

## VIEWPOINTS

# Atrocities in East Timor have been forgotten

**A**mid all the publicity being given to the horrors in Bosnia, Haiti, and Somalia, a genocide in another place in the world has been forgotten. East Timor, a former Portuguese colony, was invaded in 1975 by Indonesia soon after independence was declared. The invasion was just as blatant an act of aggression as the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, and shortly after the invasion the U.N. Security Council passed two resolutions condemning it. However, little or nothing was done to enforce the resolutions.

Estimates of the number of people who have died from the invasion and resulting occupation run from 100,000 to over 200,000, out of a population of 700,000 at the time of the invasion.

Most of the weapons used in the invasion came from the United States, despite a 1958 agreement between Indonesia and the United States, which prohibited the Indonesians from using U.S. weapons for offensive purposes. Then-President Ford and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger were in Jakarta, the capital of Indonesia, in the days before the invasion and met with President Suharto of Indonesia while in Jakarta. Apparently Ford and Kissinger did not warn Suharto of any possible repercussions. The flow of weapons continued throughout the Carter, Reagan and Bush administrations.

The United States participates in the Consultative Group on Indonesia, a consor-

tium of government donors and multilateral agencies chaired by the World Bank. The most recent meeting of the consortium in July dispensed \$5 billion of financial assistance to Indonesia, primarily in the form of

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loans. A former senior official in Indonesian military intelligence disclosed that Indonesia receives photographs from high resolution U.S. reconnaissance satellites.

East Timor has received increased international attention since a massacre outside a Catholic cemetery in Dili, East Timor on Nov. 12, 1991. Allan Nairn, a writer for The New Yorker who witnessed the massacre, spoke about it at Monmouth College on Jan. 29, 1992. According to Nairn: "What I saw was a cold-blooded execution and the facts are very simple and clear. Indonesian soldiers marched up and opened fire in unison into a peaceful, defenseless crowd. The next day the national commander of the Indonesian military praised the massacre and said it was armed forces

policy to shoot down defiant Timorese."

The massacre eventually prompted the U.S. Congress to terminate military training assistance for Indonesia in October 1992. This act of Congress was opposed by the Bush administration. A bill to take stronger action, which would have terminated arms sales and financial assistance to Indonesia, was introduced in the House in 1992. But the bill was never brought to a vote. It was co-sponsored by Rep. Frank Pallone, D-N.J..

The Clinton administration has brought some charges. Last March, the United States co-sponsored a resolution at the U.N. Human Rights Commission condemning Indonesia; a year before the U.S. delegation had blocked a similar resolution. Clinton met with Suharto in Tokyo on July 7. Before the meeting a letter signed by 43 U.S. senators, including Bill Bradley and Frank Lautenberg, urged Clinton to bring up East Timor with Suharto, which Clinton did. In July the State Department blocked the re-sale of F-5 fighters from Jordan to Indonesia, citing East Timor as one of the reasons for the decision.

• We can imagine the public outrage that would occur if it was disclosed that the United States was now sending weapons, billions of dollars of loans and satellite photos to Saddam Hussein.

*Richard Koch*  
TINTON FALLS

## UPDATE ON SITUATION IN EAST TIMOR

HON. TONY P. HALL

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 2, 1994

Mr. HALL of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, for many years, I have been deeply concerned over the tragedy in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor, which was invaded and occupied by Indonesia in 1975 and has since been the scene of widespread repression and human suffering. At least 100,000 of a population of less than 700,000 perished since the occupation began, far from the spotlight of international attention. The world was also shocked by the televised images of the massacre of perhaps more than 250 people that took place at Santa Cruz cemetery on November 12, 1991. Both before the 1991 massacre and subsequently, I have been joined by numerous colleagues of both parties in the House and Senate in expressing concern about this situation.

Last March, I was gratified to see the strong stand of the Clinton administration at the United Nations Human Rights Commission in Geneva, where the United States for the first time voted for a resolution on the East Timor situation. Thereafter, in July, President Clinton raised the issue of human rights in East Timor when he met with Indonesian President Suharto in Tokyo. President Clinton deserves credit for taking these actions.

Nonetheless, the news from East Timor has continued to be extremely disturbing. A letter of January 14, 1994 by East Timor's highly respected Roman Catholic bishop, Carlos Ximenes Belo, outlines recent instances of torture and brutality, as well as problems of missionary priests who are seeking extension of their residency visas. These accounts are consistent with similar reports received by other church and human rights organizations over the past 6 months, and belie the contention that the situation in East Timor is improving. The consistent nature of the repression in East Timor makes it clear that until and unless there is an unmistakable policy decision on

the part of the Indonesian military, systematic abuse of East Timor's people will continue.

Consistent and assiduous American diplomatic pressure on Indonesia's leaders is needed to encourage Indonesia to respect human rights in East Timor and bring about a long overdue peace for its long-suffering people. Now is not the time to relax such pressures. The East Timor question is being discussed once again in March at this year's session of the U.N. Human Rights Commission. I strongly recommend that the Clinton administration continue to support human rights and peace initiatives on East Timor at the United Nations in both New York and Geneva, and in regular high-level diplomatic exchanges with the Indonesian Government. I call upon my colleagues to support such efforts. The situation in East Timor demands no less.

For the benefit of my colleagues, I have attached some excerpts of Bishop Belo's January 14, 1994 letter.

## EXCERPTS FROM THE BISHOP BELO'S LETTER

(1) With this letter, I would like to let you know that torture continues in East Timor. On December 23, 1993 in the parish of Ossu, County of Viqueque, the military captured several young Catholics, beat them, tortured them and forced them to declare that they participated in a subversive meeting. On January 4, 1994 in Dili, the military were waiting for a young man named Salvador Sarmiento, who is a student at the Pastoral Institute, and when he left the classroom they took him, stuck him in a military vehicle and took him to a place where he was kicked, beaten, tortured, until he was almost dead. Then they forced his parents, who are illiterate, to declare that they had seen their son participate in subversive meetings. With these kinds of injustices, they want to force a declaration that Father Sancho Amaral is a priest who is against Indonesia.

(2) We have problems with regard to three of our Salesian missionaries. The military do not want to extend the visas of Father Locatelli (Italian), Father Andres Calleja (Spaniard) and Father Joao de Deus (Portuguese), because they say that the three are helping Fretilin.

(3) The third problem has to do with our young people. The Indonesian authorities have taken more than 400 young East Timorese to Java with the promise of work. When they arrived there, they were distributed amongst a number of factories without keeping the initial agreement, there were changes of factory and the young people did not receive a sufficient salary. Many of the young East Timorese in Jakarta suffer like slaves. Two of them have died already. Others are being persecuted and beaten. It is great injustice and suffering.

## Indonesia

# East Timor's past won't stay buried

DILI

**E**AST TIMOR, Indonesia's foreign minister once remarked, "is a pebble in Indonesia's shoe." As the world's fourth-most populous nation tries to stride confidently about the international stage, the human-rights pebble makes it step awkwardly. Almost 20 years after Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975, when the Portuguese abandoned their colony, the United Nations still refuses to recognise Indonesian rule. The stories of massacres after the invasion refuse to fade into history. Indeed they were given new life in November 1991, when Indonesian troops were filmed shooting at unarmed demonstrators in the Timorese capital, Dili, killing at least 50 people. Indonesia's denials of previous massacres became rather harder to maintain in the face of filmed evidence.

With President Suharto due to play the gracious host to Bill Clinton and the other leaders of the Asia-Pacific Economic Co-operation forum later this year, Indonesia is

having another scrub at the bloody stains on its reputation. This month the largest party of foreign journalists to visit East Timor since the Dili massacre of 1991 was given a guided tour of the province.

The theme of the trip could be summarised as "forget the killing, look at these nice new roads." The journalists were whisked around a recently built polytechnic, a slum-renovation project organised by the army and a village for resettled East Timorese, complete with dancing natives. In the district of Aileu in the Timorese mountains, the head of the local council spouted the authorised version of history. "God has given East Timor many blessings over the past 18 years," he announced. "Step by step we have moved away from poverty, stupidity and ignorance."

