "They aren't just sitting there indefinitely."

A group of foreign correspondents—the first allowed into East Timor in 18 months—recently visited Comarca and Atauro, finding conditions in the areas it saw to be reasonably good. Comarca prison is old, but clean, with prisoners living in barracks rather than cells. Most of the prisoners seemed bemused by the journalists' visit.

On Atauro, most people live in thatch huts, preferring their traditional housing to the hotter government-built houses with

tin roofs. The areas visited were clean, and there were no signs of bars or barbed wire. About 5,000 indigenous residents live side-by-side with the detainees.

The atmosphere was less friendly at Atauro than Comarca. The young men studied their visitors with sullen stares. "The people are always being looked at like they are in a zoo," says Mr. Gaillard-Moret, attempting to explain the detainees' reaction.

Indeed, Atauro is a regular stop for diplomats and the few others allowed to visit East Timor. Many come to assess charges of human-rights abuses, which are denied by Jakarta.

When the ICRC first visited Atauro in February 1982, food and health problems abounded. "That's not so now," Mr. Gaillard-Moret says. The island has a special nutrition center for children. An ICRC nurse spends three weeks each month on Atauro, and an Indonesian doctor is there full-time.

Prelate in E. Timor Accuses Indonesia of Summary Killings

Document Alleges 'Inhuman' Conditions

By Peter Wise
Special to The Washington Post

LISBON, April 27—The leading Roman Catholic official in East Timor has accused the Indonesian military administration of that former Portuguese colony of carrying out summary executions and mass arrests, according to a document released here in to the Portuguese capital.

Carlos Ximenes Belo, apostolic administrator of Timor's capital, Dili, accused the Indonesian authorities of recruiting children into offensives against nationalist insurgents, killing peasants in reprisal for guerrilla attacks, and implementing forced migrations to community villages where conditons were "inhuman."

A Lisbon-based Catholic Church group monitoring the situation in East Timor said the four-page document, dated Jan. 1, 1985, was smuggled from the territory through "religious channels" to France and then Portugal.

Belo wrote a similar letter, dated Feb. 11, 1984, that was carried to Lisbon by the prelate who preceded him in the apostolic post. It ascribed ravages to the Indonesians allegedly resulting from stepped-up warfare against Marxist guerrillas. This year, he said "the war is clearly expanding."

The island of Timor, 400 miles northwest of Australia, formerly was divided between the Dutch, who transferred their western portion to Indonesia in 1949, and the Portuguese, who pulled out of the east 10 years ago.

With the Marxist Fretilin group ascendant there, Indonesia militarily annexed East Timor in 1976. Indonesia has imposed an effective news blackout by restricting access.

The church leader's report indicated Indonesian forces were reacting to widespread insurgency by the Revolutionary Front for Independent East Timor, or Fretilin, "with successive and systematic antiguerilla sweeps."

This contrasts sharply with official Indonesian statements that the guerrillas have been reduced to a handful of demoralized men holding out in the inaccessible eastern mountains.

"The culture, ethnic identity and religious beliefs of the Timorese people are being threatened, violated and slowly destroyed," Belo wrote. "In the midst of the catastrophe that is devastating Timor, the church must speak out against the attacks on human dignity and condemn injustices."

Belo appealed "with the utmost urgency" for open, purposeful negotiations between all interested parties, in which he said "independence movements," apparently a reference to the Fretilin guerrillas, should take part "free from all coercion."

Census figures showed the population to be 650,000 in the early 1970s. Relief agencies estimate that famine, disease and the hostilities in the wake of the 1976 Indonesian invasion killed 150,000 to 250,000 Timorese. Indonesia denies the reports. The Indonesian-appointed governor, Mario Carrascalao, told reporters in February that Indonesia had won the support of the Timorese by improving living conditions.

Belo's document, which the church group said was originally addressed to the Indonesian authorities, contradicted this view. He said lack of sanitation had lead to widespread disease, and forced migrations prevented peasants from cultivating subsistence crops, leaving them dependent on infrequent supplies from the Indonesians.

Belo said the Indonesian armed forces carried out waves of arrests of suspected guerrilla sympathizers, including the "most simple and humble peasants." He accused the authorities of systematically replacing Timorese public servants with Indonesians and attempting to impose their own language and religion through control of the school system and intimidation of Catholics.

