

# Refugees From East Timor Report Famine Situation

By JAMES M. MARKHAM

Special to The New York Times

**LISBON** — Newly arrived ethnic Chinese refugees from the former Portuguese colony of East Timor say that famine conditions and some fighting have been continuing there, that Indonesian soldiers behave as a harsh occupying army and that high-ranking officers systematically divert and sell international relief supplies.

The accounts furnished by the refugees are current from September to Oct. 31, when the last of them left East Timor. More recent reports from East Timor

Second of a series.

have said that international relief efforts have had some effect in moving the area from war and famine toward survival.

A woman who got out of the East Timorese capital of Dili in October and, like others, said she paid bribes totaling roughly \$2,000, reported: "Everyone wants to leave. It is the land of the devil."

All the fresh arrivals, who have joined a Timorese colony of 2,000 refugees here, are from the dwindling Chinese community in East Timor, which is 350 miles north of Australia in the eastern end of the Indonesian archipelago. They freely acknowledged that Indonesian officers permitted them to leave because, as one man put it, "they think that Chinese will not cause problems for them." It is impossible, they say, for Timorese or the few Portuguese stranded there to leave.

## A Group Apart in East Timor

Like overseas Chinese scattered around Southeast Asia, those in Timor were a group apart, more interested in commerce than in politics. Four days of intensive interviews here, involving 11 people whose remarks were translated from the Chinese, suggested that their community had suffered as severely from the Indonesian occupation as have the non-Chinese Timorese.

Some were extremely reluctant to speak, and all pleaded that their identities and even their dates of leaving be kept confidential for fear of Indonesian reprisals against family members whose freedom they hoped to purchase.

A lanky teen-age boy just arrived in Lisbon with two siblings virtually refused to answer questions until an interpreter suggested jokingly that perhaps he liked the Indonesians. The boy smiled slyly and, barely audibly, said, "The Indonesian soldiers beat us, but we ran away."

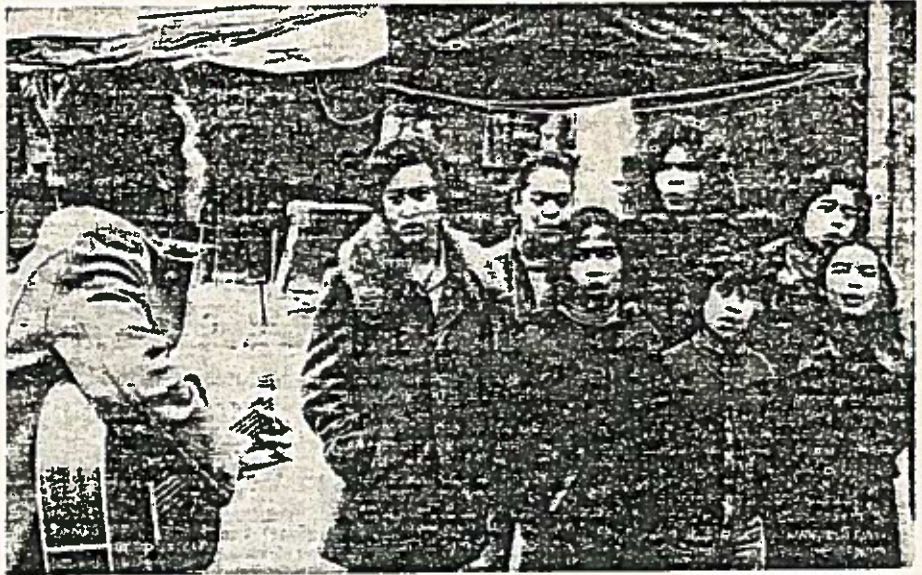
Asked what happened after the invasion of Dili in December 1975 he said: "The Indonesians lined us up on the wharf, making us face the sea, and they shot many people. Maybe a hundred." He said that he and others, expecting execution, were spared, perhaps because of their age. An impassive man in his 50's said that Indonesian parachutists, on landing in Dili, fired wildly at anyone in sight. Other refugees recounted that if an Indonesian soldier was found dead in front of a house, its occupants, with the exception of women, were summarily shot.

The refugees interviewed all came from Dili, and only one said he had recently visited villages outside, to the east, where, he said, "It is normal that 30 people die in a day."

## Diversion of Aid Alleged

Among the refugees' assertions were these:

"Ranking Indonesian officers have organized a system, using soldiers as middlemen, to divert Indonesian, Red Cross and other humanitarian relief, chiefly rice, to shops in Dili. 'We talked to the small soldiers and they complained they were not getting enough from the big ones for selling it,' a man replied when asked to furnish evidence of the corruption. Added another: 'If they receive from the Red Cross of Australia, they give it as if it came from the Indonesian Red Cross. But they give only a little bit to the people and sell most.'"



The New York Times / James M. Markham

Ethnic Chinese from East Timor recently joined other refugees, seen practicing songs, at camp outside Lisbon

"Last April the International Committee of the Red Cross invited people in Dili to fill out forms permitting them to declare whether they wanted to become Indonesian or Portuguese citizens; many opted for Portuguese nationality, and many of those who did were discharged from whatever jobs they might have held and were otherwise discriminated against. 'It was a trick to make people take Indonesian nationality,' a young man asserted. 'If you changed and said you wanted to be Indonesian, you could get your job back.'"

"The refugees said that there was little genuine commerce in Dili and that economic activity centered on selling food to Indonesian troops garrisoned in the seaside town. The soldiers were depicted as eager to serve out their six-month tours, take advantage of the time to extort money and other favors from the local population, and go home.

"Questioned intensely, one man insisted that when he left Dili in mid-October planes, which from his description and drawings appeared to be small American-made Bronco observation planes, were conducting bombing runs in the nearby mountains. 'I saw with my own eyes the bombs brought to the planes on little carts,' he said emphatically. He also said that twice a week transport planes from Surabaya, Java, flew out Indonesian casualties that had been ferried to the military hospital in Dili by helicopter. Others, including the young man who said he visited villages in the eastern section of the island between January and May, related that anti-Indonesian guerrillas from Fretilin, the revolutionary group, were still conducting resistance around the town of Babau. He and others said that the fragmented leftist movement maintained a good information network 'and anything that happens in Dili they know about.'"

"Dili, in the words of one refugee, is 'a world of terror' full of informers and spies. Police units forcibly break up small groups on the streets, residents are afraid of being arrested for listening to foreign radio broadcasts, mail is censored, the use of Portuguese is forbidden and the Timorese live in fear of being denounced as sympathizers of the guerrillas by members of an Indonesian-sponsored group called the Timorese Popular Democratic Association.

## Suffering, Torture, Jail

One of the men, saying that his brother had been falsely denounced as a Fretilin member, added: "He suffered a lot. He was tortured with electricity. He was in jail for 16 months. If it is a lady, they go with cigarettes on the face and on the body."

Several refugees said that guerrillas who had surrendered under an amnesty program were initially allowed to return to their homes but later "disappeared" and were believed to have been slain. Low-level former members were obliged to serve as scouts in the Indonesian Army, the refugees added.

Last year, according to the refugees, prisoners held in Dili were freed and then fled into the mountains. "They always fight," said a woman who related that her

husband, a Portuguese, was seized and taken into the mountains by Fretilin — the name is an acronym for the Portuguese for Revolutionary Front for an independent East Timor — after the 1975 invasion. "They are weak, but they do not care," she went on. "Now I do not know where my husband is. Some say he is fighting with Fretilin. Others say he is dead. I do not know."

When important outsiders, particularly foreign journalists, visited Dili, the refugees said, the Indonesians removed tanks and other military vehicles from the town, naval vessels were withdrawn from sight and soldiers and policemen went into the streets in plainclothes, pretending to be Timorese and warning people against talking to the visitors. "When journalists go there they are never free," a man recounted, adding, in reference to the Indonesian President: "And people are forced to shout 'Viva Suharto!' There are many police in multi watching, and if people say anything else they are dealt with later."

## Few Fixed Political Views

Few of the newly arrived Chinese appeared to have any fixed political views. A tall, tough-looking man said that after the invasion he was taken into the mountains by the guerrillas because they suspected him of being a member of the Timor Democratic Union, a group that initially supported association with Portugal leading gradually to independence. During his time in the mountains, he said, the Indonesian Air Force constantly bombed the guerrillas. He said he managed to surrender to the Indonesians and

served briefly as a scout.

His sentiments seemed to lie more with his one-time Fretilin captors than with the Indonesians. "When they hit you," he said of the Indonesians, rising angrily to his feet, "you have to say 'thank you!'"

The Chinese maintained that a tight Indonesian naval blockade and the absence of a seagoing tradition among the Timorese prevented people from fleeing by boat. To depart legally from Timor, they said, they paid large bribes, which varied according to their suspected wealth, to two Indonesian colonels, whose names or documents they showed were recorded, with official stamps, as J. F. Sinaga and Bam Bang. Using Indonesian identity cards, they were then permitted to fly to Jakarta.