Yet even during a brief, carefully orchestrated visit things can go wrong. Small pro-independence demonstrations were held outside the journalists' hotel. Members of Fretilin, the guerrilla organisation fighting Indonesia, smuggled letters to the foreigners demanding the release of Xanana Gusmao, their imprisoned leader, and a referendum on East Timor's future. During a visit to a prison, Fretilin members rushed up to the journalists to make allegations of torture and to shout slogans.

Facts dribbled out in other ways. Abilio Soares, the governor of East Timor, must have caused a few wincing in the Indonesian foreign ministry when he said that he





thought it was "probably true" that between 100,000 and 200,000 people had died as a result of the war in East Timor. Just a few days before, Ali Alatas, the foreign minister, had dismissed the figure of 200,000 dead—a little under a third of the pre-1975 population—as a "canard" without "a shred of evidence or factual underpinning". The impact of the killing was underlined by a schoolteacher who said that 70% of the children in his class had lost one or both of their parents to war or famine.

Signs of discontent are easy to spot. A plaque celebrating East Timor's integration into Indonesia has been smashed. At the Santa Cruz cemetery, where the massacre of 1991 took place, mourners gather early in the day to pile flowers by the memorial for those whose graves are unknown.

Some East Timorese are willing to give voice to their discontent. Father Domingos Soares, a Roman Catholic priest, contradicts the official line that Fretilin is now little more than a band of criminals. He says that the guerrillas in the hills are supported by a clandestine organisation in the towns and by the Timorese leadership abroad. Together, he says, the three groups are the authentic face of Timorese nationalism.

Florentino da Sarmiento, the head of a local development organisation, says that he favoured integration with Indonesia in 1975 as "the most realistic option". But, says Mr Florentino, "what we have got now is not integration, but military occupation." While the Indonesian army is mainly concerned with security and economic development in East Timor, Mr Florentino says

## What is the big fuss?

**E**STABLISHING the true death toll in East Timor since Indonesia invaded in 1975 is difficult. Amnesty International gives a figure of 200,000 dead. The government admits to 30,000—made up of 5,000 killed by fighting and 25,000 by hunger.

The Indonesians were not always so cautious in their estimates. In 1977 Adam Malik, then Indonesia's foreign minister, told the *Sydney Morning Herald* that "50,000 or perhaps 80,000 people might have been killed . . . It was war . . . Then what is the big fuss?" Later Indonesia waged a counter-insurgency campaign and many more people died in the subsequent famine. In 1983 the head of the Roman Catholic church in East Timor said 200,000 people had died since 1975. Comparisons between a census by the Portuguese in 1974 and an Indonesian census of 1980 suggest that the population had fallen by between 100,000 and 130,000, despite heavy immigration from Indonesia.

The Indonesians say they intervened in East Timor to contain a civil war and prevent the rise of a communist state. They blame Portugal for making a mess of decolonisation. Certainly, Angola and Mozambique are no advertisements for the Portuguese legacy.

But Indonesia's intervention was ferocious in the extreme. On one occasion, according to accounts gathered by a former Australian consul in East Timor, 59 residents of Dili were "shot one by one, with the crowd, believed amounting to 500, ordered to count." As the Indonesian army advanced into the territory, Fretilin guerrillas took to the hills and so did many other Timorese. By the late 1970s people were dying of hunger. The Indonesians blamed Fretilin for "forcing" villagers into the mountains. But, according to the Catholic church in East Timor, the single biggest cause of famine was Indonesia's insistence that villagers live in guarded settlements, which prevented them from farming normally.

that the real issues are political and cultural. As a result of 400 years of Portuguese rule, the East Timorese are overwhelmingly Roman Catholic in a 90% Muslim country. East Timorese villagers, with their curly hair and broad features, are clearly ethnically different from the Indonesian soldiers who

patrol their streets.

Mr Florentino wants greater political autonomy for East Timor. Others still yearn for independence. In 1989 Bishop Carlos Belo called for a referendum on East Timor's political future. Aware that the church remains a powerful conduit for East Timorese nationalism, the Indonesian government reacted furiously. Bishop Belo is now more circumspect in his public statements and Indonesian Jesuits have been sent to the province to balance the nationalism of the local church.

Father Marcos Wanandi, one of the Jesuits, serves as an intermediary between the bishop and the army. His family has connections to the army elite in Jakarta, and he says that he wants to ensure that there are no further "misunderstandings". Though critical of the army's heavy-handedness, he believes that calls for a referendum are irresponsible. They might provoke another crackdown. The soldiers, he argues, "will never back down, they will never lose face."

General Adang Ruchiatna, the army commander in eastern Indonesia, says the East Timorese seem "ungrateful" for all the development money he claims is lavished on them. The general says the government would like to cut the number of troops in East Timor—about 6,000, according to the government—but he thinks a withdrawal now might provoke renewed civil war. Almost 20 years after Indonesian troops first entered East Timor, that is a sorry comment on their efforts at integration.



Those "ungrateful" Timorese

# The Boston Globe

WEDNESDAY, MAY 11, 1994

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## Ending the agony of East Timor

Introducing a "Nightline" program on the slaughter in Rwanda, Ted Koppel invoked as an example of horrors unremarked in the media the Indonesian genocide in East Timor. Koppel's passing reference to the agony of East Timor was noteworthy not merely because it was exceptional, but also because Indonesia's crimes against humanity on the island were committed with the complicity of US governments, and often with US weapons.

Indonesian forces first invaded East Timor, then part of the crumbling Portuguese empire, in December 1975, hours after President Gerald Ford and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger ended a state visit to Jakarta. Human rights organizations, scholars and diplomats estimate that nearly a third of the island's population perished in the ensuing war of conquest conducted by Indonesia.

The horror visited upon the people of East Timor remains a challenge to the United Nations and to US policy makers, since Indonesian troops still occupy East Timor and still torture Timorese suspected of resisting Jakarta's annexation.

In November 1991 the world caught a glimpse

of Indonesia's murderous colonial methods when a British cameraman filmed Indonesian soldiers massacring mourners at a funeral.

Last year, in a welcome alteration of US policy, President Clinton gave US backing to a resolution of the UN Human Rights Commission in Geneva calling for an end to Indonesia's abuse of human rights in East Timor. Last Friday the foreign ministers of Indonesia and Portugal met in Geneva, under UN auspices, to discuss the issue of East Timor. The result was a dilatory communique saying there will be no further discussion before January 1995.

The Geneva talks should become a forum to prepare the way for an internationally monitored referendum that allows the people of East Timor to determine their political future. Lesser measures will not end the agony of the Timorese.

Clinton can fulfill a moral obligation incurred by his predecessors if he notifies UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali of strong US support for a referendum on self-determination for East Timor.

# The New York Times

## **EDITORIALS**

**TUESDAY, MAY 24, 1994**

### Timorous on Timor

It is generally reckoned that at least 200,000 civilians died after Indonesia lawlessly invaded in 1975 and then annexed the former Portuguese colony of East Timor. But unlike recent massacres in Rwanda, it caused no international outcry, no calls for military intervention by the United Nations. One reason for the different response is that Indonesia is a big and powerful Islamic country, a leader of the nonaligned bloc, yet also a lucrative market for Europe and the United States. And Jakarta has few scruples about using its muscle.

This has been confirmed afresh by Indonesia's crude pressure on President Fidel Ramos of the Philippines to censor a human rights conference in Manila scheduled to begin next Tuesday, at which eight exiled East Timorese activists were invited to speak. When Indonesia's military regime learned of this, it warned that unless the conference was canceled, Indonesia would probably refuse to be host to peace talks between the Philippine Government and Muslim separatist rebels.

Initially President Ramos tried to mollify Indonesia, sending an envoy to Jakarta and stressing

that Manila recognized East Timor as part of Indonesia, adding that his Government was powerless to halt a private conference. The rumbling only increased in Jakarta, so Mr. Ramos on Friday banned non-Filipinos from taking part in the conference, saying their presence would be "inimical to the national interest." Now Jakarta has pulled out of a Filipino trade fair, which has been postponed. Thus does Indonesia assert its right to silence debate on East Timor anywhere.

