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# The New York Times

SUNDAY, JANUARY 12, 1986

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## Letters

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### Indonesia's Neighbors Fear Expansionism

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To the Editor:

A Dec. 16 news article reporting that Indonesia says it is making progress in two trouble spots, the province of Irian Jaya on the island of New Guinea and the formerly Portuguese East Timor, completely distorts the situation in those two hapless territories. "Indonesians" are quoted as claiming progress in "defusing two 'time bombs' left behind by colonial powers."

The article assumes that Indonesia has some legitimacy in the two territories. Nothing could be further from the truth. West New Guinea, or "West Irian" as the Indonesians call it, was administered separately by the Dutch from Indonesia. Its Melanesian peoples were never part of any pre-colonial or colonial Indonesia. West New Guineans were forced into a shotgun marriage with Indonesia as a result of Indonesia's violence against the Dutch colonial authorities.

Similarly, the East Timorese were culturally and politically separate from Indonesia up through the colonial period. Indonesia launched a destabilization campaign in East Timor, followed by a large-scale invasion on Dec. 7, 1975. As many as 200,000 of a population of 600,000 perished in the fighting and subsequent dislocation and famine. The United Nations Security Council and General Assembly have consistently

condemned Indonesia's actions.

To call peoples struggling for self-determination in such circumstances "separatists" is to miss the mark. The "time bomb" is Indonesian expansionism. It has already taken the two territories in question. Indonesia's "confrontation" in the 1960's was aimed (unsuccessfully) at swallowing up the Borneo territories of what is now Malaysia. The leaders of Papua New Guinea, in the eastern part of the island of New Guinea, have good reason to fear that their country is next.

ROGER CLARK  
Vice President  
Intl. League for Human Rights  
New York, Dec. 20, 1985

# Major Challis oil flow raises Timor Sea hopes

DAILY TELEGRAPH  
4/13/86.

By CALVIN NOACK

BHP's Challis 2A well yesterday flowed oil at 9380 barrels a day and gas at 2.67 million cu ft a day, confirming the Timor Sea as a major oil province which could rival Bass Strait.

The flows were through twin 1.25-inch chokes and the well yielded a stabilised flow rate of 8480 barrels a day.

The flows were recorded over the interval 1402.5m to 1417.5m.

Energy analysts said if the oil flow was measured against a more traditional three-quarter inch choke they expected a lesser but still significant figure of about 4570 barrels a day.

The Challis field is located about 600km west of Darwin.

The flow "reinforces the Timor Sea as a major oil producing area for Australia," Mr Don Norton, manager of BHP Petroleum, BHP's operator of the well, said yesterday.

It was the biggest flow in Australia, Mr Norton said.

He declined to estimate of the size or the potential of the field, saying the final size would depend on drilling one or two more wells.

"There is another test to go," he said, "somewhere between the 1387-1409m interval."

Industry analysts agreed the flow was encouraging with Meares and Phillips oil analyst, Mr David Erskine, saying it was "probably better" than Challis 1, 1.5km away, which flowed 4700 barrels a day with peak flows of 6000 barrels

Jacksons oil analyst, Mr Tony McKay, said the flow was "a very good result which indicated that Challis is bigger than we first thought."

• The Foreign Affairs Minister, Mr Hayden, yesterday continued talks with Indonesian ministers on a proposal put by the Indonesians on the ownership and control of the potentially oil-rich Timor Gap.



# 10 Ways Reagan Can Oppose Tyranny

4/4/86

By Robert L. Bernstein

**P**resident Reagan's proclamation last month that the United States opposes "tyranny in whatever form, whether of the left or the right" inspired hope but also some questions about the President's commitment and staying power.

Reactions were widely varied. Some people saw it as a shift from Jeane J. Kirkpatrick's view that the United States should support friendly authoritarian despots for fear that they will be replaced by hostile totalitarians; others saw it as a maneuver to lend credibility to support for the Contras; still others, including the President's national security adviser, have said there is "nothing new" in the statement.

There may be something to all three views, but recent actions backing up the President's words — the abandonment of the Marcos and Duvalier dictatorships in the Philippines and Haiti and the sponsorship of a United Nations resolution condemning Chile for human rights abuses — give rise to hope that there may be in fact something genuinely new in his attitude.

*Robert L. Bernstein, chairman of Random House, publishers, is also chairman of the Fund for Free Expression, which sponsors the Americas Watch, Helsinki Watch and Asia Watch, human rights organizations.*

The shift at the United Nations was especially welcome, since the Administration had previously opposed such resolutions when they criticized tyrannies of the right such as Chile. Among other things, the United States would be a far more effective opponent of tyrannies of the left if it were accepted generally that we oppose all forms of tyranny. More is required, however, before most people concerned with human rights will agree that the Reagan Administration is as committed to opposing tyrannies of the right as tyrannies of the left.

Here are 10 areas in which the Administration can show where it stands:

1. In the past five years, the Administration has supported billions of dollars in international bank loans to Chile, despite a United States law prohibiting support for loans to governments practicing gross abuses of human rights. Will the Administration follow up its stand at the United Nations by reversing its position on such loans?

2. At the end of this month, President Reagan will travel to Indonesia. Will he denounce the killings and torture there of those suspected of sympathizing with independence movements in East Timor and Irian Jaya?

3. The Administration recently disavowed a statement by the Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Chester A. Crocker, in support of majority rule in South Africa. Will the Administration finally endorse

this elementary condition for democratic government?

4. The United States Ambassador in South Korea, Richard A. Walker, refuses to meet with the country's most popular democratic leader, Kim Dae Jung. Will this finally change, and will the Administration endorse direct popular elections?

5. There is a new democratically

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## A test for the President's commitment and staying power

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elected civilian President in Guatemala, but killings and disappearances by the security forces persist, and hundreds of thousands of Indian men are still being coerced to do onerous unpaid service in civilian patrols. Will the Administration drop its efforts to give Guatemala military aid? Will it call for an end to compulsory service in the patrols?

6. The elections in Liberia last October were as fraudulent as those in the Philippines. Will the Administration endorse a suspension of aid until

free and fair elections are held?

7. Human rights organizations, church leaders and journalists continue to report air attacks on civilians in El Salvador. Will the Administration stop labeling these reports as guerrilla propaganda and apply pressure to the Salvadoran armed forces to end such attacks?

8. Despite the lifting of martial law in Pakistan, hundreds of political prisoners remain incarcerated in inhuman conditions, and opposition political parties are still banned. Will the Administration link military assistance to significant improvements in human rights?

9. Rumania is one of the most severely repressive of all Communist nations, but we accord it trade privileges because it steers a somewhat independent line from Moscow on foreign policy. Isn't it time to suspend most-favored-nation status to promote human rights reforms?

10. Turkish leaders have begun to speak about improving Turkey's human rights record, but thousands of political detainees are still languishing in prison, and torture continues. Will the Administration publicly criticize these abuses and use leverage so that the political prisoners are released and torture curbed?

No one expects that the President will answer yes to all these questions. By responding affirmatively to at least a few, however, he would confirm the judgment that something new has indeed happened.

MARY McGRORY

## A Chance to Oppose Tyranny

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

His host in Indonesia, President Suharto, is a murderous right-winger. He seized power in a coup in 1965, and killed half a million of his compatriots to consolidate it. He has circumvented political opposition by subsidizing two "rival" parties, ensuring that in four elections he has run unopposed. He is as corrupt as Ferdinand Marcos; as repressive as General Augusto Pinochet of Chile; and if he has not matched the record of Pol Pot, the butcher of Cambodia who murdered 2 million Cambodians, he is, on the small island of Timor, which lies about 1,400 miles from Jakarta, trying to wipe out what remains of its shrinking population.

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

East Timor, a Portuguese colony for four centuries, expected independence when Portugal withdrew. Instead, in 1975, it was invaded by Suharto, who instituted a reign of terror that continues to this day. The most conservative estimates put the East Timor casualties at 100,000. The 550,000 who survived are subject to intimidation, relocation, crop destruction, arrest, torture and disappearance. About 10,000 have fled.

Monsignor Martinho Da Costa Lopes, erstwhile bishop of East Timor's predominantly Catholic population, asserts that his people face ethnic and cultural genocide. Women patients, he says, are given birth-control injections at health clinics without their consent or knowledge.

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

Suharto has shown his colors about

the free press by banning the entry of two Australian reporters in the president's entourage who wrote about Suharto's graft, and New York Times reporter Barbara Crossette, who delicately criticized his rule in some previsit dispatches without even mentioning East Timor.

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

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

Despite their courage and their cause, they are not called "freedom fighters" by the Reagan White House. They have not qualified under the so-called "Reagan doctrine," which makes support of freedom-seeking guerrillas automatic. Instead of lending them a hand, Reagan seeks \$37 million in military aid for Suharto, who will use it to put them down.

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

The State Department maintains that "a basic change for the better is taking place." With Suharto, State has been seeing light at the end of the tunnel for the last 10 years.

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

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

# INTERNATIONAL Herald Tribune

Published With The New York Times and The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 30, 1986

## Jakarta Is Adept at Silencing Its Critics

By Arnold Kohen

**WASHINGTON** — During President Ronald Reagan's visit to Indonesia which began Tuesday, he should encourage greater freedom of the press. The Indonesian public and the rest of the world are being denied information about Jakarta's repressive military government.

Strategically located and economically important, Indonesia is the world's fifth most populous nation, the world's largest Moslem country and a pre-eminent member of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations. Staunchly anti-Communist and ruled by a well-entrenched military headed by President Suharto, Indonesia has been the recipient, over the last 10 years, of approximately \$2 billion in direct U.S. military and economic aid.

Cautious criticism is sometimes tolerated in Indonesian newspapers, but can easily result in the closing of a paper. Certain subjects are clearly off-limits, while few dissenting views are permitted on the state-controlled radio and television.

While freer to report than their Indonesian colleagues, foreign correspondents also are scrutinized by the government. Critical reports on sensitive topics can lead to expulsion or

denial of a visa. Such reports abroad rarely find their way into Indonesia.

A recent article in The Sydney Morning Herald titled "After Marcos, Now for the Suharto Billions" alleged that the president's family and associates had accumulated a fortune of \$2 billion to \$3 billion through government contracts and "favors." In reprisal, the government banned all Australian reporters from covering Mr. Reagan's visit to Bali.

But even this measure seemed tame by comparison with earlier incidents. In October 1975, shortly before Indonesia's full-scale invasion of the former Portuguese colony of East Timor, five Australian television journalists were killed while attempting to cover Indonesian incursions into that territory. Leaked reports from official Australian sources say the journalists were deliberately murdered by Indonesian forces.

Tight restrictions on the few journalists allowed to visit East Timor have resulted in little reporting since of the conflict between Indonesian forces and the Fretilin Independence Movement. Torture, executions,

large-scale imprisonment and a near total denial of liberty on East Timor get little notice.

Jakarta sees to it that the world hears little of the harsh restrictions imposed on more than one million former political detainees — more than 99 percent of whom were never tried. The world rarely sees accounts of Irian Jaya, a former Dutch colony taken over by Indonesia in 1962, where Amnesty International reports of widespread torture.

If anything, Jakarta now views Western journalists with increased suspicion. Last month, Lincoln Kaye of the Far Eastern Economic Review was denied a new visa after reporting on government pressure on Indonesian newspapers. The New York Times's correspondent Barbara Crossette was banned from covering the Reagan visit. No reasons were given.

Mr. Reagan has strongly supported the right to free expression in certain other countries. He should remember the Indonesian situation, both during his visit and after.

*The writer is a consultant for Asia Watch, a human rights organization. He contributed this comment to The New York Times.*

# The New York Times

## Indonesia Bars Two Journalists In Reagan Party

By GERALD BOYD  
Special to The New York Times

DENPASAR, Bali, April 29 — President Reagan arrived today on this Indonesian island on the first major stop of his trip to the Far East, but the occasion was marred, White House officials said, when the Indonesian Government detained two Australian journalists in the party accompanying the President and barred them from the country.

In a separate incident, Indonesian authorities detained and expelled Barbara Crossette, a correspondent for The New York Times who was seeking to report on the Reagan visit. [Page A6].

Moments before Mr. Reagan was greeted at the island's airport by President Suharto and colorfully clad Balinese dancers, Indonesian authorities removed the two Australians from the White House press plane.

The journalists, from the Australian Broadcasting Corporation, were ordered to leave the country in a move that White House officials said highlighted sharp differences between the United States and Indonesia over press and political freedoms.

The two correspondents, Jim Middleton and Richard D. Palfreyman, are based in Washington and had been told that they would not be allowed to enter, despite the protests of American officials, following unfavorable reports in the Australian press about the wealth

Continued on Page A6, Column 1

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 30, 1986

## Indonesians Bar 2 Covering Reagan

Continued From Page A1

security officials took the Australians into custody over the protests of Edward P. Djerejian, a deputy White House press secretary.

"The decision has been made. There is no change," an Indonesian official told Mr. Djerejian, in an exchange that capped a day of tense communications between American and Indonesian officials.

**Atmosphere of Growing Concern**

Senior aides to Mr. Reagan spent most of the time operating in an atmosphere of increasing concern as the President's party flew toward Indonesia. At one point, aboard the Presidential jet, Air Force One, Larry Speakes, the White House press secretary, said.

"We do not know what will happen when we get there."

Other Reagan aides said that the development ran directly contrary to the "winds of freedom" theme that Mr. Reagan has adopted for the trip. The theme is intended to assert that democracy and economic growth in an environment of freedom are on the rise throughout the world.

Administration officials have avoided direct criticism of the Suharto Government, which has been criticized for human-rights abuses, including the handling of dissent and the independence movements in East Timor and West Irian.

Instead, they have said while Indonesia has had serious human-rights violations in the past, there have been improvements in the situation in this

country and that abuses were worse in nearby Communist-ruled nations. In addition, some officials have sought to portray the development today in the context of longstanding Indonesian-Australian strains over issues such as East Timor's status.

In his first visit to this Asian country, Mr. Reagan had hoped to keep the spotlight off criticism of the lack of freedom under the 20-year authoritarian rule of Mr. Suharto, while highlighting the country's steady economic growth and its role in regional stability.

"This unnecessarily detracts from the main purpose of the trip," a senior Reagan adviser said in expressing concern over the press incident.

Another Reagan aide lamented: "The winds of freedom have hit a wind shear. The Indonesians have hurt themselves."

Mr. Reagan had accepted an invitation to visit Indonesia after canceling a planned trip to the Far East in 1983 following the assassination of Benigno S. Aquino Jr., the Philippine opposition leader.

**Themes for Tokyo Meeting**

Administration officials had explained the acceptance as an attempt by the President to salve bruised Indonesian feelings caused by the cancellation and as a way that Mr. Reagan could promote the themes of economic and political freedom that he will take to the annual meeting of seven leading industrialized democracies that will begin Sunday in Tokyo.

He will also hold talks Thursday with the members of the Association of South East Asian Nations, which include the Philippines, Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, Brunei and Indonesia.



