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- Jakarta restricts local distribution of Foreign Stories about Indonesia (29.08.1980) *The Washington Post*
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- East Timor Finds Relief from Hunger (11.09.1980) *The Washington Post* | 2 pp.
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- Indonesia's deadly power play (20.01.1980) *Boston Sunday Globe* | 4 pp.

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Reagan assails Carter policies

By J. MICHAEL KELLY

The energy crisis "would disappear" if the federal government would lessen bureaucratic restrictions and encourage private industry to build more nuclear power plants and tap the nation's reserves of coal and oil, Republican presidential candidate Ronald Reagan contended here yesterday.

Reagan was the guest of the New York State Society of Newspaper Editors and the Syracuse Press Club at Hotel Syracuse.

Fresh from an Auburn campaign rally attended by more than 2,000 supporters, Reagan fielded newsmen's questions for half an hour before departing for more campaign stops in Albany and Newburgh. He was to make a final bid this morning in Buffalo for voter support in today's statewide Republican primary, in which he is a heavy favorite to wind up with a majority of the delegates.

In Syracuse, Reagan handled with relative ease questions about energy, Iran, federal waste and his record as governor of California. He stumbled just once, when asked about East Timor, a tiny Indonesian island as unknown to most of the editors as it apparently was to Reagan.

Says Carter Doing Little

The 69-year-old GOP front-runner said the Carter administration is doing little except "waiting for a miracle" to solve the Iranian hostage crisis, and charged the U.S. is not energy-poor but energy-rich. He declined to offer a hint as to his preference for a running mate, and said he has been treated fairly by the press in both his 1976 and 1980 bids for the White House.

Reagan made no speech to the editors, but immediately invited questions.

Asked what he would do about the nation's energy problem, Reagan derided Carter for "acting as if the only answer we have to OPEC is conservation."

He claimed the energy crisis "is caused by government, and government can make it go away."

Reagan said "outstanding geologists" have told him that the U.S. has "more oil in existing oil wells than we have taken out of them," and that only government regulations restricting wellhead prices have prevented the oil companies from using available technology to get that fuel out of the ground.

Herald-Journal photo by Dick Blume

Former California Gov. Ronald Reagan, front-runner for the Republican presidential nomination, fields questions during his Central New York campaign foray.

"Alaska alone," Reagan claimed, "has a potential (for oil) greater than the known reserves in Saudi Arabia."

He also said the U.S. "sits on the biggest coal pile any nation ever sat on," and told the editors government environmental and safety restrictions here cause the construction of a new nuclear plant to take 12 years, while it takes three or four years in other nations.

"If government will recognize it is in the way, I think we will realize we have no fuel crisis," Reagan concluded.

'Waiting for Miracle'

Reagan denounced Carter's handling of the Iran situation.

"I don't know of anything our government is doing now in relation to the hostages except waiting for a miracle," he said.

He said Carter has erred by demonstrating "a willingness to go along with" their salami theory."

He explained, "They (Iranian leaders) keep slicing the salami, leading us to believe if this certain thing is done, the hostages will be released. As soon as we say the last line, they they have another item or condition. As long as we are willing to negotiate each additional condition that they submit, they've got a reason to keep those hostages as long as possible."

Notes Welfare Decline

Asked about a four-year-old newspaper article in which a group of California Republican state legislators took issue with his claims of major welfare reform and savings in his administration, Reagan noted welfare rolls declined by 400,000, but average benefits to those still getting aid increased 43 percent during his eight-year tenure.

He added that, although he entered office facing a $194 million deficit left from the administration of Pat Brown, he turned a $580 million surplus over to Brown's son, Jerry, eight years later.

Reagan said the state taxed all but the first $2,000 of a family's income when he first took office, but was leaving alone the first $8,000 by the time his second term was over.

In other remarks, Reagan:

— Called for an end to "the round trip" of tax money to Washington and back to the states, and "an orderly transfer" of many federal functions to state government, to cut waste and increase efficiency of service delivery.

Friendly with Press

— Said that, although he had to overcome an extreme conservative image as he began his 1976 bid for presidency ("I could feel my horns grow as I crossed the Mississippi River," he joked), he has since made many friends among eastern journalists and feels the press has treated him fairly.

— Said he would attack federal waste by asking businessmen to volunteer their time for task forces to review individual departments' inefficiency. In California, he said, 258 businessmen spent an average of 117 days each on such task forces, and made 1,800 specific recommendations to save money and increase efficiency.

— Finessed his way out of the East Timor question by charging the Carter administration with neglecting Southeast Asia and charging "the dominoes have all fallen" — the dominoes no one said would be there.

INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, FRIDAY, JUNE 13, 1980

Accounts of Repression in East Timor Contradict U.S. View in House Inquiry

WASHINGTON, June 11 (Reuters) — A U.S. official made a reassuring report yesterday on conditions in East Timor, the former Portuguese colony seized by Indonesia in 1976, but others familiar with the region differed sharply with his assessment.

Richard Holbrooke, assistant secretary of state for Asian affairs, told congressmen investigating the international relief effort in East Timor that there had been a dramatic improvement there and many areas were returning to normal.

Food and medicine were reaching persons in need, he said, and recent Western visitors to the island off the Indonesian archipelago had confirmed that conditions had improved markedly. There was no evidence, he added, to back up reports that much of the aid was being diverted to the black market.

But Amnesty International, a Roman Catholic priest from East Timor and a retired U.S. admiral all gave the House Appropriations Subcommittee on Foreign Operations testimony that largely contradicted Mr. Holbrooke's statements.

Reports of Executions

David Hinkley, chairman of the U.S. chapter of Amnesty International, said the London-based human rights organization was deeply concerned about persistent reports of imprisonment and executions without trial on the island.

"Amnesty International now believes that there are strong grounds for fearing that the Indonesian occupation forces in East Timor have executed Fretilin members who had either been captured or had surrendered under the terms of an amnesty guaranteeing their physical safety," he said.

Fretilin is the liberation movement that unilaterally declared a democratic republic of East Timor in 1975 and fought Indonesian forces on the island.

Mr. Hinkley said Amnesty International had collected the names of 22 persons who surrendered or were captured and whose present whereabouts were unknown. "Fears have been expressed to Amnesty International that all these persons have been executed by Indonesian forces," he said.

The Rev. Francisco Fernandes, who heads the East Timorese Refugee Commission in Portugal, said the figure of 300,000 dead and missing was often quoted in letters recently smuggled from the island. He said about half the international food aid distributed was being misappropriated and diverted.

Gene La Rocque, a retired U.S. rear admiral who directs the private Center for Defense Information, said the U.S. government had not taken a stand against "harsh Indonesian military actions in East Timor" because it assumed that other factors in the relationship with Indonesia overrode any U.S. interest in the island.

Indonesia may be asked to allow Timor elections

By Robert Levey
Globe Staff

A congressional resolution calling on the Indonesian government to withdraw its troops from East Timor and allow free elections was being prepared this week.

East Timor, formerly a Portuguese colony, was invaded and occupied by Indonesian troops in late 1975 after Portuguese decolonization. Since then the island has been largely shut off from outside contact.

Indonesian armed forces have waged a continuing war against remaining guerrilla factions in the mountains and have relocated much of the peasant population in a series of camps that house more than 300,000 people.

During the last two years, reports of widespread famine and death reached the outside world and Indonesia has finally permitted food and medical aid to come into East Timor, but only under strict control of the Indonesian military.

Indonesian authorities acknowledge about 75,000 deaths during the last four years, but other estimates go as high as 200,000.

A congressional subcommittee was recently informed by Indonesian officials that the current population is about 598,000, compared to about 653,000 under Portuguese rule in 1974.

Only about 7000 East Timorese have been able to get off the island, some fleeing to Lisbon where they reported severe famine in their home country.

The resolution was drafted by Rep. Tom Harkin (D-Iowa), a human rights activist, and was signed by 55 members of Congress. It asks the Indonesian government to increase humanitarian assistance in East Timor, to allow free emigration and to permit a US monitoring presence. It also calls for the withdrawal of Indonesian troops and the holding of an internally supervised election in which the East Timorese could excercise their right of self-determination.

Though this faction of Congress supports self-determination for East Timor, the US government has voted in the United Nations seven times against a similar resolution.

Last month, Harkin and 16 other congressmen including Massachusetts Sen. Paul Tsongas and Rep. Robert Drinan sent a letter to President Sukarno of Indonesia citing "the continued need for relief ... and expanded medical presence."

The letter also expressed "concern in the Congress about the circumstances which precipitated the famine in East Timor." Human rights activists have charged that the famine conditions were directly caused by actions of Indonesian armed forces.

The letter urged that "in the interests of continued cordial relations" between the two governments, Indonesia should continue to cooperate with relief efforts. The US Congress heavily funds the Indonesian military establishment.

Most of the relief operation is being conducted by the Catholic Relief Service (CRS), which functions with US funding but Indonesian personnel.

There is also a small presence by the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), which has recently renegotiated its contract to remain in Indonesia. ICRC is the principal agency with outside personnel regularly functioning in East Timor.

Beyond its relief function, US diplomatic sources confirm that the ICRC presence provides the additional benefit of a measure of security against reprisals and arbitrary acts of violence by Indonesian security forces.

The New York Times

Founded in 1851

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Tears for Timor

Five years ago, while most of the world wasn't looking, Indonesia invaded East Timor, a Portuguese colony in the South Pacific that had just become independent. A year later, it formally annexed East Timor and assured the world that this constituted "self-determination." The results have been so dreadful that Indonesia has made East Timor's long years under Portuguese rule seem like an idyll — and made even a return to Portuguese responsibility a desirable goal.

Perhaps a third of the 600,000 East Timorese have perished through war, military occupation and famine. The extent of the disaster can only be estimated because Indonesia will not permit relief agencies or the press to have unrestricted access to the area. What can be gleaned suggests that Jakarta has ample reason to keep the curtain closed. Reports from Timor tell of renewed guerrilla war, of large-scale diversion of relief supplies and of treacherous executions of insurgents.

Amnesty International has asked President Suharto of Indonesia to account for some 20 vanished Timorese political prisoners, most of them supporters of the leftist Fretilin Party. Refugee priests charge that much of the food intended for the starving — including nearly $13 million worth of American aid — has been embezzled by Indonesian officials. Despite claims that the territory has been "pacified," Fretilin leaders credibly assert that guerrillas have resumed their fight and have been able to strike at Dili, Timor's capital.

East Timor's travail began when it was precipitately given independence after four centuries as a colony by a Portugal that was itself undergoing revolution. East Timor was plunged into civil war, which became the pretext for Indonesia's invasion, only hours after President Nixon visited Jakarta. And ever since, the American position has been that it "understands" the takeover without formally approving it — an indulgence that has much to do with the strategic importance of Indonesia and its oil.

As refugees have trickled into Lisbon, the Portuguese have begun to debate their own complicity. There are reports that Portugal may offer to resume its stewardship of East Timor if Indonesia can be persuaded to pull back. Admittedly, this is a long shot course, but even Jakarta may now be willing to reckon the costs of a messy war with a stubborn people. If Portugal is indeed willing to try again and this time better prepare East Timor for independence, then a step backward could truly be a leap forward.

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR Friday, March 28, 1980

Thousands seek to leave troubled Timor

By Jimmy Burns
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

Lisbon

The Portuguese government is taking seriously reports that thousands of people wish to leave its troubled former colony of East Timor.

Portuguese Foreign Ministry officials here have confirmed that the International Committee of the Red Cross has collected a list of 17,000 men, women, and children who want to leave East Timor.

At one time last year as many as 200,000 people — or two-fifths of the Timor population — were suffering from malnutrition. The island has been in a state of upheaval since August 1975, when the Portuguese hurriedly pulled out of their Asian colony in the midst of a civil war between a pro-independence faction and two groups that had the backing of Indonesia.

In December 1975 Indonesia invaded and annexed the territory. West Timor, which was previously a Dutch possession, was taken over by Indonesia in 1950.

Reports that there was a list of Timorese wishing to leave have been circulating in the Portuguese capital for several weeks. The Portuguese government now appears to be taking them seriously, and this has added a new and significant element to the Timorese issue.

The evidence is prompting the long-awaited Portuguese diplomatic offensive that was first promised by Prime Minister Francisco de Sá Carneiro immediately after the general election here on Dec. 2.

The Foreign Ministry is being extremely secretive about the nature of this offensive.

It appears, however, that the government is now bent on a more pragmatic approach to the Timorese question. This is expected to involve a resumption of negotiations with the Indonesian government. According to Foreign Ministry sources here, this would not necessarily be on a bilateral basis. The idea is that a neutral third party, like Britain, could be brought in as well.

While behind-the-scenes pressure from the United States is accepted, the Portuguese have indicated that any open interference from the State Department might prove contentious.

The Foreign Ministry here is also aware of the dangers involved in making a formal diplomatic request for safe passage of the 17,000 Timorese. Indonesia would almost certainly interpret this as a de facto recognition of Indonesian sovereignty in Timor. It would also unleash a major political storm in Portugal, where left-wing military officers, the Socialist and Communist parties, and President Antonio Ramalho Eanes still take seriously their country's role as the guarantor of Timor's right to independence.

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 19, 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 8 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 reports 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 burials, 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.