Will Australia be the next target? In years past, Australian journalists have defied travel restrictions to East Timor. But like the Philippines, Australia meekly refuses to challenge Indonesia's illegal grab of this unfortunate former colony. Indeed, in the tradition of Orwell's Newspeak, Australian diplomats avoid mentioning the words "East Timor" and pointedly talk about "Timor," thus uniting in their vocabulary what Indonesia has vainly striven to unite with gun and bomb. The sound of those dropping knees surely has not escaped the Suharto regime, and Canberra may soon be pressured to carry self-censorship even further.

# The New York Times

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 8, 1994

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## Australia Doesn't Wink at East Timor Abuses

To the Editor:

"Timorous on Timor," your egregious May 24 editorial, gravely misrepresents Australia's position on East Timor. Although Australia has recognized the sovereign authority of Indonesia over East Timor since February 1979, our public concerns and representations over violations of human rights in the region are well-documented. Recognition of Indonesia's sovereign authority in no way implies approval of the circumstances of the Indonesian acquisition of East Timor.

Far from "meekly refusing to challenge Indonesia" as you state, Australia raises its concerns with the Indonesian Government with committed persistence. We have been unwavering in our call for a process of reconciliation in East Timor, which would involve economic development sensitive to the needs of the East

Timorese and a major reduction in military presence. This is understood by the Indonesians.

Australia supported the 1993 resolution of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights critical of the human rights situation in East Timor. This year Australia joined the commission's consensus adoption of the chairman's statement on human rights in East Timor.

On a practical level, Australian diplomats, official delegations (some parliamentary) and journalists visit East Timor regularly, and the issue stays prominent in Australia.

Despite difficulties and obstructions, Australia delivers development assistance specifically to East Timor, including funds to improve water supplies and sanitation, donations to the United Nations Children's Fund project and the Red Cross.

Your bizarre suggestion that Aus-

tralian diplomats avoid using the words East Timor for fear of offending Indonesia is simply fanciful. We use the terminology "East Timor" bilaterally and in global forums, as anyone who follows the debate would know. I might note that your own editorial languished under a headline in which the "East" had been lost from Timor.

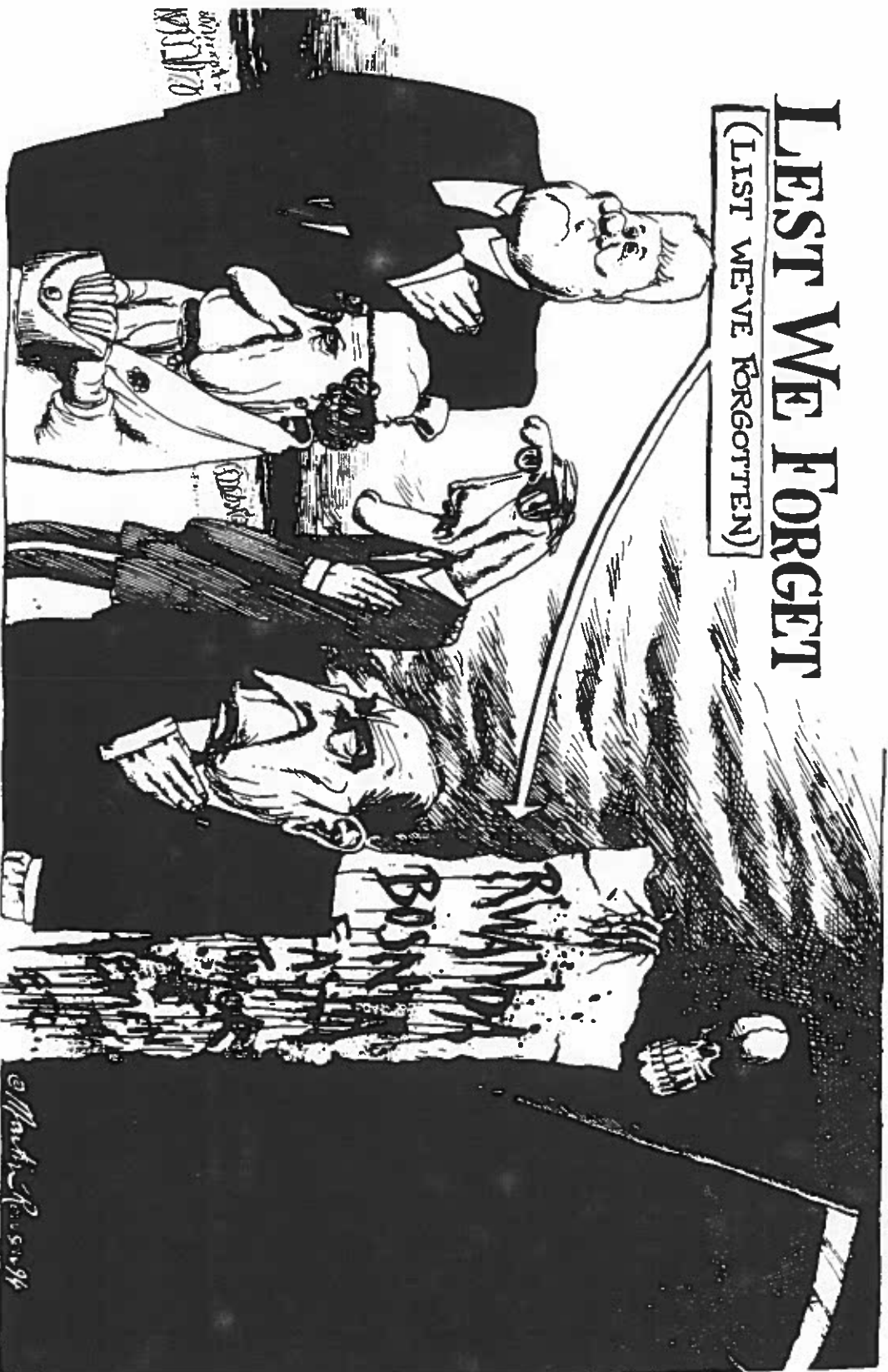
DON RUSSELL  
Ambassador of Australia to the U.S.  
Washington, May 27, 1994

**The Guardian: comment**  
119 Farringdon Road, London EC1R 3EH  
Tuesday June 7 1994

## THE LEADER PAGE

# LEST WE FORGET

(LIST WE'VE FORGOTTEN)





# Human Rights Retreat

In ways both great and small, the Clinton administration is signaling its retreat from human rights. When our "putting people first" president renewed most favored nation standing for China and practically apologized to Beijing for ever tying trade to human rights, he all but announced that the Republicans were right about human rights: It is a drag, it is inconvenient, it costs money.

Last week the Senate gave human rights the death of a thousand cuts, or to be more precise, a vote of 59 to 35 against a practical application in East Timor. The case is minuscule compared to China. Sen. Patrick J. Leahy (D-Vt.) offered a modest proposal that the United States specifically prohibit the use of U.S.-provided arms in East Timor, the wretched island where Indonesia is diligently practicing ethnic cleansing in the hope of eliminating local resistance to an Indonesian takeover.

It figured that an administration that had swallowed the China camel was not about to strain over the gnat of East Timor.

Sen. J. Bennett Johnston (D-La.) led the victory against human rights. He got a notable assist from Deputy Secretary of Defense John M. Deutch and a last-minute letter from Secretary of State Warren Christopher, who called the Leahy initiative "unnecessary and inconsistent."

"We have raised our human rights concerns at the highest levels in meetings with Indonesia," wrote Christopher. Does it sound familiar? Yes, it is the "quiet diplomacy" that was so popular, and so ineffectual, during the Reagan-Bush years.

Johnston made the also familiar argument about size. Indonesia is big. It is the fourth-largest nation on Earth, he pointed out, the largest Muslim nation in the world. It has a correspondingly large market. Its feelings would be hurt if we indicated we disapproved of its bloody suppression of an island people.

Sen. Alan K. Simpson (Wyo.), the Republican whip, called Leahy's suggestion "arrogant intrusion." Of course, any attempts at behavior modification are invasions of sovereignty, and advocates of human rights don't deny it. The point of the policy was that the world's leading democracy feels that "a decent respect for the opinions of mankind," as it says in the Declaration of Independence, is a transcendent foreign policy consideration.

As the senators were busy proving the opposite, the Indonesian government

was demonstrating the shortcomings of quiet diplomacy. Three periodicals were closed, and in the wake of the action, peaceful demonstrators were attacked by riot police and more than 50 people were arrested.