SATURDAY-SUNDAY MAY 11-12, 1985

U.S. Might Abandon SALT-2, Reagan Says

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

LISBON — President Ronald Reagan, ending his 10-day European trip, said Friday that there was strong evidence that U.S. compliance with the SALT-2 nuclear arms control agreement was "rather one-sided" and declared "there is no need for us to continue" abiding by its terms if Moscow violates it.

His statement was the strongest suggestion yet that the United States might let the unratified treaty lapse at the end of the year rather than dismantle some nuclear forces to conform to the pact's limits.

At a news conference in Lisbon marking the end of his trip, the president said he has not decided which course to take.

He said his invitation for a meeting with the Soviet leader, Mikhail S. Gorbachev, was still open if Mr. Gorbachev comes to the United States this fall for a United Nations meeting.

"So the ball is in his court, first to decide whether he's coming" to the

(Continued from Page 1)

treaty was raised in Washington this week in congressional testimony by Richard N. Perle, the assistant secretary of defense for international security policy.

Asked for his view of Mr. Perle's statement, Mr. Reagan said, "Everyone's got a right to express their opinion. He was doing no more than that."

In arrival remarks in Washington, Mr. Reagan brushed aside problems during the European tour.

"We have returned home with mission accomplished," he said. "We have had a fine trip, a challenging trip and a successful trip."

"We return with warm memories of European friendship for Americans," he said, adding that the demonstrations mounted against him by leftists proved that "we were saying and doing the right things."

■ **Aides Praise Results**

David Hoffman and Lou Cannon of The Washington Post reported from Lisbon:

President Reagan's aides on Thursday also gave an upbeat account of the difficult European trip.

Secretary of State George P. Shultz said Thursday that the journey was a "trip of great importance" that dealt with "issues of historic proportions and enduring significance."

U.S. Might Abandon SALT-2 Treaty, Reagan Says

"He's talking tough, certainly," Donald T. Regan, said the trip demonstrated that "Reagan is now the leader of the Free World."

Both officials made their assessments of a trip during which Mr. Reagan met considerable adversity.

He was the target of hecklers in the European Parliament at Strasbourg, France, and of street demonstrations in Spain against the presence of U.S. bases. He was also the focus of a bitter controversy over the laying of a wreath at a German military cemetery.

Mr. Regan said that the president could have sidestepped these difficulties but to do so would have been "to take the easy way out."

The White House chief of staff suggested that the president and Mr. Gorbachev, in major speeches Wednesday, were both pursuing similar strategies of alternately staking out hard-line positions against each other's policies while at the same time indicating a willingness to resolve their differences at a summit meeting.

"Notice the parallelism here," Foreign Minister Jaime Gama said he gave Mr. Shultz a memo seeking relaxed trade barriers on Portuguese goods, notably textiles, footwear and steel.

Mr. Gama said he also insisted on the need for greater financial compensation from the United States in return for use of the Lajes military base in the Azores. He suggested this compensation could come through greater use of Portuguese firms for naval repairs and armaments.

In an address to a Kremlin rally on Wednesday commemorating the 40th anniversary of the defeat of Nazi Germany, the Soviet leader charged that the United States was "the forward edge of the war menace to mankind."

Another issue that came up Thursday was the fate of East Timor, the former Portuguese colony near Australia.

A bipartisan group of 131 U.S. congressmen recently urged Mr. Reagan to use his visit to Portugal to express concern over 100,000 deaths there since Indonesia invaded the territory in 1975. The congressmen said Roman Catholic Church sources had reported that Indonesian military action against Timorese resistance had left many people in need of emergency medical and relief supplies.

Mr. Shultz said, "The subject was mentioned but was not a particular issue in our discussions." Mr. Gama said the United States had "not succeeded in being neutral" between Indonesia and Portugal on the issue.

On Thursday, the president met with Prime Minister Mario Soares. Officials on both sides said there were few disagreements.

The leaders muted any differences over Nicaragua, although Portuguese officials said their government would not support Mr. Reagan's economic sanctions against the country.

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Recalling Timor's Forgotten Voices

By MARTINHO DA COSTA LOPPES

In July 1982, 10 months before I resigned as apostolic administrator, or acting bishop, of the Roman Catholic Church in East Timor, a group of visiting foreign journalists asked my views on events in the territory. I told them that I would refrain from comment, because I had been warned by Indonesian officials of the consequences to the clergy in my diocese if I spoke out.

In the months preceding the meeting, I had made several statements on the widespread atrocities that had resulted from Indonesian military operations against the East Timorese independence movement, Fretilin. The response from Jakarta was a campaign of threats and attacks on my credibility—a campaign similar to the one now directed at my successor, Msgr. Carlos Ximenes Belo.