United Press International  
President Reagan and his wife, Nancy, being greeted by Indonesian dancers yesterday as they arrived at the airport in Bali. Flanking them were President Suharto and his wife, Tien.



# The Boston Globe

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 30, 1986

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

### MARTINHO DA COSTA LOPES

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

# The Washington Post

THURSDAY, MAY 1, 1986



# The Boston Globe

Founded 1872

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**WIL DAVID TAYLOR**, 1955-1977  
 Editor  
**THOMAS WRIGHT**, 1955-1984  
 Editor

## The Timor tragedy

Yesterday, President Reagan met with the Indonesian dictator, General Suharto, whose forces invaded East Timor in 1975 hours after another US president, Gerald Ford, had left secretary of state, Henry Kissinger, had left Jakarta. During the past decade, between 100,000 and 200,000 human beings have perished in East Timor, victims of a brutal colonization campaign carried out with American weapons.

On the eve of his visit to Indonesia, Reagan had said he was "bearing a message of freedom." If he wished to deliver a true message of freedom, he would have heeded a plea from 125 members of Congress "to add the plight of the people of East Timor to your agenda."

Reagan raised the issue of Vietnam's invasion and occupation of Cambodia in talks with Asian leaders in Bali. Yet White House spokesmen say the president did not discuss the "louchy" issue of Indonesia's invasion and occupation of East Timor.

The selective silence of the president suggests a shameful double standard. As the members of Congress said in their letter to Reagan, the Indonesian invaders have been guilty of "atrocities such as disappearances, summary executions, torture and forced birth control." The percentage of the East Timorese population killed by Suharto's army equals or surpasses the percentage of the Cambodian population killed during the reign of Pol Pot.

Are the lives of people in East Timor any less precious than the lives of Cambodians? Are the crimes of a US ally any less despicable than the crimes of a communist enemy?

American complicity with the genocidal assault on East Timor encompasses not only the steady stream of US armaments Jakarta has used in the conquest of Portugal's former colony, but also a disgraceful record of diplomatic

silence—or collaboration. Successive administrations have sided with Indonesia when East Timor has been raised at the United Nations. Year after year, the State Department has discovered improvement in the human rights situation, while nonpartisan organizations such as Amnesty International have found "a consistent pattern of violations of human rights in East Timor."

Pope John Paul II, in accepting the credentials of a new Indonesian ambassador to the Vatican in 1984, issued an impassioned plea for the protection of basic human rights in East Timor. Echoing that plea, the congressional letter asked that relief organizations be permitted to visit Timorese in "hidden" prisons and concentration camps; that the Catholic Church in East Timor; and that the president "encourage efforts to bring about a fair and peaceful settlement of the East Timor conflict."

The Indonesian army is reportedly preparing a new offensive against East Timor. A president willing "to bring to bear on the Timor tragedy the prestige and moral influence of the United States," as the congressional letter requested, could have stood for America's past complicity with crimes against humanity, and might also have prevented fresh crimes.

Reagan would then have delivered a true message of freedom, engaging the American nation on the side of human rights. He would have demonstrated to the peoples of Asia and the world that an American president need not value strategic convenience above human life. He would have proved that Americans cherish freedom of religion and freedom of expression not merely in Managua and Moscow, but everywhere.



The Reagans' longtime friends and allies - Bonnie and Clyde

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### Lasting travesty of the Vietnam adventure

Sometimes our government embarrasses me more than I think possible. The response of our Veterans Administration and our legislators for, more accurately, the lack of response to Agent Orange victims is one of deliberate, calculated paper-shuffling and back-peddling.

To some of us, such nonaction is merely embarrassing, an example of "life is not fair" or a graphic example of breached trust between our government and the young men and women who thought they were supporting our nation during the Vietnam War.

To others, such as Jim Kilroy, who was profiled in Mike Barnicle's sensitive column "Victimized then, now," April 11, our government's position is a tragedy.

My generation was caught up in the maelstrom of Vietnam. I watched my classmates

Others, the last great traves-  
 nam, I watched what was

### Playing to the terrorists

Under the headline "Libya strikes—the aftermath," the Globe on April 19 included articles on an attempt to bomb an El Al plane in London and on the murders of an American and two Britons in Lebanon.

It is possible that associating terrorism acts with the US bombing promotes the false impression that the US bears responsibility for terrorist crimes. This is what the terrorists want us to believe.

DAVID SHOUFFER  
 Cambridge

### Feeling of pride

I called the White House to congratulate the President on his action against Khadafi. I had never called the White House before and was flattered by a woman who asked for the purpose of my call and when I told her Massachusetts and said they hardly ever hear from anyone in Massachusetts. I felt proud to be an American. Although it's never easy to accept that innocent people are killed in

## Viewpoints

# Jakarta is death on human rights

By ARNOLD KOHEN

**D**URING President Reagan's visit to Indonesia this week, he should encourage greater freedom of the press, both for Indonesian journalists and their foreign counterparts. The issue is important not only to journalists, for the Indonesian public and the rest of the world are being denied essential information about Jakarta's repressive rule.

Strategically located and economically important, Indonesia is the world's fifth most populous nation, the world's largest Moslem country, and a pre-eminent member of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations. Staunchly anti-Communist and ruled by a well-entrenched military, Indonesia has been the recipient, over the last 10 years, of approximately \$2 billion in direct American military and economic aid. Echoing its predecessors, the Reagan Administration is lavish in its public praise of the government of

*Arnold Kohlen is a consultant for Asia Watch, a human-rights organization.*

President Suharto, who has ruled by fiat since he seized power 20 years ago.

While cautious criticism is sometimes tolerated in the Indonesian newspapers, it can just as easily result in the closing of a paper, and, with small exceptions, certain subjects are clearly off-limits. As for radio and television, they are entirely under official control, with few dissenting views permitted.

While freer to report than their Indonesian colleagues, foreign correspondents based in Indonesia are carefully scrutinized by the government. Critical reports on sensitive topics can lead to expulsion or denial of a visa. When they are published in foreign publications, such reports rarely find their way into

**Torture, executions, large-scale imprisonment, and a near-total denial of liberty on East Timor get little notice. The blackout on news is further enhanced by intimidation of the Roman Catholic Church.**

Indonesia: Government censors cover them with black ink before they are allowed into the country. A recent article in *The Sydney Morning Herald* titled "After Marcos, Now for the Suharto Billions" alleged that the president's family and associates had accumulated a fortune of \$2 billion to \$3 billion through government contracts and "favours." In reprisal, Indonesia banned all Australian reporters from covering President Reagan's visit to Bali.

But even this measure seemed tame by comparison with earlier incidents. In October 1975, shortly before Indonesia's full-scale invasion of the former Portuguese colony of East Timor, five Australian television journalists were killed while attempting to cover Indonesian incursions into that territory. According to leaked reports from official Australian sources, the journalists were deliberately murdered by forces under Indonesian military command. The assault that they were prevented from describing led eventually to at least 100,000 East Timorese deaths.

Tight restrictions on the few journalists allowed to visit East Timor have resulted in little reporting since the conflict between Indonesian forces and the Fretilin Independence Movement. Torture, executions, large-scale imprisonment, and a near-total denial of liberty on East Timor get little notice. The blackout on news is further enhanced by intimidation of the Roman Catholic Church.

Jakarta has also succeeded in seeing to it that the world gets little news of the harsh restrictions it imposes on more than one million former political detainees (more than 99 percent of whom were never tried) suspected of left-wing sympathies or involvement in events 20 years ago.

The world rarely sees accounts of the situation in Irian Jaya, a former Dutch colony taken over by Indonesia in 1962, where Amnesty International reports incommunicado detention and torture of prisoners. Also out of sight are the constraints imposed on Indonesian human-rights lawyers, harassed by a government that sees them as attempting to undermine its authority.

If anything, Jakarta now views Western journalists with increased suspicion. Last month, Lincoln Kaye of the *Far Eastern Economic Review* was denied a new visa. Among the articles he published before he left was an account of government pressure on Indonesian newspapers. Most recently, *The New York Times's* correspondent Barbara Crossette was banned from covering the Reagan visit. No reasons were given.

President Reagan has strongly supported the right to free expression in certain other countries around the world. He should remember the Indonesian situation, both during his visit and after he returns.

*The New York Times*



Indonesia's President Suharto

# The Miami Herald

## Eye on Indonesia

**A**MERICANS who haven't thought about Indonesia in years — if ever — suddenly are outraged by that nation's dismal human-rights record and its arrogant expulsion of several Western journalists. Such is the power of the American Presidency to command the world's spotlight — a light whose intensity Indonesian President Suharto cannot bear.

President Reagan's meeting this week with six Asian foreign ministers on the Indonesian island of Bali was intended to further his theme of "winds of freedom" in the Pacific. Certainly the relative stability and prosperity of heavily Moslem Indonesia have been impressive for the troubled South Pacific region since Mr. Suharto, then a general, seized power in 1968 after smashing a strong Communist takeover attempt. Mr. Suharto's predecessor, President-for-life Sukarno, was widely believed to have encouraged that Maoist uprising. Indonesia's economy, fueled by oil-export earnings, has been one of the world's fastest-growing in the past decade.

However, President Suharto's brutal invasion in 1975 of the independent community in the eastern portion of the island of Timor shattered any illusions about his regime. Under Indonesian annexation, the predominantly Catholic former Portuguese colony 400 miles off the coast of Australia has lost some 100,000 inhabitants, nearly one-sixth of its population. The Catholic Church has been subjected to pressure, famine temporarily was widespread, international relief agencies and human-rights investigators have been denied access, and reports persist of torture, executions, and disappearances.

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### *Let World Note Widespread Abuses*

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Pope John Paul II has voiced concern over conditions in East Timor. Secretary of State George Shultz raised the occupation issue during his 1984 visit, and other nations have protested. A bipartisan group of 125 House members and 23 senators has asked the President to raise the human-rights issue on Timor with President Suharto. The United Nations has not recognized Indonesia's claim to East Timor.

Some Americans conclude that President Reagan should not have visited Indonesia at all, not even to attend the meeting of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations. A stronger case exists for his attending and thereby raising the issues at last in the world's consciousness.

If President Suharto persists in his repression and in thwarting the further development of civilian political leadership, then Washington should respond with a gradual hardening of its public posture toward Jakarta. Clearly the periodic national elections that reaffirm Mr. Suharto's control and his party's hold on the parliament are not sufficient. The military's grip on every facet of Indonesian life must be loosened in order to permit a flourishing of genuine democracy.

First, however, it was necessary to command the attention both of President Suharto and of the broad base of world opinion. That step now is accomplished.

MARY McGRORY

## Another Clean Getaway

**A**fter a leisurely journey marked by blunders undreamed of in the days of Michael Deaver, Ronald Reagan is snugly ensconced in the catbird seat at the Tokyo Summit.

This past week illustrates once again that his luck goes beyond the stupendous to the supernatural. Once again, events have worked for him like indentured servants.

His passage to Asia was one mishap after another. It began in Hawaii with the telephone call to Ferdinand Marcos, a painful exchange that Marcos filmed for the president's discomfiture.

The arrival of the presidential party in Bali was a shambles for the leader of the free world. Two Australian broadcast correspondents were hustled off the White House press plane by local security officers because an Australian newspaper was critical of the president's host, President Suharto of Indonesia. Simultaneously, New York Times correspondent Barbara Crossette was kicked out of the country apparently because her newspaper did not portray Suharto as George Washington.

So much for the "winds of freedom," the fatuous slogan dreamed up by Reagan as the theme of the trip.

The president had a sit-down with Suharto, carefully omitting mention of East Timor, the scene of one of the world's major human rights violations. They got along famously—and in the process shredded the officially promulgated fancy that Reagan has as much animus against dictators of the right as against dictators of the left.

In contrast, he had a scratchy encounter with Philippine Vice President Salvador Laurel, a principal player in one of the century's most heartening dramas of democracy.

But did the president suffer any embarrassment or derision? No, as usual, he got away clean.

His arch-adversary, Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, bailed him out. Reagan's gaffes were relegated to the middle or the back of the papers and the news shows while Gorbachev, during of the nuclear meltdown at Chernobyl, began a replay of his country's worst public relations setback, the downing of the Korean Air Lines plane in 1983.

In short order, as the radioactive clouds gathered over Europe, demonstrators who one week before had been in the streets shaking their fists at Reagan for bombing Libya were turning

on the Soviets for covering up a nuclear accident without parallel in history.

Gorbachev apparently still does not understand their indignation. What Gorbachev failed to realize is that all people cannot be treated like Soviet citizens, that is, with no regard for their comfort or peace of mind.

All Gorbachev needed to do once the cat was out of the bag—smart Swedes detected high radioactivity and demanded to know what was causing it—was to issue daily radioactive readings from Chernobyl.

But a week after the reluctant Soviet admission that in fact something awful had happened in Chernobyl, the Soviets had not given official radiation readings from the plant site.

Soviet authorities, goaded by the clamor, are saying that the issue is the gross exaggeration of the damage and victims, by westerners trying to make propaganda. That is not the point. The Soviets owed the world an explanation of how and why the accident happened. They did not even want to say when.

Such information as there was about the graphite fire in the reactor came from satellite photos, and western experts had to construct scenarios from the readings they were getting outside laboratory windows.

The panic the Soviets said they wished to avert at home was on in neighboring countries; dumping milk and vegetables, forcing babies to drink iodine. Nobody trusted the Soviet claim of "no big deal."

Jittery, outraged Europe was beginning to see Russia Reagan's way, as the "evil empire" or at least the source of lethal evil. Gorbachev's reputation as an up-front sort of Soviet was destroyed.

Reagan arrived in Tokyo licking his chops. Japanese radicals obligingly fired missiles at summit headquarters, bringing terrorism back into relevance and overshadowing the failure of yet another U.S. space rocket. Reagan could look forward not just to a unanimous summit stand against bomb-throwers, but even to a condemnation of Soviet conduct.

"Moscow disregarded the peril to the rest of the world," he said.

In the long run the Soviet calamity could work against Reagan, nuclear weapons collector and champion of nuclear power.

Reactivated fear of all things nuclear may outlast rage at the Soviets for trying to conceal the consequences.

**Editorials****East Timor Ten Years Later**

**J**ust as this issue of AMERICA goes to press—that is, April 29-May 2—President Reagan is visiting Indonesia. There he is to meet with the foreign ministers of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, and on May 1 with Indonesian President Suharto. All this on the isle of Bali, whose fabled beauty might provide compensation for the tough economic talks that preoccupy the delegates. But there is another serious matter that the American people can hope Mr. Reagan and Secretary of State George P. Shultz will discuss with their Indonesian hosts. At the eastern end of the same chain of islands that includes Bali, and not so far away, is another island called Timor, likewise lovely, but little known except as the scene of one of the most hideous tragedies of our time.