Johnston conceded that "not everything taking place in Indonesia is encouraging . . . but Indonesia has made huge steps forward in human rights" without saying what they were.

He also said that "if we are going to take sanctions against every country in the world that is criticized by Amnesty International . . . the list of our friends will be short indeed."

Another country severely criticized by Amnesty International as an egregious violator of human rights is being smiled upon by the Clinton administration. Turkey, which is abusing Kurds within its borders and building up an appalling record of death-by-torture—24 last year—is being reprimanded only by human rights groups.

"The bottom lines are very similar to the Reagan and Bush years," says James O'Dea, director of Amnesty International's Washington office. "What Clinton is doing with Turkey is what Ronald Reagan did when he stepped up security assistance to El Salvador in the face of death squad killings."

In a five-page letter to Turkish Prime Minister Tansu Ciller, the president devoted one-half sentence to human rights. The House suggested cutting security assistance to Turkey by 25 percent; the president called the prime minister and bade her not to worry.

Turkey, like Indonesia, is considered in Clinton realpolitik a valuable ally in a strategic location.

Kerry Kennedy Cuomo, director of the Kennedy Human Rights Foundation, calls the action on Indonesia "a disaster—I don't see how it promotes democracy."

The president seems determined to exhibit hardheadedness in foreign policy, to put trade and "democracy-building" as top priorities. He rarely discusses human rights and with good reason. The evidence is building that if you don't put human rights at the top, it slides right off the screen.

Yet, when challenged, the administration people say they do too advocate human rights and a source on the National Security Council suggests that the decision on Indonesia, at least, will be revisited.

If it isn't, the cynicism the president so deeply deplores will be on the rise again.

The Washington Post

THURSDAY, JULY 7, 1994

MONDAY, JULY 11, 1994

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# The Boston Globe

## Gentle about genocide

During the Cold War, Washington's willingness to collude with some of the worst violators of human rights was often excused as a pragmatic necessity, the inescapable price that virtue paid to vice for victory in the superpower struggle.

Though the Cold War has ended, Americans once again contemplate the desolating spectacle of their president and lawmakers toadying to tyrants and rationalizing aid and arms sales to torturers. The new rationalizations differ from those of the Cold War era insofar as they avoid implausible allusions to strategic imperatives. But the quotient of hypocrisy remains unchanged.

A recent debate in Congress over the sale of arms to Indonesia illustrates the old French adage that the more things change, the more they stay the same. Senators wishing to protect the people of occupied East Timor from the military dictatorship in Jakarta – the Suharto regime that invaded East Timor in 1975 and exterminated 200,000 Timorese from a population of 700,000 – had written into an appropriation bill language prohibiting the

sale of lethal US weapons for use in East Timor.

However, Sen. Bennett Johnston of Louisiana led a successful move to delete the prohibition, though it was more a symbolic expression of the Senate's good intentions than a foolproof method for saving lives in East Timor. The arguments presented by senators solicitous of Suharto's regime – and of defense contractors, oil companies and mining concerns doing business with Jakarta – made Americans seem a people willing to overlook genocide for the sake of commerce.

Secretary of State Warren Christopher, in a letter to the Appropriations Committee, made the all-too-familiar claim that Indonesia's respect for human rights is improving. This was the Clinton administration's rationale for pursuing business as usual with Suharto and his generals.

The reality is that Timorese are still being tortured and their churches are still being desecrated by Suharto's forces of occupation. America's elected leaders should not be giving Jakarta a license to murder more Timorese.

# The New York Times

SATURDAY, AUGUST 13, 1994

## Press Freedom, Indonesian Style

President Suharto of Indonesia, now serving his sixth five-year term, spoke encouragingly on his reelection last year about the need for more "democratization." The country's bolder and livelier publications took him at his word, and for a brief, heady period there were actually articles on such forbidden topics as human rights abuses in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor and who might succeed the aging President.

That wasn't what Mr. Suharto had in mind. A few weeks ago, two respected magazines and a popular tabloid were banned; closure threats were sent to various newspapers, their apparent offense being to report critically about a Government decision to spend \$1.1 billion on a fleet of decrepit East German warships.

When a magazine called Forum reported on this press crackdown, another sharp warning emanated from Director General Subrata of the Ministry of Information, explaining that Forum did not fully comprehend the meaning of press freedom in Indonesia. The inference is plain: Indonesia's press is free to guess what it can write about.

The press is certainly free to quote Mr. Suharto's call for more openness, but it should understand that the President does not really mean what he says. The spirit of the situation is admirably caught

by Ring Lardner's quote "'Shut up,' he explained."

All this is becoming a matter of more acute concern to the United States. In November, President Clinton is due to attend a meeting of Asian and Pacific leaders that President Suharto will host in Jakarta. It is hard to see how he can avoid referring to Indonesia's lawless 1975 invasion and subsequent annexation of East Timor, where war and privation have killed as many as 200,000 people, nearly a third of its former population. A new crackdown is under way, and Bishop Carlos Felipe Belo, the territory's Roman Catholic leader, told a press agency in July, "East Timor is like hell."

Dismayed by such reports, the U.S. Congress voted last month, with the support of the Clinton Administration, to ban the sale of small weapons, light arms and crowd-control equipment to Indonesia. This falls short of the wider ban urged by Senators Patrick Leahy of Vermont and Russeli Feingold of Wisconsin, but it is the first time any such restrictions have been imposed on Indonesia, a major customer in the arms bazaar. The interesting question is how Mr. Clinton will deal with this come November, and whether the Indonesian press, or what is left of it, will be free to report what the President of the United States says on Indonesian soil.

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SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 12, 1994

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# The Boston Globe

## A Clinton mission in Jakarta

"East Timor remains a place where arbitrary detention and torture are routine and where basic freedoms of expression, association and assembly are nonexistent."

This description of Indonesian human rights abuses in East Timor appeared in a recent report by Human Rights Watch Asia and was quoted in a letter to President Clinton initiated by Sen. Claiborne Pell of Rhode Island, the outgoing Democratic chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and Republican Sen. Malcolm Wallop of Wyoming and signed by 30 senators.

The senators asked Clinton, politely but firmly, to raise the issue of Indonesian repression on East Timor when he meets with Indonesia's President Suharto this Wednesday during the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation summit in Jakarta. Because the Timorese have suffered genocidal horrors since Indonesia invaded in 1975 - after receiving a green light from Gerald Ford and Henry Kissinger - and since the horror continues, the letter from the senators and a similar letter from House members expressed an appropriate American de-

sire to make up for past complicity in Jakarta's colonization of East Timor.

As the lawmakers suggest, Clinton should urge Suharto not only to cease the torturing and killing of Timorese but to begin serious negotiations, under UN auspices, with the aim of ending Indonesia's occupation of East Timor. There have been pro forma talks between Jakarta and Portugal, the former colonial master of East Timor, and another set of such talks is scheduled for January. Thus far these talks have accomplished nothing. Unless they produce a genuine commitment to Indonesian withdrawal, they will amount to little more than dilatory conversations between the present and past colonizers of a people not allowed to determine their own fate.

If Clinton wishes to undertake a diplomatic process leading to the decolonization of East Timor, he should seek Japan's assistance. Like the United States, Japan has guilt to live down in regard to East Timor. The Japanese also share with the United States an interest in cultivating a stable Asia unstained by the horrors of colonialism.



# End Indonesia's Imperialist Rule

By Benedict R. Anderson

## The New York Times

OP-ED SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 13, 1994

W ITHACA, N.Y. When President Clinton visits Indonesia for the Asia-Pacific Economic

Cooperation forum this week, he should call for independence for East Timor.

An expansionist Indonesia, vast archipelago nation, invaded and annexed the neighboring former Portuguese colony in 1975. Since then, 200,000 people — out of a population of 700,000 — have died as a result of the fighting and of famine.

The United Nations considers Portugal the legal sovereign in East Timor. Mr. Clinton should make it clear that he is ready to cooperate with Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, who is overseeing talks on East Timor between Indonesia and Portugal. The U.N. talks, initiated in 1983, long made no progress because of Indonesian stonewalling, but recent pressure has led President Suharto to declare that he is willing to meet with pro-independence leaders.