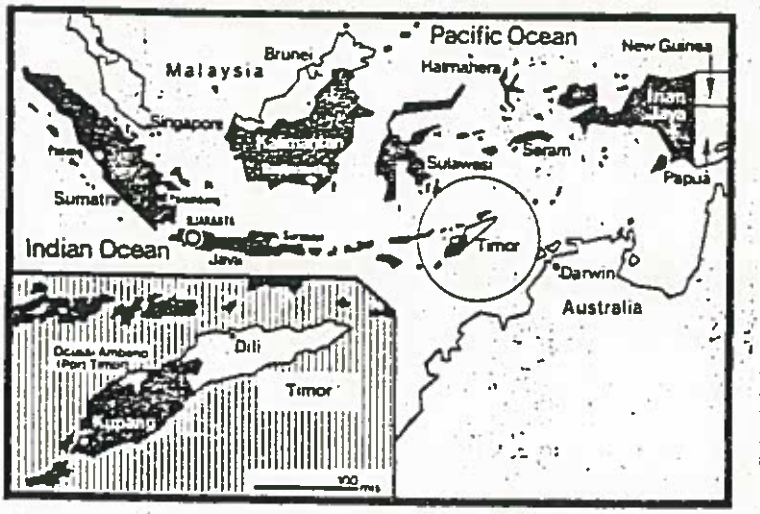
Angered by this demonstration, the Indonesian Government next day published a "clarification," telling the East Timorese that only those with relatives in Portugal were eligible to leave, and that the Portuguese Government had refused to accept others.

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 their property seized. As a result the population of Dili may be experiencing increasing hardship, letters to families in Portugal begging for money to buy food and clothing.

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



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

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 2, 1980

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.

THE WASHINGTON POST
Friday, March 21, 1980

William Shawcross, the British journalist who last week received the George Polk award for investigating U.S. policy in Cambodia in his book entitled "Sideshow," completed this series on a five-week assignment for The Washington Post.

(Excerpt)

The sacking of Troy, the slaughter of the innocents, Attila the Hun, the trenches of World War I, the genocide of the Jews—every age has its symbols of horror.

The destruction of Cambodia is symbolic of our own time. There are other contemporary disasters—in East Timor and Ethiopia to name but two. But for a complex of reasons—political, emotional and merely logistical—Cambodia has recently attracted more attention.

Precisely because of the concern it has belatedly aroused, Cambodia is now a vital test: When there is worldwide consensus that a human disaster has occurred, is occurring, and will, unless actively prevented continue to occur is it possible for nations to agree that it must be prevented?

Or will short term, often hypothetical political concerns condemn not only Cambodians to death today but also the rest of mankind to be seen in history as accessories to another great crime of this century?

That is the issue. If the community of nations does not have the political will to save Cambodia, then that community cannot be confident of having the will, ultimately, to save itself.

U.S. & WORLD

Cables show US watched as E. Timor was invaded

By Robert Levey
Globe Staff

A court battle in Australia over the publication of some secret government documents has shed light on the quiet complicity of the US government in Indonesia's 1975 invasion of the former Portuguese territory of East Timor.

The court fight centers on a book titled "Documents on Australian Defense and Foreign Policy 1968-75," which includes 14 classified diplomatic cables and reports involving the governments of Australia, the United States and Indonesia.

Although the Australian high court has barred publication of the book, it did not prohibit publication of the contents of the documents. The legal issue was determined to be a matter of copyright rather than government secrecy.

The documents are controversial because they reveal that both the US and Australian governments assumed a timid stance in the face of the takeover of East Timor to maintain harmonious relations with Indonesia, which has crucial security value as a Southeast Asian ally.

Portions of the documents provided to The Globe reveal that, in late 1975, then-Secretary of State Henry Kissinger specifically instructed US diplomats to keep out of the East Timor situation.

A report in the Christian Science Monitor last week speculated that US diplomatic intervention might have averted the tragic takeover of East Timor, which resulted in an estimated 100,000 or more deaths through war and starvation.

That report quotes a former US intelligence official as saying: "We had lots of time to move the Indonesians in another direction. Instead, we got right on the Indonesian bandwagon."

East Timor, which was an impoverished Portuguese colony for 400 years, was invaded and absorbed by Indonesia just a few months after Portugal withdrew its colonial rule.

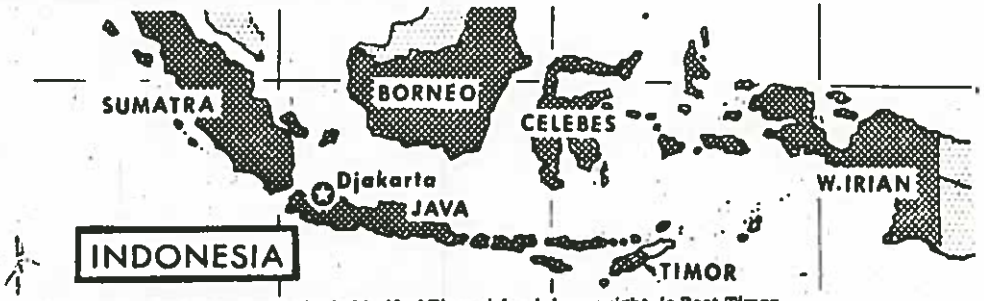
Indonesia, which already owned West Timor, the western half of the island, invaded and took over East Timor, claiming that a civil war in East Timor could cause problems for the region.

Privately, an authoritative US government source called Indonesia's action "a pure power grab." Since the takeover, East Timor has been virtually cut off from the outside world.

The majority of the native population has been confined to refugee camps, while the Indonesian military attempts to wipe out the last vestiges of guerrilla resistance in the mountains.

The controversial documents include a dispatch in August 1975, four months before Indonesia's invasion, from R.A. Wolcott, who was then Australia's ambassador to Indonesia. The dispatch from Wolcott to his government includes the following:

"The United States might have some influence on Indonesia at present as Indonesia really wants and needs United States assistance in its military re-equipment programme, but (US ambassador to Indonesia David) Newsom told me last night that he is under instructions from 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 . . . His present attitude is that the US should keep out of the Portuguese Timor situation and allow events to take their course. His somewhat cynical comment to me was that if Indonesia were to intervene, the United States would hope they would do so 'effectively, quickly and not use our equipment.'"



Shaded area is Indonesia. Unshaded half of Timor island, lower right, is East Timor.

As it turned out, the Indonesians relied heavily on US-supplied Bronco aircraft and replacement parts in their mountain war with the guerrilla resistance on East Timor. Even the Indonesian government has acknowledged that the war and subsequent starvation conditions claimed at least 60,000 Timorese lives. Native Timorese are not allowed to leave the island, though a few Chinese nationals have been able to get out.

Indonesia permitted a belated food relief effort by Catholic Relief Services and the International Committee of the Red Cross, under strict supervision by the Indonesian military.

But as recently as October, a delegation of nine US senators, including Paul Tsongas of Massachusetts, called on Secretary of State Edmund S. Muskie to ask the Indonesian government to permit free emigration from East Timor.

The senators also expressed concern that no outsiders had been allowed into prisons on East Timor to check on conditions under which political prisoners are being held.

The most vocal US critic of the East Timor situation has been Rep. Tom Harkin (D-Iowa), who urged in an article in this month's Progressive magazine that "commercial arms sales to Indonesia must be suspended . . . Pressure can and should be brought to encourage Indonesia to withdraw its troops . . . and allow the United Nations to administer the territory until such time as the East Timorese can determine their own political future . . .

"And finally, Congress should subject the history of our involvement in this tragedy to comprehensive scrutiny in the hopes that the United States can avoid complicity in future 'East Timors.'"

VOICES PROPHESYING WAR

The deadly game of nations

HARPER'S, APRIL 1980

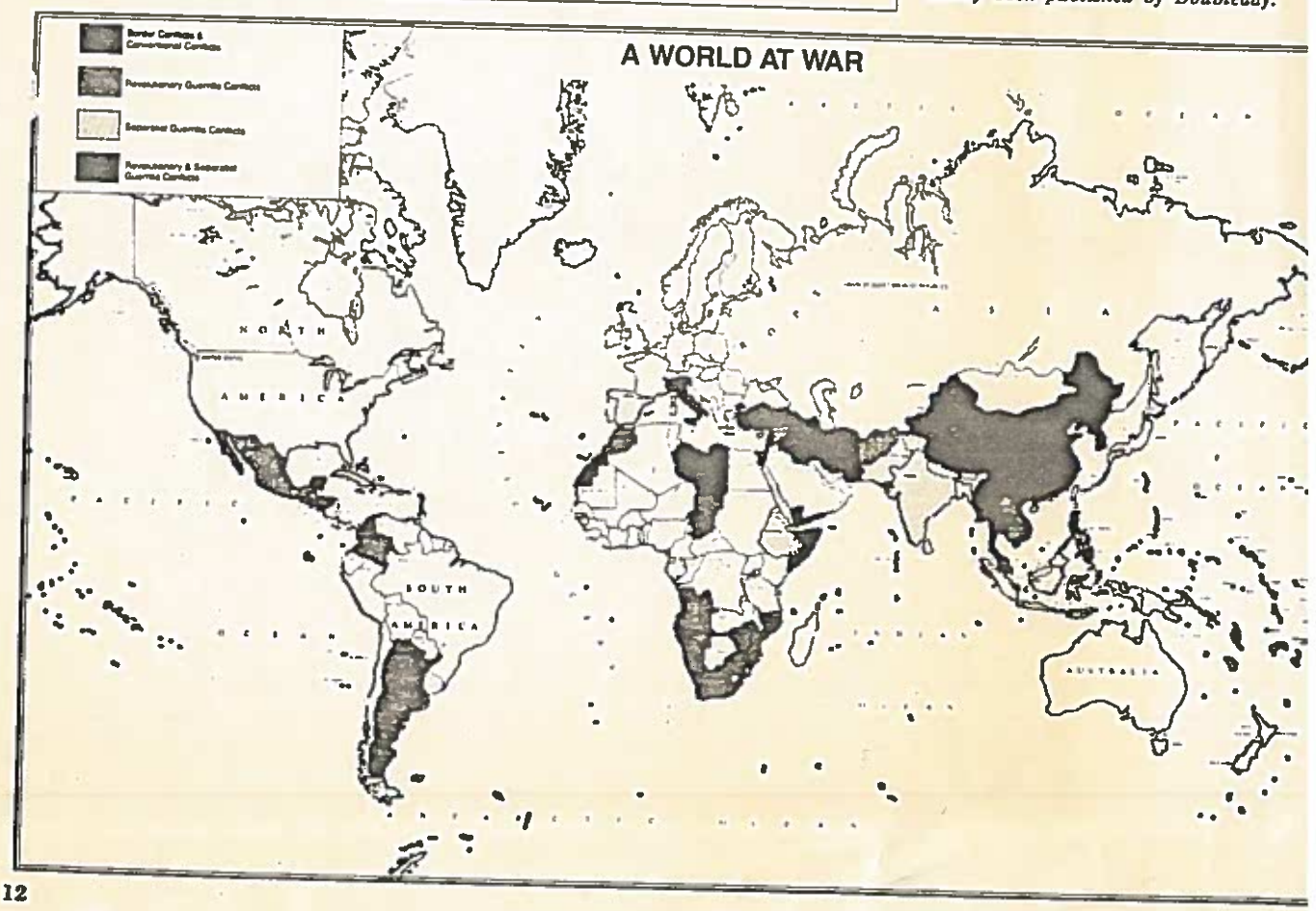
by Lewis H. Lap

IN NOVEMBER of last year, the Center for Defense Information in Washington circulated a memorandum listing the thirty-seven wars then in progress in the world. The memorandum estimated the probable casualties in the most violent of these wars (see table below) and went on to suggest that neither the United States nor the Soviet Union, no matter what the range and capacity of their arsenal, could preserve so delicate a mechanism as a balance of power.

This is an ominous judgment, and it raises the possibility that much of the current talk about the revival of the Cold War (about Soviet troops in Afghanistan, about "vital interests" and "force levels" in the Persian Gulf, et cetera, et cetera) masks the fear of something worse. The people who i so loudly on the weakness of the U States might be trying to pers themselves that they live in an or world, or at least in a world in w orderliness remains within their g Rather than risk the prospect of gi to their fear too dreadful a shap name, and being in need of a fam enemy, they take refuge in the t tional abstractions and make the S Union the cause of all their uneasi Perhaps they wish to offer a lesser in place of a greater one. It is al as if they were saying that they w

The 8 Most Violent Conflicts in the World Today

CONFLICT	NUMBER OF DEATHS	YEAR THE CONFLICT BEGAN
1. Kampuchean Civil War & Revolution	500,000 to 4,000,000	1970
2. Afghanistan Civil War	100,000 to 250,000	1978
3. East Timor War	100,000+	1975
4. Lebanese Civil War	50,000+	1975
5. Sino-Vietnamese War	30,000+	1979
6. Philippine Guerrilla Wars	30,000+	1972
7. Guatemalan Civil Violence	22,000+	1967
8. Zimbabwe-Rhodesia Guerrilla War	20,000+	1972



Lewis H. Lapham is the editor of Harp *A collection of his essays and articles, titled* Fortune's Child: A Portrait of United States as Spendthrift Heir, *has cently been published by Doubleday.*

Guardian 19.5.82

Indonesia 'losing control' over East Timor

From Jill Jolliffe in Lisbon

Latest reports from East Timor, Portugal's former South-east Asian colony, confirm earlier claims that new fighting has broken out there.