The eastern side of Timor was a Portuguese colony for 400 years, unlike the western side, which, as one of the Dutch colonial holdings, became part of Indonesia shortly after World War II. When the Portuguese finally left in mid-1975, East Timor looked forward to being an independent state in loose association with Portugal. This was natural, since the East Timorese have a language and culture different even from that of West Timor, not to mention the rest of Indonesia. For one thing, its people are largely Roman Catholics or animists, whereas vast Indonesia is overwhelmingly Muslim.

East Timorese dreams of independence were short-lived. By December 1975, Indonesia had invaded and occupied the eastern part of the island and by July 1976 had simply annexed it. Looking for "East Timor" on current maps is as futile as looking for an independent Latvia or Lithuania, for just as the Soviet Union has by now contentedly digested those Baltic republics, so has Indonesia swallowed East Timor. Digesting it is another matter, for fierce indigenous resistance has persisted for 10 years.

The enormity of what is going on needs to be better known. It is a case of genocide. Because of warfare, flight, forced resettlement, starvation and illness, the 1975 population of 650,000 has declined by as much as 200,000. This figure is cited by Martinho da Costa Lopes, the Apostolic Administrator of East Timor from 1977 to 1983. This loss seems not to bother the Indonesian authorities, who unload Java's surplus population on this relatively underpopulated land they have seized. Meanwhile, an aggressive and sinister policy of birth control is forced on people in the countryside. Because independent obser-

vers are kept out, it is hard to know exactly how many East Timorese have died because of the depredations of continuing warfare and the Indonesian suppression of resistance. Amnesty International has nonetheless verified enough information to complain of unfair trials and torture. Churchpeople tell of massacres and "disappearances."

There is religious oppression, too. The church, which tries to stand up for the people and their aspirations for independence, is increasingly harassed. One is reminded of El Salvador's martyred Archbishop Oscar Romero, who commented that if the church is with the people, it will of course be persecuted by those who oppress the people. Meanwhile, the relatively unprotected animists are forced by Indonesian policy to pick one of five official religions (including Roman Catholicism) to which they must belong. In fact, most have "become Catholics," since the church is what they know best, but this is hardly cause for rejoicing among Catholics or any others who prize religious freedom.

Yet when such complaints about human-rights abuses are presented to the Indonesian Foreign Minister, he simply denies they are true. Even the South African authorities—to use another regime for purposes of comparison—admit they have a problem!

**I**t is dismayed but not surprising to learn from Indonesia that the "reason" for the occupation of East Timor, with all the resultant warfare and oppression, is the "need to save it from Communism." Church authorities on the scene, however, say that the independence movement is not now and never has been Communist. It is a nationalist movement dedicated to the self-determination of its people.

When President Reagan and Secretary Shultz arrive in Indonesia, in this 10th-anniversary year of its attempted suppression of the East Timorese nation, they will be carrying letters from 125 House members and 23 Senators protesting the human-rights violations in East Timor and the lack of independent access to that tortured land. That's all very well, if in fact these disagreeable but justified complaints even get mentioned among all the smiling diplomats on Bali. But as Monsignor da Costa Lopes would insist, that does not go far enough. Indonesia should sit down with the East Timorese to discuss the political destiny of that land. Until that happens, he says, the resistance and warfare will continue, because more than 90 percent of the East Timorese want their independence.

## 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-

U.S. officials were deeply divided on the subject of land-based mobile missiles. Page 3.

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

United States "and then second, as to time and place for such a meeting if he is willing," Mr. Reagan said.

The White House spokesman, Larry Speakes, said the president "wants Gorbachev to come to Washington."

Although Mr. Reagan campaigned in 1980 against the SALT-2 treaty, he announced after taking office that the United States would abide by the pact if the Soviet Union would do the same.

The treaty, which is due to expire Dec. 31, was signed in 1979 by Leonid I. Brezhnev of the Soviet Union and President Jimmy Carter. It was not ratified by the Senate but both nations pledged to observe it.

To respect the treaty's limits, for example, the United States would have to retire a Poseidon submarine, which carries 16 missiles, each capable of carrying up to 14 nuclear warheads, when the new Trident submarine goes to sea in late September, armed with 24 multiple-warhead missiles.

The suggestion that the United States should abandon the SALT-2

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 2)

(Continued from Page 1)

the 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." (AP, Reuters)

### ■ 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."

The president's chief of staff, 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," Mr. Regan said of Mr. Gorbachev. 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 machine to mankind."

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

"He's talking tough, certainly," Mr. Regan said of Mr. Gorbachev. "He's staking out positions. He didn't get his job because he's a cream puff."

President Reagan, in his speech Wednesday before the European Parliament, was critical of Soviet ciliary passages in their addresses and in an exchange of letters marking the 40th anniversary of the end of World War II in Europe.

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.

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.

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.



# Recalling Timor's Forgotten Voices

By MARTINHO DA COSTA LOPES

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, Margr. Carlos Ximenes Belo.

In such an atmosphere, the average person in East Timor would be even more reluctant to speak with any outsider. Transmuted 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.

## Eradicating a Culture

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.

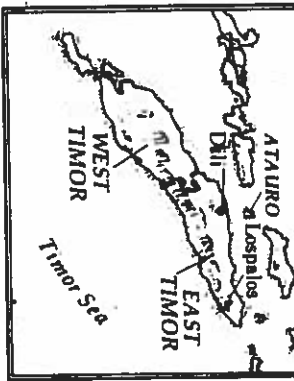
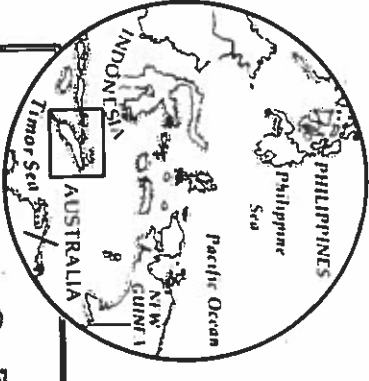
Mr. Jones made clear that because of the closely controlled nature of his visit, there was no way of accurately gauging the level of fighting in the territory. The same, of course, could be said for the level of human rights violations, as well as conditions in parts of the territory that weren't visited. 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 that one should spend long years in jail for

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



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. This account is quite different from the allegedly unprovoked attack on Indonesian civilians that has been widely reported.

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

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 U.N. 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.

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

# The New York Times

THURSDAY, JUNE 5, 1986

## Letters

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### Portugal Has Problems, But So Does the U.S.

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To the Editor:

"Down on Its Luck, Portugal Still Hasn't Bottomed Out" (Week in Review, May 4) says my country "has statistics with a third-world look." Your article illustrates how statistical portraiture is prone to distortion.

As a matter of curiosity, rather than retribution, I gathered some statistical data on the United States. The figures I obtained from Federal sources as well as from The New York Times conjure up the image of a country caught in the grip of an alarming crisis. I refer to illiteracy, street crime and a whole gamut of social problems.

Hardly a fair picture of your country.

Portugal has emerged from nearly half a century of totalitarian rule and the devastation caused by 13 years of colonial wars to face huge social, economic and political problems. In addition, there were the return of approximately 1 million destitute settlers from former African territories, the loss of colonial markets and the effects of a severe oil crisis.

In the space of 12 years, Portugal repelled a Communist attempt to seize power, found new export markets, absorbed her returning citizens, balanced her trade figures, reduced inflation to an acceptable level and joined the European communities.

Is this, do you think, the profile of a third-world country? Allow me to doubt it.

LUIS A. DE SOUSA  
Press Counselor, Embassy of Portugal  
Washington, May 16, 1986

# The New York Times

TUESDAY, JUNE 10, 1986

## Letters

### On the Manufacture of Indonesian History

To the Editor:

P. F. Strei, criticizing your May 1 editorial on the Suharto regime in Indonesia (letter, May 22), calls for "a detailed understanding of the times that fashioned" that regime. Unfortunately, virtually every "detail" he mentions is mistaken. He writes that General Suharto "did not take power in a coup, but rather at the end of an intricate two-year process." In fact, he took power by a coup March 11, 1966, cheerfully described as such by key participants in the commemorative March 15, 1986, issue of the respected Jakarta weekly Tempo.

Mr. Strei then says, "General Suharto came to power in the wake of a movement led by students . . . and disaffected middle-class commercial and government workers" in the same way that Corazon C. Aquino recently came to power in Manila. Abundant documentary evidence, including the published reminiscences of many of the student leaders, shows that the "movement" was from the start organized, financed, protected and guided by Mr. Suharto and his associates to lend legitimacy to the general's assumption of power.

Of events surrounding the famous "attempted Communist coup" of October 1965, Mr. Strei observes that the "most important image of current Government political iconography was and is the murder and mutilation by Communists of the Indonesian chief of staff and a number of his senior officers." However, autopsies performed by Army doctors, included among transcripts of "coup-related" trials made public by the Suharto regime, demonstrate conclusively that no officer was mutilated: all were killed by bullets from regular army-issue guns. Thus if "mutilation" (castration, gouging out of eyes) by Communists is central to the regime's "political iconography," only that regime's propaganda apparatus has made it so.

On the massacres of October 1965 to March 1966, which claimed at least half a million left-wing and Chinese lives in Java and Bali, Mr. Strei asserts that they occurred in part when "long-repressed observant Muslims and Hindus struck back against years of Communist domination of rural life." In fact, the violence was precipitated by so-called "unilateral actions" of Communist-affiliated peasant organizations in 1964 and early 1965, which were demonstrations intended to compel implementation of agrarian reform laws of 1960 resisted by Muslim and Hindu landowners.

Finally, there is Mr. Strei's description of the proclamation of East Timor's independence in 1975 by "Che Guevara clones brandishing AK-47 rifles." Alas, they were actually armed with brand-new American weapons (recently issued to America's NATO ally Portugal). These weapons permitted them to give Suharto's invading troops — also armed with American weapons — a very rough time.

BENEDICT ANDERSON  
Professor of Government, Cornell U.  
Ithaca, N.Y., May 28, 1986

The Boston Globe

Letters to the Editor

Jan. 10, 1986

### Pope condemns Jakarta

I want to commend the Globe for its excellent Dec. 28 editorial, "East Timor: hidden genocide."

It is interesting to note that when the new Indonesian ambassador to the Holy See presented his credentials, Pope John Paul II reprimanded Gen. Hardiman for Indonesia's inhumane treatment of the inhabitants of East Timor.

The pope also condemned the violation of human rights and the restriction by Jakarta on outsiders visiting the unhappy former colony of Portugal.

REV. LEONARD MAHONEY, SJ  
Boston College

Chestnut Hill

ABROAD AT HOME | Anthony Lewis

# Freedom Fighters

**I** have in front of me some clippings from Swiss newspapers, the text of a brief speech, a snapshot. They tell a story that is difficult to write.

Maurice Demierre was born in Bulle, a small town in the Gruyère region of Switzerland, on Feb. 24, 1957. After high school he went to an agricultural school. He worked for a time as a stonemason.

A deeply religious Catholic, he thought of becoming a priest. Instead he decided to spend his life working among the poor. He joined Frères Sans Frontières (Brothers Without Borders), a Catholic charity that sends volunteers to peasant communities.

In 1982 Maurice and his fiancée, Chantal Bianchi, were sent to Nicaragua. They went to the northern part of the country, a poor agricultural area, on an assignment due to end in the spring of 1988. Then Maurice was to be posted to another country.

What Maurice did was work on simple improvements to life in peasant villages. He brought piped water to communities without it, built houses, improved roads. He demonstrated simple new techniques by doing the work himself. Frères Sans Frontières had sent him with a van that he used to carry building material and farm supplies.

Maurice and Chantal lived in the village of Villanueva. Both learned to speak the local dialect fluently. Chantal, who had been a teacher in Bulle, set up a school in the village.

Villanueva is about 15 miles from the Honduran border. A large part of Maurice Demierre's work was helping at eight refugee camps for people who had left the border zone for fear of attacks by the "contras." Their fear was not theoretical. A number of times Maurice helped to bury people killed in attacks by the contras.

On Feb. 16, 1986, a Sunday, Maurice and Chantal were in the village of Somotillo, four miles or so from the Honduran border. Shortly before 8 o'clock in the evening a group of 15 women and some of their children, who had been traveling in the area, asked for help in getting home to their villages 10 miles away. People in Somotillo said it was too dangerous. But Maurice said he would drive them in the van.

A few minutes down the road the van ran into an ambush. Contras detonated two Claymore anti-personnel mines as the van passed. Then the contras sprayed the wreck with machine-gun fire.

Maurice Demierre and three of the women were killed instantly. Another woman died later, and three small children were badly wounded. Mau-

rice was eight days short of his 29th birthday.

Those bare facts come from accounts in Swiss newspapers and from a eulogy delivered by a colleague. A snapshot taken on a visit home at Christmas 1984 shows Maurice, with dark curly hair, and Chantal — both very happy, both very young.

A Swiss reporter who went to Villanueva a few days after the killing, Jacques Secretan, said he found intense feelings about Maurice. He said people told him they felt his presence still.

"The people are very Christian, very religious," Mr. Secretan said. "For example, they say of the contras: 'They are poor people who attack us. It's not their fault — it's a stronger power, over them.' They speak of the United States without hate — 'We hope President Reagan will come to understand what is happening here.'"

Swiss newspapers, in telling the story of Maurice Demierre, have emphasized U.S. support of the contras. A poster displayed in Geneva and

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## The story of Maurice Demierre

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other French-speaking cities shows his picture and says, "Remember Maurice Demierre. He was killed in Nicaragua through the power of the U.S.A." A television special on Maurice is to be shown next month.

Representatives of Frères Sans Frontières and of Pax Christi, a Catholic peace and human rights organization, met in Berne two weeks ago with the counselor of the U.S. Embassy. Adrien Claude Zoller of Pax Christi said the counselor explained that Nicaragua was heading toward a future like Cambodia under the Khmer Rouge, and it was necessary to prevent that "even with a dirty war."

"We have the contrary impression," Mr. Zoller said. "We think the Reagan Administration is creating the danger of radicalization in Nicaragua."

The death of Maurice Demierre cuts through all the words, all the debate about the Reagan policy in Nicaragua. It tells us that when the President speaks of "freedom fighters" he means terrorist killers of unarmed civilians. And the world sees it plain. □

# The New York Times

THURSDAY, APRIL 24, 1986

## Jakarta Bars Times Reporter From Reagan's Visit to Bali

JAKARTA, Indonesia, Aug. 23 (AP) — The Government has barred a New York Times reporter, Barbara Crossette, from covering the visit of President Reagan to Bali next week because of articles she wrote that it considers offensive, authoritative sources said today.

She is the 10th foreign correspondent barred by the Government from covering Mr. Reagan's visit April 29-May 2 to meet with President Suharto and the Foreign Ministers of Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, the Philippines and Brunei. About 400 American journalists are expected to cover the visit.

Warren Hoge, foreign editor of The New York Times, confirmed that the Indonesian Government had revoked a visa previously issued to Miss Crossette. He said no reasons were given and that he had received no responses to further inquiries.