## No Bribes — Sometimes

In the capital, they said, the Portuguese-interest section of the Dutch Embassy issued them Portuguese passports "And there you do not have to pay anything," a refugee said. "They are very nice." The Netherlands, which was the colonial ruler of Indonesia, including the western part of Timor, has represented Portuguese interests in Jakarta since Portugal broke diplomatic relations after the invasion of East Timor.

Further bribes to immigration officials in Jakarta are required to secure departure from Indonesia, the refugees said with the result that dozens of Timorese-Chinese have been stranded. Most who manage to get out fly to Singapore whence they follow a low-cost Aeroflot route that takes them through New Delhi and Moscow to Lisbon.

THE NEW YORK TIMES

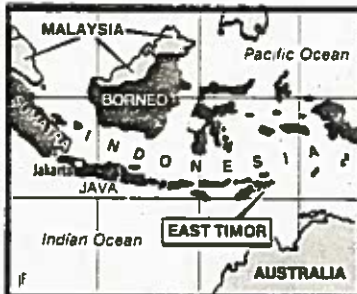
TUESDAY, JANUARY 23, 1980

*Handwritten signature or initials.*



# THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

Tuesday, January 15, 1980



## Is Timor aid being stolen?

By Jimmy Burns  
Special to The Christian Science Monitor  
Lisbon

According to Timorese refugees just arriving here, the Indonesian authorities are embezzling part of the international aid currently being channeled to starvation-struck East Timor.

The refugees allege that Indonesian officials are keeping some of the donated food and medical supplies back and then distributing them to local shopkeepers. The aid is, in turn, sold at hugely inflated prices rather than given to the population, they say.

These charges are difficult if not impossible to substantiate. But they appear to corroborate the views expressed by representatives of the Americans for Democratic Action (ADA) at last month's congressional hearing on East Timor. The ADA representatives contended that, given Indonesia's past record in Timor, there was a need for increased monitoring by outside observers of the distribution of foreign relief.

The United States so far has contributed approximately \$1.8 million to the International Committee of the Red Cross' relief efforts and \$6.9 million in funds and commodities to the Catholic Relief Services. CRS has requested an additional \$5 million from the US to be spread over a three-year period.

\*Please turn to Page 9

From page 1

## Is Timor aid being stolen?

"We appeal to anyone left in the world with a minimum sense of human rights to insure that relief goes directly to our people," said S., a refugee who insisted on remaining nameless for fear of reprisals against his family. He arrived here on Jan. 8 along with four other men and one woman, the latest group to have braved a long, costly, and seemingly dangerous trail.

Since the Indonesian invasion of East Timor in 1975, more than 2,000 Timorese have arrived in Portugal. Most of them, like S., are housed in a squalid camp a few miles from Lisbon belonging to the Portuguese Red Cross.

S. managed to escape from Dili, the main town on East Timor, late last year after paying 60,000 Indonesian rupiahs (\$129) for a visa and the air ticket to Jakarta, the Indonesian capital. In Jakarta he paid a further 1,200,000 rupiahs (\$1,935) for necessary papers and an air fare to Lisbon through Singapore.

He left Jakarta on a temporary tourist visa although he arrived in Singapore with a smuggled Portuguese passport he had bought for 6,000 rupiahs (\$9.67) from the Dutch Embassy in the Indonesian capital. (The Dutch have been carrying out consular activities for the Portuguese ever since Portugal broke off diplomatic relations with Indonesia in 1975.)

S. calculated that half of the total 1,286,000 rupiahs (\$2,074) he had paid went in under-the-table bribes to Indonesian officials. "There is no other way to get out," he said. S. confirmed that a family reunion program agreed to more than a year ago by the Austro-

lian and Indonesian governments to facilitate the emigration from Timor of at least 600 people had fizzled completely — without a word of protest from either side.

To his knowledge no more than 100 Timorese had left because of the program. S. believed that none of his fellow countrymen had attempted leaving by boat. Shipping to and from East Timor is now closely controlled by the Indonesian authorities.

This is not the only way that officials are making things difficult. Increasingly, tickets and visas are being distributed to Timorese judged to be politically safe. In other words, those who would not talk to the press.

But is every Timorese trying to get out?

"If every Timorese who wanted to leave was allowed to go, only the stones would be left," said S.

The authorities, clearly fearing the consequences of a mass exodus, are clamping down even on loopholes.

Refugees insist that starvation still exists in many parts of East Timor and that fighting between the Indonesian military and Fretilin, the Timorese liberation movement, was still continuing in the mountains to the east of the island.

The refugees underlined the manipulative skills of the local authorities when it came to visits by Western journalists. Embarrassing witnesses were temporarily removed during the period of the visit, while those who remained were too frightened to talk.

Clearly the months ahead will see growing demands to what is really going on in Timor.

Recent events here indicate that one of the major initiatives in this respect may come from the Portuguese, who are already demonstrating feelings of collective guilt about their former colony.

Portuguese President Antonio Ramalho Eanes has handed Portugal's military watchdog, the Council of the Revolution, a lengthy dossier on Timor that is believed to recommend an immediate diplomatic offensive to secure a just future for the local population.

The President is obliged by his country's Constitution to bring East Timor to independence. Also this week Portugal's new center-right government announced that the question of Timor would become one of its major foreign policy involvements over the next few months. According to government sources the aim is to solve what is increasingly becoming a burdensome refugee problem here.

Because the Timorese currently living here possess Portuguese passports, no international organization bears responsibility for them. The cost of their upkeep and organization thus falls on an already stretched Portuguese state.

The US, like Portugal, is another country that recently has begun to demonstrate signs of collective guilt. The Indonesians used US weapons and relied on US diplomatic support for the invasion of East Timor in 1975. Successive US administrations have considered Indonesia important because of its status as a staunchly anti-communist and oil-producing nation.

The State Department until recently looked like being as wrong about East Timor as about Iran (significantly Indonesia is nominally an Islamic nation), although East Timor specialists believe that attitudes are at last beginning to change.

# The Washington Post

AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER

## *No Bleep on the Moral Radar*

THE QUESTION of East Timor continues to hover at the edges of the United States' political and moral radar screen. It only begins with the fact that the place is hard to locate: it's an island—actually, half an island—in the Indonesian archipelago. Until things came apart in the mid-1970s, it was an obscure outpost of the Portuguese empire. In the locals' struggle for the succession, one side surged ahead and proclaimed independence; but barely a week later, the Indonesian army moved in, using American weapons and diplomatic support, and annexed it. Indonesia is currently friendly and anti-communist, a big oil producer, the most populous Moslem country in the world: all reasons why, informed critics feel, the United States has mostly averted its gaze from what Indonesia has been doing to East Timor. What Indonesia has been doing, these critics say, is mercilessly grinding the people down.

When such reports appear, as they do from time to time in the press or at the occasional congressional hearing, a curious thing happens. Frightful stories are told of massive numbers of Timorese deaths caused by the guns or famine-inducing pacification policies of the Indonesian army. Lately there have been heart-rending accounts of the brutalization of ethnic Chinese trying to depart a place where their

community has lived for 100 years. Then the American officials come on, suggesting that the critics' information is out of date and perhaps politically skewed. There is, it is said, no real merit to allegations that the food aid that has been going into the country since last year is being diverted or stolen by Indonesian soldiers. A certain sympathy is solicited for American efforts to induce the reluctant Indonesians to allow international agencies to distribute food and to admit a few foreign visitors. East Timor, after all, has to be fitted into the broader context of American interests in Indonesia.

East Timor exists in a geographical eddy and a political eddy. Indonesia has smarted under the persistent Third World criticism organized by other former colonies, but it has not smarted enough to make the changes that would bring the refugee and relief-agency horror stories to an end. It is very hard to make a strong claim to push East Timor higher up the list of American priorities. But it should also be very hard for American diplomats not to convey to Indonesian authorities, quietly but insistently, that an increasing number of Americans are baffled by Jakarta's policy in East Timor and that it cannot be in Indonesia's interest to let the question fester more.

# WALL STREET JOURNAL EDITORIAL

## Cambodia and Timor

Wall St. Journal 6 Feb. 1976

An interesting campaign has been shaping up over the past few weeks on the issue of East Timor, half of an island in the Timor Sea off the north-west coast of Australia. Neighboring Indonesia annexed East Timor shortly after Portugal granted the place independence in 1975, but the Indonesians have had to spend the past four years stamping out a left-wing guerrilla group that has also put up a strong bid for control of the territory. The Timorese casualties, from war and starvation, have been huge. Some commentators are suggesting that the situation is a kind of U.S.-sponsored Cambodia. The charge tells less about Timor than it does about certain varieties of American political thinking.