United States involvement in the problem would be appropriate, for the Truman Administration brokered the 1949 Round Table agreements by which the Netherlands acknowledged the sovereignty of Indonesia, which was proclaimed in 1945.

In 1994 Indonesians will celebrate the 50th anniversary of the proclamation of their independence, while the East Timorese mourn the 20th anniversary of the occupation.

For nearly 20 years, Jakarta has tried to outdo its own former colonial rulers, the Dutch. Using far more ruthless methods, its military has gained control of most of East Timor without ending armed resistance; it has captured José Alexandre Gusmão (known as Xanana), leader of the nationalist guerrillas, and sentenced him to 20 years. In addition, imitating Dutch colonial policy in Indonesia, Jakarta has poured in funds to build schools and roads while appointing some East Timorese to administrative positions.

Still, Indonesia's goal of political legitimacy in East Timor is further off than ever. Like The Hague, Jakarta has discovered that the mix of development, schooling and repression only deepens and widens the

nationalist tide it opposes.

This is why a frustrated President Suharto has referred to East Timor as "a pimple on Indonesia's face" and Foreign Minister Ali Alatas calls it "gravel in our shoes." East Timor's nationalists recognize that Jakarta cannot be defeated militarily.

What is needed is a new Round Table conference for a peaceful transition to independence. Though successive U.S. administrations have enjoyed close relations with Jakarta, all have refused to concede that it has legal sovereignty over East Timor. The U.S. also objects to human rights abuses in Indonesia: on the eve of Mr. Clinton's trip, Jakarta is trying Muchtar Pakpahan, chairman of the independent All Indonesian Labor Federation, on trumped-up charges of subversion.

In the Congress, where a broad bipartisan group has long expressed deep concern about the chronic human rights abuses in East Timor, there is growing awareness that they are the inevitable consequence of a colonial situation that only a political

## Clinton can help free East Timor.

agreement will resolve.

Since the international uproar over the massacre of November 1991, in which perhaps 200 unarmed East Timorese were gunned down at a rally for independence in full view of foreign journalists, Indonesian intellectuals and students have become increasingly bold in sympathizing with East Timor's resistance.

The massacre, at Dili, East Timor's capital, damaged Indonesia's international reputation. (On Oct. 28, a Federal court in Boston awarded \$14 million to the mother of a 19-year-old human rights observer who was slain. She had sued the general responsible for the massacre, who had gone to Harvard, but fled the United States when the case was filed against him.) For the first time since 1975, there is now open debate among Indonesian officials, some even calling for a total reappraisal.

In 1949, the Netherlands had to give up a vast colony it had ruled for centuries. Today, Indonesia must relinquish a territory the size of New Jersey it has ruled for less than two decades. President Clinton can help make this possible. □

Benedict R. Anderson, professor of international studies at Cornell, edits the journal *Indonesia*.



Los Angeles Times

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## Commentary

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# A Word for Justice at Indonesia's Trade Summit

■ **Human rights:** Clinton's visit could shed light on the genocidal occupation of East Timor.

By MAIREAD CORRIGAN MAGUIRE

When President Clinton meets with President Suharto of Indonesia during the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation conference this week, he should not overlook the haunting situation in East Timor.

It is normally extremely difficult to focus public awareness on the former Portuguese colony near Australia, which was invaded by Indonesia in 1975. Perhaps one-third or more of a population of 700,000 have perished as a consequence of a harsh Indonesian occupation. But President Clinton's trip, which includes a state visit in Jakarta on Wednesday, provides a unique opportunity to highlight a tragedy that refuses to go away.

Nov. 12 marked the third anniversary of the massacre at Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili, the capital of East Timor, where Indonesian troops killed hundreds of mourners and demonstrators at a funeral commemoration—a scene recorded by a journalist from British television. These shocking images were seen by millions of people throughout the world.

Immediately thereafter, a 26-year-old East Timorese student, Fernando Araujo, tried to contact Amnesty International to

provide them with information about the Santa Cruz massacre. For this and other nonviolent acts, Araujo received a a nine-year prison sentence.

Araujo was also charged with having discussions on how to bring East Timor to the attention of the international community. Still another charge involved sending a letter to former President Bush likening the Indonesian occupation of East Timor to the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait—not an inaccurate comparison, but a dangerous one to make in Indonesia.

It is also perilous for courageous Indonesians who dare to speak out on the East Timor situation. Last month, I attended an international conference in Portugal with Dr. George Aditjondro, a respected scholar and environmentalist who has done firsthand studies on the Timor situation.

The last night of the conference, Aditjondro received a summons from the Indonesian police for interrogation about comments he made during a university panel discussion on the future of Indonesian politics. Amnesty International believes that this was an attempt by authorities to punish Aditjondro for his criticism of government policy on human rights and environmental concerns in Indonesia and East Timor. In recent weeks, Aditjondro has been interrogated for many hours by police about the university panel discussion. After one five-hour session, he became ill.

President Clinton should intervene with

Indonesian authorities with the aim of ensuring that such harassment is ended and that Araujo be released.

These two courageous individuals are only the tip of the iceberg. People further down in society, lacking international networks of support, suffer much worse.

I have had my own experience with the lengths Jakarta will go to muzzle criticism. It pressured allies in the region, such as the Philippines, to prevent a conference on East Timor from taking place in June. Upon arrival in Manila for the conference, after 18 hours of travel, I was summarily deported by the Philippine authorities, under obvious pressure from Jakarta.

The Catholic Bishop of East Timor, Carlos Ximenes Belo, has inspired me as he speaks out courageously for truth, justice and in defense of human rights in spite of death threats. The bishop is trying to find ways to end the conflict through support for dialogue under the auspices of the United Nations, in accordance with the principles of international law. He deserves the backing of the United States. As we have learned in my home country of Northern Ireland, it is only through all-inclusive dialogue and the cessation of all violence that we can begin to solve our problems together.

*Mairead Corrigan Maguire is co-founder of the Northern Ireland Community of the Peace People and shared the Nobel Peace Prize in 1976.*

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 13, 1994

# OUTLOOK

*Commentary and Opinion*

## Atrocities Are Bad for Business

*Ending the Rape of East Timor Should Top the Agenda With Indonesia*

By Paul Moore Jr.

**WHEN BILL Clinton** visits Indonesia this week and meets with President Suharto in a state visit after the APEC conference, East Timor will be high on the agenda. Clinton has a unique opportunity to lay the groundwork for a diplomatic victory that could solve an enduring human rights crisis at the same time that it removes a sore point in our relations with the most populous country in Southeast Asia. A just settlement of the long-running occupation of the former Portuguese colony of East Timor is in the best interests of Indonesia and the United States.

Clinton might be pushing against an open door: Western diplomats say that Suharto, looking at his place in history, may want to find a solution to the morass in East Timor. In 1991 the Indonesian government was deeply embarrassed by British TV footage, shown worldwide, in which its army was seen massacring Timorese students. Helping to resolve this thorny issue could

*Paul Moore was the Episcopal bishop of New York from 1972 to 1989.*

highlight Clinton's talent for leadership and mediation. It could end up being the kind of foreign policy breakthrough that Clinton helped facilitate in Northern Ireland.

While East Timor could not be more distant from the United States—it is located off the northern coast of Australia—the U.S. responsibility for its suffering is not. Indeed, the last state visit by a U.S. president to the Indonesian capital came in December 1975, on the eve of Indonesia's invasion of East Timor. On that trip President Ford was accompanied by Secretary of State Henry Kissinger.

"Kissinger and Ford knew from U.S. intelligence of Indonesia's planned action [in East Timor], which violated the laws governing its purchase of American arms," according to an authoritative 1992 biography of Kissinger by Walter Isaacson. "But . . . the administration did nothing to stop the invasion," which proved to be "shockingly brutal." Most estimates place the number of dead as a consequence of the Indonesian occupation of East Timor between 100,000 and more than 200,000, or as much as a third of the population.

Indonesia has been helpful to the United States in many ways and the commercial oppor-

tunities between the two countries are great. East Timor is a clear-cut case where the United States, working with allies like Japan, needs to develop a carefully calibrated set of policies informed by the principle that decency and long-term commercial interests are not antagonistic.