In such an atmosphere, the average person in East Timor would be even more reluctant to speak with any outsider. Traumatized by a conflict that has seen many thousands of East Timorese killed and imprisoned since Indonesia invaded the territory in 1975, and well aware that most visits by foreigners are designed to advance Indonesian political goals, most East Timorese would just as soon protect themselves and keep quiet. There are exceptions, of course, but those who defy the rules as defined by Jakarta risk lengthy interrogation, imprisonment or worse.

Fear of Reprisals

In speaking of visits to East Timor by foreign journalists, then, one has to take into account conditions of this sort. To his credit, Steven Jones did that to a certain degree in his recent series of articles based on a three-day visit to East Timor in February (See *The Asian Wall Street Journal* Weekly of March 11, March 18, and March 25).

Still, there are some insights that I can share, based on my long experience observing press visits to East Timor and, more importantly, my intimate knowledge of the feelings of the East Timorese people themselves, who too often, owing to prevailing circumstances, remain unheard. Without opportunities to speak with them in a set-

ting free of fear of retaliation, any account is bound to be incomplete.

Some recent developments are open to interpretation, and here the question of one's viewpoint is crucial. For example, descriptions of "public works projects" and "free education" for East Timorese children should try to understand the purpose of these Indonesian-sponsored endeavors.

Many, if not most, of the public works projects weren't built for the benefit of the East Timorese, but for the many thousands of soldiers and settlers that Jakarta has brought to East Timor.

New roads and other facilities are designed for military and commercial purposes and are only secondarily concerned with the well-being of the local population—if at all. Housing developments are aimed principally at controlling the movements of the population and have severely disrupted traditional living patterns. And the education programs, far from being benevolent, are aimed at eradicating East Timorese languages, culture and ethnic identity as efficiently as possible.

Mr. Jones made clear that because of the closely controlled nature of his visit, there was no way of accurately gauging the level of fighting in the territory. The same, of course, could be said for the level of human rights violations, as well as conditions in parts of the territory that weren't visited. But from communications and reports I have received from the Church, I can say that resistance is far more widespread than is generally realized, and that torture continue—not to mention severe lack of food and medicine in certain areas.

In a highly controlled setting, official points of view tend to be dominant. There is no one to counter the words of an unnamed diplomat who, speaking of the two-to-15 year prison sentences given to East Timorese linked to Fretilin, states, "At least they have sentences that will end. They aren't just sitting there indefinitely."

To an East Timorese, however, the idea

opposing the armed takeover of one's country defies belief.

I note, too, that the account of what caused the Indonesian military offensive that began in August 1983 only contains the official Indonesian version of events, namely that guerrillas killed 16 unarmed

group can't be called "separatist" under these circumstances.

These examples illustrate a key point, namely that Indonesia-based journalists, often through no fault of their own, frequently have little access to relevant information that can provide a fuller view of the East Timor situation.

Congressional Concern

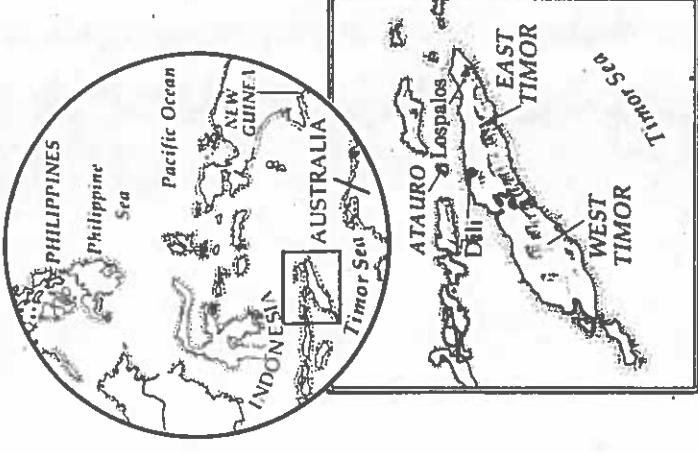
Mr. Jones states, for example, that "after nearly 10 years, world-wide concern for East Timor has dwindled." While it is true, as he reports, that the position of the United Nations has weakened, that doesn't tell the whole story. Large numbers of U.S. congressmen and senators from both parties have repeatedly expressed concern over the human rights situation, new Indonesian military offensives, and the need for a just settlement of the conflict. On April 26, for example, 131 members of Congress led by Rep. Tony P. Hall (D.-Ohio) raised such matters in a letter to President Reagan. They called for "an authentic peace" in East Timor.