The devastation in East Timor certainly illuminates some of the uglier realities of post-colonial world politics. In 1975 Portugal, after its own revolution, was pulling out of its colonial bases and responsibilities around the world. East Timor was one of those responsibilities; Portugal precipitately turned the place over to a covey of warring political factions, and the most left-wing of them—called Fretilin—soon got the upper hand. The militantly anti-Communist regime in Indonesia responded, with striking unself-consciousness, by simply taking over. Fretilin resisted; thus the war began.

It has been, by all accounts, a brutal one. It seems that the first incursions by the Indonesians were savage enough to frighten many Timorese into fleeing into the country's interior along with the guerrillas. Then fear of reprisals and pressure from the guerrillas themselves seem to have kept the civilians in the interior, away from their homes, even after the Indonesian-controlled areas had become more

secure. The disruptions of war, including bombings, kept villagers from their fields. Thousands were left hungry or starving.

It wasn't until a year ago that Indonesia asked for international aid for the Timorese, and not till September that food finally began arriving. By now reports are that the signs of acute starvation are gone. But one not-implausible estimate is that 100,000 people, in this territory with a present population of perhaps 550,000, may have died during the war from hunger and its attendant diseases.

It sounds suspiciously like Cambodia, some people are saying. And this one is ours: Indonesia is our ally and oil supplier, it's American arms that the Indonesians used to perpetrate their atrocities.

Well, bad as the situation in East Timor is, there are a couple of features of some practical importance that distinguish it from Cambodia. The U.S. is putting up most of the money to relieve the Timorese, and the Indonesians are, however grudgingly and imperfectly, letting the food in. The Cambodians would be in considerably better shape if the Soviet Union undertook comparable behavior for itself and its ally.

But more important, it's self-deluding to talk as if the U.S. had the power any longer to determine the outcome of a situation like Timor. The violence that has cursed the place is the wholly unsurprising mark of a disintegrating world order; talk about the evils of U.S. power is likely to hasten that disintegration, not arrest it. Those worried about the human costs of such chaos might do well to start facing up to that connection.



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7

## US role in plight of Timor: an issue that won't go away

Legislators take new interest in American policy, aid there

By Daniel Southerland  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington  
A policy of deliberate indifference to human rights violations by Indonesia in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor is coming back to trouble the US State Department.

Thanks in part to sporadic press reports and the testimony of scholars studying the problem, a small but growing number of congressmen is taking an interest in the plight of the East Timorese.

The congressmen are concerned, to start with, because the Indonesians, in violation of an arms agreement with the United States, used American weapons when they invaded East Timor in December 1975. But their concern also derives from humanitarian considerations. Widespread starvation followed the Indonesian invasion. According to some accounts, it was at one point of a magnitude comparable to the starvation that has occurred in Cambodia.

All of this is of more than academic interest because, for one thing, American aid in the form of food and medicine, now being sent through international organizations, to East Timor. The question of adequate monitoring to determine that the aid reaches those in need is a live issue. So is the question of whether increased numbers of Timorese should be allowed to leave the island.

The Indonesian government blamed the famine in East Timor on hardships allegedly caused by Fretilin, the Timorese independence movement. The US has pointed to a combination of factors, including war, drought, erosion, and deforestation. But refugees

and a number of other witnesses from the island itself have blamed the Indonesian invasion, which, some of them say, included a deliberate policy of denying food to Fretilin supporters.

At any rate, at one point last year, more than 200,000 people, or two-fifths of the population of East Timor, were said by experts to be suffering from malnutrition.

The Carter administration has proclaimed human rights to be at the center of its foreign policy. To find out about human rights violations in Cambodia, the State Department has intensively interviewed Cambodian refugees. But Francisco Fernandes, a Roman Catholic priest who served for several years as head of the Timorese refugee community, said he knew of no attempt by US officials to seek out and interview any of the more than 2,000 such refugees who have been living in Portugal for the past several years.

Even today, with the magnitude of the East Timor problem better known, refugees going directly to the State Department in Washington with their stories find that most officials there give the benefit of the doubt to the Indonesians.

"He acted like a lawyer for the Indonesians," said one refugee after talking with a State Department official recently.

The State Department some time ago reduced East Timor to the status of an aid problem. Allegations from refugees that American food aid is being diverted for profit by the Indonesian military compel State Department attention. But one official complained that conclusive specifics were lacking in the refugee accounts. In past situations of this type, however, specifics have not been readily available in an atmosphere of military occupation and intimidation.

Based on such experiences, outside ob-

servers are led to conclude that what the people in East Timor actually think or feel seems to be of secondary consequence to most State Department officials.

What many Timorese would like, at least as it filters through from a handful of refugees and scholars working on the subject, is the departure of the Indonesians and control over their own affairs. The Timorese identity and languages are distinct from those of the Indonesians.

But in deferring to Indonesia on this issue, the Carter administration, like the Ford administration before it, appears to have placed

food situation in the territory had apparently improved, more medical supplies and personnel were needed.

The Indonesian government claims to have created no obstacles to the departure of Timorese who want to join family members living in Australia and Portugal. But Australian and Portuguese diplomats contend that the Indonesians are reluctant to let many Timorese leave the island for fear that they might publicize what has happened there.

Access to East Timor by the news media remains limited.

The origins of American policy can be traced to a 1975 visit to Indonesia by President Gerald Ford and Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger. They happened to be in Jakarta, the Indonesian capital, after a trip to China, the day before the invasion of East Timor occurred.

Brent Scowcroft, an Air Force general who was President Ford's national security adviser at the time, said the President and Secretary Kissinger did not encourage the invasion but also did not oppose it.

"I guess it was fundamentally a matter of recognizing reality," said General Scowcroft. "We really had no reasonable options. . . . It made no sense to antagonize the Indonesians. . . . East Timor was not a viable entity."

General Scowcroft and other officials, past and present, contend that the US did suspend military equipment deliveries to Indonesia following the invasion. But, according to Benedict Anderson, a Cornell University expert on Indonesia, the record shows that at least four separate offers of military equipment, needed mainly for American-supplied "counterinsurgency" aircraft, were made to Indonesia during the claimed period of suspension. Professor Anderson also argues with the assertion that East Timor was incapable of being self-supporting.

A State Department official, who asked to remain unidentified, said Secretary Kissinger adopted a policy that was supportive of Indonesia on the East Timor question, in part because of uncertainties created in Southeast Asia in 1975 by the fall of Saigon. Indonesia remained a staunch and powerful friend in a sea of turmoil. And, he said, the Carter administration decided it did not want to "get into a contest" with Mr. Kissinger over this. But the official added that both administrations underestimated Timorese resistance to the invasion.

"The Indonesians couldn't handle it, but they didn't want to let people know how much they'd botched things," this official said. "So they just let people starve."

"We decided: Let's focus on the humanitarian problems and try to get people in there to help," he continued. "But this shoves a whole lot of ethical questions under the rug."

"It has not been a policy of benign neglect," said another State Department official. "It's been a policy of malign neglect."

### The State Department some time ago reduced East Timor to aid-problem status.

big-power concerns ahead of human rights. Indonesia is an anticommunist, largely Muslim, oil-producing nation with the fifth-largest population in the world. It commands sea lanes between the Pacific and Indian oceans. Assistant Secretary of State Richard Holbrooke recently declared it is potentially one of the great nations of the world.

US policy toward East Timor has been made for the most part by the State Department's Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs, headed by Mr. Holbrooke. The bureau most concerned with human rights, which is headed by Assistant Secretary Patricia Derian, was barely getting organized in 1977 when East Timor policy was first set by the Carter administration.

However, it was Ms. Derian, not Mr. Holbrooke, who was in the position of having to answer questions about East Timor, among other subjects, at a recent congressional hearing. Mr. Holbrooke let it be known he was too busy preparing for a trip to appear at the Feb. 6 hearing. He did have the time, however, to play host at a black-tie dinner later the same day.

Recently, Ms. Derian's bureau has begun to take a more active interest in East Timor.

US Rep. Matthew McHugh (D) of New York has proposed holding new hearings on the monitoring of food distribution in East Timor that would bring in more witnesses from outside the State Department.

Rep. Tony Hall (D) of Ohio plans later this week to introduce an amendment to the foreign aid bill which would urge Indonesia to allow the press and international relief agencies freer access to East Timor. The resolution also would call on the Indonesians to permit freer emigration from East Timor.

Rep. Lester Wolff (D) of New York, chairman of the House subcommittee on Asian and Pacific affairs, recently returned from a brief trip to East Timor to report that while the

# Oxfam offers helping hand in 80 countries

By Deborah Cowley  
Special to  
The Christian Science Monitor  
Oxford, England

"We're just a tiny enterprise with a handful of blokes trying to get on with the job," asserts Guy Stringer, deputy director of Oxfam, the international relief agency based in this ancient town.

"We're just trying to do the best we can to relieve human suffering."