The Clinton administration has already taken some action on East Timor, including positive votes on strong resolutions at the U.N. Human Rights Commission and a ban on certain small arms that could be used by Indonesian forces in East Timor. Clinton also raised the issue with Suharto when they met in July 1993 in Tokyo and encouraged U.N. talks later that year. Congressional Republicans, including staunch conservatives like Rep. Frank Wolf (R-Va.) and Malcolm Wallop (R-Wyo.), have also been calling on the Indonesian government to ease its grip on East Timor and accept U.N.-sponsored mediation.

The allure of huge new markets in Asia should not tempt the Clinton administration into softening its stand. Indonesian settlers are pouring into the East Timor; a morally questionable birth control program has been put into effect by the same Indonesian army that has decimated the popula-

tion since the mid-1970s. The word genocide can be accurately used.

In 1989, I visited East Timor when the territory was open to travelers for the first time; it was the most repressive place I had ever encountered—and I'd been to South Africa, Nicaragua and the former Soviet bloc. My first meeting with East Timor's Roman Catholic Bishop, Carlos Ximenes Belo, revealed the palpable level of fear in the territory. He said absolutely nothing for the first 10 minutes; when he did finally talk he sought assurances that we would did not feel in danger. Later, he told me he was afraid that he would be assassinated. Since then, this quiet bishop, cut from the same mold as Archbishop Desmond Tutu of South Africa, has been forced into the role of prophet against oppression. He calls for withdrawal of Indonesian troops and autonomy and, eventually, a U.N.-supervised referendum on the territory's political future.

At present, Indonesian military pride is at stake: having invested so much effort there, how to admit failure? Nonetheless, some top-ranking officers have begun to debate the issue. There is also the question of the military's investments in East Timor's natural wealth such as high-grade

coffee, marble, rare sandalwood and, not least, oil.

Until the past few weeks, the Indonesian government has been intransigent as ever on East Timor. In early October, perhaps influenced by the imminent APEC summit, Foreign Minister Ali Alatas extended the velvet glove of diplomacy by meeting for the first time in New York with diplomatic representatives of the East Timorese resistance movement.

But there is still the iron fist. Aside from the continuing imprisonment of top leaders of East Timor's resistance and the torture and abuse of numerous others, one current case exemplifies Jakarta's stance. Jose Antonio Neves, a theology student, is now on trial a few hundred miles from where the APEC summit will be held, facing a sentence of 20 years to life in prison. A key offense: sending a fax from a commercial establishment on the island of Java for the leader of East Timor's guerrilla movement—hardly a crime worthy of a life behind bars.

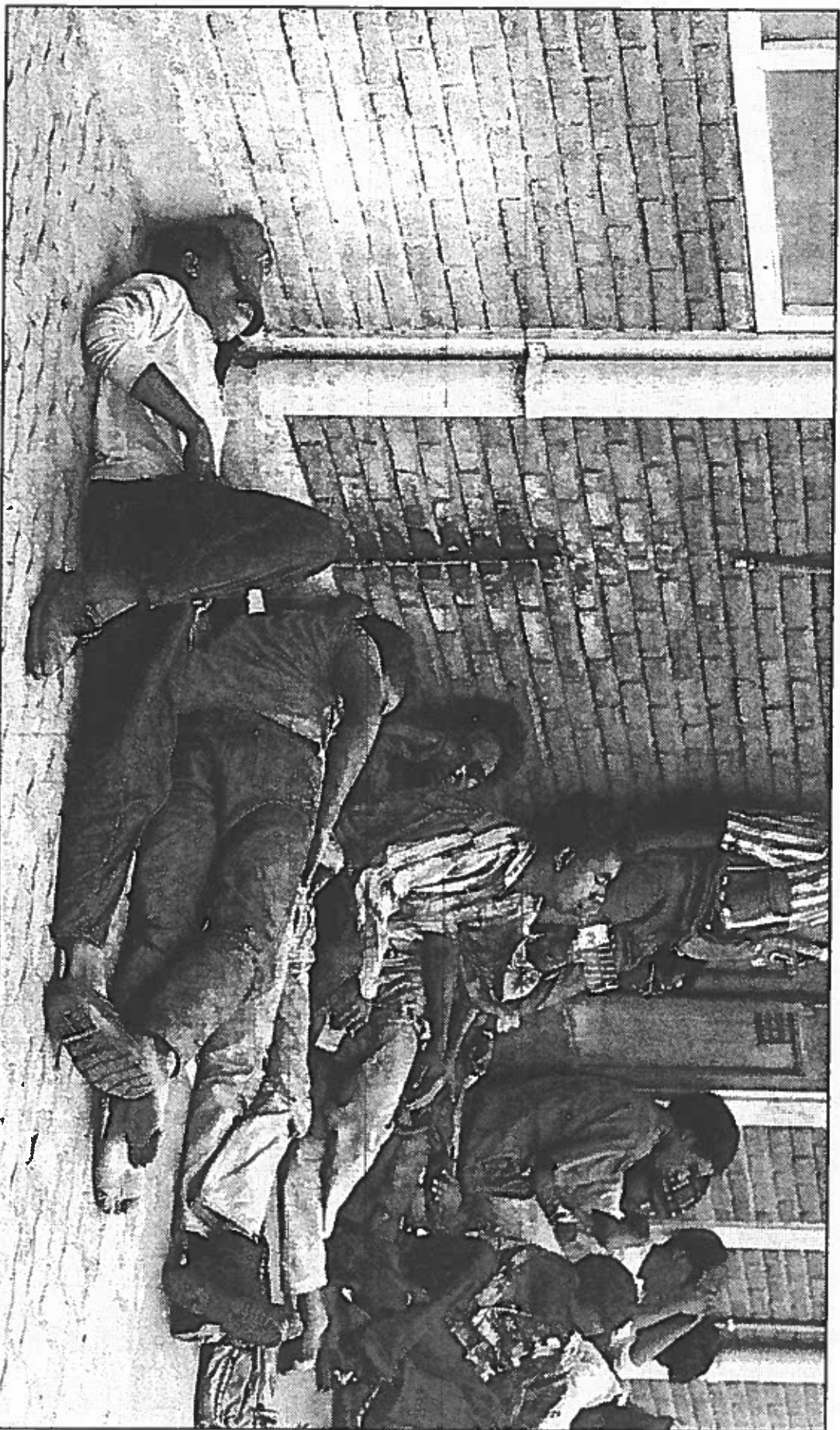
Clinton has a chance to reverse the American legacy of 1975. He and our other Asian economic partners can negotiate not just another business deal, but take a major step toward advancing American principles of justice and human rights.

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East Timorese demonstrators who occupied the U.S. Embassy in Jakarta taking a rest from their protests Sunday after storming the compound a day earlier.

Toru Yamashita/Agence France-Press



# East Timor protests embarrass Indonesia

By Manuela Saragosa

The issue of East Timor is threatening to take the gloss off Indonesia's hosting of the Asia Pacific Economic Co-operation summit, after rioting shook the East Timorese capital, Dili, this weekend and a group of East Timorese demonstrators climbed into the US embassy compound.

About 30 East Timorese protesters have been in the compound since Saturday morning and are demanding to speak to President Bill Clinton, who arrived in the Indonesian capital last night.

Meanwhile, two US journalists trying to enter East Timor without permission have been arrested by Indonesian police.

US officials and other Apec delegates have said the issue of East Timor and human rights in Indonesia will not be raised during the one-day Apec summit tomorrow. "This event is not the forum to discuss it," said Mr Ali Alatas,



East Timorese riot police charge protesters in the streets of Dili yesterday

AP

Indonesia's foreign minister, said.

However, Mr Clinton is expected to discuss it with President Suharto during his official visit after the summit.

In Dili at the weekend, East Timorese demonstrators took to the streets shouting political slogans. According to eyewitness reports relayed to Australian officials, one East

Timorese was killed by an Indonesian but there were no deaths in the protest.

At the US embassy, East Timorese protestors are demanding that the Indonesian government hold a referendum in East Timor, which was invaded by Indonesia in 1975 and annexed a year later.

The embassy says it has been in contact with Indone-

sian authorities about the situation. "We've been consulting with the Indonesian authorities and been assured that there will be no retribution taken," said Mr Warren Christopher, the US secretary of state, in Jakarta on Saturday.