The Government earlier refused entry to nine Australian reporters after an article in The Sydney Morning Herald that said President Suharto and his relatives had amassed some \$3 billion in personal wealth during his 20 years in power. That article was written by The Herald's foreign editor, David Jenkins.



President Reagan reaching out in a failed attempt to catch a coconut thrown by an aide as he strolled with his wife along a beach in Honolulu. The President was on a two-day stop-over in Hawaii on his way to Tokyo.

## Wind of freedom blows cool in Indonesia

By RICHARD BEESTON in Honolulu

PRESIDENT Reagan flew to Indonesia yesterday on his self-proclaimed "winds of freedom" trip to Asia. But while seeking to stress the Soviet threat to South East Asia, Mr Reagan has decided not to press the issue of human rights with President Suharto of Indonesia.

This is despite pleas from Congress alleging widespread killing and repression by Indonesia in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor. Nor will he raise the issue of allegedly growing corruption of Mr Suharto and his family whom press reports have likened to that of the ousted President Marcos of the Philippines.

The first casualties of the "winds of freedom" visit are two Australian correspondents travelling with the White House press corps.

President Suharto, furious with Australian press allegations against him and his wife Madame Tien labelled "Madame Tien Per Cent" for her business dealings has banned all Australian journalists. A few hours before departure from Honolulu the two Australian Broadcasting Corporation correspondents, Richard Palfreyman and Jim Middleton, received a cable from Indonesia saying they would not be admitted to cover Mr Reagan's visit to Bali.

### White House plea

The White House had asked Indonesia to give the widest possible access to the world's press covering Mr Reagan's visit to Bali where he will meet the leaders of the six ASEAN nations. A United States official said the American ambassador to Indonesia "went to the mat" on behalf of the correspondents, but had been rebuffed three times by the Indonesian Government.

Issues of human rights, press freedom, political corruption and the unpopularity of the United States in Asia over the Libyan bombing are likely to cloud the trip, which Mr Reagan had hoped would be a restful prelude to his economic summit meeting in Tokyo.

He has told the ASEAN leaders he wants to focus on the long-term Soviet military build up in the Pacific, and especially at the Cam Ranh Bay base in Vietnam, and the power that this gives Moscow for "political blackmail" in the region.

Mr Reagan however intends to play down the request to "bring to bear his prestige and moral influence" on President Suharto to stop the repression in East Timor. Some Congressmen claim that 100,000 people have perished there in the last decade.

A White House spokesman said that Mr Reagan would treat human rights issues in Indonesia as "an internal

Tuesday April 29 1986

## OVERSEAS NEWS

### Reagan to sidestep human rights issue

By Reginald Dale, US Editor, in Honolulu

THE US President, Mr Ronald Reagan, will try to stay above a growing controversy over allegations of corruption and human rights violations by the Indonesian Government when he meets President Suharto in Bali on Thursday, according to US officials accompanying the President on his 13-day Pacific tour.

Despite pressure from the US Congress and private human rights groups, Mr Reagan will stick to his policy of "quiet diplomacy" in dealing with the alleged abuses, the officials said. Nevertheless, the issue was emerging as a potential stumbling block as Mr Reagan continued his leisurely swing through the Pacific on the way to next week's Western economic summit in Tokyo.

A recent State Department report raised serious questions over human rights deficiencies in Indonesia, including unexplained deaths and disappearances.

In a letter released yesterday 125 congressmen urged President Reagan to raise charges of human rights abuse in East Timor with President Suharto, Reuter reports from Washington.

PHILIPPINES President Ronald Reagan flies to the island of Bali today, a sanitised holiday enclave which is all that most foreigners see of Indonesia.

His two-day stop-over en route to the summit of industrialised nations in Tokyo is described, a little disingenuously, as the President's first visit to Indonesia. That would be like equating a visit to Goa with one to India or a trip to Puerto Rico with a stay in the US.

Mr Reagan will meet President Suharto of Indonesia and his senior advisers as well as foreign ministers of the six-nation Association of Southeast Asian Nations (Asean) to review the balance of power in this pivotal area of the world where the US sees its traditional pre-eminence challenged by the Soviet Union.

The recent upheaval in the Philippines has, if anything, heightened US concern over the growing Soviet presence in Vietnam and the eventual fate of the American military installations at Clark, Field and Subic Bay north of Manila.

Mr Reagan, fresh from his expedition against Libya, will want to stiffen the resolve of those who wish to accept the situation in Indochina since the US withdrew in 1975 and negotiate an agreement which

insurrexnis fighting Indonesian rule in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor have produced documents, including what they claim is a captured military map, purporting to show a level of guerrilla activity that contradicts Indonesian accounts of reducing to a few resistance movement to a few demoralised bands, AP reports from Lisbon. The Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor has fought a guerrilla campaign since Indonesia invaded in 1975 following the breakdown of Portuguese colonial rule.

is the world's fifth most populous nation and its 13,000 islands straddle Asia's vital seaways between Japan and the oil fields of the Middle East. It is, at the same time, enormously powerful and intensely vulnerable.

After a period of rabid nationalism in the 1950s and 1960s under President Sukarno, when foreign policy fluctuated wildly and erratic economic management left the country virtually bankrupt, Indonesia has begun fulfilling its huge potential.

President Suharto, in power for 20 years, has governed with a shrewd mixture of political guile, sound economic management and ruthless military



Mr Suharto: firm grip

recognises Vietnamese suzerainty over Kampuchea and Laos in return for a withdrawal of Hanoi's troops.

Foremost among those will be President Suharto, his host in Bali. He takes an intensely practical view of relations between the Asean group and the marxist states of Indochina and regards Indonesia's non-aligned status as the sheet anchor of its foreign policy despite being virulently anti-communist.

If Mr Reagan had time to leave his island tourist-trap and visit the rest of this sprawling archipelago, which end to end is as wide as the US, he would understand why Indonesia, with 165m people,

### As President Reagan flies to Bali, Alain Cass considers the prospects for his host

## Why Suharto's control is vital to region

discipline. Helped initially by soaring oil prices, he has been able to buy off criticism of his authoritarian regime with economic growth.

The ruling elite—primarily the military and their dependants—and a growing middle class have benefited from the oil boom and now form part of an unbreakable web of support for the regime.

Indonesia has gone from being the world's biggest importer of rice to self-sufficiency in five years. It has slashed its population growth and is laying the foundations of an industrial society. Regionally, the country has emerged as an important diplomatic power after its early period of belligerence under President Sukarno and its more recent isolation.

But there are many reasons why Indonesia remains vulnerable, and President Suharto feels the need to retain a firm grip at home and avoid confrontation abroad.

The most serious problem is the recent fall in oil price which has had a dramatic effect on the country's spending power. Nearly 70 per cent of Indonesia's foreign exchange comes from oil and gas, and for the past three years the Government has introduced successively harsher austerity measures as the price has fallen further than even the pessimists predicted.

For every dollar drop in the oil price Government receipts fall by more than \$300m. This year, the state budget was cut for the first time in 17 years.

With 15m new job-seekers coming on the market each year, a depressed industrial sector and millions still living at subsistence level the regime cannot afford a prolonged economic recession.

President Suharto must also watch his political front. His position is unassailable, and he seems set to stay in power for another term: after his present one ends in 1988. The Government party, Golkar, is almost embarrassingly successful as the army and the bureaucracy close ranks to support it.

However, dissent is increasing and the Government feels the need to deal with it harshly. Press freedom is steadily being choked while nonconformist political movements are firmly discouraged.

Potentially the most serious long-term threat is from Moslem fundamentalists. Although still insignificant, surprising for the world's biggest Islamic state, Moslem opposition to the relatively permissive nature of Indonesian society and the rampant corruption in government is growing and could upset what has, so far, proved a model of growth and stability in the developing world.



## Indonesia's Press Needs Reagan's Help

By Arnold Kohen

WASHINGTON — When President Reagan visits Indonesia this week, he should encourage greater freedom of the press, both for Indonesian journalists and their foreign counterparts. The issue is important not only to journalists, for the Indonesian public and the rest of the world are being denied essential information about Jakarta's repressive rule.

Strategically located and economically important, Indonesia is the world's fifth most populous nation, the world's largest Moslem country and a pre-eminent member of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations. Staunchly anti-Communist and ruled by a well-entrenched military, Indonesia has been the recipient, over the last 10 years, of approximately \$2 billion in direct American military and economic aid. Echoing its predecessors, the Reagan Administration is lavish in its public praise of the Government of President Suharto, who has ruled by fiat since he seized power 20 years ago.

While cautious criticism is sometimes tolerated in the Indonesian newspapers, it can just as easily result in the closing of a paper, and, with small exceptions, certain subjects are clearly off-limits. As for radio and television, they are entirely under official control, with few dissenting views permitted.

While freer to report than their Indonesian colleagues, foreign correspondents based in Indonesia are carefully scrutinized by the Government. Critical reports on sensitive topics can lead to expulsion or denial of a visa. When they are published in foreign publications, such reports rarely find their way into Indonesia: Government censors cover them with black ink before they are allowed into the country.

A recent article in The Sydney Morning Herald titled "After Marcos, Now for the Suharto Billions" alleged that the President's family and associates had accumulated a fortune of \$2 billion to \$3 billion through Government contracts and "favours." In reprisal, Indonesia banned all Australian reporters from covering President Reagan's visit to Bali.

But even this measure seemed tame by comparison with earlier incidents. In October 1975, shortly before Indonesia's full-scale invasion of the former Portuguese colony of East Timor, five Australian television

journalists were killed while attempting to cover Indonesian incursions into that territory. According to leaked reports from official Australian sources, the journalists were deliberately murdered by forces under Indonesian military command. The assault that they were prevented from describing led eventually to at least 100,000 East Timorese deaths.

Tight restrictions on the few journalists allowed to visit East Timor have resulted in little reporting since of the conflict between Indonesian forces and the Fretilin Independence Movement. Torture, executions, large-scale imprisonment and a near total denial of liberty on East Timor get little notice. The blackout on news is further enhanced by intimidation of the Roman Catholic Church.

Jakarta has also succeeded in seeing to it that the world gets little news of the harsh restrictions it imposes on more than one million former political detainees (more than 99 percent of whom were never tried) suspected of left-wing sympathies or involvement in events 20 years ago.

The world rarely sees accounts of the situation in Irian Jaya, a former Dutch colony taken over by Indonesia in 1962, where Amnesty International reports incommunicado detention and torture of prisoners. Also out of sight are the constraints imposed on Indonesian human rights lawyers, harassed by a Government that sees them as attempting to undermine its authority.

If anything, Jakarta now views Western journalists with increased suspicion. Last month, Lincoln Kaye of the Far Eastern Economic Review was denied a new visa. Among the articles he published before he left was an account of Government pressure on Indonesian newspapers. Most recently, The New York Times's correspondent Barbara Crossette was banned from covering the Reagan visit. No reasons were given.

President Reagan has strongly supported the right to free expression in certain other countries around the world. He should remember the Indonesian situation, both during his visit and after he returns. □

## Rep. Hall, others ask Reagan to raise concern over East Timor

WASHINGTON (AP) — U.S. Rep. Tony Hall, D-Dayton, and nearly 150 members of Congress called on Reagan administration officials Monday to raise concerns about alleged human rights violations on the Indonesian-held island of East Timor during their visit to Indonesia this week.

A bipartisan group of 125 House members, led by Hall, sent President Reagan a letter urging him to "add the plight of the people of East Timor to your agenda," and citing reports of armed conflict, disappearances, summary executions, torture and forced birth control.

Twenty-three senators, led by Sens. Carl Levin, D-Mich., and Mark Hatfield, R-Ore., sent a letter to Secretary of State George Shultz asking him to see that concerns about East Timor are raised by U.S. officials visiting Southeast Asia.

Reagan was headed Monday for Bali, Indonesia, for meetings with U.S. allies in the region before going on to Tokyo for the seven-nation economic summit of industrialized nations.

Indonesia in 1975 invaded the Pacific island of East Timor, a former Portuguese colony. The House members said at least 100,000 people from an original population of less than 700,000 have died due to the invasion and subsequent military operations in the territory.

"As the first U.S. president to visit Indonesia since the December 1975 invasion of East Timor, your interest could contribute significantly to efforts that might prevent further bloodshed and misery in East Timor," the House members told Reagan.

The senators told Shultz that while the United States should continue to press for a peaceful resolution of the ongoing conflict in East Timor, attention also is needed for immediate problems, such as secret detention camps, intimidation of church members, malnutrition and related health problems and the separation of East Timorese from their relatives in Portugal.



LONDON GUARDIAN, April 30, 1986

# Expulsion of newsmen sours Reagan visit

From Alex Brummer  
in Bali

Amid loud protests from the White House, Indonesian officials last night detained and then expelled two Australian broadcasters travelling with President Reagan.

The chaotic scenes, on the steps of a Pan Am chartered jet carrying 267 members of the White House press corps, occurred just moments before President Reagan touched down to an eerily silent welcome at Bali airport. His visit is billed as promoting the "winds of freedom" blowing across the Pacific.

The airport arrests of corre-

spondents accredited to the White House and travelling with the President were unprecedented, and provided a sour start to Mr Reagan's three-day visit to this Indonesian island. President Suharto, who was at the airport to meet Mr Reagan, banned Australian correspondents after the Sydney Morning Herald published allegations of widespread fraud and corruption by the Suharto family.

The airport drama unfolded as soon as the Boeing 747 touched down. Six uniformed officials mounted the steps and asked by name for the two Australian reporters, Mr Rich-

ard Palfreyman, aged 41, and Mr Jim Middleton, aged 37, both of the Australian Broadcasting Corporation.

The correspondents were followed down the steps by a posse of US television crews who were waved away by armed guards as the Australian journalists were escorted into the main terminal building.

Just yards away, President Reagan, sporting a bright red and white flower garland over his blue suit, was being introduced to Indonesian dignitaries by Mr Suharto and his wife.

Mr Reagan's arrival for a

series of meetings with leaders of the Association of South-East Asian Nations was sober and silent, with no cheering crowds. Bats flew wildly overhead as the President completed his uncannily quiet tour of the reception line.

The summary expulsion of the Australians, together with the detention and ejection of a New York Times reporter, Miss Barbara Crossette, has focused attention on alleged human rights abuses, press censorship and alleged brutalities and killings in the former Dutch colony of East Timor, which the Indonesians occupied in 1975.

# ASIE

Indonésie

AU COURS DE SA RENCONTRE AVEC M. SUHARTO

## Le président Reagan n'entend pas insister sur la question des droits de l'homme

Honolulu. — Le président Ronald Reagan a quitté, lundi 28 avril, Hawaï pour Bali (Indonésie), après avoir fait savoir qu'il n'avait pas l'intention d'insister auprès du président Suharto sur la question des droits de l'homme en Indonésie.

Les Etats-Unis souhaitent « le maintien d'un environnement stable permettant la poursuite du progrès économique, politique et social en Asie orientale », a déclaré M. Reagan, avant d'entreprendre la première tournée d'un président américain dans la région depuis dix ans. La Maison Blanche a indiqué que la question des droits de l'homme « ne sera pas une question importante à l'ordre du jour » de la rencontre de jeudi entre M. Reagan et le président Suharto.