Whether it is airlifting supplies to flood victims in northern India, supporting self-help projects in Ethiopia, or sending food to Cambodia, Oxfam has won a reputation for helping thousands around the world. Conor Cruise O'Brien, editor of the Observer (London) calls the group a "relatively lean, unbureaucratic operation, highly effective in proportion to its relatively small size."

Despite its size — last year's budget barely reached the £10 million (\$20 million) mark — the agency supports more than 1,000 projects in 80 countries.

"What we're trying to do is not only help poor people achieve the basic needs — food, health, shelter, work. We're trying to help them become aware of the options they have in society," says Richard Moseley-Williams, who heads the agency's Latin America program.

Projects under his supervision this year range from a \$50,000 grant to improve the skills of Bolivian potato farmers to a \$25,000 donation to support a fishermen's cooperative in Chile. Local participation is a vital part of Oxfam's support.

To seek out and supervise projects, Oxfam has appointed 17 field directors and 20 assistants who work on the spot in a dozen countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

"In this way," explains Asian director David DePury, "we can keep an eye on existing projects and watch for new areas where we can help. We can also respond to local initiatives which is an important part of our philosophy."

Emergency help is another of Oxfam's priorities. In 1960 the group rushed funds and clothing to famine victims in the Congo, to earthquake survivors in Guatemala in 1975, and to flood victims in northern India in 1978.

In November last year, Oxfam contributed \$130,000 to the Catholic Relief Service in East Timor for food and medical help to drought victims.



Guy Stringer on a visit to Cambodia

And last fall, the organization captured world headlines when it brought relief to thousands hit by the famine in Cambodia. Since unloading its first shipment of food in September, Oxfam has shipped over 10,000 tons of food and equipment into the country.

Additionally, a consortium of 30 nongovernmental agencies, organized and led by Oxfam, is pumping £2 million (\$4 million)

a month into the relief effort.

Oxfam's widely publicized Cambodian venture has prompted an avalanche of inquiries and donations. Extra staff were hired to handle calls reaching 600 a day and to process the flood of contributions for Cambodia.

A special Christmas appeal from the popular British children's television show, "Blue Peter," raised more than £3 million that was

handed over to Oxfam for its work in Cambodia.

Oxfam has a history of bypassing politics to help the needy. Thirty-seven years ago a small group of idealists met in Oxford to discuss the plight of children starving in Nazi-occupied Greece. Calling themselves the Oxford Committee for Famine Relief (later shortened to Oxfam), they collected \$40,000 for food that they channeled through the Greek Red Cross.

The campaign was controversial, however, and the British government halted it to avoid indirectly helping the German Army.

Oxfam picked up its efforts again after the war, helping European refugees, and has grown apace since, with 40 regional organizations in the United Kingdom and Ireland.

It has also spawned offshoot organizations in the United States, Canada, Australia, and Belgium, which use the Oxfam name but operate independently as autonomous groups. "They are linked only in name and in spirit to the mother organization," information officer Sue Roberts explains.

Oxfam's headquarters is a vast network of offices stretching above a modern shopping mall on the edge of town. A staff of 150 carry out the agency's dual function: promotion and fund-raising at home and nurturing the development projects abroad.

Forty percent of its funds come from cash donations, often raised with near-missionary zeal. In the mid '60s Oxfam was responsible for popularizing the now-famous "sponsored walks," a fund-raising venture that caught the imagination of groups around the world.

Other contributions pour in from the 550 Oxfam shops around Britain which sell donated used clothing and handicrafts from developing countries.

Oxfam has faced many challenges, but few could be greater than in Cambodia. In spite of reports that conditions are improving, Guy Stringer warns that help is still desperately needed.

"Future prospects in Cambodia are not rosy," he says. "The December harvest was terrible due to the fighting and excessive rain, and there won't be a decent crop till next December."

He adds that "it's up to us and the various agencies" to make sure that the Cambodian people are fed until next December, when it is hoped that the farmers will have a better harvest.



Refugees say renewed clashes have brought deprivation to the island

LONDON - MANCHESTER *Guardian*, Tuesday 8 April 1980

# Reorganised rebels fight back in E. Timor

From Jill Jolliffe  
in Lisbon

New fighting has reportedly erupted in Portugal's former South-east Asian colony of East Timor according to refugees arriving here.

Fighting between Indonesian occupation forces and Fretilin nationalists reached a peak early this year, causing the Indonesian Government to declare a state of emergency.

The refugees claim that, despite cosmetic improvements by the Indonesian Government, such as freer access for foreign journalists and the admission of the International Red Cross, the plight of the civilian population is deteriorating. Their statements, however, contradict reports by Red Cross officials and journalists who have visited the territory.

The refugee claims are based on letters from East Timor and on recent interviews with East Timorese in Portugal, who asked that their names be withheld to protect relatives still in Timor.

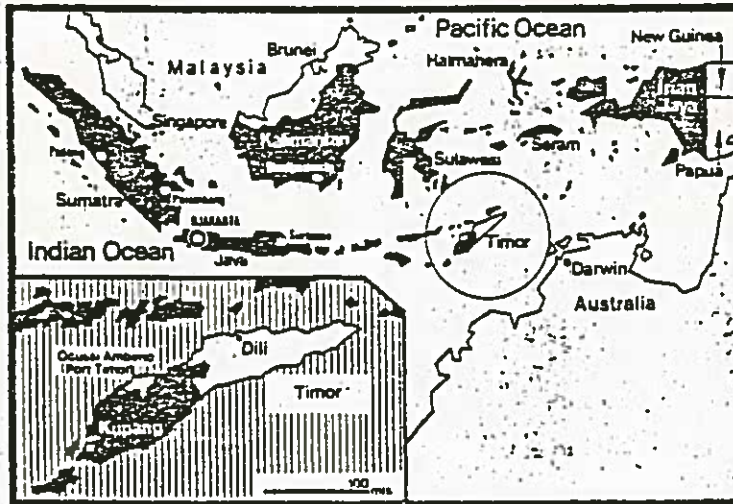
Those interviewed spoke of fierce fighting in the east of the island after a period early last year when resistance reached its lowest ebb since the Indonesian invasion of December, 1975. Then, key Fretilin leaders were killed or captured.

The renewed conflict appears to stem from a reorganisation of Fretilin forces who later fled to the east, where food sources are richer than in their former south coast base.

Some refugees say that the fighting began in August or September, last year, while others speak of heightened clashes last December, and of a coup by the resistance, during which guerrillas temporarily took control of Indonesian posts near the eastern towns of Venilale and Baucau, carrying off supplies of Indonesian weapons.

A letter dated December 12, 1979, says: "This half-island, covered in blood, has been the scene, for some months, of a fierce and bloody struggle, in all of the eastern zone — amazing, after four years," and another of January 4 this year: "The situation in the interior of the island is very stormy... during the New Year season, Dili was placed under a state of military alert against all eventualities."

There were unconfirmed re-



Starving children in East Timor, where fighting has worsened the plight of civilians

ports from Jakarta that the Indonesian Government had sent reinforcements to Timor, in defiance of UN resolutions. Although this claim has not been substantiated, army officials admitted at the end of February that mopping up campaigns were underway in

the east of the island. "The Indonesians had many deaths in December," one refugee claimed. "I know because I lived near Dili cemetery, and it was regularly cordoned off for military funerals." She said Timorese were forbidden to go near the cemetery during bur-

ials, but East Timorese serving with the Indonesian Army had told her only the heads of Indonesian soldiers — decapitated by pro-Fretilin mountain tribesmen — were being brought from the mountains for burial.

All the refugees interviewed

claimed that suffering is increasing among the civilian population. They showed letters which arrived in the early months of this year listing family members who had died, either from starvation in mountain areas inaccessible to the aid teams working in Timor, in Indonesian prisons, or who had been executed after surrendering to Indonesian authorities.

They listed many cases of family members who had come down from the mountains to present themselves at Indonesian command posts and had then been shot or taken away by Indonesian security police and never seen again.

The refugees also allege that, in April, 1979, the International Red Cross invited applications in Dili from East Timorese who wished to leave the island. Some of those interviewed were present when the population surged into the street for two and a half days, until, when the list closed, 17,000 people had applied.

Angered by this demonstration, the Indonesian Government next day published a "clarification," telling the East Timorese that only those with relatives in Portugal were eligible to leave, and that the Portuguese Government had refused to accept others.

This was repeated in December, when Indonesian Defence Minister Mr Jusuf, visited Dili and addressed the public at the city sportsground.

"In international law, the East Timorese are all Portuguese citizens and Portugal is bound to accept them. Portuguese Government officials deny that they are unwilling to accept the Timorese."

Reprisals were later reportedly taken against those who had signed to leave. All were allegedly deprived of the right to work and of their property seized. As a result the population of Dili may be experiencing increasing hardship: letters to families in Portugal beg for money to buy food and clothing.