Reports indicate that the situation in Dili has calmed down but the sit-in by protesters could go on for days.

# The New York Times

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 15, 1994

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## Indonesia's Embarrassment

Indonesia is the world's fourth most populous country. It is a diverse society, rich in both culture and natural resources and eager to take a respected place in the community of nations. So it is appropriate that the Indonesian city of Bogor is hosting the informal summit of the newly formed Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation alliance.

However, Indonesia's image has been marred by the perennially embarrassing issue of East Timor, the former Portuguese colony it invaded in 1975 and forcibly annexed. Anticipating world attention on the summit, 29 East Timorese students entered the U.S. Embassy grounds in Jakarta on Saturday and have refused to move. Rioting in Dili, the capital of East Timor, broke out over the weekend after the alleged killing of an East Timorese merchant by Indonesian soldiers.

By some estimates, 200,000 people died in the 1975 invasion, roughly a third of East Timor's population. Since then the Indonesian Government has maintained a huge military presence, encouraged migration of new residents from Java to swamp the native population, punished peaceful dissent and restricted access by outsiders.

In bilateral talks after the summit, Mr. Clinton is expected to raise the issue of East Timor with President Suharto of Indonesia. It is not the only human rights issue he should raise. Equally important are repression of the trade union movement and oppressive policies elsewhere, notably Irian

Jaya, Aceh and North Sumatra. Muchtar Pakpahan, chairman of the Independent All Indonesian Labor Federation, was sentenced to three years in jail on flimsy subversion charges last week.

Given Indonesia's authoritarian tradition and its aspirations for world respect, Mr. Clinton can make some reasonable demands in his meeting with President Suharto. The first priority should be to insure the safety of the students inside the embassy compound and other students still at risk.

He can ask that Jakarta drastically scale down its military presence in East Timor. He can push for more local control and unrestricted access by journalists and both international and domestic human rights organizations, and an end to human rights violations such as arbitrary detention and torture, forced birth control measures and violent repression of peaceful dissent.

A final and helpful gesture would be to make contact with Dili's Roman Catholic Bishop, Filipe Belo, who has spoken out courageously in defense of the Timorese people at considerable personal risk.

Indonesia is not a monolith. The recent meeting between Indonesia's Foreign Minister, Ali Alatas, and the East Timorese opposition leader Jose Ramos Horta is cause for hope. All these issues are the subject of intense debate within the country, and many Indonesians understand the danger they pose to its international standing. President Suharto must be encouraged to listen to those voices.



## REVIEW & OUTLOOK

### Indonesia's Pebble

That pebble in President Suharto's shoe has been making itself felt again. On Sunday night, just before Bill and Hillary Clinton were to arrive, about 30 East Timorese scaled the U.S. Embassy fence in Jakarta. Several hundred of their brethren back in Dili went on a rampage, smashing cars and shops.

It doesn't seem at all clear that this will mar Mr. Suharto's APEC success, though it certainly has captured the attention of the media swarm that has descended on Jakarta. But it does raise anew the question of whether Indonesia would be better off shaking out the pebble, for its own sake as well as East Timor's.

The world was a different kind of mess when Mr. Suharto sent in the troops in 1975. Then it seemed the lesser of two evils what with the likelihood that the Soviet Union would try to exploit whatever instability was left in the wake of the retreating Portuguese empire. Since then, it has become a point of Indonesia's national honor to make a success of "integration." If Indonesian troops were to march out again, the argument goes, it would invite other separatist brushfires and then a great polyglot nation could self-destruct.

With due respect for a troubled, sometimes bloody past, this may give too little credit to the past 30 years. Even a great number of Timorese have all along favored integration with their big, prosperous neighbor, though they have hardly been ardent in expressing their support. The proponents of Timorese nationalism have the advantage of being passionate, of course, and the young in particular

aren't inclined to be tempered by practicalities. So while some form of quasi-autonomy granted by Jakarta might quell the independence urge, it also might not. And then East Timor would continue to get in the way of more important business.

For it seems clear that if Indonesia's progress is to continue, it needs to loosen up. The army must begin to move aside politically so civilian interests can contest more openly to set the agenda, and Jakarta must relax its centralizing hold over the economy to spur development and allay the legitimate gripes of the provinces. There isn't much disagreement among civilian experts on these points.

Some in the military, though, frequently use the old Soviet Union as an analogy to emphasize the country's potential to fracture and thus the need for the military to stay on top of politics. We doubt that many in Abri, as the armed forces are called, really want to be likened to the Red Army, which was an army of occupation.

Mr. Suharto certainly knows that his legacy won't be made by a successful APEC summit or a happy ending for East Timor, but by bequeathing Indonesia a stable, prosperous future. Some recent straws on the wind suggest that Jakarta is trying to scale back its military commitment in East Timor and to open channels to Portugal, the Catholic church and the Timorese. At this point, these may be little more than fumbblings. But if Mr. Suharto eventually concludes that getting rid of the East Timor albatross is a necessary step on the road to modernity, we could only applaud him.

## Roman Catholic Bishop Denounces Repression in East Timor

By ANDREW POLLACK  
Special to The New York Times

DILI, East Timor, Nov. 21 — About 135 Timorese protesters against Indonesian rule were arrested last week, and many of them were taken from their homes and beaten by security forces, the religious leader of East Timor said today.

"The military soldiers entered the houses and arrested young people without any kind of explanation," Bishop Carlos Felipe Ximenes Belo said in an interview. All of those arrested were beaten, and two or three were hospitalized, he said.

Twenty-two were still being held, he said. The police have acknowledged 80 or so arrests.

Bishop Belo's comments are likely to give new ammunition to overseas human rights groups that have long condemned what they say is repression in East Timor, a former Portuguese colony that was invaded by Indonesia in 1975 and annexed the following year.

The Bishop, who heads the most powerful institution outside of the Government in this predominantly Roman Catholic area, spoke today as the capital city quietly began its work week after a week of sporadic

protests and rioting.

The events last week called the world's attention to East Timor while President Clinton and other leaders were gathered in Jakarta, Indonesia's capital, for a Pacific region economic conference.

The protesters are calling for independence for East Timor.

Bishop Belo, 46, who is popular and well respected here, has been walking a tightrope for the last week, people who know him say. A native of East Timor and a fervent opponent of its annexation, he has been under pressure from the Government of Indonesia and has been

trying to restore calm.

In his sermon on Sunday, and in a pastoral letter last week, he appealed for restraint. But this morning, he vented his frustration at the Government and said it was an act of courage for East Timorese people to speak up.

Some people here, and some human rights groups abroad, say Indonesia has become more restrained in the last year.

People no longer suddenly disappear. The police confronting protesters use shields and tear gas but not guns. And the International Committee of the Red Cross has access to

prisoners.

But when asked about these developments, and whether the Government has changed, Bishop Belo replied, "They are the same — the same attitude."

Col. Kiki Syahnakri, the military commander in East Timor, said in an interview today that the people arrested last week were not political protesters but rather "criminals" who had engaged in a separate ethnic clash on Nov. 13 and had vandalized the shops of non-Timorese.

The commander said that in general, what has been reported about human rights abuses in East Timor is a "big lie," and that he had re-emphasized to soldiers last week that they should show restraint.

Bishop Belo conceded that ethnic tensions and unemployment have contributed to the unrest, and he condemned Timorese who engaged in the vandalism.

But the Bishop said that the fundamental problem is the lack of political self-determination. The solution, he said, would be a vote on independence. He said he could not predict the results, saying there are Timorese who favor integration with Indonesia.

The Bishop said President Clinton did not go far enough in his meeting with President Suharto of Indonesia about East Timor.

"He should be more direct," the Bishop said. "He should say they should withdraw from East Timor."

# The Boston Globe

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 25, 1994

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## Rights and wrongs in Indonesia

At the Asian economic conference in Jakarta, President Clinton kept a promise to raise the issue of human rights abuses on East Timor with Indonesia's President Suharto. Clinton also welcomed 29 East Timorese who came onto the grounds of the US Embassy in Jakarta to protest Indonesia's annexation of their land in 1976 - an annexation still not recognized by the United Nations.