Last July, Secretary of State Shultz raised the issue of human rights in East Timor during a visit to Jakarta. The same week, Pope John Paul II made a statement on the question. British Prime Minister Thatcher also acknowledged raising the East Timor question during an April visit to the Indonesian capital. Members of parliament in such Western countries as the Federal Republic of Germany continue to express their concern as well. Taken together, one can see that international interest in the plight of East Timor is growing, the UN notwithstanding.

We East Timorese are gratified by this increased international concern. But our point of view is indispensable to any genuine understanding of our tragic circumstances. The international press should make every effort to seek it out, within East Timor and beyond.

The question of terminology is relevant as well. Thus, Fretilin is described as a "separatist" movement, when in fact East Timor was invaded and unilaterally annexed in violation of international law. A

Martinho da Costa Lopes was apostolic administrator of East Timor from 1977 to 1983. He now lives in Portugal.



Letters to the Editor

Completing the Picture of East Timor

In July 1982, 18 months before I resigned as apostolic administrator, or auxiliary bishop, of the Roman Catholic Church in East Timor, visiting foreign journalists asked my views on events in the territory. I told them that I would refrain from comment, because I had been warned by Indonesian officials of the consequences to the clergy in my diocese if I spoke out.

In the months preceding that meeting, I had made several statements on the widespread atrocities that had resulted from Indonesian military operations against the East Timorese independence movement, Fretilin. The response from Jakarta was a campaign of threats and attacks on my credibility—a campaign similar to the one now directed at my successor, Msgr. Carlos Ximenes Belo.

In such an atmosphere, the average person in East Timor would be even more reluctant to speak with any outsider. Traumatized by a conflict that has seen many thousands of East Timorese killed and imprisoned since Indonesia invaded the territory in 1975, and well aware that most visits by foreigners are designed to advance Indonesian political goals, most East Timorese would just as soon protect themselves and keep quiet. There are exceptions, but those who defy the rules as defined by Jakarta risk lengthy interrogation, imprisonment or worse.

In reading about visits to East Timor by foreign journalists¹, then, one had to take into account these conditions.² To his credit, Steven Jones did that to a certain degree in his recent series of articles based on a three-day visit to East Timor in February (page one, March 5, 7, 11).

Still, there are some insights that I can share, based on my long experience observing press visits to East Timor and my intimate knowledge of the feelings of the East Timorese people themselves, who too often remain unheard. Without opportunities to speak without fear of retaliation, any account is bound to be incomplete. Some recent developments are open to interpretation, and here the question of one's viewpoint is crucial. For example, anyone describing "public works projects" and "free education" for East Timorese children should try to understand the purpose of these Indonesian-sponsored endeavors.

Many, if not most, of the public works projects weren't built for the benefit of the East Timorese, but for the thousands of soldiers and settlers that Jakarta has brought to East Timor. New roads and other facilities are designed for military and commercial purposes and are only secondarily concerned with the well-being of the local population—if at all. Housing developments are aimed principally at controlling the movements of the population and have severely disrupted traditional living patterns. And the education programs, far from being benevolent, are aimed at eradicating East Timorese languages, culture and ethnic identity as efficiently as possible.

Mr. Jones made clear that because of the closely controlled nature of his visit, he could not accurately gauge the level of fighting in the territory. The same could be said for human rights violations, as well as for conditions in parts

of the territory he did not visit. But from communications I have received from the church in Timor, I can say that resistance is far more widespread than is generally realized, and that arrests, summary killings and torture continue. There is also a severe lack of food and medicine in some areas.

In a highly controlled setting, official points of view tend to dominate. There is no one to counter the words of an unnamed diplomat who, speaking of the two-to-15-year prison sentences given to East Timorese linked to Fretilin, stated, "At least now they have sentences that will end. They aren't just sitting there indefinitely." To an East Timorese, however, the idea that we should spend long years in jail for opposing the armed takeover of one's country defies belief!

I note, too, that Mr. Jones's account of what caused the Indonesian military offensive, that began in August 1983, contains only the official Indonesian version of events, namely that guerrillas killed 18 unarmed Indonesian engineers. Many East Timorese insist that the incident actually involved a similar number of off-duty Indonesian soldiers, who arrived at a Timorese wedding in Viqueque, and abducted and raped several Timorese women, thereby provoking Timorese retaliation.