Portugal's new conservative Government, led by Dr Francisco Sá Carneiro, has promised to act on East Timor. A statement of Government intentions can probably be expected soon. Portugal cut diplomatic relations with Indonesia after the invasion in 1975, but the new policy will almost certainly mean talking to Indonesia.



# liberation movements

*Guardian, Oct. 15, 80*  
**East Timor** 1979

## Fretilin survives, grows

Recent reports from East Timor once again contradict Indonesian claims to have conquered the island nation.

Both refugees and sources within the Indonesian military have leaked news concerning a major Fretilin attack on the outskirts of Dili, the occupied capital, on the night of June 9-10.

At the same time, there are reports of an impending Indonesian offensive against the guerrillas, possibly accompanied by international diplomatic initiatives.

The Fretilin attack in June greatly shook up Indonesia's military command, which had thought it had the liberation forces pinned down to a few regions in the island's rugged mountain interior and had demoralized the rebel forces by killing their president, Nicolau Lobato, Jan. 1, 1979. The guerrilla attacks, while not the only ones to occur during the last year, have broken through Indonesia's information blockade and have once again set up ripples of discontent inside the Indonesian military and, according to reliable sources, high into the officer corps.

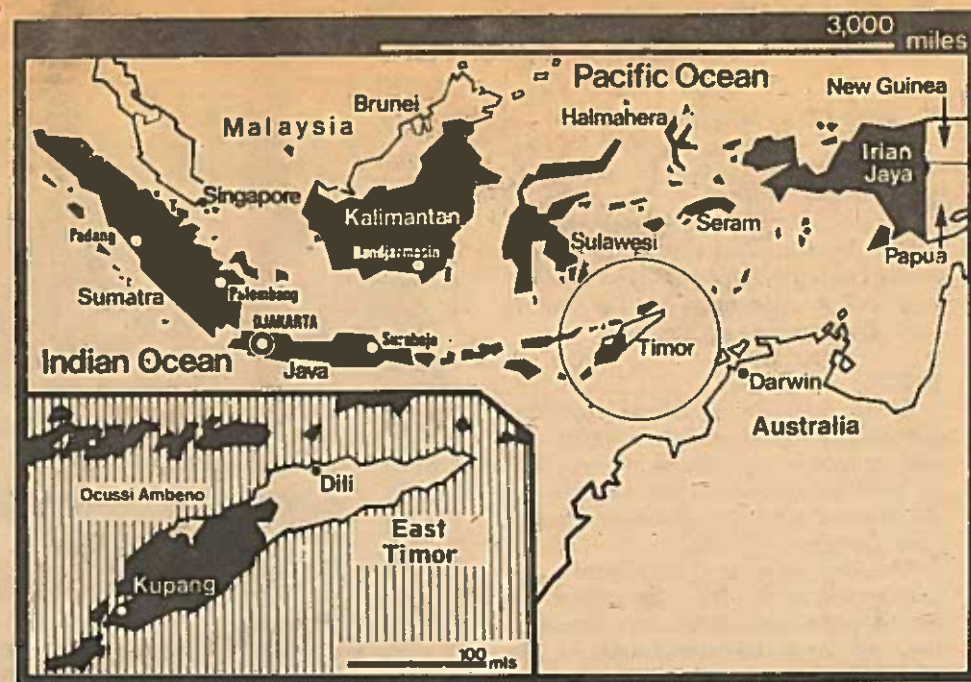
Indonesia moved into East Timor after Portugal, the colonial power for nearly four centuries, withdrew following the 1974 coup in Portugal. Indonesia formally annexed the territory in 1976, although the action has not been formally recognized by Portugal. Fretilin (the Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor) has been waging armed struggle to win independence without ties to either Portugal or Indonesia.

### RESISTANCE REORGANIZES

The guerrilla actions follow reports that earlier this year several hundred Indonesian-trained East Timorese local police defected en masse with their weapons. They reportedly took to the mountains, where they are believed to have joined with Fretilin. The liberation force's leadership remains mostly intact and organized despite serious setbacks following massive Indonesian air and artillery attacks in 1977 and 1978 that forced over 300,000 people to come out of the mountains in search of food. These people remain today in concentration camps where they are fed by the International Red Cross and the Catholic Relief Services, the latter getting nearly all its \$7 million from the U.S. government. The large-scale police defection was viewed as an organized action demonstrating continued Fretilin allegiance among the population.

The Indonesian forces, lacking any means of winning people to accept the occupation, have responded to the latest events with attempted terrorization of the people. There are reports that the Indonesian military several weeks ago arrested more than 100 people. Four of these were considered likely "pro-Fretilin elements" and were executed at the top of a hill, after which their bodies were kicked down to the bottom in a highly populated area. More recent accounts indicate that the corpses have been left for many days, perhaps even weeks, as a grim reminder to the inhabitants of Dili that they face a continued life of fear while the occupiers remain.

In the past week, information has surfaced that indicates a major new Indonesian offen-



sive may be underway, involving up to 20,000 troops. The aim is to locate and destroy what the Indonesian government claims are "scattered remnants" of the guerrillas, but which in reality is the still well organized and effective East Timorese Liberation Movement and People's Armed Forces (FALANTIL).

Indirect evidence of significant developments comes from the fact that the Indonesians have not yet renewed the permit for the International Red Cross. This permit, which allows only the presence of one Swiss doctor and spouse, is due to expire in mid-October. If it lapses, there will not be even one outside observer on the island—even though the Red Cross personnel are sworn to secrecy about political events in the areas where they operate.

Shortly after the recent news on Fretilin activities, a flurry of diplomatic events also took place. On July 25 the New York Times informed its readers of "reports that Portugal may offer to resume its stewardship of East Timor if Indonesia can be persuaded to pull back." The Times went on to note that such a plan is "a long shot course, but even Jakarta may now be willing to reckon the costs of a messy war with a stubborn people."

The Portuguese diplomatic initiative seems to result from a series of developments. Most important are the continuing Fretilin military activity and the international diplomatic embarrassment which the war is causing the Indonesian government and its U.S. and European military backers. The Portuguese offer to resume control, however, would threaten the possibility of a Fretilin victory if Indonesia pulled out.

Information from Lisbon suggests that further intrigues are underway to attempt to prevent a Fretilin victory. Among the 3000 East Timorese refugees living in abhorrent conditions outside Lisbon, the Portuguese government has been encouraging the organization of numerous "liberation" movements and parties. Lisbon apparently hopes that the Jakarta military regime will recognize the various movements, allowing them to participate in some form of election under the control of Indonesia. According to this plan, the election would be along the lines of the "act of free choice" carried out by Indonesia in West Irian (West New Guinea) in 1969. In that affair, the

UN was pressured to sanction the vote of a few hundred village and tribal chiefs, who sat under the watchful eyes of the military as they voted. Not surprisingly, the vote was unanimous in favor of Indonesia. Within months, however, the West Irians had begun active resistance and are now fighting for cultural and economic rights, led by the Free Papua Movement.

The attempt to create a diplomatic diversion in East Timor may also have its sources in Washington and Jakarta; it is highly unlikely that such an initiative would have been forthcoming from Lisbon alone. Indonesia has reportedly decided to run for the leadership of the Nonaligned Nations in 1982, and would like to make some gesture toward resolving the East Timor question so as to avoid an embarrassing attack by Cuba, Mozambique, Angola and several other African countries, as well as perhaps from Vietnam. If the Indonesian candidacy were too controversial because of the genocidal war against the East Timor people, many third world governments might ask Jakarta to withdraw in favor of a more neutral nation.

The latest reports indicate that Jakarta has temporarily rejected the Portuguese offer of talks. Nonetheless, something is still underway; a high-ranking Indonesian officer recently made a secret visit to Lisbon and it seems almost certain that East Timor was the topic under discussion.

### AMSTERDAM CONGRESS

Fretilin's military gains, meanwhile, have been supplemented by increasing international support. In Amsterdam, for example, more than 250 people attended an international congress in support of the East Timorese liberation struggle Sept. 27-28. Representatives from England, France, Portugal, West Germany, Denmark, Sweden and Finland joined the newly-formed Dutch East Timor Committee, the Dutch Indonesia Committee and the May 20th Youth Movement, a new organization of progressive Moluccans living in Holland.

The 40,000 Moluccan people in Holland are descendants of a procolonial movement at the time of Indonesian independence in the 1940s. May 20 is the day of a massive pro-Fretilin demonstration in the East Timor capital of Dili in 1975 and, not coincidentally, the date of the founding in 1920 of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI). The conference audience heard several speakers update the situation in East Timor and criticize the governments of Holland and the U.S. for their complicity in the deaths of up to 300,000 people in East Timor and the creation of a major famine in the country in 1979.

The most enthusiastic ovation was reserved for Fretilin Central Committee member Abilio Araujo, who announced that Fretilin would not be misled by international intrigues and that the armed struggle would continue and expand. Political work within the refugee community would also continue, he noted.