Plus d'une centaine de parlementaires américains, démocrates et républicains, ont adressé récemment une lettre au président Reagan lui demandant d'« ajouter à l'ordre du jour (de ses conversations avec le général Suharto) le sort du peuple de Timor-Est », l'ancienne colonie portugaise annexée de force par l'Indonésie en 1975. Alors que le président a mis sa tournée asiatique sous le signe des « vents de la liberté » qui soufflent, selon lui, sur le Pacifique, les parlementaires l'ont adjuré de faire peser « le prestige et la force morale des Etats-Unis » afin d'améliorer la situation des droits de l'homme à Timor-Est.

### M<sup>me</sup> Corazon Aquino bientôt en URSS ?

A l'exception des Philippines, qui n'ont pas officiellement pris position, les pays de la région, proches des Etats-Unis mais comptant tous de fortes communautés musulmanes, ont condamné le raid américain contre Tripoli. Ils ont par ailleurs fait savoir qu'ils étaient plus préoccupés par le pro-

blème de leurs relations économiques et commerciales avec Washington (leur principal partenaire après Tokyo dans ces domaines) que par les questions de lutte contre le terrorisme.

Le président Reagan — qui a créé un certain embarras en s'entretenant au téléphone, le week-end dernier à Honolulu, avec M. Marcos — aura, d'autre part, un tête-à-tête avec M. Salvador Laurel, vice-président philippin. En attendant, on apprend à Manille que la présidente, M<sup>me</sup> Corazon Aquino, a reçu lundi le vice-ministre soviétique des affaires étrangères, M. Mikhail Kapitsa. Ce dernier, arrivé discrètement pour une visite de cinq jours, lui a notamment transmis les vœux de M. Gorbatchev. M<sup>me</sup> Aquino a déclaré, à l'issue de l'entretien, qu'elle comptait, d'une part, se rendre prochainement en visite en URSS, et, d'autre part, nommer un ambassadeur des Philippines à Moscou, poste vacant depuis quatre ans.

Enfin, sur un sujet qui préoccupe particulièrement les Etats-Unis, le ministre indonésien des affaires étrangères, M. Mochtar Kusumasudja, a déclaré lundi à un hebdomadaire de Hongkong qu'il ne considérait pas la présence d'une base soviétique dans le port vietnamien de Cam-Ranh-Bay comme une menace pour les pays du Sud-Est asiatique. Le ministre souligne que les Américains disposent, pour leur part, de bases militaires aux Philippines.

Enfin, le gouvernement indonésien a maintenu son refus de délivrer des visas à la presse australienne, y compris à deux journalistes accompagnant le président Reagan. Cette mesure fait suite à la publication récente dans la presse de Sydney d'un article affirmant que M. Suharto et son épouse ont accumulé une fortune, à l'instar de M. et M<sup>me</sup> Marcos. — (AFP, Reuter.)

## OPINION

# The Indonesia Reagan won't recognize

By Barbara Koepfel

CHARLES Dickens was mistaken. Had he understood something of geopolitics, he would have known that sows' ears are transformed into silk purses all the time, everywhere. It's all in the labeling.

Where military bases, oil, profits, and the like are at stake, the Reagan administration's standard for civilized behavior is flexible: When our foes behave poorly, say, by denying press freedom or civil liberties, they are loudly condemned. Allies, however, are measured by a different stick.

Take Indonesia, for example. President Reagan is making his predictable pronouncements about "winds of freedom," friendship, cooperation. Images we can relate to.

Reality, however, stirs a different set.

Since General Suharto seized power in 1966, his grip has been fierce; his reign, bloody. In the first six months, Army and religious groups linked to the government committed wide-scale massacres.

A former Indonesian vice-president put the figure at half a million killed, but Amnesty International says the number is twice as high.

The targets, members of the then-legal Communist Party and those suspected of sympathizing with it, were simply wiped out. Thousands more fortunate were jailed, and to this day are persecuted. The United States, fighting its own war against communism in Vietnam, applauded.

Then came East Timor. After the Portuguese left their former colony, in 1975, the Indonesians invaded. During the next few years the nationalists paid dearly for demanding independence. Suffering direct attack or aerial burning of crops that led to famine and starvation, the population of 600,000 was decimated.

Conservative estimates place the deaths at 100,000, but others give a far higher estimate, and today, nearly a decade later, there are only 450,000 people in East Timor. For Suharto, the use of repression is routine. In 1984, when thousands of Jakartans rioted, the general simply

(once, an entire editorial board) for covering that which displeases.

The press knows well the taboo topics, but, taking no chances, officials call the papers daily to advise on what can and can't be reported.

For those that disobey, punishment is certain — closure or, at the least, financial loss: The government cancels its ads and pressures businesses to do the same. Finally, all radio and television are state controlled.

The foreign press has also been attacked. When five Australian television newsmen tried to cover the Indonesian invasion of East Timor, they were murdered by security forces.

More recently, expulsion seems the preferred tactic. In the last few weeks, two US reporters with the Far Eastern Economic Review, 11 Australian journalists, and Barbara Crossette of the New York Times were all denied visas to cover the Reagan visit. Their crime, it seems, was reporting on corruption, military matters, or local dissatisfaction. Or, in the case of the Australians, it was guilt by association (with Jenkins's piece on corruption).

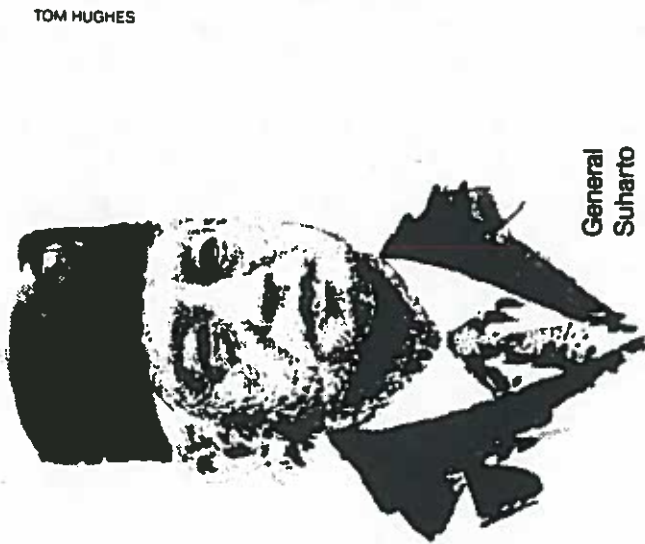
Despite such doing, the general has been well rewarded.

In the last 10 years, the US has granted him nearly \$2 billion in military and economic aid. From the World Bank, theoretically nonpolitical (despite recent US blocking of funding to Nicaragua), Indonesia landed more than \$4 billion in loans the last three years alone.

Where was the outcry from the US public, the press, or Congress during the last 19 years? Where was the pressure before the current visit, demanding that the President denounce the abuses he passionately decries elsewhere and used to justify American military strikes? Is Suharto's terror any the less terrifying?

With South Africa, Washington was finally moved to press for change because a growing constituency refused to let the matter rest. Lacking such support in the US, Indonesians (who make up the world's fifth most populous country) can expect only more of the same.

*Barbara Koepfel is executive director of the Committee to Protect Journalists, in New York.*



General  
Suharto

called out the tanks, leaving more than 100 dead.

Big-time corruption, the sort practiced by the Marcos and Duvalier families and their friends, is another item that could have concerned President Reagan, particularly since revelations about the fortunes of two former dictators and US allies are front-page stuff almost daily. But again, the issue did not mar the Reagan visit.

In fact, the general has not done badly: Estimates by David Jenkins, the foreign editor of the Sydney Morning Herald, credit Suharto and cronies with accumulating some \$2 billion to \$3 billion since taking power.

A free press, high on the Reagan list of requirements when judging governments democratic or devilish, has been getting little presidential attention. Yet censorship is endemic and total.

In the 1970s, at least 11 major dailies were closed; and since that time, numerous journalists have been fired

# Questioning of Suharto brings prison sentence

Boston Globe

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

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

Nor are Reagan and his aides likely to see any articles critical of Suharto in the Indonesian press. That's rarely tolerated. Last year, one editor who wrote an unflattering article about the Suharto government received an eight-year jail term. Two other journals, which sought to write about the country's wealthy ruling class — which includes many members of Suharto's extended family — were shut down.

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

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

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

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

Reagan also arrived here armed with pleas from 21 senators and 125 House members that he protest Indonesia's continued occupation of the former Portuguese colony of East Timor.

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

The administration, however, believes that such problems are best dealt with through "quiet diplomacy," and that to raise public objections, as President Carter did with some countries, is counterproductive. So the White House has indicated that it will not publicly confirm whether Reagan raises the issue.

But the senior officials, who declined to be quoted by name, said Reagan will, as one of them said, "take the nice guy approach." Reagan, he said, will talk about the prob-

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

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— Administration official

lems that human rights abuses created for former Philippine President Ferdinand E. Marcos.

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

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

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

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

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

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

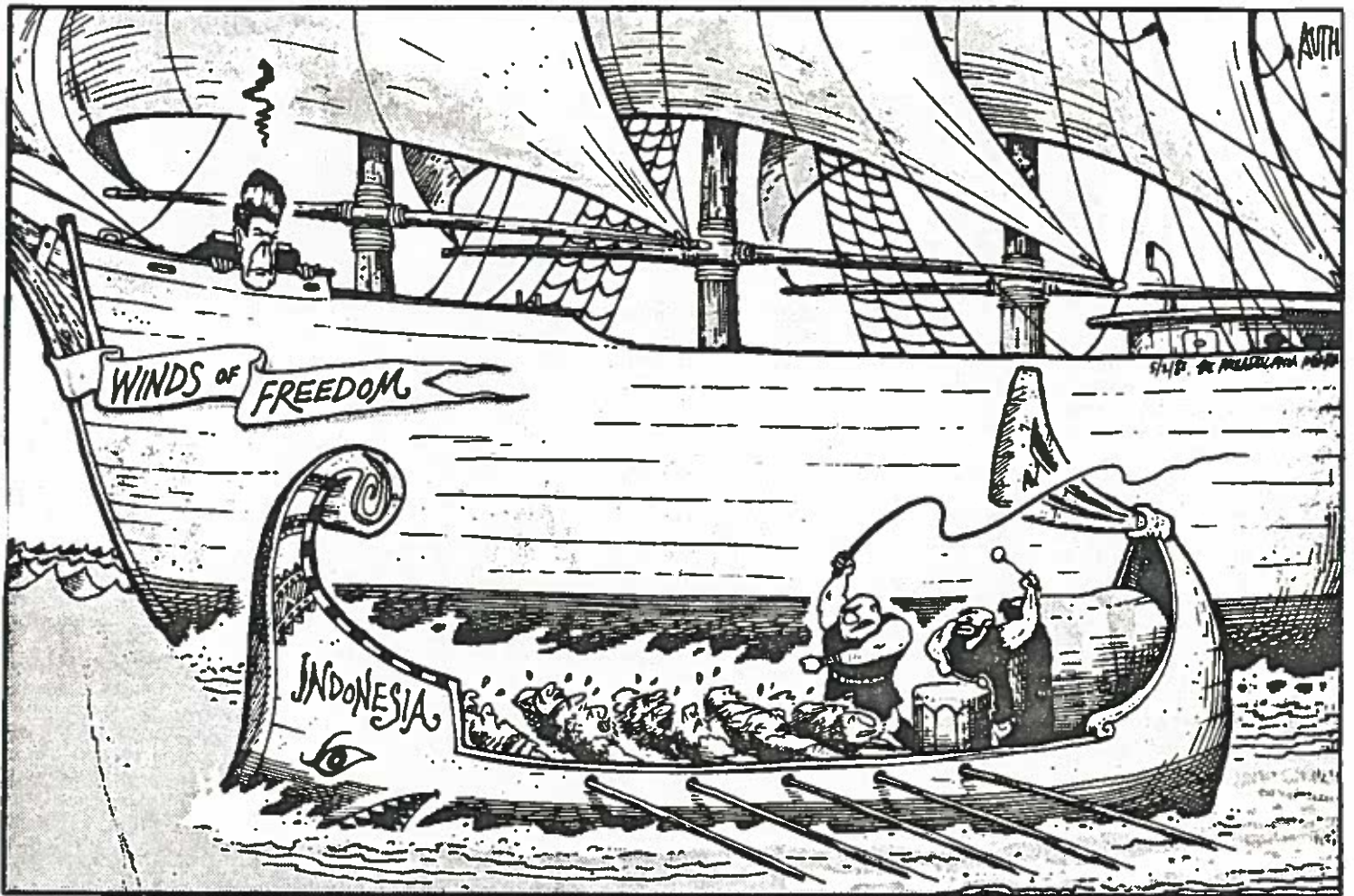
The U.S. State Department, which criticizes Indonesia's human rights record in more cautious language than that employed by Asia Watch, noted in its own report, "In all such security related cases, it is widely believed that the government will ensure conviction irrespective of the evidence presented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

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

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

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

Philadelphia Inquirer  
May 2, 1986



(EXCERPT)

## Shultz lashes Indonesia over censorship and human rights

From Alex Brummer  
in Bali

The US Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz, last night chastised Indonesia over press censorship and human rights in an unusual public reprimand.

His comments came after President Reagan, looking relaxed and fit, abandoned the beaches for a series of meetings with South-East Asian leaders including an hour-and-a-half summit with his host, President Suharto of Indonesia.

The American team here has clearly been disturbed by the obvious signs of press censorship in the country notably the appearance of editions of US newspapers, including the International Herald Tribune and the Wall Street Journal, with stories about Indonesia pasted over with white patches and blacked out for good measure. The White House was also embarrassed by the ejection of two Australian journalists travelling with the presidential party.

As a result the US presidential team muted its "winds of freedom" theme for its Far Eastern trip and publicly drew attention to human rights abuses in the country. The Indonesians, meanwhile, sought to paint an improved picture of the situation in East Timor where occupying Indonesian troops are said to have killed more than 100,000 Timorese over the past decade.

However, despite Indonesian claims of improved access to human rights groups, journal-

ists and Catholic Church representatives to the former Portuguese colony, Mr Shultz said: "There still are things that need to be done." Before this week's meetings got under way officials maintained that human rights would be dealt with privately, so last night's public reprimand marked a change in position, though it was tempered by praise for "practise of religious freedom."

Despite Mr Shultz's comments, President Reagan sought to draw a veil over human rights abuses in his

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### Traditions that go west, page 9

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public utterances. He praised Indonesia "for its humanitarian policy of granting first asylum to almost 100,000 refugees from Indochina," making no mention of the similar number apparently killed in East Timor.

Mr Shultz said that the US had been assured that East Timor would receive more economic development.

While human rights feature more strongly in the discussion than expected, Mr Reagan's talks with the foreign ministers from Indonesia, the Philippines, Brunei, Thailand and Malaysia were dominated by protectionism and the question of the Vietnamese occupation of Kampachea.