East Timor was invaded by Indonesia in 1975, after a civil war during which Portuguese authorities withdrew. Local resistance, led by Fretilin, the East Timorese Liberation Movement, has continued since 1975, although it appeared to have been almost crushed early last year when an Indonesian search-and-destroy operation dismantled its central command and killed several key leaders.

East Timorese refugees arriving in Portugal say that fighting flared again in the east of the island late last year, and is continuing. Letters recently smuggled from the territory support this, and allege a breakdown of Indonesian control.

A document written from Dili, the capital, on March 26, headed "an Account of the Indonesian Invasion of Timor," claims that resistance has been strengthened by the defection to guerrilla forces of Timorese serving with the Indonesian army.

Australian Court Weighs Ban on Disclosures

By Peter Costigan
Special to The Washington Post

CANBERRA, Australia, Nov. 12 — Attorneys trying to get a ban lifted on a book disclosing secret details of sensitive Vietnam-era relations between Australia and the United States told the High Court today that hundreds of Australians already have copies, along with the U.S. Embassy.

Evidence also was tendered in the court, the equivalent of the U.S. Supreme Court, that at least one radio station in Melbourne is reading large sections of the book, "Documents on Australian Defense and Foreign Policy 1968-75," and that more than 600 copies have been sold in Canberra, Melbourne and Sydney bookshops.

The material the government wants supressed refers mainly to diplomatic communications between Australia on one hand and the United States and Indonesia on the other, particularly Australian criticism of Indonesia's takeover of East Timor in 1976, according to arguments in court.

Excerpts printed in two newspapers before publication was temporarily prohibited were mainly cables showing that Australia was not succeeding in the early 1970's in getting greater control over American military and intelligence installations on Australian soil. They also showed that successive Australian governments accepted the situation whenever the State Department assured them of U.S. military protection by under the 29-year-old Anzus Treaty of mutual defense among the United States, Australia and New Zealand.

The Australian government last weekend got a High Court injunction against the two newspapers that had started to publish extracts, The Sydney Morning Herald and The Age, and against the book's distributor, Angus and Robertson Ltd. The injunction expired yesterday, when the High Court began hearing arguments on whether the injunction should be made permanent or publication be permitted. But the two newspapers and the book's authors agreed not to publish further extracts or to sell the book until the court case is finished.

The lawyer for The Age, Jeffrey Sher, told the court that not only had hundreds of copies of the book been sold and excerpts read on radio stations, but that both the U. S. Embassy and the Indonesian Embassy had obtained copies of it.

"More importantly," Sher said, "the government is trying to impair one of the basic freedoms — the freedom of speech. The freedom of the press to publish what it thinks is in the public interest would be impaired in a serious way."

Sher said the government's main concern seemed to be the effect the book would have on Indonesia.

"What we have are documents which show that Australian public servants were advising the foreign ministers that the best way to deal with Indonesia was that the truth should be the last thing to be used," he said. "We say that the government's desire to have that material [criticism of Indonesia during its military takeover of East Timor] kept secret will do this nation a far greater disservice than the exposure of that criticism."

The lawyer for the government, L.J. Priestley, said his case rests on three principles: the "doctrine of confidentiality" between government ministers and officials advising them, the government's claim to copyright of its documents and the possibility that publication of the documents would violate the Crimes Act.

Australia's Crimes Act makes it a serious felony for public servants to reveal details of their work or for citizens to acquire classified documents illegally.

The head of the Defense Department, William Pritchett, said in court that 14 documents in the book are classified and that he believes they were stolen. The head of the Foreign Affairs Department, Peter Henderson, said the material about Indonesia was of "a particularly delicate kind."

"The overriding sensitivity of this chapter is the mentioning by name of, and at times critical references to, leading Indonesian political figures who are still very much on the scene, from the president down," he added. "Publication of this material could have an immediate and continuing damaging effect on Australia's relations with Indonesia."

The judge hearing the case said he will hear more technical evidence Thursday and then reserve judgment for no longer than 14 days.

Timor's Legacy: Useless Currency, Stranded People

By HENRY KAMM
Special to The New York Times

DILI, East Timor — However poor East Timor was as a Portuguese colony, it is poorer today, after the precipitate departure of Portugal in 1975, the civil war and the Indonesian invasion and annexation.

Its economy, almost entirely agricultural, lies in ruins, unable even to feed the population at the subsistence level of the colonial past. The island's principal cash crop, coffee, is being produced at about a quarter of the pre-1975 rate — 1,328 tons in 1978 compared with 5,584 in 1973.

Last of three articles.

Moreover, Timorese and other residents here affirm that a considerable share of the coffee exports benefits the Indonesian Army, which plays the most important administrative role in what Indonesia now calls its province of East Timor.

Few people in Portuguese days had much money because most lived on the margin of the cash economy, from subsistence farming supplemented with enough day labor or marketing of produce to pay the annual head tax levied by Portugal.

Currency Lost All Value

But however little money they owned then, they have lost it. The Timorese escudo, equal in value to Portuguese currency but unconvertible into Portuguese escudos, lost all value with Portugal's departure. The Indonesian authorities have not converted escudos into Indonesian rupiahs, the only acceptable money, since Jakarta made its annexation official in July 1976.

"In Goa, at least, the Indians converted our escudos into Indian rupees," a parish priest of Goan origin said to an Indonesian official the other day. Goa is the only applicable precedent since, like Timor, it did not gain independence but was a Portuguese colony swallowed by its big neighbor.

The priest said that his church, in the district seat of Maliana, had holdings of escudos, less than $20,000, that were wiped out. The Indonesian official countered by saying that Jakarta continued to send food and other supplies to the district.

"For the time being, the escudo is not valid," said J. Silaen, an official sent from Jakarta as the Governor's assistant for economic matters. In East Timor, political power appears to be exercised by the Indonesian Army and administrative power largely by Indonesian civil servants.

Families Separated

Mr. Silaen, who acted as interpreter, said of people who have escudos, "It is better they ask the Government of Portugal." During the interview, the Timorese official appeared to drop his neutral tone and argued like an advocate more than an interpreter.

Among the most painfully affected by having their savings wiped out are those Portuguese who for one reason or another were out of reach of the evacuation boats and planes that took the small number of resident Portuguese out in 1975. They total 200.

Those men without families here walk forlornly through the placid streets of this small colonial capital, look at the meager displays in the shops that are owned mainly by ethnic Chinese and spend the afternoons and evenings talking to each other in the Hotel Turismo, which is still operated by a Portuguese woman.

A number take their meals there, and someday, perhaps, they will be able to reimburse Mama Caterina, the owner. Meanwhile, the fados, the melancholy Portuguese songs of unhappy love, become almost unbearably sad when one listens to them in the company of Portuguese men eating their soup by themselves, as they have been for more than four years in the same hotel dining room, while their wives and children are doing the same in Portugal or Australia.

Unwanted by Nations Involved

The men believe that Indonesia and Portugal would like to forget about them. A Timorese dignitary said the Indonesians do not want them to leave because they would tell the outside world of the sadness of Timor, while Portugal does not want them to come because it already shelters almost a million refugees from its former colonies. Another reason the dignitary cited for Portuguese inaction was that to deal with Indonesia over the repatriation of Portuguese would give implicit recognition to the colony's annexation.

In addition to the 200, a total of 17,000 Timorese were unofficially reported to have registered with the International Committee of the Red Cross as Portuguese citizens eager to go to Portugal. In its last stages of colonialism, Portugal conferred the right to citizenship on all its subjects.

But according to the Red Cross in Jakarta, Portugal has said it is unable to accept such large numbers.

About 600 people, largely ethnic Chinese, were reported to have been allowed to leave with the approval of Indonesian officials last year. Most were said to have paid up to two million rupiahs, the equivalent of $3,225, for the privilege. Timorese need official permission even to go to other parts of Indonesia.

4 Prison Camps Said to Exist

An air of restrictiveness, of whispering, is evident among the small educated public in Dili. The Timorese dignitary asserted that four concentration camps or political prisons existed — two here, one in the second town of Baucau and one near Maliana. He said the prisoners were kept incommunicado.

Deputy Governor Francisco Xavier Lopes da Cruz said, in an interview monitored by a major from military intelligence in Jakarta, that no leaders of Fretilin, the leftist independence movement, were imprisoned. But he said 20 or more were in a form of custody, some living in private houses here.

"We try to wash their brains of Communist ideology and then they can live with us," said Mr. Lopes, who added that one of his brothers was killed by Fretilin.

Roman Catholic priests said that despite the fact that Indonesia is overwhelmingly Moslem, their church had encountered no special problems. Most of the population is at least nominally Catholic, and about 40 percent practice their religion. But of 40 priests here before 1975, only 27 remain. The others have returned to Portugal.

Catholicism Is Strong Force

Catholicism appears to remain the strongest force. In the interior village of Uatolare on a Sunday morning, the chants of prayer drifted from the open doors of the church. A congregation of emaciated men, women and children were seated on the bare floor of the church, which bears the patched-up holes of Indonesian naval shelling.

They were singing, but there was no one at the altar. A girl who appeared no older than 12 started a new chant whenever the singing flagged. They sang in Portuguese.

"Death to the traitors," someone had scrawled, also in Portuguese, on the wall of the deserted schoolhouse across the village square. But no one knew any more for which traitors the slogan had been intended.

The strong wood or horn carvings of East Timor's folk artists have disappeared from view, and so have the filigree silver ornaments of Portuguese inspiration. The carvers and silversmiths have vanished. Some examples were found after a long search in a small shop. The purchases were wrapped in mimeographed pages setting forth the five principles of Indonesia's political philosophy.

INTERNATIONAL
Herald Tribune
Published with The New York Times and The Washington Post
Page 6 Tuesday, December 9, 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 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 premier'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 NEW YORK TIMES.

10 most censored stories

News you didn't get to read

The October 1980 issue of "Common Cause" magazine features an article titled "Best Censored Stories." It lists ten serious issues "which affect people" about which there "is a lack of information."

Why have these stories gone untold? Either bias or else "the media have shared interests with big business . . ." says the new magazine.

And here are their "Ten Best" for 1980, drawn from a larger list prepared by sociologist Dr. Carl Jensen and his students at Sonoma State University in California and ranked as "Top Ten" by a jury of prominent media specialists and social scientists.

1. The Corporate Crime of the Century. "Dumping" illegal and dangerous products on Third World countries is a widespread and profitable U.S. corporate practice which endangers the health, lives and environment of millions of people outside the United States.

2. The Real Iranian Story. The mass media failed to report both the inhumanity of the Shah Pahlavi's regime and the official U.S. support of that regime resulting from the shah's strong ties to the United States through Henry Kissinger and David Rockefeller.

3. U.S. Guilty of Human Rights Violations. In 1979, a panel of seven international jurists came to the United States to conduct a nationwide investigation of prison conditions and the judicial system and found the U.S. guilty of systematic violations of human rights.

4. Third World Sweatshops. In order to find cheap labor and to escape U.S. health and safety regulations, increasing numbers of major American corporations are setting up branches or contracting jobs under "sweatshop" conditions in Third World countries.

5. Occupational Disease. The U.S. Occupational Safety and Health Administration reports that at least 100,000 workers die each year—and three or four times that number are disabled—as a result of occupational diseases attributed to new chemicals, many untested for safety, being introduced into industrial products and processes.

6. Worst Nuclear Spill. The worst nuclear spill in U.S. history occurred at 5 a.m. on July 16, 1979, when 100 million gallons of radioactive water that contained uranium tailings breached from a pond into the north arm of the Rio Puerco, near the small town of Church Rock, N.M.

7. The Tragedy in East Timor. Since December 1975, when Indonesian military forces invaded East Timor following a short-lived civil war there, neutral observers have estimated the number of Timorese people slaughtered with U.S.-supplied arms at from 50,000 to 100,000—nearly 10 percent of the population.

8. PBS: The Oil Network. The Public Broadcasting Service, once touted as a truly educational and noncommercial television resource that would expose Americans to a wide variety of opinion, has instead become the handmaiden of major oil corporations that serve as key underwriters.

9. The Most Powerful Secret Lobby. The Business Roundtable, which includes the chief executives of nearly 200 of the country's richest corporations whose assets amount to $1.3 trillion, about half of the nation's total gross national product, has become the most powerful secret lobby in Washington, exerting extraordinary influence over elected legislators.

10. The Unknown $65 Billion Bank. The Federal Financing Bank, an obscure, off-budget government bank, has made loans that help the government hide how big the national deficit really is and allows government agencies to go ahead with projects the Congress thought too costly or unnecessary. Since its start in 1974, it has loaned $65 billion, a sum that exceeds the total outstanding loans of the world's largest private bank, the Bank of America.

Our side's not dead—yet

By GUS TYLER

Whenever I hear that "liberalism is dead," which is often nowadays, I get a sense of "deja vu," a feeling that I have been here before.

There I stand in my knee pants in 1924 distributing leaflets for La Follette and Wheeler, presidential and vice presidential candidates of the Progressive Party. The campaign was a sort of last gasp for "liberalism" in a year when the Democrats named a corporate lawyer as their candidate who was at least as conservative as his Republican opponent, whose slogan was "Keep Cool with Coolidge." Between them, these two conservatives picked up almost 82 percent of the vote.

Just to confirm the entrenched conservatism of the 1920s, Herbert Hoover polled 58 percent of the popular vote (Reagan only got 51 percent this year) to rout Alfred Smith.