Araujo further announced that Fretilin had lodged charges against Indonesia at the People's Tribunal in Rome. The Tribunal, an outgrowth of the Bertrand Russell Tribunals, affirms the rights of people and nations to human rights and liberation. The People's Tribunal is to take place in Lisbon in January and will represent a further step in the winning of support for Fretilin among liberation movements and with progressive organizations in the West.

RICHARD FRANKE

## INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON EAST TIMOR

Featuring: Noam Chomsky, Admiral Gene LaRocque, and specialists from Australia, Sweden and Portugal, as well as representatives from the East Timor Liberation Movement.

Monday, October 20  
Community Church in New York

10:00 am-5:00 pm  
40 East 35th Street

8:00 pm Concert for East Timor featuring folk music of Asia.

Further information: (212) 964-6730



**THESE TIMES**

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4 IN THESE TIMES NOV. 5-11, 1980

# U.S. activists try to break silence on East Timor

NEW YORK—"East Timor is where the world's worst war—in terms of the percentage of the population killed—is now raging," said Admiral Gene LaRoque of the Center for Defense Information. It is also the site of widespread starvation and disease. Yet most Americans have scarcely heard of this island in the Pacific Ocean. "In contrast to the news coverage given to problems in Cambodia," noted Noam Chomsky, "the American media have largely maintained silence about East Timor," which Indonesia invaded in 1975 with American arms and tacit approval.

Chomsky and 200 other activists met in New York last week for a two-day conference sponsored by the Asian Center to coincide with the opening of the annual UN debate on East Timor in the Decolonization Committee.

Scholars reported that at least one-third of the 600,000 native Maubere people have died since Indonesia invaded the former Portuguese colony. Recent refugees say that defoliants now are causing extensive crop failures. "In November 1979, the food situation was worse than Biafra," said Arnold Kohen of the Washington-based East Timor Research Center. Food aid now finally has been allowed to enter the territory, but Indonesia still does not permit international agencies to oversee its distribution.

"Some aid programs help the Indonesians more than the Timorese," said James Dunn, an Australian diplomat. "The food goes to soldiers short on rations. Or the military sells the supplies to the natives."

But despite their monopoly of food aid and their U.S. arms supplies, the 30,000 Indonesian troops have not been able to defeat the 3,000 soldiers fielded by Fretilin, the East Timorese Liberation Front. In fact, East Timor is fast becoming Indonesia's Vietnam. "Indonesian soldiers do not know our mountainous terrain," said Jose Ramos-Horta, Fretilin's representative to the UN, "and they face a hostile population." Some Indonesian troops reportedly try to avoid tours of duty in East Timor. According to Ben Anderson, a Cornell scholar, "Officers have been attacked by their men."

In September, Portugal, the for-

mer colonial ruler, urged the U.S., Indonesia and other countries to confer about the territory's future, raising cautious hopes of a negotiated political settlement. The call for talks is believed to reflect Fretilin's success in lining up diplomatic support from Brazil and the newly independent Portuguese-speaking countries of Africa. "We believe that Mozambique and others quietly encouraged Portugal to make this move," said Ramos-Horta.

Conference participants agreed that the U.S. role is crucial for any ceasefire effort, since it supplies arms to Indonesia, ostensibly because the country is a major oil producer. But as two speakers pointed out, only 6 percent of American oil now comes from Indonesia.

Congress has already held several hearings on East Timor, though it is hardly ready to cut off military assistance to Indonesia. This year the House approved humanitarian aid and emigration rights for the Timorese, but defeated a stronger resolution, sponsored by Rep. Tom Harkin of Iowa, that called for self-determination for East Timor and the withdrawal of Indonesian troops.

But the activists are not discouraged. "We're beginning to create doubts now about the U.S. position in the highest government circles," said anthropologist Richard Franke. "This is an important time in which we can have an impact."

—Joanna Foley



# The New York Times

THE NEW YORK TIMES, MONDAY, DECEMBER 8, 1980

## The Shaming of Indonesia

In the eyes of the third world a generation ago, nations were divided very much in the spirit of George Orwell's *Animal Farm* — four legs good, two legs bad. Western colonial powers were all two-legged, and none seemed quite so bad as Portugal, keeper of a huge, impoverished empire. But things are not so simple anymore. At the United Nations the other day, Portugal was praised for championing the cause of self-determination in East Timor, a former colony. Now Indonesia, which annexed the colony, is plainly the bully. A more shaming judgment on Indonesia, once the cynosure of the third world, is hard to imagine.

Under four centuries of Portuguese rule, East Timor summed up much of what was bad about European imperialism. A small, poor territory at the eastern end of the Indonesian Archipelago, East Timor gained a veneer of Catholicism and little else from Lisbon. When the Portuguese empire crumbled in 1974-75, East Timor was left to fend for itself. Its people had almost no preparation for independence, and a violent struggle for power attended the Portuguese departure.

Using the strife as a pretext, Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1976 and annexed the territory the following year — all in the name of self-determination. Under Indonesian occupation, a tenth to a third of

600,000 East Timorese have died; no one can be sure of the real figure because access is restricted. Like Cambodia, East Timor has become synonymous with starvation and refugees. Americans have given some emergency aid but Washington's role has not been glorious. Successive administrations have "understood" without endorsing the Indonesian grab.

Belatedly but creditably, Portugal has reconsidered its responsibilities. In September, Lisbon's Council of Ministers called for top-level consultations with all concerned, while stipulating that negotiations with Indonesia would imply no approval of what Jakarta has done. There are a lot of hitches — not least the uncertainty arising from the Portuguese Prime Minister's death on Thursday in an airplane accident. But the gesture could lead to Lisbon's return, as a decolonizing power. There is one recent precedent, in Zimbabwe, of a former colonial overlord returning temporarily to power to arrange legitimate self-determination.

In welcoming the Portuguese initiative, the General Assembly offers Indonesia redemption. If it is scorned, Indonesia would be confirming that its brand of colonialism is as ruthless as any once fashioned in Europe.



# THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

## US might have averted tragic Timor takeover

By Daniel Southerland

Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

The United States might have been able to prevent Indonesia's catastrophic invasion of the territory of East Timor five years ago, according to newly available Australian documents.

At the same time, a former US intelligence officer who was intimately familiar with the situation at the time supports the view that the US could have persuaded the Indonesians to refrain from invading.

"We had lots of time to move the Indonesians in a different direction," said this source, a former US Central Intelligence Agency officer who agreed to discuss the question with the understanding that his name not be disclosed. "Instead, we got right on the Indonesian bandwagon."

The official Australian documents dealing with Timor and other subjects are the focus of court actions that could prevent their further distribution in Australia. But while the High Court in Australia barred a new book entitled "Documents on Australian Defense and Foreign Policy 1968-75," the court did not prohibit the publication

★ Please turn to Page 6



From page 1

## US might have averted tragic Timor takeover

of information contained in the documents. The Australian government contended that its relations with Indonesia would be damaged by publication of material in the book that dealt with the fate of Portuguese Timor.

In one of the documents obtained by the Monitor, Australia's then ambassador to Indonesia, R. A. Woolcott, argued in a cable in August 1975 that the United States "might have some influence" on Indonesia, as that country "really wants and needs United States assistance in its military re-equipment programme."

But Mr. Woolcott said that US Ambassador David Newsom told him he was under instructions from Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger personally not to involve himself in discussions on Timor with the Indonesians "on the grounds that the United States is involved in enough problems of greater importance overseas at present."

The Australian ambassador said Mr. Newsom's attitude was that the US "should keep out of the Timor situation and allow events to take their course."

"His somewhat cynical comment to me," continued Woolcott, "was that if Indonesia were to intervene, the United States would hope they would do so 'effectively, quickly, and not use our equipment.'"

But as now is well documented, in the invasion of Dec. 7, 1975, the Indonesians did use American equipment. And because of the heavy resistance they met from Timorese guerrillas, their invasion was neither quick nor immediately effective. In the end, the Indonesians had to resort to considerable bombing and strafing and what some witnesses described as a program of deliberately denying food to supporters of Fretilin, the Timorese independence movement.

The starvation that followed the invasion, according to some accounts, was comparable to that in Cambodia. At one point last year, more than 200,000 people, or two-fifths of the population of East Timor, were said by ex-

perts to be suffering from severe malnutrition. As many as 100,000 inhabitants on the island may have died of starvation or been killed.

The Australian documents reveal that there was debate among high-ranking Australian officials prior to the invasion as to the wisdom of supporting such an action by Indonesia, a huge, strategically located, oil-producing nation. A secret document prepared by a division of the Department of Defense, for example, discloses that this department early on argued that all parties accept an independent state in Portuguese Timor.