Not all Indonesians are as appealing as the dancing girls who greeted President Reagan when he arrived in Bali on April 19th. Far-from-lovely security men detained, and then expelled, two Australian journalists who had accompanied Mr Reagan from the United States. On the same day a *New York Times* reporter already in Indonesia was also expelled. The Indonesians are smarting over an allegation last month in an Australian newspaper, the *Sydney Morning Herald*,

## Indonesia The Tien Per Cent Solution

15m, has long cocked a wary eye on the giant (population at least 160m) on its doorstep. Over the past few years it has adopted a propitiatory attitude towards

Australia, with a population of only crowded Java. Melanesians in Iran Jaya, which Indonesia is resettling with families from over-Timor despite United Nations objections. Its Melanesian neighbour, Papua New Guinea, is upset by the rough handling of

Reagan has referred to seem to have by-passed Indonesia. Its soldier-politicians seized the Portuguese colony of East Timor despite United Nations objections. The Asian "winds of freedom" that Mr Reagan has referred to seem to be receptive to criticism than he used to be. years of power, Mr Suharto is even less usually for a short duration. After 20 write about Indonesia. If one is issued, it is difficult for a journalist to get a visa to stones to discover uncomfortable facts. It journalists, who annoyingly turn over made any secret of its dislike for foreign the Indonesian government has never

Mr Reagan's aides were dismayed by the Indonesian dismissal of their pleas for the Australian journalists, who were travelling under American protection. But the Indonesian government has never made any secret of its dislike for foreign journalists, who annoyingly turn over stones to discover uncomfortable facts. It also took a side-swipe at any newspapers which referred to the story, which seems to be why the *New York Times* reporter was ousted.

that the family of President Suharto has amassed a fortune of as much as \$3 billion through corrupt business dealings. The president's wife, Tien, the paper said, is known as Mrs Tien Per Cent. Indonesia promptly banned all Australian journalists from the country, whomsoever they work for and whatever their job. The two Aussies in the Reagan entourage work for an Australian radio station, but they are based in Washington. The Indonesians also took a side-swipe at any newspapers which referred to the story, which seems to be why the *New York Times* reporter was ousted.

Indonesia. Last year it recognised Indonesia's sovereignty over East Timor. It discourages New Guinea, which it formerly administered, from supporting the guerrillas who seek independence for Iran Jaya. This week's events are unlikely to change Australia's policy. The normally outspoken Australian prime minister, Mr Bob Hawke, merely called the ban on the journalists "capricious".



The journalists got a less gracious welcome

INTERNATIONAL

## The Readers' Page

### Concern For East Timor

To the Editor:

East Timor is a predominantly Catholic country that we hear or know very little about. It is a land located in Southeast Asia, at the eastern end of the Indonesian archipelago. In 1975, the former Portuguese colony was invaded by Indonesia. Since then about one-sixth of its population, 100,000 people, have disappeared through torture, executions and other violent means. Highly regarded church sources confirm that serious human rights abuses continue.

Concern over East Timor was expressed by both Secretary of State Shultz and Pope John Paul II during visits to Indonesia in July, 1984. British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher also raised the Timor issue when she visited Jakarta in April, 1985. Also, in June 1985, Amnesty International issued a detailed report on the human rights situation in East Timor and has published additional information in recent months.

A number of congressmen have expressed concern for the situation in East Timor. A joint House/Senate

One-sixth of East Timor's population has disappeared through violent means.

Resolution was introduced in Congress in December, 1985 by Tony P. Hall of Ohio.

President Reagan is due to travel to Indonesia during his trip to Asia in early May. Concerned congressmen are urging the president to encourage Indonesia to maintain and expand access to East Timor for international humanitarian agencies and to address current questions of basic human rights. President Reagan's trip to Indonesia provides a special opportunity for the prestige and influence of the United States to be brought to bear on the East Timor tragedy.

Write our legislators to request President Reagan to add the plight of the people of East Timor to his agenda in May.

**SISTER MARGARET BRAULT**  
Coordinator  
Intercommunity Center for Peace  
and Justice  
Diocese of Syracuse

## Message to Suharto

**O**N DECEMBER 7, 1975, just hours after President Ford and Secretary of State Kissinger ended a visit to Djakarta, Indonesian troops invaded East Timor, a small independent country—formerly a Portuguese colony—out at the tip of the Malay archipelago. Ten years later, the Indonesians are still there, their occupation one of the grislier stories of human-rights violations, mass starvation, and wholesale slaughter. It is worthy of comparison with Pol Pot's bloody reign over Cambodia, not only for the devastation inflicted, but also for the lack of attention, in the world community, paid to the holocausts.

At least sixty thousand and perhaps as many as 200,000 East Timorese—out of a total population of only 650,000—have been killed since the Indonesian invasion. The figures are sketchy because of the rigid control the Indonesians exercise over the press. The Indonesians have launched a campaign to reduce the East Timorese population yet further by dispensing birth-control pills as “vitamins” to unsuspecting women and by practicing forced sterilization of both men and women. Many victims of forced sterilization had been visiting government health facilities for sick-calls, and now others, needing medical attention but fearing sterilization, are scared away. The Moslem Indonesians have been systematically harassing the Catholic Church, to which a majority of the East Timorese belong. Government troops have closed down the church's radio station and severely restricted its ability to communicate. International access to East Timor is almost shut off. The Red Cross is restricted to Dili, the capital city.

Indonesia's bloody occupation of East Timor has registered little outrage in the world forum. When President Reagan, en route to Japan this May, stops in Djakarta to meet with President Suharto, he will be the first American President to visit Indonesia since the East Timor occupation. He should press for three things. First, international access, so that groups like the Red Cross and Amnesty International can do their work. Second, freedom for the church. Third, an Indonesian withdrawal, perhaps coinciding with a temporary return of the Portuguese to facilitate the transition. And then self-determination for what's left of the East Timorese people.

BOSTON GLOBE

May 9, 1986

### Springtime rite *old*

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

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

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

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

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

JEFFREY R. RYAN

Watertown

**MANCHESTER  
GUARDIAN WEEKLY**

May 11, 1986

**THE WEEK-**

Mr Shultz himself chastised Indonesia over press censorship and human rights in an unusual public reprimand. His comments came after President Reagan had a series of meetings with South-east Asian leaders, including his host, President Suharto of Indonesia.

## OBTUARIES

THE WASHINGTON POST

# Francis Galbraith, Ex-Envoy To Indonesia, Singapore, Dies

Francis Joseph Galbraith, 72, a career Foreign Service officer and a former U.S. ambassador to Singapore and Indonesia, died of cancer June 25 at George Washington University Hospital. He lived in Washington.

Mr. Galbraith joined the Foreign Service in 1946 and became an expert in Indonesian and Southeast Asian affairs. He was selected by President Lyndon B. Johnson to be the first American ambassador to Singapore after the island nation seceded from Malaysia in 1965.

From 1969 until he retired in 1974, Mr. Galbraith was ambassador to Indonesia. He later was a consultant on international affairs to various companies, including the Bechtel Corp., Freeport Indonesia and the Weyerhaeuser Co. In 1974 he was a visiting scholar at the Center for International Affairs at Harvard University.

Mr. Galbraith was born in Timber Lake, S.D. He graduated from the University of Puget Sound, which later awarded him an honorary doctorate. He received a degree in library science at the University of Washington in 1940. During World War II, he served in the Army in the Pacific.

Except for two years as a vice consul in Hamburg in the late 1940s, one tour in London, and a year with the Foreign Service inspectorate in the 1960s, Mr. Galbraith's entire career concerned Indonesia and Singapore.

He was a political officer in Indonesia from 1949 to 1951. He spent the next four years as the Indonesian desk officer at the State Department. He returned to Indonesia in 1955 and became chief of the political section. He was minister counselor of the embassy in Jakarta from 1963 to 1965. He was in the inspectorate before being named ambassador to Singapore.

In 1974, he received the First Service Star from Indonesian President Suharto.

Mr. Galbraith was a member of the Army & Navy Club, the Asia Society, the Washington Institute of Foreign Affairs, DACOR (Diplomatic and Consular Officers Retired) and the Cosmos Club.

Survivors include his wife, Martha Townsley Galbraith of Washington; one daughter, Susan K. Galbraith of Boston, and one son, Kelly Galbraith of Jakarta.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, FRIDAY, JUNE 27, 1986

## Francis J. Galbraith, 72, Dies; Ex-Ambassador to 2 Nations

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 26 — Francis Joseph Galbraith, a former United States Ambassador to Singapore and Indonesia, died of cancer Wednesday at George Washington University Hospital. He was 72 years old and lived in Washington.

Mr. Galbraith was selected by President Johnson in 1966 to be the first American Ambassador to Singapore after it became an independent nation separate from Malaysia. He was Ambassador to Indonesia from 1969 until his retirement in 1974. He also served in diplomatic posts in Hamburg and London and was inspector of the Foreign Service from 1965 to 1968.

He was born in Timber Lake, S.D., on Dec. 9, 1913. From his youth until the age of 22, he worked as a rodeo rider and cowboy, riding herd and breaking horses on his father's ranch on the Rosebud Sioux Indian Reservation.

He received a B.A. in history at the University of Puget Sound in 1939 and a B.A. in librarianship at the University of Washington in 1940. He served in the Army in the South Pacific from 1941 to 1945, reaching the rank of captain, and joined the Foreign Service in 1946.

Upon retirement from the State Department, he was a consultant on international affairs to the Bechtel Corporation, Freeport Indonesia, Weyerhaeuser Company and Inter-maritime Management.

He is survived by his wife, Martha Townsley Fisher; a daughter, Susan, of Boston, and a son, Kelly, of Jakarta.

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# Aid official slams Red Cross over Timor role

By ROBIN OSBORNE

ON THE tenth anniversary of Indonesia's formalising the takeover of East Timor, serious allegations have been levelled at the Red Cross, which handles much of the humanitarian work in Timor.

The organisation is accused of aiding Jakarta's attempt to convince the world that East

Timorese support the takeover and that, contrary to claims by groups such as Amnesty International, human rights abuses are not occurring.

The allegations were made at a recent conference at The Hague by Adrien Claude Zoller, an official with the Catholic aid group Pax Christi. They have been repeated in The National Times by Pat Walsh, from the Australian Council for Overseas Aid (ACFOA), who attended hearings on East Timor at the United Nations Human Rights Commission in Geneva in February.

Noting that the Geneva-based International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) has had a long-standing, if intermittent, presence in East Timor, Zoller accused the body of concealing the true findings of staff who visit East Timor and of allowing Indonesia to "hide behind" the Red Cross in order to deflect criticism from various quarters.

Walsh said: "I was convinced that Indonesia tried to defend itself by manipulating the Red Cross's reports. When the UN asked Indonesia to account for disappeared people - 70 in the latest batch - it said the Red Cross would investigate, whereas the Red Cross has no role in UN procedures at all."

With a planned outlay of nearly \$1 million this year, the ICRC runs a bigger humanitarian effort in Timor than either UNICEF or the Catholic Relief Service (of the US), but like them its foreign staff are based in distant Jakarta at the insistence of the Indonesian Government.

THIS YEAR, the ICRC will again handle the bulk of Australia's humanitarian aid to East Timor, totalling \$1.2 million.

As Senator Gareth Evans noted when announcing the latest commitment, ICRC's work includes visits to people in detention centres, food and medical help for displaced people and assistance in reuniting Timorese with their families abroad.

But the Red Cross has an important role that Evans did not mention, and its inability to fulfil it, and refusal to say so publicly, lie at the core of its critics' allegations.

By international agreement, the Red Cross is the body charged with supervising the adherence of parties in conflict to the Geneva Convention which governs, in theory at least, the conduct of warfare.

In this capacity, the Red Cross finds itself in many trouble spots. Yet it is denied a

permanent presence on Timor and thus any chance to oversee the conflict between Indonesia's estimated 12,000 troops there and the guerrilla force made up of Fretilin and supporters of the conservative UDT group with which it signed a unity pact recently.

The ICRC's sole foreign staffer in Timor is a nurse based on Atauro Island, site of the main prison for political detainees.

In the past year, notes the ICRC's latest appeal booklet, travel in Timor proper amounted to an average of 10 hours a month in a chartered helicopter, and minimal road travel. Like the two other aid groups, its work is dependent on the Indonesian Government, often the military. Being Indonesian, ground staff are unlikely to criticise officialdom.

It is the ICRC's refusal to complain about these arrangements that has angered Zoller. He has also attacked Indonesia's selective use of the ICRC's reports.

"There is a golden rule that governments are not supposed to publicise anything from ICRC reports unless they do so in their entirety," Zoller said. "And if a country does not comply, the ICRC shall publish a rectification. Yet over East Timor, the ICRC does not."

Zoller said the Red Cross is permitted to help only a fraction of all prisoners in Timor, estimated to number about 2,000. "It creates the impression that it can operate freely and that its report is representative of the whole situation."

The Assistant General Secretary of the Australian Red Cross, Alan McLean, confirmed that not all prisoners were interviewed but said that, as far as he knew, the ICRC met the Timorese detainees of its choice, without the presence of witnesses, at two prisons in Dili, Timor's capital, and two in Jakarta.

"In April 1985 it met 228 people and in November, 225. Consistent with Red Cross practice elsewhere in the world, the reports (of the interviews) were submitted to the authorities."

McLean said the confidential reports given to Indonesian officials were different, because of ICRC operating procedure, to the reports it made public. "The ICRC's aim is to help the prisoners, not gain publicity. Any concerns about their welfare are shared only with the authorities."

In the past two years the UN's Human Rights Commission, also based in Geneva, has criticised the ICRC for publishing misleading reports

about Timor, and Indonesia for basing its lobbying efforts on them.

It said that unrepresentative extracts from ICRC reports were distributed to foreign diplomats by the Indonesian mission. As a result, East Timor was removed from the commission's agenda.

McLean said he could not comment on Indonesian actions.

The ICRC's critics say that "playing the game" with Indonesia is the quid pro quo for the Red Cross being allowed to operate in Timor at all. But Timorese refugees - there are over 12,000 in Australia - respond that the ICRC's "band aid" work is less important than the matter of sovereignty.

THE ACFOA's Pat Walsh said he had "reason to believe that the ICRC is concerned that Indonesia is exploiting the Red Cross to its political advantage. This is a pity, because the ICRC's work is of great value to the Timorese. It would prefer to be in the territory than out of it." The ICRC is well acquainted with the alternative. Before the December 1975 invasion, it was told by Indonesia that the safety of its personnel could not be guaranteed. It pulled out, and only set up again in 1979, by which time an estimated 200,000 Timorese had died.

The criticism of Indonesian actions in East Timor coincides with the passing of a decade since President Suharto signed into law the bill formalising East Timor's "integration". On July 16, 1976, Jakarta's Parliament passed the bill following a unanimous petition from the 37-member Timor Assembly which was elected, like its West Irian predecessor, by voters brought to polling booths at gun-point.