But just four years later, liberalism came back to life as Roosevelt polled 57 percent of the vote against Hoover. In 1936, conservatism was dead as FDR polled more than 60 percent.

But the Republican Party, despite repeated defeats at all levels, did not disappear and in 1952 Eisenhower polled 55 percent of the vote (more than Reagan) to defeat Stevenson; four years later, Ike polled 57 percent to bury Stevenson under a conservative avalanche.

That Ike Age was a cold season, made more chilly by Vice President Nixon and Senator Joseph McCarthy. Once more, 'twas said, "liberalism is dead."

But four years later, the cavaliers of Camelot were exploring New Frontiers and then, in 1964, LBJ with his Great Society polled an incredible 61 percent of the vote against his conservative Republican opponent, Barry Goldwater. "Never again," 'twas said, "will the GOP name a conservative as its standard bearer." Liberalism was riding high in the saddle.

Yet, four years later (1968) in a text-book confrontation between two men (Nixon and Hubert Humphrey) who appeared as the embodiment of the conservative-liberal traditions, Nixon won. Then, as if to confirm the death of liberalism—again—Nixon polled more than 60 percent of the vote against George McGovern in 1972.

Yet, in 1976 the Democrats were back; and now a conservative Republican is about to be inaugurated.

This brief history suggests that those present pundits who hasten to print their obits for liberalism, like others in the past who erected tombstones for conservatism, are shallow scribblers without a sense of history or humility.

For there is a pendulum that swings in politics—biologic and sociologic. As Gilbert and Sullivan would have it: "Every little boy or gal, who's born into this world alive, is either a little liberal or else a little conservative."

(London)
THE OBSERVER, SUNDAY 23 MARCH 1980

WORLD REPORT

'Slave' islanders struggle to survive

from BRIAN EADS in Jakarta, Indonesia

MALNUTRITION and disease are still more widespread in East Timor than in ravaged Cambodia, but the people are slowly struggling back to life.

The picture emerges from conversations with knowledgeable sources in the Indonesian capital, four years after Jakarta's troops annexed the tiny former Portuguese colony by brute force and proclaimed it the nation's twenty-seventh province.

My application to visit the territory was rejected by the so-called G-Division, the armed forces intelligence bureau that wields supreme authority over East Timor.

'Indonesia is a big place,' I was told by a grinning colonel, 'why don't you go somewhere else?'

It seems Indonesia is distressed that foreign visitors dwell on the past, rather than looking towards the rosy future mapped out in a glossy government brochure entitled 'East Timor to build a better tomorrow.'

By all accounts, the past is still likely to thump you in the eye, and if you are an Indonesian in uniform, it's liable to shoot at you.

In an effort to blunt international criticism of their actions in East Timor, Jakarta is allowing two relief agencies to care for the 300,000 people, more than half the population, who fled their homes and were reduced to starvation after the Indonesian invasion.

Progress has been made. 'They're not dying like they were when we arrived five months ago,' said one relief worker. The observation is relative. People continue to die from intestinal diseases and malaria complicated by acute malnutrition and vitamin deficiency.

Neither the Catholic Relief Service nor the International Red Cross teams are allowed sufficient access to make meaningful assessments of how far their emergency aid has cut death rates.

Perhaps the most telling observation came last week, from an official who'd recently visited Cambodia. He said that medically the East Timorese are in a worse state than the Khmers.

Indonesia recently rejected an offer from the United Nations Children's Fund to add its weight to the relief effort. Relief officials are confident that the Catholic service and the Red Cross at least will be allowed to continue their work when the initial agreement, giving them six months' access, expires next month.

Broken spirit

After this the fate of East Timor is anyone's guess, and glossy brochures and promises aside, the indications do not bode well.

The hungry and malnourished 300,000 came down from the hills towards the end of 1978 when three years of Indonesian military attrition had broken the back and the spirit of their resistance.

They are now confined to 'resettlement villages,' each with its squad of Indonesian troops.

Relief officials hope that maize already planted near the villages will provide enough to feed the people for five months this year, but there are doubts about whether the disruption of the people's semi-nomadic, tribal life-style will enable them to feed themselves in the future.

The only evidence of Indonesian development plans are the 'resettlement villages,' and the schools staffed by teachers shipped in from Indonesia, with the officially stated aim of 'washing their brains' of Fretilin's nationalist ideology..

Visitors say the relationship between Indonesians and East Timorese is like that between master and slave, and that there is little prospect of renewed resistance from a severely traumatised population.

I was told that in the capital, Dili, educated East Timorese are confined in at least one, and perhaps more, 'concentration camps.'

Australia and the US now oppose UN resolutions affirming the right of the East Timorese people to self-determination. Britain, for its part, abstains, but will shortly deliver eight BAC Hawk ground attack/trainer aircraft to the Indonesian armed forces.

The considerations which prompted Indonesia to gobble up East Timor, and won the tacit support of the West, remain — unimpeded passage through her waters for warships of the US Pacific Fleet, the possibility of offshore oil, and the need to discourage separatist inclinations in Indonesia's outer islands.

'Looking at it now,' said a source in Jakarta, 'I see that East Timor never had a hope. They're just too small to stand up for themselves and no one is prepared to stand up for them.'

The death toll since the Indonesian invasion is put at somewhere between 60,000 and 100,000.

The joyless prospect for East Timor is that it will become just another impoverished backwater in Jakarta's far flung empire.

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR Wednesday, November 19, 1980

By Edward Girardet
Special correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

East Timor: more food but repressive rule lingers

Hong Kong

An unexpected success story as far as emergency relief is concerned appears to be materializing in the former Portuguese overseas province of East Timor.

Relief sources are reporting an overall improvement in the previously desperate food situation on the island. Some displaced persons are reported to have been allowed to return to their homes.

But Timorese church sources say that many are being kept in "resettlement" camps. Once self-sufficient in rice, the territory is now heavily dependent on food imports. It is still unclear whether the island will be given the encouragement or opportunity to again become self-reliant.

Although relatively ignored by world opinion, reliable reports indicate that as many as 100,000 inhabitants on the island may have died of starvation or been killed in East Timor since 1975. That was the year Portugal relinquished its four-century-old colonial rule over the eastern part of the island after the outbreak of a short civil war.

This was followed by Indonesia's brutal invasion and annexation of the territory. An estimated 50,000 Indonesian troops launched a systematic sweep through the countryside to "pacify" all forms of guerrilla opposition seeking full independence. Up to 200,000 farmers fled into the forests and mountains, while others sought refuge in camps in West Timor or escaped to Australia.

Fighting is reported still continuing in certain parts of the island. But relief agencies no longer consider the food and medical situation as critical as it was. Catholic Relief Services in New York says it will be winding up its emergency operations at the end of the year. The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), however, has prolonged its food and medical assistance program for 90,000 persons until March 1981.

Still, observers warn that East Timor may not have seen the end of the bloodshed yet. It could go on until political unrest in the interior areas is fully resolved. Portugal has hinted that it would be prepared to accept tutelage of the territory again if Indonesia could be persuaded to withdraw. But at the moment, at least, Indonesia seems hardly to be in the mood to do this. It did not allow the ICRC to return to the island until 1979. The ICRC has not yet been allowed to visit prisons on the island.

Amnesty International, the London-based human-rights organization, continues to document cases of persons who simply "disappear" under the Indonesian occupation.

—E.G.

Jakarta Ending Foreign Famine Aid to Annexed Land

By HENRY KAMM
Special to The New York Times

JAKARTA, Indonesia — The international relief organizations that since last year have distributed famine relief in East Timor are expected to wind up emergency operations this year.

Indonesia, which invaded and annexed the former Portuguese colony with which it shared the island of Timor in December 1975, has declared the emergency over. The international agencies — Catholic Relief Services of the United States and the International Committee of the Red Cross — agree that the worst is over.

However, they believe that East Timor, woefully underdeveloped and still traumatized by its travail of the last five years, remains greatly in need of help.

In the crisis that began with a coup against Portugal in August 1975, East Timor has traversed a course from colonialism through civil war, foreign invasion and armed resistance to continuing occupation and military rule by Indonesia.

Population Has Fallen

Its population, chronically undernourished, tormented by disease and more than 90 percent illiterate, has fallen from about 650,000 in 1975 to optimistic current estimates ranging from 550,000 to 600,000.

Even western Timor and the neighboring islands of of Flores and Sumba, which have not been ravaged by war, are chronically short of food. The islands of the Lesser Sundas suffer from long droughts and overabundant rains, poor soil and progressive erosion, creating an unfavorable balance between population and food.

Although Indonesia imports enormous amounts of food and accepts food relief, particularly from the United States, it has emphasized to the relief agencies and the American Embassy that this will not be the case for East Timor beyond Dec. 31. The reason offered was that the Government did not want to instill a dole mentality.

The embassy has been told, according to an American source, that even if Indonesia accepted development aid for East Timor, this could not include, as it often does elsewhere, a component that would provide food aid in payment for work.

Opposition to Annexation

Speculation over the reasons for Indonesia's stand centers on the fact that most of the world has refused to accept Jakarta's military annexation of East Timor without an act of free choice by the Timorese.

As it has every year since 1976, the General Assembly of the United Nations last month approved a resolution opposing the forced integration of Portugal's former colony. The vote was 59 to 35, with 46 abstentions. The United States, as it does every year, voted with Indonesia.

The discomfiture over the lack of acceptance of its action is generally held responsible for Indonesia's long delay between the autumn of 1978, when the urgent need for food and medical assistance became evident, and the autumn of last year, when the flow of relief was allowed to begin. Tens of thousands who might have been saved died in that period.

Another reason for the total cutoff of the food effort and phasing out of medical relief is believed to be the continuation of a low level of warfare between remnants of Fretilin, East Timor's independence group, and the Indonesian Army. Largely concentrated in the eastern most sector of the island, warfare nonetheless spread west to Dili, the capital, last June and July.

Response to 2 Raids

A series of small raids, causing little damage and few casualties, showed that Fretilin could carry out operations despite having been reduced to small guerrilla bands, despite being cut off from any outside aid and despite the capture, surrender or killing of its leaders.

Timorese and foreign sources here reported that the June raid was followed by the arrest of perhaps 200 Timorese in and near Dili. Most of those arrested were reported to have been released, and those who have not returned to their homes are believed to be still detained.

Furthermore, reliable Timorese sources reported that several hundred inhabitants of mountain areas around Dili, from where the insurgents are believed to have come, have been driven from their homes, either to camps around Dili or to banishment to the offshore island of Atauro. Their mountain shacks were reported to have been burned.

Despite these reprisals, a foreigner reported that Fretilin struck again the following month, attacking a fuel dump between Dili and its airport.

Since July, Dili has not reported any incidents, but Roman Catholic sources — the majority of the people in East Timor are at least nominaly Catholic — reported that Fretilin's brief resurgence in the city had deepened the visible animosity of Timorese to the occupying soldiers and heightened Fretilin's residual popularity.

Appeal to Aid Agencies

"Earlier, Fretilin was perhaps cruel to people," a Timorese said. "But little by little people saw what the Indonesians do. Now many favor Fretilin."

The Timorese urged, in an interview, that foreign aid groups try to keep a lasting presence in East Timor.

"If the foreigners leave," he said, "it will be tragic for the Timorese people. First, they give assistance. And besides, when the foreigners are there, the military men are afraid. When they go away, warplanes will come back to Timor, and warships also."

Indonesia used American-supplied OV-10 Broncos, planes designed for counter-insurgency operations, extensively in the 1978 campaign that reduced Fretilin to guerrilla bands whose total is now thought not to exceed 600.

Catholic Relief Services, which has spent more than $11 million in American Government contributions since last year to take care of 240,000 people in resettlement areas, will wind up emergency relief but hopes to negotiate a Timor development-assistance program with Indonesia. Jakarta insists that it will consider such a program only if the offer is substantial, on the order of $5 million for three years.

The International Red Cross, which received an American contribution of $2.3 million, hopes to be allowed future access to deal with cases of family reunification. Neither Portugal nor Indonesia have shown enthusiasm for letting those in Timor whose close relatives escaped to Portugal leave the island to join them.

The Morning Herald, Sydney

Children of East Timor in 1979. Indonesian Government will not accept food assistance for the colony after this year.

Foreign relief needed urgently

I was pleased to read Spencer Punnett's article, which provided a vivid and personal picture of the East Timor tragedy. Several points should be made, however.

● Indonesian forces invaded East Timor much earlier than many observers realize. Shortly after Fretilin won the civil war with UDT in September 1975 Indonesian units began "covert," across-the-border attacks into the territory. The military attacks were accompanied by a well-orchestrated propaganda campaign that represented the situation as a "continuing civil war between rival Timorese factions."

● Far from "refrain(ing) from major interference during this period," as Mr. Punnett writes, the Indonesian army launched a significant border invasion in October 1975; it was during this assault that five Australian television newsmen were killed by Indonesian troops, an action clearly aimed at concealing the covert intervention.

● By November 1975 Indonesian attacks had further intensified – and were witnessed by two Australian journalists; still, Jakarta denied any such military involvement. It was in this setting that Fretilin declared independence, in the hope of bringing the issue of Indonesian aggression before the United Nations. A few days later Jakarta invaded in full force.