The document contends that "If Indonesia could be persuaded to accept the unpalatable reality of Fretilin and the major switch of policy involved in acceptance of an independent state, there could be prospect of fruitful talks, with Indonesia in a strong position to establish major influence in the territory."

Indeed, the document asserts that "if the Indonesians were skillful in their political policy, this course would offer them after the passage of some years good prospects of peaceful absorption of the territory or at least unchallengeable dominance there."

The former CIA official who had followed the situation in detail at the time said the argument some American officials made — which was that East Timor was not a viable entity — was not convincing.

"It would have been a viable entity if we and some other governments made clear to the Indonesians there would be a price to pay if they went ahead and invaded," he declared.

In October of this year, 10 US senators, in a letter to Secretary of State Edmund S. Muskie, spoke of reports of continued fighting in East Timor, the jailing of large numbers of political prisoners, and the concern of the senators about prison conditions and the fact that families who were separated during the conflict in East Timor have been unable to be reunited. Many thousands of Timorese desire to join their relatives living abroad, the letter said, yet few have been allowed to leave.



# Mozambique's Marxism —With a Grain of Salt

**Communist dogma gets plenty of lip service in the new African nation. Still, free enterprise and capitalism are making a rapid comeback.**

MAPUTO, Mozambique

Five years after winning independence from Portugal, this Marxist nation of 10 million people is steering a common-sense middle course between Communism and free enterprise.

Mozambique remains an authoritarian Marxist state with close ties to Moscow, and no change seems likely.

But at the same time, the longer this country's revolution endures, the more apparent becomes the determination of 46-year-old President Samora Machel to approach each issue on a practical basis aimed only at getting results.

Fast falling into disfavor are the revolutionary slogans, ideological fervor and lengthy political meetings that accompanied the takeover by the Communist Frelimo (Mozambique Liberation Front) movement in June, 1975, after an 11-year war to end Portuguese colonialism.

Far from extending its already considerable control over the economy, the government now appears bent on reducing it. In the process, Machel is reviving the previously maligned—and nearly dead—private sector.

Aid is being sought wherever it is available—and far more is arriving from Western nations than from the Communist bloc. Trade ties remain firmly linked with Western markets, and controversial economic bonds with neighboring South Africa are being maintained. Even multinational corporations are being wooed. Repeated Soviet efforts to establish a naval base here have been rebuffed.

**Looking to U.S.** This is a far cry from the fear, chaos, economic turmoil and mass exodus of whites that accompanied the Portuguese departure in 1975.

Machel's relatively moderate stance as a Marxist leader has had little impact on the United States. Aid from America since 1975 has totaled less than 13 million dollars, with nothing at all the last three years. Mozambicanos are bitter about this lack of attention. Says Information Minister José Luís Cabaço: "What we want from the United States is equal treatment. Relations with



President Machel, center with wide belt, is moving his Marxist nation toward closer relations with the West.

Washington certainly are improving, but we are still on your blacklist. What have we done? It seems to us that our real offense is simply to be a Marxist state in Africa."

In contrast, Machel's ties with the Soviet Union and the Communist bloc of nations generally have run smoothly despite his steady drift away from strict application of Marxist ideology.

About 1,100 Russians—half of them military advisers—are here along with 1,000 East Germans and 700 Cubans. Moscow provides all of Mozambique's military training and weapons, 2,000 students study free in Cuba, and trade with the Soviet bloc is rising fast.

Cuban aid is particularly appreciated. José Catorze, editor of Maputo's major newspaper, *Notícias*, says: "The Cubans have three things we value—the language similarity, the recentness of their revolutionary experiences and

their Third World background, which helps them expect less when they come to work with us."

Soviet aid wins fewer plaudits. There is resentment because Soviet ships fish in Mozambican waters, sell their catch in Western nations for hard currency and then refuse to share the proceeds.

Most Western diplomats here believe Mozambique is not a Soviet cat's-paw. Says one: "Frelimo was a nationalist movement long before it became Marxist. It hasn't forgotten its origins."

Machel is not without opposition. About 1,000 insurgents—dissident Frelimo members and blacks who formerly served with the Portuguese colonial Army—now are operating in the central provinces, apparently with aid from South Africa. Mozambique and Zimbabwe now plan joint military actions against the rebels.

Here in Maputo, the capital and principal port on the Indian Ocean, time seems to have stood still in many ways since the hasty Portuguese departure. The broad tree-lined streets are largely empty of traffic, small stores stand shuttered, buildings remain unfinished and factories are abandoned.

There is no doubt that this is a Marxist nation. All private education and the

private practice of law and medicine are banned. More than 2 million peasants have been herded into communal villages. The press is tightly controlled, and religious freedoms are severely restricted. A tough internal-security system, masterminded by East Germans, has been set up.

About 5,000 social and political misfits are receiving "re-education" in five camps scattered around the country. "We learned the value of discipline during our armed struggle," says Machel. "We are going to implant iron discipline everywhere."

At a camp named Chicomo, about 200 miles north of here, some 750 men, mostly in their 20s, are spending three or more years farming, learning to read and write and listening to political lectures. But in spite of the Spartan conditions, morale seems high.

These camps, a sore point in rela-



tions between Maputo and Washington, account, in part, for the lack of U.S. aid here. Another factor is the state's crackdown on the 1.5-million-member Roman Catholic Church.

Most bishops and priests sided with Portugal before independence. Since coming to power, the regime has nationalized church lands, schools, hospitals and funeral parlors. It also has closed many churches and censors all religious publications. Some 600 priests have been forced to leave the country.

"I know we are criticized in America for lack of human rights," Cabaco says. "Yet Frelimo led this country to independence, which is the main human right, and has improved education and health care. These are rights which no one had here in the past when the U.S. was backing our enemy [Portugal]."

**Signs of advances.** There has been progress. The number of children in schools has tripled since independence. The entire population has been inoculated against smallpox, cholera and measles. The government hopes such advances will impress the U.S. and that Congress will resume aid.

Although streets in Maputo bear the names of Marx, Lenin and other Communist heroes, Machel seems determined to lead his nation away from doctrinaire economics and to adopt more-pragmatic policies.

Machel mounted an anticorruption drive early this year that resulted in the disgrace of 100 Frelimo party members. In April, he announced a major government reshuffle, sacking several ministers for incompetence. Nearly half the cabinet members are of Asian or European descent.

It is permissible for the press to criticize such facts of life as the long queues that gather daily outside food stores. But the system that produces them remains above such reproaches.

Unlike recent efforts by Prime Minister Robert Mugabe in Zimbabwe to encourage whites to stay, Frelimo leaders were determined to break completely with colonial Portugal when they came to power. Most of the 250,000 Portuguese left. Some returned later, and about 20,000 Portuguese are here now. But the country still suffers from the loss of skills and expertise.

By necessity, Machel has been forced to turn to the young and inexperienced. A 39-year-old former soldier with no economic training is governor of the central bank. The editor of the leading newspaper is 30. The state energy agency is run by a 34-year-old.

The problem is not just one of inexperience. Fewer than 10 percent of the people could read and write at independence, and illiteracy remains widespread. The situation is so bad that Machel recently complained that party politicians are incapable of reading the country's Constitution and that workers cannot understand Frelimo

directives or written instructions on how to operate factory machinery.

This absence of skills and education is devastating the economy. Some examples: With only 200 of 7,500 skilled railway workers remaining, it is taking two years to repair a 50-mile track; on a newspaper staff of 30, only three are trained for their work; a lack of spare parts and mechanics keeps a fourth of Maputo's cars off the road.

Three-fourths of the work force is in agriculture. But although production is rising, it is at half the 1973 level. Consequently, this nation of fertile land has had to spend more than 200 million dollars on food imports in the last four years. Industrial output also is well below preindependence levels.

The net effect is a trade deficit that has mounted to 1.3 billion dollars since 1976 and a balance-of-payments deficit of 750 million.

**Free-enterprise role.** In an attempt to rebuild the ravaged economy, the government now is brewing an economic hodgepodge, combining state ownership of major industries with a healthy dose of old-fashioned capitalism for small businesses.

In announcing in mid-March measures to improve labor productivity, boost farm earnings, force state firms to show a profit and revive the private sector, Machel made clear that Marxist dogma no longer will determine economic policy. "Private enterprise," he said, "has an important role to play in our country."

Although Machel may look to the East for political inspiration, he seeks trade in the West. The U.S. is the largest purchaser of such exports as cashew nuts and tea while South Africa is the largest supplier of imported goods.

Officials in Maputo base policies on state self-interest and continue to cultivate an extensive relationship with South Africa despite giving lip service to the battle against Pretoria's strict policy of apartheid—separation of the races. There are, for instance, 37,000 Mozambicans working in South African gold mines, and the money they send home is a vital source of Mozambique's foreign exchange.