These examples illustrate a key point, namely that Indonesia-based journalists, often through no fault of their own, frequently have little access to relevant information that can provide a fuller view of the East Timor situation. Mr. Jones states, for example, that "after nearly 10 years, world-wide concern for East Timor has dwindled." While it is true that the position of the United Nations has weakened, that isn't the whole story. U.S. congressmen and senators from both parties have repeatedly expressed concern about human rights, new Indonesian military offensives, and the need for a just settlement of the conflict. On April 26, 131 members of Congress led by Democratic Rep. Tony P. Hall of Ohio raised such matters in a letter to President Reagan. They called for "an authentic peace" in East Timor.

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East Timorese are gratified by this increased international concern. But our point of view is indispensable to any genuine understanding of our tragic circumstances. The international press should make every effort to seek it out, within East Timor and beyond.

MARTINHO DA COSTA LOPEZ

The writer was apostolic administrator of East Timor from 1977 to 1983. He now lives in Portugal.

CATHOLIC HERALD 12/7/85

US bishop wants East Timor enquiry

SPEAKING at the launch of an Amnesty International report on human rights violations in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor, occupied by Indonesia since 1975, Bishop Francis Murphy, auxiliary in Baltimore, called on President Reagan to launch a full congressional hearing into the allegations.

Bishop Murphy, on behalf of the United States Catholic Conference, said that although Indonesia had barred journalists since their invasion in 1975, "information does leak out" which would "suggest that a great deal is wrong in East Timor".

He credited church sources in East Timor, 400 miles north of Australia, for revealing the true situation of the Timorese people. Referring to the Amnesty report, *East Timor: Violations of Human Rights*, the bishop highlighted sections dealing with the execution of hundreds of people by the

Indonesians since 1975, the "disappearances" of thousands more arbitrary arrests, the use of torture, including electric shocks, beatings with blunt objects and jabbing lighted cigarettes into prisoners' eyes and mouths.

The bishop went on to accuse the US administration of failing to exert sufficient pressure on Indonesia to end such abuses. "We need to break down the walls of silence about a forgotten place" he said.

Besides the report, Amnesty also made available copies of a military manual issued to Indonesian troops serving in East Timor. In a section on interrogation, the manual states that if "the use of physical violence is unavoidable, make sure there are no 'common people' around to witness it. It goes on: "Avoid taking photographs showing torture in progress — eg while the person interrogated is giving electric shocks or stripped naked".

Shift Hurts Human Rights Lobbyist

NOV. 17, 1985

By SHIRLEY CHRISTIAN

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Nov. 18 — The tall, slightly stooped figure of Bruce P. Cameron is a familiar one in the halls and hearing rooms of Congress, where he has lobbied for 10 years on human rights and related foreign policy matters.

To anyone who asks what he has accomplished, he can provide a three-page list of legislation placing conditions or restrictions on foreign military aid to countries that violate human rights. His role in drafting or pushing such bills for passage is widely acknowledged among rights activists and in Congress.

Last June, however, Mr. Cameron played a key behind-the-scenes role in creating the compromise legislation that provided \$27 million in nonmilitary aid to Nicaraguan rebels fighting the Sandinista Government. As a result, he says, he has been ostracized by most of the human rights organizations and individuals who finance human rights lobbying.

Most Groups Oppose Aid

Most human rights groups oppose aid to the rebels, with their reasons ranging from opposition to the overthrow of another government to concern over human rights accusations made against the rebels. Mr. Cameron's supporters, on the other hand, assert that many human rights groups have as their first priority support for the Sandinistas and other leftist causes in Central America.

Mr. Cameron says he resigned under threat of being discharged from his longtime staff position with Americans for Democratic Action, was removed as secretary of the Human Rights Political Action Committee, and resigned as vice president of the Foreign Policy Education Fund after concluding that he was about to be voted off the board. He also says he has been unsuccessful in raising funds for a new group.

Ann F. Lewis, the national director of A.D.A., confirmed that she had asked Mr. Cameron to resign after the aid vote because "his personal beliefs on the issue of Nicaragua increasingly diverged from stated policy positions of the organization" that oppose aid to the rebels.

Richard Healey, the director of the Foreign Policy Education Fund, said he had told Mr. Cameron after the rebel aid vote that it might not be "appropriate" for him to continue on the board. He said he subsequently polled the board members and found that they did not want to remove Mr. Cameron "strictly for political reasons, but Bruce said he didn't want to fight us."

'Pulling Away From Congress'

William Goodfellow, who heads the Human Rights PAC, did not respond to telephone messages asking for comment on the situation.