● Respected journalists and other neutral observers – including a bipartisan Australian parliamentary delegation – spent considerable time in the territory during the September-December 1975 period, and insist that Fretilin was a reformist coalition, with a strong populist – not Marxist – orientation. These observers concluded that Fretilin enjoyed widespread popular backing and was governing in a moderate, responsible manner.

Relief agencies said at the time that food production had, in fact, been restored after the civil war ended (one can hardly attribute current problems to the residual effects of that period). But by labelling Fretilin as "Marxist" and bellowing loudly enough about "civil war destruction," Jakarta was able to lend some plausibility to its own posture, especially to the far-off observer.

Even now, there is a problem of disputed information, with the Indonesian government saying one thing and other sources saying something quite different. What is plain, however, is that to date, only a handful of international relief personnel have been granted access to East Timor; their access to significant parts of the territory has been limited, if only because of lack of manpower.

The history of East Timor over the past four years would alone seem to dictate that by any humane standard, a large presence of neutral observers is required. Add to the history the fact that recent refugees speak of continuing Indonesian atrocities and a prevailing atmosphere of terror. There can be little dispute over the need for a sizable increase in the number of foreign relief and medical personnel – and soon.

Ithaca, N.Y. Arnold S. Kohen

Christian Science Monitor, March 21, 1980

Letters are welcome. Only a selection can be published and none individually acknowledged. All are subject to condensation. Please address letters to "Readers write."

Refugees Say Rebels in East Timor Are Still Fighting the Indonesians

By JAMES M. MARKHAM
Special to The New York Times

LISBON, July 23 — Four and a half years after Indonesia invaded and annexed the Portuguese colony of East Timor, guerrillas are still harassing Indonesian troops there, according to newly arrived refugees and letters smuggled out of the territory.

New information about the situation in East Timor, including the extent of starvation, has become difficult to obtain, particularly as the Indonesian authorities appear to have been able to reduce the flow of refugees bribing their way out to Portugal.

New refugees, all of them ethnic Chinese, are afraid of speaking to journalists in case they might jeopardize the chances of relatives seeking to get out of what they describe as a land of hunger, corruption and violence.

A group of Chinese who have just joined the 2,000 Timorese refugees in Portugal asked that they not be identified as a condition for giving information about Dili, the capital of East Timor. They left Dili at the end of last year and, like others who preceded them, had to spend months in the Indonesian capital of Jakarta before being allowed to fly to Lisbon.

$3,000 Bribes Reported

One young man said he had paid bribes of $3,000 a person to arrange departures from Dili and Jakarta for himself and several relatives. He said that 500 to 600 other East Timor Chinese had had enough money to bribe their way out but that recently the Indonesian Government had sharply restricted exit visas, leaving a number of people who had already left Dili stranded in Jakarta.

An elaborate system of smuggled letters keeps the Timor refugees here and in Australia fairly up to date on the situation in the former colony. Many of these letters reported an attack or some kind of fighting in Dili itself on May 13, information that startled the Timorese here by its boldness.

One refugee with first-hand information about the civilian hospital in Dili — known under the Portuguese as the António de Carvalho Hospital, now as the Wira Husada — said Indonesian military casualties were regularly admitted there with civilians, many of the latter suffering from edema or malnutrition.

The Indonesian casualties, which this refugee said ran as high as 50 to 100 a week, were reportedly ferried to Dili from the countryside by helicopter and evacuated by Hercules C-130 military transports to Java on Mondays and Thursdays. Most suffered from bullet and mortar wounds, according to this informant, and "many, maybe half," died. Eight Indonesian doctors worked at the hospital, the refugee said.

Conflict With U.S. Report

The refugees' accounts and other Timorese accounts of continued fighting appeared to conflict with the testimony of Assistant Secretary of State Richard C. Holbrooke, who told the House subcommittee on foreign operations on June 10 that it "was not until late 1978 and early 1979 that centrally directed Fretilin armed activity was fully contained by Indonesian military activity and ceased to pose a significant problem."

Fretilin, a leftist movement whose name is an acronym for the Timor National Liberation Front, controlled East Timor after a brief civil war in the summer of 1975 before the Indonesian sea and airborne invasion of Dili on Dec. 7, 1975. The movement has been badly splintered, and there appears to be little coordination between its guerrilla elements in East Timor and its diplomatic representatives outside, who receive support from the Government of Mozambique, another former Portuguese colony.

The refugee who told of the hospital said that Indonesian officers lived in the military hospital, less than a mile away, and that when foreigners visited Dili patients were moved from the civilian to the military hospital, which was described as clean and well equipped though rarely used.

Hospital Reported Crowded

"In the António de Carvalho," this refugee said, speaking in the Chinese Hakka dialect through an interpreter, "it is very dirty and crowded, and patients lie all over the floor. Visitors never go there. The only medicine there is from the Portuguese time, and it is used up. The Red Cross gives medicine to the hospital, but it is sold by the Indonesians in Dili and patients have to buy it back. Sometimes the soldiers who are wounded fight and cry out to the doctors because there is no medicine for them, no antibiotics."

Confirming accounts of earlier refugees, those in the new group said that when they left Dili, OV-10 Bronco reconnaissance planes took off regularly from its airport loaded with bombs, except when foreign visitors were there. "It's a small place," said one refugee, "and everyone knows what happens. When a visitor comes, everyone knows, because things change."

The refugees appeared to be surprised by the persistence of the anti-Indonesian guerrillas, which they attributed more to the deadly reprisals against Fretilin fighters who had surrendered than to what they said was a slight improvement in the availability of food in Dili. "They have no choice but to fight," one of the ethnic Chinese said. Of the food situation, he said: "We can't keep a lot of food in the house because if we do the Indonesian soldiers will come and steal it. A lot of Chinese shops are closing because they are afraid of the soldiers."

The New York Times / July 28, 1980

Socialists Win Municipal Election Over Center-Rightists in Portugal

LISBON, July 28 (UPI) — Portugal's Socialist Party won a municipal election by five votes over the ruling center-rightist coalition yesterday.

The election, in the northern city of Mealhada, gave the Socialists four seats in City Hall to the incumbent Democratic Alliance's three.

The Socialists' leader, Mário Soares, described the victory as a "symbolic demonstration" of his party's rejuvenated force and said that the party's Republican and Socialist Front was the "only viable alternative to beat the right" in legislative elections in October.

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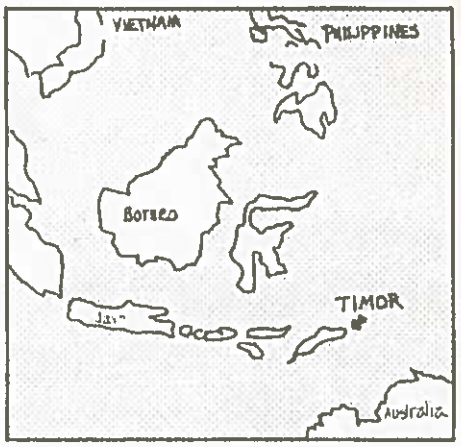
BREAD for the WORLD
1980

Famine Continues in East Timor ✓

A war-related famine as dramatic as Cambodia's now affects most of the people on the eastern half of Timor island. East Timor was invaded by Indonesia in 1975, 10 days after the territory had declared its independence from Portugal following four centuries of colonial rule. Indonesian troops, using arms manufactured in the U.S., tried for four years to chase Timorese guerrillas from barren mountain hideouts. Though international observers were kept out, church sources say the population was reduced from 688,771 in 1974 to 329,271 in 1978.

Last December hearings in Congress, U.S. officials said about 300,000 mountain tribal people are now living in some 150 resettlement areas. Included in this number are 60,000 who are seriously affected by severe malnutrition and disease. No one knows how many more are unreached. International relief aid worth $15.8 million, including a U.S. share of $8.8 million, is being administered by Indonesians despite charges of corruption.

✓ Ask your senators and representatives to press for international supervision of famine aid to East Timor and more aid as needed.



Election Activities

With the publication of the new election kit, Bread for the World's 1980 election activities are underway.

Some local groups are already involved in the elections, including people in Iowa who are working to make hunger concerns a part of the platforms of the parties in their state.

Local activites outlined in the kit include voter registration, candidates nights, evaluation of candidates, and media work.

The national office will be supporting local groups activity with an evaluation of the presidential candidates' positions on hunger issues, a mid-summer rating of congresspersons and the selection of some members of congress for awards for their work on hunger issues.

To find out what you can do to make hunger an election issue in 1980, contact your congressional district coordinator or write the national office. Election kits, which have been sent to all congressional district and state coordinators, are available from the national office for $2 each.

Move Delayed

Bread for the World has delayed its move into new offices. The move will be rescheduled and the address announced at a later date. Until then, continue to use our current address, 207 E. 16th St., New York, NY 10003.

Membership Tops 30,000

Bread for the World membership topped the 30,000 mark in late December. Beginning the new year with this many concerned Christians is especially encouraging. Continue to urge others to join!

Media Contacts

We need the names and addresses of any media persons who have given coverage to Bread for the World. Mail them to Ruth Fowler at the national office.

Position Open

A job opening is anticipated in Bread for the World's church relations department early in 1980. Applicants must be able to relate easily to parish pastors--in person, by mail, and by telephone. Organizing skills and the ability to handle one's own clerical work are also required. The position will be full-time. Salary is based on need. Send inquiries and resumes to the director of church relations by Jan. 31.

Annual Meeting

The annual meeting of Bread for the World Inc. will be held Jan. 22, 1980, at 9 a.m., at the: Mary Repatrix Center, 14 East 29th Street, New York, New York. The meeting will formally acknowledge the election by members of the candidates to the Board of Directors, and complete the election process.

EASTERN EDITION
With pullout economic section: Page B1

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

Wednesday, March 5, 1980

40¢

OPINION AND COMMENTARY

East Timor: a comic opera turns tragedy

By Spencer Punnett

For most Americans, the starvation of hundreds of thousands of humble villagers in East Timor is a rather vague sort of tragedy. Half of an island located north of Australia, east of Java, west of New Guinea — most people have only the haziest notion where any of these areas are, much less Timor itself. It's hard to identify with human suffering in a place you've never heard of.

But for me the impact is vivid and direct, because I am one of the few Westerners who ever visited East Timor while it was still a sleepy Portuguese colony. When I look at photos of gaunt, starving children or read accounts of firebombing and wholesale destruction, it is a shock to reconcile these images with my memory of reasonably well-fed Timorese who were isolated from prosperity yet also removed from deprivation. It seems as strange to think of the desolation of East Timor as it would be to envision the ruin of New York or Chicago.

I came to the island nearly a decade ago as a young backpack traveler on my way across Asia. The view from the airplane I had boarded in Australia was my first glimpse of the Orient. Subconsciously I had pictured the East as overflowing with inhabitants, packed elbow to elbow — so I was surprised to find myself staring over rugged hills covered with dense green forest. Here and there I spotted a clearing, ringed with thatched huts and brown footpaths leading to small fields. I scarcely imagined that four years later those hills would provide refuge for Timorese guerrillas fleeing an Indonesian invasion.

Ironically, my own few weeks' stay in East Timor would have been shorter were it not for border tensions between the Portuguese and the Indonesians controlling the western half of the island, disrupting transportation. American officials in Jakarta privately characterized the conflict as a comic-opera affair, in which a few shots were occasionally exchanged and the only casualty might be a cow.

Unfortunately there was nothing funny about the events which took place some time after I left. On Aug. 11, 1975, emboldened by a change of government in Portugal, a moderate Timorese independence party, the UDT, announced it was taking over. A bloody civil war ensued, principally between the UDT and a Marxist-oriented faction known as Fretilin. After weeks of fighting, Fretilin gained the upper hand.

Indonesia refrained from major interference during this period, though issuing warnings that it would not countenance the formation of a communist-leaning government on its border. But when Fretilin declared the establishment of a "People's Republic of East Timor," Indonesia's reaction was swift. On the pretext of a call from rival factions, the Indonesians moved in and quickly quashed resistance in Dili and other towns. Timorese militants retreated to the hills. In July 1976, Indonesia formally incorporated East Timor as its 27th province.

Australian officials were outraged by the brutality of the Indonesian invasion, citing widespread looting, rape, and torture. Military operations continued in the countryside, to strengthen control. One Portuguese eye-witness has described saturation bombing of villages and accused the Indonesians of genocide. US reports have estimated the death toll through war and famine at up to 100,000; some humanitarian groups claimed it was really twice that much. By the end of 1979, perhaps 200,000 Timorese were suffering from acute malnutrition.

To assert, as some have, that the present crisis is largely the result of earlier Portuguese neglect and the practice of primitive slash-and-burn farming techniques seems, as Congressman Tom Harkin (D) of Iowa put it, "ludicrous." The opposite view — that Indonesia deliberately fostered the famine to starve the rebels out — may be exaggerated. Certainly economic displacement during the colony's civil war played a part, as did poor weather conditions. Nevertheless, it appears clear that the situation never would have reached such an extreme if not for ruthless Indonesian occupation policies.

East Timor may seem remote, but its people — and their suffering — are very real. Yet for years their plight has been virtually ignored by the rest of the world. Even now, there is a controversy as to whether international humanitarian aid is effectively reaching those who so desperately need it.

There is no telling how many lives could have been saved if the Indonesian Government had not waited until last year — after Fretilin's power was completely broken — to ask for international relief aid. According to recent accounts, malnutrition in East Timor is no longer as acute as it was, although villagers still perish each month from cumulative effects. Apparently the worst is over. Let us hope, for everybody's peace of mind, that it is.