Opponents of Indonesia's presence insist that the oppression continues, but that Jakarta's troops are growing tired of the dirty war to subdue nationalists.

In a recent letter smuggled out and sent to The National Times, a Timorese describes troops as "discontented and showing a preference for staying in their shelters rather than looking for Fretilin".

As a result, the letter says, "Fretilin is having successes, including the ambush of 50 soldiers by a female commander named Maria who sent the troops back with a warning that next time they would die."

Another letter said the new Indonesian commander will be an officer named Yunu, who was in the unit which shot five Australian journalists at Balibo village in October 1975.

## Australian Government Senior Executive Service

**DEPARTMENT OF THE PRIME MINISTER AND CABINET**  
 First Assistant Secretary, Justice and Community Relations Division, Canberra, 861,744

The successful applicant will manage the Justice and Community Relations Division and advise the Prime Minister and the Secretary on a range of matters within the responsibility of the Division including security, intelligence, law enforcement, cultural and welfare services.

Applicants should have highly developed policy advising and managerial skills and the capacity to sustain high quality performance, at times under considerable pressure.

The position is available for either permanent or fixed-term appointment.

For further information contact Mr N. McInnes on (062) 72 5687. Selection criteria can be obtained by telephoning (062) 72 4884. Applicants, including where possible written referee reports by 25 July 1986 to:

The Recruitment Officer, Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet, Edmund Barton Building, BARTON ACT 2600

**DEPARTMENT OF THE SPECIAL MINISTER OF STATE**  
 First Assistant Secretary, Law Enforcement Policy Division, Canberra, 861,744.

The successful applicant will manage a Division responsible for providing policy advice to the Minister and the Government on law enforcement matters - matters relating to the Australian Federal Police, the National Crime Authority and the National Common Police Services.

Applicants should have a record of achievement in conceptual analysis and policy advising at senior levels and highly developed management and communication skills. Relevant experience an advantage.

First Assistant Secretary, Services Division, Canberra, 861,744

The First Assistant Secretary provides policy advice on recruitment, discipline within the Department and associated bodies and manages the Division responsible for ADP, Financial and Personnel Services for the core areas of the Department and associated bodies. The Division services ministerial staff, senators and members of the staff and provides other services including computing bureau facilities and ADP services to electorate offices. The Division also provides advice on Awards and National Symbols.

Senior Assistant Secretary, Management Services Branch, Canberra, 852,426

As Branch Head the Senior Assistant Secretary will be responsible for the provision of management services including personnel finance, security, travel and office accommodation and services to the Department and to other clients and organisations within the portfolio.

Applicants for the above two positions should have highly developed management, analytical and communication skills. Relevant qualifications or experience in a related field would be an advantage.

Senior Assistant Secretary, ADP Branch, Canberra, 852,426

The successful applicant will be responsible for the management of an advanced central computer installation and communications network which provides ADP services to the Department and its client groups.

Applicants should be able to demonstrate a high level of technical competence in the ADP field, and analytical, communication and management skills of a high order.

Adviser, Executive Secretariat, Canberra, 847,788

The Adviser is a senior member of the Executive Projects Unit which supports and provides policy advice to the Minister in his role as Leader of the House.

Applicants should have a record of achievement in research activities and the provision of policy advice at very senior levels and relevant qualifications or experience in a related field.

Enquiries about the above positions to Mr Roger Holdich on (062) 70 2474. Duty statements from Ms Donna Luchini (062) 70 2412.

Applications by 25 July to: The Secretary, Department of the Special Minister of State, Level 2, Queen Victoria Terrace, PARKES ACT 2600

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 Principal Advisers, Social Security Division and General Expenditure Division (2 Positions), Canberra, 857,085

As Principal Advisers to the Heads of the Divisions, the successful applicants will be responsible for providing financial and policy advice in one of the following areas:

- administration of expenditure and staffing aspects of the Commonwealth Budget and related policy advice; or
- social welfare and superannuation expenditures.

Applicants should have highly developed management and policy formulation skills.

For further information contact John Galloway (062) 63 2577.

Assistant Secretary, Education and Employment Division (2 Positions), Canberra, 852,426

The work of these positions is to manage Branches responsible for, and to provide policy advice on, financial aspects of education and employment matters. This work involves analysis, evaluation and advising on policy proposals, expenditure bids and staffing resources for all aspects of, firstly, the Education portfolio and matters related to education in the ACT, and secondly, the Employment and Industrial Relations Department, together with aspects of civil and defence conditions of service.

Applicants should have management ability of a high order and capacity for developing and providing high level policy advice. Tertiary qualifications highly desirable.

For further information contact Mr A. Podger (062) 63 2023.

Applications by 25 July 1986 to: The Recruitment Officer, Department of Finance, CANBERRA ACT 2600.

**DEPARTMENT OF RESOURCES AND ENERGY**  
 Assistant Secretary, Coal and Minerals Division, Canberra, 847,788

The successful applicant will provide policy advice on the commercial development of various minerals and also represent the Department at Australian and international conferences, meetings and inter-departmental committees.

Applicants should have management and policy development skills of a high order. It is desirable that the successful applicant possess appropriate tertiary qualifications.

For further information, contact Mr Patrick Ryan (062) 45 8719.

Applications by 25 July 1986 to: The Secretary, Department of Resources and Energy, GPO Box 854, CANBERRA ACT 2601 (Ref 3732).

**QUOTE:** The ICRC is concerned that Indonesia is exploiting the Red Cross to its political advantage. This is a pity, because the ICRC's work is of great value to the Timorese. It would prefer to be in the territory than out of it.

## EAST TIMOR'S TRAGEDY

# Genocide in a faraway place?

John Hamor/Times editorial columnist

6693

IMAGINE a place where up to one-third of the population has been killed by foreign invaders in the past 10 years.

A place where mass executions, of combatants and civilians alike, are not uncommon.

A place where entire villages have been "resettled," with famine and malnutrition the result.

A place where torture is practiced regularly, including use of electric shocks, beatings, near-drownings, rape, and sexual abuse.

A place where people are arrested arbitrarily, and prisoners "disappear" without a trace from jails or detention centers.

A place that outside observers are never allowed to visit freely, and where independent journalists have been summarily executed.

This place exists. It is a small, faraway, funny-named place that few Americans have ever heard of, and even fewer could find on a world map.

It sounds more like an imaginary land in a fantasy-adventure story: east of Sumba, west of Timor, south of Ambon, north of the Timor Sea.

But East Timor is a real place, suffering real horrors.

"It is a human tragedy in a forgotten place," says John G. Healey, executive director of Amnesty International USA.

Amnesty International, the widely respected, Nobel Peace Prize-winning, human-rights organization, has launched an intensive three-month campaign to focus world attention on East Timor.

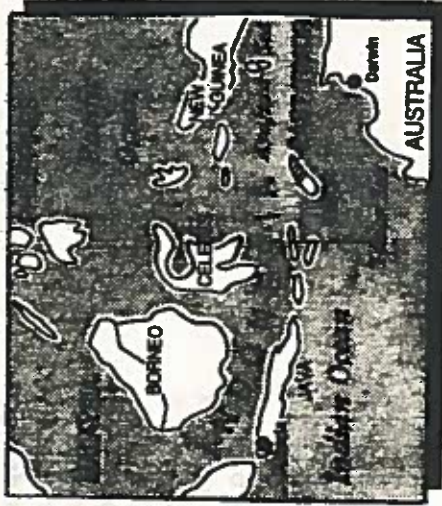
In a meticulously documented 92-page report, "East Timor: Violations of Human



Rights," the group offers convincing evidence of widespread executions, torture, political imprisonment, and disappearances.

A Portuguese colony for more than 250 years, East Timor was invaded in 1975 by Indonesia and claimed as a province by the Indonesian government. However, the United Nations General Assembly has never recognized that claim, and has repeatedly condemned the annexation.

East Timor, predominantly Catholic, had more than 600,000 residents before the invasion, but as many as 200,000 have been killed, according to authoritative estimates. Indonesia, mostly Moslem, is the world's fifth-largest nation, with a population of 155 million.



Times file map

A guerrilla force called Fretilin is fighting for East Timor's independence. The conflict is still intense despite Indonesian government assertions that the situation has stabilized, according to Amnesty's report. Its information came from interviews with refugees and former prisoners, and confidential material obtained from the guerrillas — including a copy of a secret interrogation manual used by Indonesian military intelligence that appears to sanction torture.

David Hinkley, Amnesty International's Western regional director, is here this week to help organize local efforts on behalf of East Timor. Hinkley is working with the several Amnesty groups that already exist in the Seattle area (another is being formed in

Edmonds) and with the Seattle Catholic Archdiocese.

"There's really a tremendous degree of enthusiasm here," Hinkley says. "I haven't seen it anywhere else. It's unprecedented."

The rate of growth of Amnesty International groups in this state is the highest in the nation, according to Hinkley. For that reason, the organization's next regional office will be located in Seattle, he says.

The local effort will include distributing information to the public, writing letters to Indonesian authorities, lobbying members of the state's congressional delegation, and generally trying to focus more attention on the plight of East Timor. (Those who want to help should call 282-0028).

"We feel it's time for a broader constituency to be heard on this, and also for the press to begin to cover the issue in greater depth," Hinkley says. "It's been referred to as a forgotten war, as a concealed atrocity. I don't think there's any kind of a conscious cover-up, but it's such a remote and small place, and there's no direct linkage to U.S. interests, it's really up to the church and human-rights activists to keep raising the issue and giving it exposure."

One local activist working on the East Timor issue is Dave Shively, 38, a mental-health counselor at the state correctional institution in Monroe and a member of Amnesty Group 4 in Seattle. Normally, Amnesty groups "adopt" individual prisoners of conscience in various countries. But the East Timor campaign is something different.

"It was sort of a demystification process for us," Shively admits. "A lot of us had to pull out our maps and find out where East Timor was."

But now he's convinced that more people should know about what's happening in East Timor, and protest. "Amnesty is not claiming that full-scale genocide is occurring in East Timor, but the statistics kind of speak for themselves," he says.

"Central America's human-rights violations have received a lot of attention," Shively adds. "Now it's East Timor's turn."

In the next few months, if Amnesty International's campaign succeeds, a lot more people will know much more about the terrible plight of a small, faraway place called East Timor.



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**WASHINGTON TALK**

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**Briefing**

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*Portuguese Hero*

**A**s a result of a plea from 80 members of Congress, the Government of Portugal has agreed to clear the name of a Portuguese diplomat summoned home in disgrace in World War II for defying his Government by "improperly" issuing visas to people fleeing the Nazis.

The diplomat, Dr. Aristides de Sousa Mendes, was the Portuguese consul to Bordeaux, France, in 1940, and is credited with saving the lives of thousands of people.

For disobedience, Dr. de Sousa Mendes was recalled, stripped of the right to practice law and blacklisted from other work. He died in poverty in 1954.

Although he has been honored for his courage by both the Governments of Israel in 1967 and the United States last May, he remained officially in disgrace in Portugal.

As a result of a personal plea from Tony Coelho, a California Democrat who is of Portuguese descent, and a letter signed by other House members, President Mario Soares of Portugal has agreed to clear his name and award Dr. de Sousa Mendes a posthumous special medal of honor.

Wayne King

Warren Weaver Jr.

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□ You can get away with anything, absolutely anything, as long as you spout progressive rhetoric while you do it. The latest illustration of this rule is the honorary doctorate of law—*law*—bestowed by the University of Massachusetts at Amherst on Robert Mugabe, the lawless prime minister of Zimbabwe. Moving rapidly toward a one-party state, Mugabe kidnaps, tortures, and kills political dissidents; persecutes rival tribes; maintains personal Brownshirt-style troops; has shut down the opposition press; and withal continues to denounce the tyranny of neighboring South Africa. Presenting the degree was Chancellor Joe Duffey, Jimmy Carter's chairman of the National Endowment for the, er, Humanities.

□ It is conceivable that Vladimir Kolesnikov, the Soviet citizen who serves as a special assistant to UN Secretary General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, is not a spy. It is conceivable that, though the Soviets have claimed the right to name one of their nationals to that post since the 1960s, they have all along scrupulously avoided placing a KGB agent on the staff of the UN's highest official. What is not conceivable is that the United States could allow more than seven hundred Soviet UN employees into the country, with the expanded diplomatic immunities enjoyed by UN personnel, without compromising the national security. By all accounts, including a recent report of the Senate Intelligence Committee, that is precisely what has happened. The situation must be remedied fundamentally. If that means placing what the UN regards as unacceptable restrictions on its personnel, let it go to Geneva. In a city where a two-bedroom condo goes for \$400,000, Donald Trump could turn the UN to useful purposes before you can say New World Order.

□ It has long been an open secret that Israel is a nuclear power. The only real question has been: How much of one? Many Western military analysts have assumed that Israel had all the technology and enriched uranium in place to manufacture nuclear weapons if it chose to, but that it had not actually assembled the warheads. Now London's *Sunday Times* has claimed that Israel has already manufactured between one hundred and two hundred nuclear warheads, a

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### Good-bye, I Guess

Some write a withering farewell  
Which specifies who goes to hell  
And who, for hurling lesser slings,  
May dangle in the outer rings,  
But Bernard Kalb just sounded flat,  
Then faded, like the Cheshire cat.

W. H. VON DREELE

report apparently based on the account of a disgruntled ex-worker in Israel's nuclear industry. Given the large amount of enriched uranium needed to make so many warheads, that figure seems doubtful. Nor do disgruntled ex-employees make the world's most reliable sources. But the claim does serve to remind Israel's Arab neighbors that there is one factor in the Middle East that they have not yet had to deal with, but which they can never discount. Which suggests that, for the sake of deterrence, Israel may have leaked the story itself.

□ In "Message to Suharto" ("The Week," May 9) *NR* reported that the government of Indonesia, which occupies the former Portuguese colony of East Timor, has been "systematically harassing the Catholic Church" there; that "international access to East Timor is almost shut off"; and that the Indonesians are guilty of "wholesale slaughter . . . worthy of comparison with Pol Pot's bloody reign over Cambodia." In 1975, East Timor, a fragment of the dissolving Portuguese empire, declared itself an independent Communist state. The Indonesians, prompted by their own memories of an attempted Communist coup in the mid-Sixties, and by the pleas of neighboring Australia, took the Marxist mini-state over. The operation was a bloody one; fighting continues today. (Five hundred-odd leftist guerrillas remain in the field; 16 Indonesian army engineers were killed as recently as three years ago.) But the Pol Pot stuff was overdrawn. Indonesia has an excellent record of religious toleration (the general who led the Timor invasion was a Roman Catholic). The Red Cross and the State Department have free access to East Timor. Left-wing linguist Noam Chomsky has been campaigning against imagined atrocities there for years. He has recently been joined by the American Catholic Church (the current executive director of Catholic Relief Services, which used to run a program in East Timor, is Lawrence Pezzullo, former Carter ambassador to Nicaragua). *NR* erred in joining them on this issue, and regrets misleading our readers.