Clinton's expressions of solicitude for the people of East Timor were commendable, but Suharto's regime has since demonstrated that its brutal treatment of the Timorese has not changed.

Indonesia must not be allowed to draw a curtain over occupied East Timor, where, in the aftermath of peaceful demonstrations, young people are being hunted and tortured by Suharto's army and security forces.

The leader of the Catholic Church in East Timor, Bishop Carlos Felipe Ximenes Belo, told The New York Times that in recent days Indonesian soldiers have "entered houses and arrested young people without any kind of explanation." All those arrested were beaten, Bishop Belo said, and some

were beaten so badly they had to be hospitalized.

The dragnet and beatings followed a violent attack on peaceful demonstrators that a BBC reporter described as a police provocation. Speaking from Dili, the capital of East Timor, the BBC's Phillip Short reported Monday: "The demonstration was peaceful until, suddenly, from the road that runs around the cathedral grounds, there was a volley of rocks thrown by plainclothes police. This was the provocation that turned the whole thing violent."

Suharto's regime has made the preposterous claim that foreign journalists incited Timorese to protest the occupation that wiped out an estimated 200,000 of the 700,000 people who lived in East Timor in 1975. Ominously, Jakarta has begun to expel foreign journalists from East Timor, as it did after the 1975 invasion.

Clinton should demand that journalists not be expelled and that a sufficient number of human rights monitors be allowed into East Timor to protect the Timorese.



# Timorese Worry World Will Now Forget Them

By ANDREW POLLACK  
Special to The New York Times

DILI, East Timor, Nov. 22 — This seems like a sleepy place, a dirt-poor region that the Asian economic miracle has left behind. Goats and pigs wander along the roads. Vendors in the open-air markets stack their potatoes and peppers in neat piles on the ground and snatch naps in the shade. Children and adults alike greet the relatively rare Western visitor with "Hello Mister," which seems to be as much English as people know.

"To the normal visitor who spends a couple of days here, it's not obvious that there's something going on," a resident said. "But if you stay a little longer, you see there is this resentment."

The resentment is to the repressive rule of East Timor by Indonesia, which invaded the former Portuguese colony in 1975 and annexed it the next year. Last week, that resentment erupted into protests and rioting that coincided with the visit to Indonesia of President Clinton and leaders of other Pacific Rim nations for an economic conference.

For those who want independence from Indonesia, the protests here, and a sit-in by East Timorese students at the American Embassy in Jakarta, represented a rare opportunity to bring their plight to the world's attention.

"At least they got the message that something happened here," said Armindo Maia, vice rector of the University of East Timor. "It's not as the Indonesians have been painting. There's something wrong here."

But now that an uneasy calm is settling back in East Timor, there is a concern that outsiders will again forget. And as dozens of foreign reporters who have visited here in the last two weeks leave, people are worried that protesters will see retribution from the police and military.

Achieving independence, in the short term at least, seems a long shot. While there is international pressure on Indonesia to improve its human rights record in East Timor, there is less pressure to make the region independent.

A guerrilla movement for independence has dissipated to 189 people bearing 103 weapons, according to the Indonesian military commander here. The movement's leader, José Alexandre (Xanana) Gusmão, was captured in 1992 and is serving a 20-year prison sentence.

There have been some proposals to give East Timor greater autonomy, but President Suharto of Indonesia has said this will not happen.

Some East Timorese have come to accept being part of Indonesia, which has done more to modernize East Timor during its 19 years of control than Portugal did in more than four centuries.

"We now have the clash between the Timorese community itself," said Bishop Carlos Felipe Ximenes Belo, perhaps the most influential person in the predominantly Roman Catholic province.

With people afraid to speak freely, it is difficult to tell how widespread the antagonism toward Indonesia is. A referendum, which might answer the question, is unlikely to take place soon. Indonesia considers the case for Timorese independence closed and has vigorously suppressed dissent. Soldiers and policemen are everywhere, and visiting reporters are watched closely.

"We are afraid," said a student at the University of East Timor. "Around here there are many spies."

According to human rights groups, thousands of people have been killed since Indonesia took over in 1976. Hundreds of people have suddenly disappeared. Torture has been commonplace.

"After interrogation, people were tortured and beaten and brought to trial and condemned without a just and formal trial," Bishop Belo said in an interview.

At the University of East Timor, the resentment toward Indonesia is clearly discernible. "All of the people here have a strong desire for freedom," a student said. "If they make a referendum, that would be proof."

Last week, the military and police, mindful of the foreign press, acted with some restraint, according to



A Roman Catholic priest gave Communion to East Timorese during Sunday Mass in Dili, the capital, on Nov. 20. Mostly Catholic East Timor was invaded by predominantly Muslim Indonesia in 1975.



Timorese political refugees chanted slogans after arriving in Lisbon on Friday. They had been holed up in the American Embassy in Jakarta protesting Indonesia's annexation of East Timor before they were granted permission to leave the country.

least 50 and possibly more than 200 people.

Cases of people suddenly disappearing have become rare. The International Committee of the Red Cross has access to prisoners to check on their treatment. People here say Col. Kiki Syahnakri, the military commander, is accessible and reasonable.

Since October 1993, the number of troops here has been reduced by about 1,300, according to Colonel Kiki, as he is usually called. There is one combat battalion with 800 troops, and seven civil battalions, with about 4,500 soldiers, that are ostensibly engaged in public works projects.

The commander said in an interview that reports of human rights abuses were exaggerated. "Human rights here are not perfect," he said. "But what's been reported now is a big lie."

He and other Indonesian officials maintain that the anti-Indonesian protesters are few. He also said the protests were egged on by journalists eager for a story.

The next year, Indonesia made East Timor its 27th province. According to Indonesia, the annexation was in response to a request by the East Timorese themselves, as expressed by an assembly established by the provisional government that took charge after the invasion. But pro-independence people say this expression of public sentiment was a sham.

Australia and some Southeast Asian nations now recognize East Timor as part of Indonesia. But the United Nations still recognizes Portugal as having jurisdiction. The United States does not contest the integration of East Timor into Indonesia, but maintains that there was no act of self-determination before the annexation.

Indonesia, which has 190 million



In Dili protesters seek Timor's independence from Indonesia fear official retribution.

## Calm returns to East Timor, but resentment and fear remain.

people and stretches more than 100 miles from end to end, is made up of many diverse ethnic groups. Gradual independence to East Timor, Indonesian officials say, would be off other independence movements that could destabilize the country.

Indonesian officials maintain the unrest here is caused by unemployment, by ethnic clashes between Timorese and non-Timorese, by religious tension between East Timor and the rest of Indonesia, which is predominantly Muslim. Such other tensions do not become the spark of protest. But the anger almost always over into political protest.

The riots last week were sparked by the killing of an East Timorese by a trader from another island after a quarrel in the marketplace.

East Timor is the smallest and poorest of the 27 provinces of Indonesia. Per capita income is only \$100 a year, compared with more than \$600 for Indonesia as a whole. Florentino Sarmento, former director of the East Timor Association for Development and Progress.

Indonesia says the poor economy is not for lack of trying. The Government has poured billions of dollars in investment per capita into East Timor than into any other province. It agrees that Indonesia has done more economically than the Timorese, for whom East Timor neglected trading post of mainly for its rich coffee plantations.

According to the Indonesian Government, when the Portuguese ruled in 1974, there were only 12.5 kilometers of paved roads in East Timor, and in the capital, Dili. There were only 10 elementary schools and only one hospital, and 80 percent of the population was illiterate.

The problem is that almost no huge investment, amounting to \$1 billion in 1993 alone, has gone into the public sector. There is no industry here. More than 80 percent of the people are farmers. The biggest contributor to local economic output is the military, folk construction.

What economic activity there is, Timorese complain, seems dominated by people who have come from other parts of Indonesia. Some estimates, more than 10 percent of the 800,000 people in East Timor are outsiders from other parts of Indonesia. Even jobs with the government, one of the biggest employers on the island, do not go to Timorese.

"When there are 15 places for government office, they receive 4 Timorese," Bishop Belo said.

But those who argue for East Timorese independence say such concerns are secondary to freedom. It is a social problem, a religious problem, said Mr. Maia, the university vice rector. "No, it's a political problem."