Spencer Punnett works for the Monitor's radio syndication service.

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 wo Cambodia.

Oxfam has a history of bypassing po to help the needy. Thirty-seven years small group of idealists met in Oxford t cuss the plight of children starving in Na cupied Greece. Calling themselves the O Committee for Famine Relief (later ened to Oxfam), they collected $40,0 food that they channeled through the Red Cross.

The campaign was controversial, ever, and the British government halte avoid indirectly helping the German Arm

Oxfam picked up its efforts again aft war, helping European refugees, an grown apace since, with 40 regional or ers in the United Kingdom and Ireland.

It has also spawned offshoot organiz in the United States, Canada, Australia Belgium, which use the Oxfam name b erate independently as autonomous gr "They are linked only in name and in sp the mother organization," information o Sue Roberts explains.

Oxfam's headquarters is a vast netw offices stretching above a modern sho mall on the edge of town. A staff of 150 out the agency's dual function: promotio fund-raising at home and nurturing the opment projects abroad.

Forty percent of its funds come from donations, often raised with near-missio zeal. In the mid '60s Oxfam was respo for popularizing the now-famous "spon walks," a fund-raising venture that c the imagination of groups around the wo

Other contributions pour in from th Oxfam shops around Britain which donated used clothing and handcrafts developing coun

Oxfam has faced many challenges, bu could be greater than in Cambodia. In sp reports that conditions are improving, Stringer warns that help is still deper needed.

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

He adds that "it's up to us and the va agencies" to make sure that the Cambo people are fed until next December, whe hoped that the farmers will have a better vest.

N.Y. Times Jan. 30, 1980

A10

The New York Times / Joseph Lieyveld

Residents of Ermera in the province of East Timor, Indonesia, walking in the square in front of the village's Roman Catholic Church. Catholicism appears to remain a strong force to the people of the province.

(accompanying article no. 3)
by Kamm

House hearing told US policy worsens East Timor's plight

Feb. 9 1980

States News Service

WASHINGTON — A Cornell University Asian affairs analyst has criticized the State Department for promoting what he termed a "deceptive" policy that has worsened the plight of the East Timor population in Indonesia.

The speaker, government and Asian studies professor Ben O. Anderson, was the last of a group of academicians and foreign service officials to testify during two days of hearings before two House foreign affairs subcommittees that are scrutinizing the fiscal 1981 budget.

Anderson's comments Thursday focused on the alleged human rights abuses of Indonesia, the world's fifth most populous nation, which occupies thousands of islands on the Malay archipelago and a land area three times the size of Texas. Among its holdings is the former Portuguese half of the island of Timor, which the Suharto regime annexed four years ago.

Anderson, and Philippines specialist James R. Morrell, of the Washington-based Center for International Policy, leveled harsh criticism at State Department reporting methods in Southeast Asia. Their testimony prompted Rep. Dan Mica (D-Fla.) to suggest a "moratorium" on the foreign aid budget until the entire document is reviewed.

In 1979, US economic and military assistance to Indonesia totaled $226.1 million.

In a 25-page written report — the third such statement Anderson has prepared annually for the joint subcommittee hearings — Anderson called foreign service officials to task for allegedly downplaying the degree of repression in East Timor.

"The horrifying nature and scale of the Suharto regime's violations of individual human rights in East Timor bears comparison with the situation in Cambodia," states his report, based on foreign and domestic newspaper articles, internal State Department memoranda and personal interviews.

And by playing a "consistent role of misrepresentation to Congress and to the American people to protect the regime, US policy has contributed significantly to the plight of the East Timor people," he told legislators.

US might have averted tragic Timor takeover

By Daniel Southerland
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor
Washington

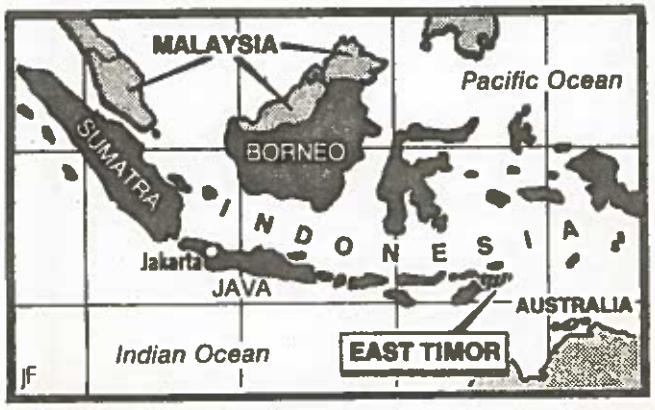
The United States might have been able to prevent Indonesia's catastrophic invasion of the territory of East Timor five years ago, according to newly available Australian documents.

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 experts 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.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

REVIEW & OUTLOOK

Cambodia and Timor

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 northwest 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.

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 former 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**

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US Committee for Refugees, Annual Review 1980

Cambodia *(Continued)*

Food Support Makes Crops Possible
A team of experts from the United Nations Food a ture Organization reported: "It appears that the inc rice production by almost 100 percent within one year v sible due to the support given in food aid to the rural

the scope of projected international relief operations for 1981. Thailand's U.N. Ambassador stated that some programs — for example, fish net factories and the training of doctors, nurses, pharmacists and teachers — went beyond the "mandate" of providing emergency relief.

This criticism reflects a concern that the humanitarian programs are strengthening a government installed by an invasion which has been rejected by the majority of nations. It underscores the unresolved political conflicts which remain over Cambodia. During 1980, no substantial progress was made towards achieving a political solution in Cambodia. In many respects, the divisions within the international community over Vietnam's invasion have widened. Despite the fact that the U.N. in October overwhelmingly reaffirmed its opposition to Vietnam's invasion and continued to recognize Pol Pot's Democratic Kampuchea, Hanoi refused to moderate its policies. Rather, since its brief military incursion into Thailand in June, the immediate issue of contention has shifted from the occupation of Cambodia to the threat Vietnamese forces pose to Thailand's security.

On the other hand, China has maintaine mitment to Pol Pot's guerillas, who are prin fined to the border area near Thailand. Th tion of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) ing Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, and Thailand, which sponsored the October lution, appears uncertain how to pursue the of its Vietnam diplomacy. Meanwhile, figl tinues in some areas, an estimated 200,000 V troops remain in Cambodia, and the Hen government seems to be consolidating its cor Hanoi's aegis.

Given this complex tangle of clashing po military interests, economic devastation an ing food and health problems, the Cambod must be seen as truly heroic. In the face o difficulties they have survived with the ass the world community. Despite the many that remain, they appear to have passed difficult stage of their recovery, primarily l their own efforts and the deep concern throughout the world.

Refugee Review Asia

East Timor

A remote place, as far as world opinion is conc Timor has been in turmoil since 1975. The isla eastern end of the Indonesian archipelago anc north of Australia. The size of Massachusetts, it istered by Portugal until 1975 when that country colonial holdings. Indonesia, which already cor West Timor half of the island, moved soldiers in A local movement, Fretelin, fought for indepen

Originally populated by 600,000 people, it is some relief officials that as many as 100,000 h fighting, reprisals by Indonesian troops, and by

Thousands fled into the mountains and other gathered in resettlement areas, where aid, reluct ted by the Indonesian government, was furnis Catholic Relief Services and the International C the Red Cross. The closest estimate on the n placed is 100,000 at the end of 1980.

In 1980 the Portuguese government suggested that it might be willing to reassume responsibil Timor. However, no interest was shown by the g of Indonesia. Approximately 7,000 people from have made their way to Portugal; they do no refugee status. A handful has also settled in M

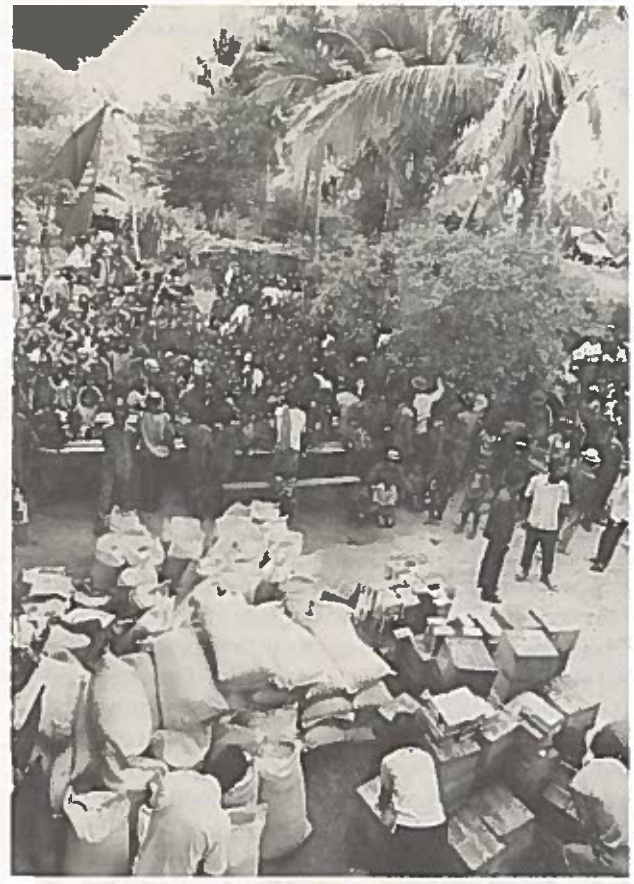
By the end of 1980 aid officials and journalists were reporting marked improvements in the health and nutritional status of the Cambodian people, although a very small percentage of children recently surveyed by UNICEF were classified as "severely undernourished." Many serious problems remain, particularly in the area of health. Although a rudimentary health clinic network has been established throughout much of the country, and some hospitals have been refurbished, much crucial health work remains to be done. Programs to combat malaria and tuberculosis — two very widespread diseases — have only begun recently, and there is still a severe shortage of trained medical personnel. Another problem relates to transportation. Some of Cambodia's main roads have been deteriorating steadily during the past years, and little has yet been done to repair them.

FAO estimates that Cambodia's food deficit before the autumn 1981 harvest will be between 118,000 and 218,000 metric tons, a deficit considerably less than that of 1979-1980. The agency projects that the international organizations will need to supply at least 75,000 tons of grain in order to help meet Cambodia's food requirements. Bilateral assistance from the Soviet bloc is expected to provide additional food.

If conditions do not deteriorate during 1981, it is possible that Cambodia will again become self-sufficient in rice after the end of year harvest. But this

By the end of 1980 marked improvements in peoples' health were observed

will require continued assistance to enable farmers to put large areas of untilled land back into production. The FAO estimates that at least one million more acres will be needed to achieve self-sufficiency. To meet this goal, the international community must contribute 20,000 metric tons of seed, as well as large amounts of fertilizers, pesticides and other commodities. The estimated cost of such an agricultural program will be $29 million. Among other U.N. sponsored programs will be emergency repairs to irrigation and seed production facilities and continuing the restoration of primary education and health care sites. Early estimates were that the total cost of the 1981 program for



Distribution of UN food supplies and household kits t returnees in Battambang Province, Cambodia.

Cambodia will amount to $236.4 million.

As the performance of the relief effort has improve the criticism leveled at it has changed. At a Decembe 10 meeting of donors in New York, at which $62 mi lion was pledged, a number of countries objected t

Growing Rice = Success

". . . the international commitment to help Cambodia, mounted and persevered in the face of overwhelming obstacles, has meant the difference between life and death for an entire nation.

"What most signified the success of the relief effort so far were the rice seedlings . . . as far as the eye could see, were green paddies filled with rice seedlings. More than 60,000 metric tons of rice seed provided by relief agencies are now planted and growing.

"Much still must be done in Cambodia before 'normal' conditions return. But whereas last fall despair permeated this small and once-gentle land, now there is hope. And where there was near total devastation, now there is rejuvenation."

— The Rev. Theodore Hesburgh
Fall, 1980

(Father Hesburgh, president of Notre Dame University, served as chairman of the National Cambodia Crisis Committee, which led in raising $70 million in non-government contributions.)

The Sun Keeps Trying To Set on a Colonial Past

New York Times, Week in Review, August 3, 1980

By BERNARD D. NOSSITER

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

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

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

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

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

The most critical case is South-West Africa; its independence is a war cry for Africans. The United Nations has been conducting a tortuous negotiation with South Africa through five Western mediators, including Washington. Meantime, guerrillas of the Southwest Africa People's Organization raid South-West Africa and, in turn, endure South African air strikes usually at base camps in Angola. Agreement has been all but reached on a demilitarized zone straddling the South-West African border that would clear the way for United Nations-supervised elections. Pretoria, however, fearing that the United Nations would tilt the electoral balance to the guerrillas, has delayed signing the agreement. Africans worry that South Africa will cede power to a local council dominated by whites. (Last week, South Africa announced formation of a new territorial defense force to be under the local council's control.) However, the belief persists that South-West Africa — as Namibia — will inevitably follow Zimbabwe as a new African nation.

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

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

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

Argentina wants the 200 Falkland Islands near the eastern tip of South America, but Britain won't give them up without the consent of 1,957 inhabitants. The possibility of offshore oil is the real concern. In Guam, the United States naval base accounts for nearly one-fifth of the 110,000 inhabitants. The United Nations committee regularly reproaches Washington for failing to inform them of their "inalienable right to self-determination and independence."