□ Bishop Pablo Antonio Vega has called the Sandinista government a "dictatorship." Bishop Vega is "on leave" from his mission in Nicaragua, Comandante Ortega having expelled him as part of his campaign to separate church and state.

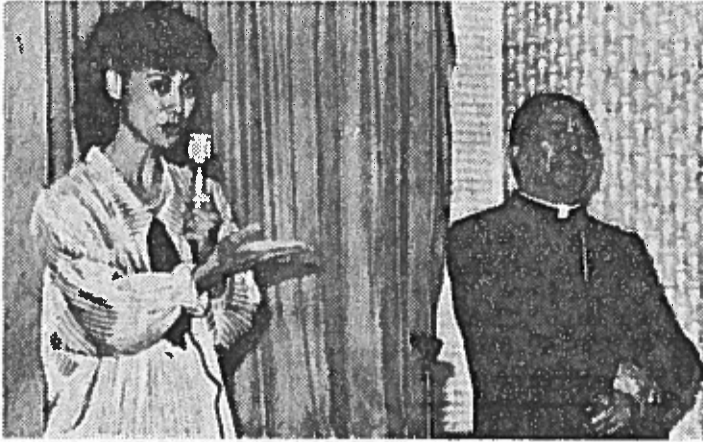
□ St. John's, a lovely church in Indianapolis, is scheduling football Masses, which makes sense if you know that it is across the street from the Hoosierdome, where the Indianapolis Colts play, not that there is any point in saying the Mass for Colt victory—the Church Fathers can read the stats, after all—and the Colts will probably win some, and we wish them well, and in the meantime, services are thoughtfully scheduled for after the game.

Mimi + Msgr. Lopes got good coverage in the Japanese press, but I suppose that will not be useful for you

# The Killing Fields of East Timor

By Aki Soga

The vision is horrific; mass arrests, forced marches, involuntary sterilization of men and women and civilians used as shields to protect the military from guerrilla attacks. This is the East Timor of Mimi Ferreira and Monsignor Martinho da Costa Lopes, two members of a group working for the independence of their homeland.



Mimi Ferreira (left) and Monsignor Martinho da Costa Lopes at a recent lecture at Sophia University in Tokyo. The two East Timorese are on a speaking tour of Japan to call attention to the East Timorese problem.

"We see killing of innocent babies by hitting their heads against rocks," Lopes says, "of pregnant women being cut by knives," and a program of "cultural and psychological genocide."

But the Indonesian efforts to "failed to crush the spirit of resistance" in East Timor led the Fretilin, the Revolutionary Front for the Independence of East Timor, continues to operate as an effective force in and out of East Timor, says Ferreira who is a member of Fretilin.

But the vision differs significantly from that offered by the Indonesian government which is governed the former Portuguese colony since it sent in

"volunteers to defend (the East Timorese's) rights" in 1975. Indonesia now considers East Timor its 27th province.

To Indonesia, East Timor is a province saved from the famine and civil war. Indonesia has built schools and roads and has set up health care facilities for the people.

Indonesian embassy officials in Tokyo say East Timor's

Parliament decided to join Indonesia and it is only a small minority that is opposed to the integration. They say resistance is restricted to a few guerrillas hiding in the mountains.

The officials say the charges of abuse stem from the normal punishment of law breakers according to Indonesian law which have been exaggerated by Communist propaganda.

East Timor occupies the eastern half of an island at the southeastern end of the Indonesian archipelago. It has a population of about 550,000 spread over approximately 20,000 square kilometers.

Ferreira and Lopes spoke Nov. 4 at Sophia University in Tokyo. They are on a speaking tour of Japan until Nov. 15 to bring their cause to the Japanese. The sympathetic audience of about 130 included Takako Doi, leader of the Japan Socialist Party.

Lopes, 67, who now lives in Lisbon, was the apostolic administrator in East Timor until he left under Indonesian pressure in 1983. He speaks with force and conviction.

"We...live with the consequences of this war every day and even though we are far from the centers of power, we know what we see," he says. "(The East Timorese) are suffering ethnic, psychological and cultural genocide on top of the mass killings."

However, what is really happening in East Timor is difficult for outsiders to know.

The human rights group

Amnesty International says it has received reports of detainees being tortured, relocation of the population into resettlement camps and killing of civilians by Indonesian forces but also says that it has no substantiated reports of political killings in East Timor.

According to a report issued in August 1985 by the Secretariat of the United Nations General Assembly, The New York Times reported that "Indonesian officials now acknowledge" that "troops who took East Timor 10 years ago were often brutal and repressive" but that they "question whether human rights groups, which often rely on information from exiles who have been out of East Timor for up to 10 years, accurately reflect the current situation in their reports." Some charge that Indonesia has not made it easy for journalists and international agencies to get a first-hand look at what is going on and say reporters have not been satisfied with what they felt they were allowed to see by their Indonesian hosts.

Indonesian embassy officials say a visa is required for journalists travelling to East Timor but such government permission is required for all report-

ers working anywhere in Indonesia.

Recently, a number of reports have come from East Timor by foreign journalists including an article by Reuters correspondent Bill Tarrant (AEN Aug. 26) which a Fretilin supporter in Japan charged, "so uncritically echoes his Indonesian guides that one feels he might as well have stayed in Jakarta and simply signed his name to a release from the official news agency."

Likewise, Masatoshi Koita of Amnesty International's Japanese Section said his organization has not been allowed into East Timor to check on reported human rights violations.

Ferreira, 31, left East Timor in 1975 when she was in her last year of high school. She now works as a teacher's aid in Darwin, Australia. She agrees that information about the situation in East Timor is hard to come by.

Her source is the trickle of refugees that leave East Timor each year and the letters and photographs they smuggle out, she says. Her contact is limited to once every two or three months.

"People risk their lives to get the letter out so we can't expect them next week or next month," she says.

Nov. 11, 1986 Asahi Evening News

## East Timor Conflict Causing Torture and Starvation

By KOICHIRO HIDAKA  
Military conflict between government forces and anti-government guerrillas in the country such as the Philippines, the African and Nicaragua have made headlines on the newspapers throughout the world.

However, there are similarities of combat seldom reported, even if they are creating the greatest of tragedies. One of the areas is that in East Timor.

As soon as that country declared its independence in 1975, the former Portuguese colony in Southeast Asia was annexed by Indonesia as its 27th province.

Since then, fighting between Indonesian troops and East Timorese guerrillas has been continuing.

According to a report issued by Amnesty International (AI) last year, the troops killed about 200,000 native people, or about a third of the area's total population, in the past ten years.

Timor Island, about 1,000 km northward from Java Island and the Indonesian capital of Jakarta is located, was divided into two parts in the agreement between the Netherlands and Portugal in the middle of the century.

Eastern Timor came under Dutch control and became a province of Indonesia in 1949 when it got independence.

Meanwhile, eastern Timor was maintained as a Portuguese colony until 1975, when the newborn socialist government in the European country decided to make the colony independent.

Two main political parties emerged there in the year. One was Frente Revolucionaria de Timor Leste Independente (FRETILIN) and the other was



Martinho da Costa Lopes

Uniao Democratica Timorese (UDT).

The former one insisted on making East Timor an independent country at once, while the latter one maintained that it would make the area independent gradually under Portuguese supervision.

"In the circumstances, FRETILIN enjoyed growing popularity (among the East Timorese)," said Martinho da Costa Lopes, 67, a Catholic priest who is currently in Japan informing the Japanese about the tragic situation in East Timor.

The Japan-Timor Association, a supra-party organization with a Diet member of the ruling Liberal-Democratic Party as its chairman, also admitted in the magazine "Koen (Lecture)" issued on Nov. 15, 1975, that more and more local people were supporting FRETILIN in the new political situation in East Timor.

The popularity led the party to declare independence for East Timor on Nov. 28 in 1975.

However, about 10,000 Indonesian soldiers suddenly began to invade East Timor on Dec. 7 the same year to destroy



Mimi Ferreira

FRETILIN's control there and annex the area.

"We sent the troops to East Timor against our will, because the people there who hated communism asked us to help them. FRETILIN is a communist (group)," said the Indonesian Embassy in Japan.

The Foreign Ministry of Japan, which supported the invasion, also said, "We thought that if a communist government was established in East Timor, it would jeopardize the stable political situations of ASEAN countries. So we supported the Indonesian military operation."

On the other hand, Lopes refuted those assertions, saying "FRETILIN is not a communist but a democratic socialist (organization). Indonesian government sent the troops on its own initiative, because it feared that the independence of East Timor encouraged independence movements of minorities in Indonesia such as north Sumatrans, west New Guineans and west Timorese. The minorities are discriminated (against) by Javanese in Indonesia."

Mimi Ferreira, 32, a repre-

sentative of about 10,000 East Timorese refugees in Australia, who is also currently visiting Japan added, "Indonesia wants East Timor because it is rich in oil and a good place for long-term investments."

Actually, the Nihon Keizai Shimbun newspaper reported on July 5, 1986, that Indonesia and Australia agreed to start the joint exploration of an oil field off the coast of East Timor.

Since the invasion of the Indonesian forces, the fighting between them and FRETILIN members caused a sharp decline in farm production. Food shortages resulted, and many people died from starvation or suffered from malnutrition.

According to the AI report, the Indonesian foreign minister also acknowledged in November 1979 that the food situation in East Timor might be worse than that in Biafra or Kampuchea.

In addition to the food shortage problem, the Indonesian troops have been reported to have tortured East Timorese who were opposed to the Indonesian control there.

"The soldiers gave electric shocks to them, burned them with lighted cigarettes, placed them in water and raped women," Ferreira said.

The AI report also said that East Timorese prisoners were forced to stand for long periods in the sun, thrown from helicopters, and mutilated.

Furthermore, Indonesian troops have set up "resettlement villages" to prevent the people from making contacts with FRETILIN members.

According to Lopes, there are 30 such camps in East Timor with the biggest one accommodating several hundred people and the smallest one taking in about 50 people.



They are not allowed to go outside the villages. If they don't obey the rule, they are punished and killed. The AI report also said that they were not permitted even to build shelters or grow food in the villages.

Because of those hardships mentioned above, the population of East Timor decreased from about 600,000 in 1974 to 400,000 in 1985, the report said.

The resolutions to respect the self-determination of the people in East Timor and seek the withdrawal of the Indonesian troops from the area were approved every year from 1975 to 1982 at the United Nations' general assembly.

However, the Indonesian government never obeyed the resolutions and still stations its troops there.

Japan also voted against the resolutions every time.

"We understood the stands of Indonesia and other ASEAN countries which feared the spread of communism in Southeast Asia," the Foreign Ministry said.

Meanwhile, Ferreira asserted, "Japan depends (on) about one-tenth of its total oil import on Indonesia. So, Japan cannot oppose Indonesia. Japan puts more emphasis on its economic benefits than the human rights of the people in East Timor."

The United Nations have held

meetings with only officials of Portugal and Indonesia attending since 1983.

However, Lopes insisted that the United Nations should include FRETILIN members in the meetings because FRETILIN was the representative of the East Timorese.

A total of 75 Japanese Diet members, mainly those of the Japan Socialist Party, also signed a petition seeking participation of FRETILIN in the meetings and sent it to U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar in April 1986.

"The most realistic solution is that the three groups agree to hold an election in East Timor under the supervision of the United Nations," Ferreira said, adding, "If East Timor becomes independent, we welcome all kinds of investments of foreign companies."

**ALCOHOLICS ANONYMOUS**  
Tel. (03) 971-1471  
CLOSED MEETINGS (for those who have a desire to stop drinking): St. Alban's Church (Shiba Koen, near Tokyo Tower); Tues. 2:00 & 7:30 p.m., Thurs. 7:30 p.m., Fri. 8:30 p.m., Sat. 5:00 p.m.  
MEETINGS OPEN TO THE PUBLIC: St. Alban's Church: Sat. 4:00 p.m.; Tokyo Union Church (Harejuku): Sun. 7:30 p.m.  
ALANON MEETINGS: St. Alban's, Tues. 7:30 p.m.

Nov. 9 (Sun.) 1986 JAPAN TIMES (nationwide)

# THE GUARDIAN

Friday November 21 1986

## OVERSEAS NEWS

### Timor war rages again

Indonesia sends in  
planes and tanks  
against Fretilin  
guerrilla forces

From Jill Jolliffe  
in Lisbon

THREE years after a ceasefire which brought temporary peace to Portugal's former colony of East Timor war is raging there again, according to reports reaching Lisbon. The reports speak of waves of troops going in from Java and a campaign of aerial bombardment.

In documents smuggled from the territory, the resistance movement Fretilin (the Revolutionary Front for the Liberation of East Timor) gives details of a new Indonesian army offensive which began in the middle of the year, aimed at capturing the guerrilla leader, Sha Na Na.

Its claim is backed by the Timorese Democratic Union (UDT), a more conservative pro-independence party, which said it had first-hand evidence of a massacre of villagers on the south coast of the island in reprisal for a successful Fretilin ambush nearby.

Refugees arriving in Lisbon also say that the scale of the conflict has increased dramatically since mid-year, but that they were afraid to give details because they still had relatives in Timor.

The intensity of the campaign is underlined by news that two regional guerrilla commanders have been killed since the offensive began.

Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975, when the Portuguese colonial administration abandoned the territory during a brief civil war which broke out after Lisbon announced a decolonisation programme. Since then, East Timor has been physically sealed off from the outside world, but regular news of fighting has trickled out—in smuggled documents, in the accounts of refugees themselves, and through a radio contact which the guerrillas have with Darwin, in northern Australia.

Tens of thousands of the population of 650,000 are thought to have died in the early period of the invasion.

International human rights organisations estimated that a third of the 1975 population may have died by the end of 1978—from starvation, bombardment or by execution. By early 1979, most of the founding leaders of Fretilin had been either killed or captured.

For several years there were only occasional reports of ambushes of the Indonesian army, and Fretilin representatives abroad lost regular contact with the guerrillas.

In 1982 documents reached Lisbon describing how five members of the old Fretilin leadership had evaded the Indonesian dragnet and rebuilt its organisation from scratch. The "five fugitives of the east," as they were known, were led by Jose Gusmao Sha Na Na—a young public servant previously known more for his shyness than his toughness.

In 1983, the former Catholic Vicar-General of the Timor capital Dili Msgr Martinho da Costa Lopes, arrived in Lisbon with news that, after eight years of war, Indonesia had negotiated a ceasefire with Sha Na Na. The guerrillas smuggled out photos, tape recordings and documents detailing the talks.

But the ceasefire broke down in August 1983. Refugees arriving here reported big new troop reinforcements and the Indonesian military chief, General Beni Murdani, announced that there would be "no mercy" for the guerrillas.

There has been a continuous offensive since then.

Despite the manpower expended, the offensive did not yield results; Fretilin leaders resisted capture and Indonesia continued to suffer casualties, as it has since the guerrillas reorganised.