Mr. Cameron feels he has not abandoned human rights but has become a "pragmatist." He charges that most human rights advocates are "pulling

but most do not want to be quoted.

Richard L. McCall, an adviser to Senator John Kerry of Massachusetts, said he had not agreed with Mr. Cameron's decision to support rebel aid but felt he should not be penalized for it. He said human rights advocates ought to have "a high degree of tolerance, and I think we can't be guilty of things we think the right is guilty of — a rigidity."

The 42-year-old Mr. Cameron, whose maternal grandfather was a Republican Iowa Congressman from 1915 to 1933, said his change in position on rebel aid was part of a long and conscience-searching transformation in his views on foreign policy and how to defend human rights.

When he came to Washington in 1975 after two successful years in the antiwar movement in Michigan, he was inclined "to a sort of third-worldist, anti-imperialist" point of view and he looked on human rights as a tool to further efforts to oppose American policies in developing countries. That view gradually changed.

The Better of the Two Powers'

"I came to see the United States as having security interests," he said. "I came to believe that the United States was, in the competition with the Soviet Union, the better of the two powers. I still think that we do terrible, terrible things, either on purpose or by mistake, in some of our dealings in the third world, and I think there needs to be a very activist role by Congress."

In 1978 he became acquainted with Alfonso Robelo and Dr. Alvaro Jerez, two prominent members of the Nicaraguan opposition then trying to bring about a non-Sandinista succession to the regime of Somoza. After Mr. Robelo went into the Sandinista-controlled Government in July 1979, Mr. Cameron began traveling to Nicaragua, where he expanded his contacts. His Washington apartment became a stopping place for acquaintances from Nicaragua and El Salvador.

"I have believed since 1982 that unless there's a compromise in Nicara-

gu there'll be no compromise in El Salvador," he said. "Unless there are internal negotiations in Nicaragua you can't have successful internal negotiations in El Salvador. But until this last go-round on the Hill I never saw the contra as an acceptable force."

He favors combining pressure on the Sandinista Government with appeals to negotiate, and he has concluded that military action by the rebels, often referred to as contras, constitutes that leverage.

Changes Within Movement

Two things, he said, have happened within the insurgent movement to contribute to his change of position. First, the leadership has been expanded, at least technically, to include a number of people not associated with the old Somoza regime.

"Second," he said, "at the base level, you've had a lot of people come into the contra ranks who do so out of a sense of their own grievances, which they don't think they can deal with within the Sandinista system."

Finally, he said, President Reagan has formally committed himself to helping end human rights abuses by Nicaraguan rebels and to supporting internal dialogue in both Nicaragua and El Salvador.

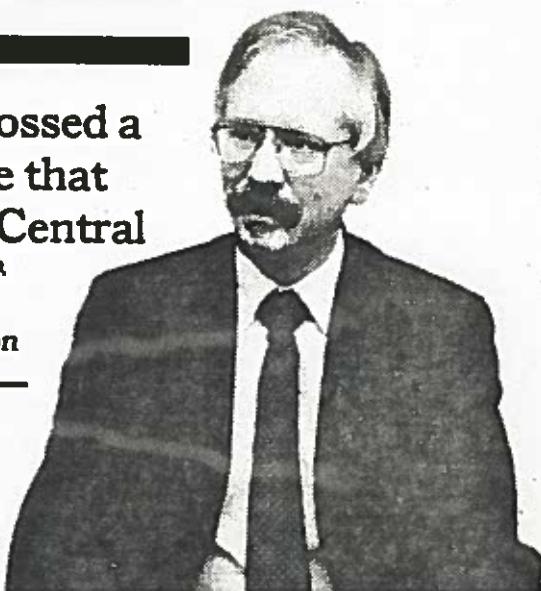
Mr. Cameron himself worked hard to get that commitment a few days before the aid vote in June. Taking a leave from A.D.A. last May, he assisted Representative Dave McCurdy, an Oklahoma Democrat, in shaping the compromise bill. It was Mr. McCurdy, with Mr. Cameron sitting nearby, who asked the President by telephone to put his promises into a letter, which was considered crucial in influencing many votes.

In the eyes of other human rights activists, Mr. Cameron said, "I have crossed a purity line that exists on Central America."

"I think it is perceived that way, and I think that's real wrong," he said, "because we have good human rights language in the bill and also in the President's letter."

I have crossed a purity line that exists on Central America.'

Bruce Cameron



The Boston Globe

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 28, 1985

East Timor: hidden genocide

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

visitors in Stalin's Russia.

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

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

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

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