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

Territorial ties

Administering powers and their dependents

Administering Country	Territory	Area (square miles)	Population (approx.)
Australia	Cocos Islands	5.4	435
Britain	Antigua	170.6	75,000
	Belize	8,866.7	158,000
	Bermuda	20.5	59,000
	British Virgin Islands	59.0	13,000
	Brunei	2,255.8	185,000
	Cayman Islands	99.9	12,000
	Falkland Islands	4,618.1	2,000
	Gibraltar	2.3	32,000
	Montserrat	39.5	13,000
	Pitcairn	1.9	60
	St. Helena	159.0	5,000
	St. Kitts, Nevis, Anguilla	155.0	67,000
	Turks & Caicos Islands	166.0	6,000
Disputed*	Western Sahara	102,702.6	132,000
Indonesia	East Timor	5,762.5	738,000
New Zealand	Tokelau	3.8	1,600
United Nations†	Namibia	318,259.1	1,500,000
United States	American Samoa	76.0	31,000
	Guam	209.0	116,000
	Micronesia	666.5	139,000
	U.S. Virgin Islands	132.8	105,000

*disputed between Morocco and Algerian-backed Polisario Front
†South Africa-backed government.

Source: United Nations

Bob Gale

Sunday, August 10, 1980 THE WASHINGTON POST

Jakarta Restricts Local Distribution Of Foreign Stories About Indonesia

By Paul Zach
Special to The Washington Post

JAKARTA, Aug. 9—The Indonesian government, in a move to control press coverage of events here, has asked foreign news agencies not to distribute stories originating in Indonesia inside the country.

The Jakarta offices of the two U.S. wire services, The Associated Press and United Press International; the British news agency Reuter and Agence France-Presse received letters yesterday requesting that they "restrict the marketing and distribution of news originating from Indonesia to countries outside Indonesia only."

The new government directive does not bar distribution here of stories from elsewhere involving Indonesia nor does it affect the flow of news from Indonesia to the outside, but the government made clear its sensitivity to any unfavorable coverage of Indonesia.

In a letter to the foreign news agencies, August Marpaung, general manager of Antara, the official Indonesian news agency, said:

"It is common knowledge that the media of the Third World is not happy with the imbalance in the news flow . . . to the detriment of the developing nations. It is quite natural for the Third World to prefer their affairs to be reported through their own eyes by the party most involved and, therefore, by themselves, as the most informed about their own affairs."

While the step announced yesterday is common in many Third World countries, news agencies here said it is the first such restriction among the noncommunist Southeast Asian countries.

A chief effect of the new restriction will be to reduce coverage in the local papers of such politically sensitive stories as the recent criticism of President Suharto by 50 prominent Indonesians and local developments in a court battle in Singapore that has spawned charges of widespread corruption within Suharto's family and government.

Much of the reporting about those affairs has been done by the foreign news agencies since security officials requested Indonesian newspapers, which need government permits to publish, to limit their coverage of them.

Indonesian censors and newspaper distributors have recently been blacking out stories about corruption and dissidence here appearing in foreign newspapers and magazines imported into the country.

Oct 18, 1980

At 'Top End' of Australia, a Raucous Frontier Town

By HENRY KAMM
Special to The New York Times

DARWIN, Australia, Oct. 16 — In a nation where most people appear possessed with inordinate pride at being relaxed, outgoing, sports-loving and egalitarian, this city looks down on the rest of Australia as sissified and overly formal.

"All those comfortable people in the temperate zone," sniffed Dr. Ella Stack, a physician who served for five years as Darwin's Mayor.

Darwin is the capital of the Northern Territory — the "top end," as the people of the territory like to say. It is the tropical north of a country where the weather gets hotter and more humid as one proceeds northward, where spring gradually gives way to summer now that the year is nearing its end.

The nearness to the southern fringe of Southeast Asia — Indonesian-ruled Timor lies about 400 miles to the north — is a source of pride, and the large Asian element in the population of 50,000 allows Darwinians to speak of their city as "cosmopolitan."

"Hell, no!" said a Sumatran taxi driver when asked whether being Asian presented him with problems in a country that, until after World War II, preferred to be white and, if possible, Anglo-Saxon.

Suspected of Spying

The only formal Asian presence here is the new Indonesian Consulate, a generally unpopular institution. Most Darwinians suspect that the only reason it is here, with its three consuls and four luxury automobiles, is to spy on the colony of 600 Timorese who fled here after the Indonesian invasion of 1975.

Chief Minister Paul Everingham, 37 years old, emphasized that Darwin was nearer to Southeast Asia than to southern Australia and said that Darwin saw its future as tied up more with Asia than did the Government in Canberra.

The New York Times / Oct. 18, 1980

The Chief Minister, a member of Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser's Liberal Party, supports Asian critics of the Federal Government's tariffs, which restrict imports. "We are the strongest proponents in Australia for lower tariff barriers," he said in an interview in the sparkling new Government House.

Dr. Stack illustrated the youthfulness of the population — 80 percent of which is under 35 — by asserting that the city cemetery was the smallest in Australia for a town of this size. "When people retire they go back south," she said. "Life on a fixed income is very hard here."

Distance Raises Prices

Darwin is a boom town, the capital of a territory where mineral riches, including uranium, are constantly being discovered. But the huge distance between this city and the rest of populated Australia raises the prices of goods. This bothers neither the people who live here nor the workers, mainly miners, who flock here from the Outback for a few days off. They may earn as much as $800 a week in places where they can spend nothing. "They play hell when they come to town," said the former Mayor. "The pub becomes home."

There is also a casino and many discos, hotels and motels that offer "escort services" and less sophisticated forms of prostitution.

The raw frontier-town atmosphere is enhanced by Darwin's newness. The town was rebuilt for the second time after a cyclone struck on Christmas Eve 1974, killing 66 people and destroying more than half the 11,200 homes.

The first reconstruction of Darwin came after World War II, when scores of Japanese air raids leveled it. The first two soldiers killed in the defense of Australia were Americans who died in a raid in 1942, Dr. Stack said, and a plaque at Town Hall commemorates the American role. Once again, an American military presence appears near.

Little Negative Feeling

Strategic Air Command B-52's on patrol over the Indian Ocean from their base in Guam are to refuel here and rest their crews. The left wing of the opposition Labor Party has made this an issue in the present national election campaign, but little negative feeling has been aroused, even among Labor supporters.

However, the voters may not be as supportive as Mr. Everingham, the Chief Minister, who said: "I would fall on my knees and give thanks if the United States wanted to establish a military base."

The rawness of Darwin is also expressed in the rates for suicide, rape and alcoholism, all of which are above the national average. Dr. Stack attributes the alcoholism to the tropical heat and rapport to "the easy camaraderie." She added: "Some people's life style gets too relaxed and signs may be misread."

Suicide, she said, is most prevalent among young travelers from the south "especially when they get to the drug scene and get terribly depressed." Young drug addicts are a visible part of the scene, loitering about the shopping mall in advanced stages of undress.

Special Feeling for Sports

But Darwin's passion is sports, even beyond the elevated Australian norm. Dr. Stack said the city offered far more sporting facilities per capita than any other city.

For those enthusiasts who are not satisfied with sailing, fishing, swimming in shark- and crocodile-infested waters, Australian football, soccer, baseball and gliding, other diversions have been devised. There are races in boats made entirely of flattened beer cans, as well as competitions in swallowing live frogs and tying crabs.

Yesterday four young men and two women broke the New Zealand-held world record for sitting on a rock by spending 11 days on a small promontory that becomes an island at high tide. The only requirement, besides sitting there, was that each man had to drink 18 cans of beer a day and each woman 9.

MEDICAL PROBLEMS REMAIN

East Timor Finds Relief From Hunger

From Reuters

JAKARTA, Indonesia—Hunger in the rugged former Portuguese territory of East Timor is largely under control, but medical care for its 600,000 people and the provision of long-range development plans still pose problems, according to relief workers there.

They and various diplomats who keep a close watch on the situation say there has been remarkable improvement in the last year since the extent of the hunger became widely known after civil unrest that left an estimated 100,000 dead.

A year ago, a Catholic Relief Service spokesman said he had encountered some of the worst malnutrition he had ever seen when he went in to assist the rehabilitation effort.

Recently another relief service spokesman, program director Carter Smith, said the food situation is now largely stable. But he added that medical problems remain serious in the remote province, which was incorporated into Indonesia in 1976 after the departure of the Portuguese and a civil war.

"Perhaps 80% of the population suffers from malaria and upper and lower respiratory diseases and there are still not enough doctors and nurses to cope," he said.

Diplomats confirmed his view but were quick to add that similar statements could be made about other remote, underdeveloped areas of Indonesia, a country of 150 million people spread over 13,000 islands.

Indonesian resources are stretched. But since last year, with international attention focused on East Timor, efforts have been stepped up to try to solve its problems.

Independent assessments of the situation are not easy. Journalists are allowed in from time to time but only with special permission. However, more and more diplomats have been to the region and foreign relief teams are operating there.

Large quantities of food and medical supplies have come in from Australia, Western Europe, Japan and the United States, among others.

Smith said his organization's program managed to distribute food, seeds and other goods to about 240,000 people in the past year.

Saronto Martoyudo, who runs the Indonesian Red Cross program with help from the International Red Cross, said it has reached 75,000 other people—many of them in areas accessible only by helicopter, pack animals or human porters.

Both organizations said this means almost all those suffering from hunger and malnutrition have been reached.

In the few isolated pockets where there still might be suffering, part of the problem could stem from the small remnants of the left-wing Fretilin Independence Movement that are still operating.

As the Portuguese moved out of East Timor in 1975, a brief but bloody civil war erupted between Fretilin, which wanted independence for the area, and a coalition of other parties that favored integration with Indonesia.

The worst of the fighting ended in December, 1975, when the integrationists, backed by Indonesian troops, inflicted heavy losses on Fretilin, whose remaining forces then retreated into the jungle-clad interior.

Diplomats who have checked the situation said security no longer seems a major concern. Last June there was a small guerrilla attack near the provincial capital of Dili in which four Indonesian soldiers were killed.

But the significance of that incident seemed to be mainly that it was an isolated one in recent months, they claimed.

"Fretilin no longer seems to command much overt support and at best is reduced to a few small bands. It's nothing the Indonesians cannot cope with and the majority of the population of tribal people and mixed blood seem indifferent," a well-informed senior diplomat said, adding that reports of government abuses have also largely died away.

Indonesian strategy appears to be one of winning over the tribal leaders in expectation that their people would follow. Language lessons in Bahasa Indonesia are being increased to help the integration process.

Language does provide a problem however, according to Smith. He said not enough nurses speak local languages. Some tension and suspicion are created when nurses are brought in from outside.

At the same time, he is trying to bring in more Indonesian doctors, because this remains a priority no matter what language they speak.

The Indonesian Red Cross said the territory has 34 doctors, compared with 22 under the Portguese administration. Given the size of the problem, this might not be enough, even if it is proportionately more than in some more heavily populated parts of Indonesia.

Another cause of concern for some diplomats and relief workers is that the mandate for international agencies to provide food formally expires after October. They fear a sudden stop to the help could disrupt the program. The Catholic Relief Service is already discussing this with the Indonesian government.

But Indonesian Red Cross representative Martoyudo said he does not think the fear is justified. He said he is sure the government and his organization will be able to continue proper relief arrangements.

Both diplomats and some relief workers said the main remaining problem is to ensure that hunger does not return to the region and that medical and other facilities will develop.

One factor in the improving situation is that harvests have been good this year. The local population is returning to planting abandoned or damaged fields. But they are short of livestock, some of which was eaten or killed in the earlier unrest.

They especially need water buffalo, used both to trample the fields in place of plows and as a source of food, wealth and security. The also need more goats, pigs and poultry, the sources said.

Earlier this year, the Indonesian government declared East Timor a resettlement province. The belief is that effective development requires more people and the government is eager to find new homes for the surplus population of crowded Java.

How the local population will feel about this remains an open question. It might be used as a debating point by spokesman of the independence movement who are lobbying among other Third World countries and at the United Nations.

CONTINUED

11 SEP 1980

'One-Family One-Baby' Policy To Guide Chinese for Decades

By Richard Bernstein
Time-Life News Service

PEKING — China yesterday said it will enforce a "one-family, one-baby" policy for the next several decades to try to curb a population explosion which threatens to swamp the country's economy and other institutions.

In a final state-of-the-union address to China's parliament, resigning Premier Hua Guofeng warned that unless China overcame the baby boom it faced catastrophe. Hua became the first Chinese leader in modern history to give up power without dying or being purged as he announced that he was turning over the reigns of government to Zhao Ziyang, the new premier.

On the population issue, Hua said, "If population growth is not controlled, there will be an ultra-high peak, making it virtually impossible for the economy and all the social institutions to cope with."

For that reason "a crash drive" will be launched during the next 30 or 40 years calling on each couple except those in sparsely populated minority areas to have just a single child, Hua said.

China's official population currently is about 1 billion. Hua said the government hoped to limit the population to 1.2 billion by the end of the century.

To achieve that target the government would have to meet its own ceiling of a 1 percent annual growth though the current figure is still running at an "unacceptable" 1.17 percent.

Hua insisted that the government would use only "publicity and persuasion," but the parliament — the National People's Congress — is expected this week to formally adopt a new law making it compulsory for couples to practice family planning.