With a per capita income of \$140, the emphasis in Mozambique today is on the practical. Not long ago, visitors to the central bank were greeted by a sign that read, "Down with Capitalism." It has been replaced by one condemning racism. This is a small change, but it is one more indication of Mozambique's new concern for the hard realities that confront a fledgling nation. □

*Robin Knight, the magazine's correspondent in Africa, wrote this report.*

## Mozambique In Brief

**Population**—10.1 million in mid-1979, or about the same as Ohio, and growing at an annual rate of 2.4 percent.

**Land area**—303,769 square miles, or almost twice the size of California.

**Economy**—Output of goods and services of about 2 billion dollars in 1978, or \$198 per person. This compares with \$9,700 in U.S. for that year.

**Employment**—Three-fourths of work force involved in agriculture and 37,000 employed in South African gold mines.

**Foreign trade**—In 1978, latest year available, exports of 176 million dollars and imports of 528 million. Main exports are cashew nuts, fish, cotton and tea. Principal imports are machinery, oil, iron and steel.\*





January 24, 1980.

Dear Arnold,

Thanks very much for the material recently sent. I'll forward the copies to Hannu Reime as you asked for. Let me give you his address also:

Merimiehenkatu 32 B 39,  
SF-00150 Helsinki 15  
Suomi-Finland.

Recently I have been sending a lot of letters on Timor to the press, and quite a few of them have been published. I'll make copies of these and send them to you next week for your reference. Still it is very difficult to get across with the big papers, such as Politiken and Berlingske Tidende.

To give just one example, the latter printed a small telegram of 8 lines on Timor in November last year. Immediately, I wrote a small letter referring readers to your book as well as to Chomsky-Herman. I noted that the book was available in one Copenhagen book shop. My letter was rejected because of the reference to one specific shop. I wrote a new letter deleting the sentence that they did not like, but it came back once again: This time too much time had gone by since the original story! I wrote them an angry letter whereupon they finally printed my letter of about 25 lines -- after a delay of four-five weeks. So you ~~see~~ see, it is not all that easy. But of course you know all about that.

Another problem is that I ~~am~~ seem to be the only person in the whole country that is writing letters on Timor. And my published letters elicits no comments from anybody, so far. Thus, it is difficult to keep the issue alive.

Anyway, on the back of this letter you will find a recent article from the London Observer. And let me also take this occasion to send you all the best wishes for the new year.

Sincerely,

Torben

Torben Retbøll.



Stalin expelled Yugoslavia from the Cominform or the early 1950s when there were 30 Soviet divisions massing on the Hungarian-Yugoslav border.

Today there are only six divisions in Hungary north and west of Budapest, far away from the Yugoslav border, and Hungarians suggest they may not be totally reliable for military intervention against a brotherly State. In Hungary last October I was told by one Hungarian closely involved with the Russian forces that most Soviet soldiers melted within months of staying in the country, feeling embarrassed to be considered occupying forces.

The Hungarian Army, which has become a national force in the past decade, may not only refuse in its own interest to assist Soviet troop movements towards the Yugoslav frontiers, but could even make a stand to prevent them.

The encirclement of Yugoslavia from the east from Romania is out of the question. Yugoslavs say there is a military pact established by President Tito and President Ceausescu to defend their countries' independence against any outside intervention.

In the past few days con-



**LAZAR KOLISEVSKI:**  
Due to hand over this summer.

sultations have taken place in Washington and Belgrade between senior members of the Yugoslav and American General Staffs, following President Carter's pledge last week to defend Yugoslavia's independence.

**PETER RISTIC** reports from Belgrade: Arrangements for the post-Tito era in Yugoslavia have been clear for years—but there are big doubts as to whether they will work.

The plan is that there should be no successor to Tito, the man who has ruled the country for more than 30 years. His powers—seen as lying somewhere between the executive authority of an American President and the ceremonial role of a mere figurehead—will be vested in a group of politicians.

The two organisations crucial to this power-sharing are

presidency is elected from his region or republic for five years. Every year the members appoint a vice-president to sit in the chair and arrangements.

With Tito gone, Lazar Kolisevski, the Vice-President, would be the man to carry out all the protocol functions of a president.

In keeping with the principle that all jobs should rotate among the republics and regions, Kolisevski is due to hand over to someone else this summer.

The party Presidium, now a 24-man body elected every four years with Tito as its head, is the most important institution in the country.

Each republic and region has a representative in the Presidium and there are 15 other members, including the head of the Army. The presiding member would therefore be the leading member of the party.

At present the position is held by 60-year-old Stevan Doronjski, but in October his one-year term is up and he will hand over to another elected member.

The question is how long such a collective and rotating leadership principle can exist without someone emerging as a leader.

ved in any Anglo-American military moves to counter the Soviet threat in the Middle East following the Russian invasion of Afghanistan.

Demirel's non-involvement attitude is held even more firmly by Bulent Ecevit's opposition Republican People's Party, which so far has been conspicuously reluctant even to comment on the Soviet action.

All this has cast a cloud of uncertainty over the assurance expressed by Lord Carrington, the British Foreign Secretary, 12 days ago that there was an 'identity' of outlook between Britain and Turkey on Afghanistan. The Turks see the crisis as something which does not concern them, and if Jimmy Carter and Margaret Thatcher assume they are going to get active Turkish support in any plans for Western action, they are living in cloud-cuckoo land.

The Turkish attitude—myopic to many Western diplomats—was epitomised by a leading Ankara publisher who commented the other day: 'Afghanistan is something the West will have to take care of: we have too many problems of our own.'

Several factors go to explain this. Firstly, the Turks see their obligations to the West in narrowly legalistic terms and essentially in accordance with the NATO charter, which over 30 years ago never envisaged the possibility of some kind of Armageddon over Iran and Afghanistan.

Defence Minister Ahmet Ihsan Birincioglu spelled this out last week when in a parliamentary committee he stressed that Turkey was loyal to NATO only within the terms of the 1949 charter. In other words, Turkey is not going to involve itself in conflict to please the Americans. Secondly, Turkey is taking its cue from its patron, West Germany. A popular line in Ankara is 'Helmut Schmidt is not going all the way with Jimmy Carter and Margaret Thatcher, why should we?'

Another factor is that the Demirel Government feels hurt over lack of a sympathetic response from the West towards the remarkable pro-Western postures it has taken in recent months. By general consent, Demirel has gone as far as any Turkish Prime Minister could go in that direction.

In return, the Demirel camp alleges, the West has not raised a finger to help. The factor which overrides everything is Turkey's economic crisis. The International Monetary Fund is being as tough towards Demirel as it was towards Ecevit. Meanwhile, in the background, the Turkish Army broods.

## Indonesian troops 'taking supplies for the starving'

from JIMMY BURNS in Lisbon

**FOOD** and medical supplies for famine hit East Timor are being diverted to Indonesian troops and shopkeepers, according to refugees arriving in Portugal.

About £7 million of aid is being organised by the American-based Catholic Relief Service and the International Committee of the Red Cross. A United States Congressional Hearing last month was told the organisations had little control of distribution.

The Catholic Relief Service was treating an estimated 240,000 Timorese for malnutrition and various diseases, while the Red Cross plans to help another 60,000. All relief work in the former Portuguese colony is being supervised by only four foreign field workers.

'We appeal to anyone left in the world with a minimum sense of human rights to ensure that relief goes directly to our people,' said a refugee, who preferred to remain anonymous as his family is still in East Timor.

He arrived in Portugal

with four other men and one woman. Since the Indonesian invasion of East Timor in 1975, over 2,000 Timorese have fled to Portugal.

Most are housed in a squalid shanty camp belonging to the Portuguese Red Cross in the Valley of the Jasmine, the inappropriate name of a stark piece of woodland a few miles from Lisbon. The rest sleep 10 to a room in damp hostels in the suburbs.

One escaped from Dili, the main town, after paying \$56 for a visa and the flight to Jakarta, the Indonesian capital. There he paid a further £848 for papers and an air ticket to Lisbon through Singapore. He claimed that half of the money went in bribes to Indonesian officials.

Refugees insisted that there was still starvation in East Timor and that, contrary to other reports, fighting between the Indonesians and the Timorese Liberation Movement, was continuing in the mountains to the east of the island.

They claimed Indonesian troops were terrorising the

local population with arrests, torture, and summary executions. They described the methods by which the authorities manipulated tours by visiting journalists.

The Timorese claim that troops and war material are removed to give the impression of calm. One woman said that she had seen crosses taken from the local military cemetery. The authorities kept a tight control, informing their 'representatives' in relief camps and placing armed plain-clothed military officers among the crowds.

The growing evidence of the corruption and violation of human rights in East Timor has begun to filter out and is threatening to put the issue at the centre of a diplomatic offensive. Portugal and the US are particularly involved.

In an unprecedented step last week, Portuguese President Antonio Ramalho Eanes handed the military Council of the Revolution a lengthy dossier on Timor with a Foreign Ministry recommendation that it should be taken up with the United Nations.

TURN OVER!

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