The same law also would raise the legal marriageable age for men from 20 to 22 and for women from 18 to 20 in another move to try to stifle the population boom.

China has been, in effect, operating a one-family, one-child policy for several years.

Though "unofficial," couples are penalized if they have more than one child, losing state benefits for subsequent offspring and even facing reduced salaries if they persist in expanding their families.

Hua said China's burgeoning population growth is the major roadblock to its ambitious economic goals and any increase in the standard of living.

"We are convinced that the people of the country, and particularly the young people, will recognize that this is in the interest of the whole nation and will warmly respond to this important call," Hua said.

In regard to his stepping down, Hua said what he had been expected to say for weeks — that in line with China's new policy against the concentration of power in the hands of one man he would give up his post as premier. However, Hua will remain chairman of the Communist Party.

Hua said that to replace him as premier, the party central committee had nominated former Sichuan governor Zhao Ziyang, who is the most celebrated of a core of younger, skilled bureacrats who have over the past years been moved from the provinces to take up high posts in the cental government.

The central committee, Hua said, "was of the opinion that comrade Zhao Ziyang is a suitable choice and worthy of trust."

Zhao's elevation to the premiership, which represented the only truly peaceful transfer of top government powers in Communist Chinese history, was part of series of changes being effected here in which many of China's revolutionary old guard will give up their government positions.

In another widely expected announcement, Hua also said that six vice premiers would give up their position in the government. Like Hua, the six, including senior vice premier Deng Xiaoping, will retain their posts in the party, which is the most important source of authority in China.

In addition to Deng, the other retiring vice premiers are economic specialists Li Xiannian and Chen Yun, Minister of Defense Xu Xiangqian, military specialist Wang Zhen, and Wang Renzhong, who is also chief of the propaganda department of the Communist Party.

This article is based in part on wire service reports.

EAST TIMOR

CONTINUED

Apart from an announcement in January through the semi-official news agency Antara, no details of either a long-range development program or a resettlement program have been published, although relatively large sums have been allocated to help improve the situation.

The feeling among diplomats is that Indonesia, with many other matters on its mind, has still to formulate definite programs. Its first concern is to convince international opinion is that it is at least dealing successfully with the immediate humanitarian problems.

11 SEP 1980

The New York Times / James M. Markham

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

IRISH TIMES, THURSDAY, APRIL 10, 1980

Mass starvation in East Timor

"ACCORDING TO THE International Red Cross, the situation in East Timor is proportionally worse than in Cambodia," explains Mr Rogero Lebato, Defence Minister of the East Timor National Liberation Front (Fretilin), in an interview with ROGER FALIGOT in Algiers.

Can you tell us what is the exact situation today in East Timor?

Lebato: In the aftermath of the Indonesian invasion, on December 7th, 1975, 200,000 people were killed by the Indonesians. 100,000 survive in difficult conditions of great hunger. 300,000 others still in the occupied areas, live under constant terror. The rest of the population is with us in the jungles, but the situation is difficult because we are fighting on an island totally blockaded by Indonesian warships.

So far we have managed to put 30,000 Indonesian soldiers out of action but at great loss to ourselves.

The Indonesian Government plans to settle 300,000 people in East Timor from the islands of Bali and Java, to replace the natives who have been killed over the last five years. The final objective of Suharto is to plant an alien population and cut Fretilin's support.

Starvation in East Timor is worse than in Cambodia; it can be compared with the results of the Biafra war, according to the International Red Cross. After five years of effort, the Red Cross manages to enter the Fretilin -controlled areas of East Timor where we accept any kind of humanitarian help.

Before, the humanitarian aid was channelled through the Indonesian Red Cross, we knew that the Indonesian generals did not distribute the food — they sold it for their own benefit. We are now suggesting that the Red Cross only drop aid into the Fretilin - liberated areas.

We can say that after five years of struggle we are facing an holocaust. The Indonesians are simply trying to kill everybody.

To take but one instance: I belonged to a family of nine brothers and four sisters. All have been killed by the Indonesians; I remain the only one alive. The Indonesians are killing all families related to Fretilin leaders to the third generation. We face a threat of genocide . . .

Mr Rogerio Lebato

Tell us about the life of the refugees in the jungle, in the areas you control?

The people who live in the jungle face grave problems, just as the people in the Indonesian occupied areas.

East Timor was not a very developed country under Portuguese colonialism, but it is potentially a very rich country.

For example, we have nine months of rainy season; it allows us to have three harvests a year. We also have many cattle. Fretilin has developed co-operative units of production within East Timor. In 1976, in spite of the Indonesian invasion, we had the biggest harvest in the history of our country.

The Indonesians use defoliants and naplam to destroy our crops. In mid-1978 we had an enormous problem as regards production due to this destruction.

Can you explain how you manage to organise armed resistance to the Indonesian forces in such a state of isolation?

For a long time people thought it would have been impossible to launch armed struggle in the desert, but then you have the Polisario front. The same applied to us. It was thought one could not resist in East Timor, but we had no alternative. In 1975 we captured 15,000 weapons from the Portuguese Army to which I belonged as an officer; we arrested half the general staff of the Portuguese Army in East Timor. The Portuguese Government ran away from Timor and we captured three helicopters, planes, ships, dozens of tons of ammunition and light weapons.

Until now we have been fighting with these weapons, in turn capturing Indonesian weapons. We have Portuguese G 3 rifles, as well as the M 16 and assault rifles supplies by the Chinese to Indonesia during the Sukharno period.

It would be lying to say we have no problems: we are fighting in a half island totally surrounded by sea and air. Yet we have survived and fought over these last five years without any external help.

What about the Indonesian Army?

Indonesia owns a huge army of 247,000 soldiers. 55,000 are deployed in East Timor in a small triangle of 12,000 square miles.

We use our geographical advantages. Over five years we have learnt from Indonesian weaknesses. They dare not face Fretilin inside the country, as we are used to moving about our land. Do not forget we have 80% mountains, and we have nine months of a rainy season.

As I am talking to you the Indonesians are launching a large offensive in the eastern military region of East Timor: the aim is to destroy our crops and foodstocks.

We have declared our independence, and several countries have recognised our independent and sovereign state. During five centuries of Portuguese colonial rule we never committed any aggressive action against anyone. We simply defended ourselves. There is no ground for Indonesians to see East Timor as a threat. What type of threat can one million people present to 140 million Indonesians?

By their invasion, they have brought the war home, since other national liberation movements spring up in Indonesia ready to ally with us.

You see, Sukharno had promised a federal solution to the various Indonesian minorities and peoples, without practical outcome. Then Suharto decided to destroy all liberation movements based in Sumatra, Borneo, Sulawesi, West Papuasi and the South Mollucan Islands.

Do you describe yourself as a socialist movement?

Well, we are a national liberation movement. Our first aim is the liberation of East Timor, and our political positions are clearly progressive. The type of co-operative system we set up in liberated areas, although based on traditional ways of life, show this. We welcome support from the socialist countries, but it raises some problems. For instance People's China is now lining itself with the ASEAN alliance which supports Indonesia. The Chinese also welcome the presence of the US 7th Fleet in the area, a grave threat on us, and any other national movement.

We favour a free, non-aligned solution for East Timor, once the Indonesians are gone. This will take a long time — but our people have learnt self - reliance and patience.

We cannot stop our struggle half - way. Fretilin's struggle has now become a model and inspiration for other East Asian movements

Le Monde

ENGLISH SECTION

Remember the Timorese

FAR FROM the tumult and passions raised by the exodus of hundreds of thousands of Indochinese and Afghan refugees; far from the tug-of-war of power blocks, the controversies between strategists and diplomats, and the conflicts over spheres of influence, a race of people is continuing to perish amidst worldwide indifference and practically ignored by the media.

The people of Eastern Timor, which was annexed by Indonesia four years ago, are neither "progressive" victims of "imperialist" designs nor supporters of the "free world" threatened by any sort of Soviet "hegemony." Having barely emerged from four centuries of Portuguese colonisation, 650,000 islanders — who had until then been kept out of the way of progress in a remote corner of the archipelago — had the impertinence to choose their own destiny: a choice they have regretted.

From December 1975, the Indonesian army has intervened massively to assert its claims on the territory and driven the government set up by the Fretilin nationalists into the mountains. Cut off from the world outside and with no foreign assistance, except verbal promises, but supported by the population, they have been conducting a fierce and hopeless resistance. Today, most of the "liberated zones" have been reduced to submission by force of arms and famine, and the main nationalist leaders either slain or have defected to the Indonesian side. At least 100,000 people are estimated to have perished as a result of famine, illness or war, and half the survivors are in danger of starving to death in spite of a limited amount of aid arranged by humanitarian organisations.

The unlucky Timorese cannot escape in boats across a vast and dangerous sea and so find themselves become refugees in their own land in camps where they have been more or less forced to assemble and where living conditions, judging from the accounts of rare witnesses, are extremely painful. Malaria is taking a heavy toll and those who do not accept the fait accompli with sufficient alacrity are punished.

Australia and the United States are backing Djakarta. China and the Soviet block have toned down a purely moral appeal so as not to alienate Indonesia. Only the former Portuguese colonies are continuing to show their sympathy for Fretilin. The resolutions passed by the United Nations and the non-aligned countries have remained a dead letter.

The last few years have shown that imperialism is not the priviledge of the Big Powers, and outstanding examples of this are Indonesia in the Western camp and Vietnam in the Soviet block. In spite of its size and its 145 million inhabitants, Indonesia is having a hard time digesting its new conquest: the cost of this undeclared war is very high for a country heavily in debt. An expeditionary force of tens of thousands of men backed by modern equipment has not succeeded in wiping out a guerrilla movement armed with rudimentary weapons, nor in crushing the resistance of a population which had had a taste of the "poison" of independence barely a few months earlier.

Far from press campaigns, marches for survival, public collections and the declarations of prominent men, the Timorese are undergoing a slow death. Undereducated people from a territory without either natural resources or strategic value, they interest scarcely anyone accept a few generous souls. And yet, their fate is just as unenviable as that of so many other subject peoples.

(March 9/10)

CORRESPONDANCE

« Timor, un drame oublié »

A la suite de la publication dans le Monde, *daté dimanche 9 et lundi 10 mars, du « Bulletin de l'étranger » sous le titre : « Timor, un drame oublié », nous avons reçu de M. Hugues-Jean de Dianoux, ancien chargé d'affaires en Guinée-Bissau et au Cap-Vert, une lettre dont nous publions les extraits suivants :*

La situation de Timor-Oriental, du point de vue du droit international, peut être incontestablement définie en tenant compte des données suivantes :

1) Jusqu'au 25 avril 1974 — date de la révolution portugaise, — Timor-Oriental était une « province portugaise d'outre-mer », donc, théoriquement, une partie de l'Etat portugais dont la consistance multi-continentale était en fait reconnue, de bon ou de mauvais gré, par la communauté internationale (...).

2) A la suite de cette même révolution, le gouvernement de Lisbonne reconnut successivement l'indépendance de la Guinée-Bissau, du Mozambique, du Cap-Vert, de Sao-Tome et Principe et de l'Angola. Mais il n'en fit point de même avec Timor-Oriental, tout en y reconnaissant l'existence de trois mouvements de libération, dont le plus important était le FRETILIN, et en admettant le principe de l'octroi ultérieur de l'indépendance à la « province d'outre-mer », à condition que lesdits mouvements de libération se mettent d'accord (c'est d'ailleurs là la même position qu'adopta, dans un premier temps, Lisbonne en ce qui concernait l'Angola où, en 1974, trois mouvements étaient en concurrence). Par ailleurs, le Portugal conserva, et conserve toujours, Macao (autre « province d'outre-mer »), et, à la suite d'un accord avec l'Inde, admit l'inclusion dans ce pays de l'ex-« Estado da India » portugais (Goa, Damao, Diu, Dadra et Nagar-Aveli), déjà occupé militairement en totalité par le gouvernement de New-Delhi en 1962 (...).

3) Lisbonne était dans l'expectative à l'égard du futur statut à accorder à Timor-Oriental lorsque, à la fin de novembre 1975, l'un des mouvements de libération locaux — et celui qui disposait de la meilleure organisation et de la plus vaste audience sur place, — le FRETILIN, déclara unilatéralement l'indépendance. Le gouvernement portugais ne prit pas l'initiative de reconnaître l'indépendance proclamée par le FRETILIN et un nombre assez limité de pays reconnut celle-ci.

4) Là-dessus l'Indonésie intervint militairement à Timor-Oriental dès décembre 1975, et s'ensuivirent des combats, cependant que le gouvernement de Djakarta poursuivait une politique tendant à réunir Timor-Oriental à l'Indonésie. D'où la présente situation.

Du point de vue du droit international et de l'Organisation des Nations-Unies, il est manifeste que : Timor-Oriental doit être considéré comme une partie du territoire portugais (comme, par exemple, l'île de La Réunion, ou la Nouvelle-Calédonie, sont des parties — DOM ou TOM — du territoire français), à moins que l'ONU ne reconnaisse la République démocratique de Timor-Oriental proclamée par le FRETELIN comme un Etat indépendant ; en l'absence de reconnaissance, tant par Lisbonne que par l'ONU de l'indépendance de Timor-Oriental, la « province d'outre-mer » entre dans le cas d'une possession envahie par les forces armées d'un pays étranger (l'Indonésie) qui, au surplus a systématiquement ignoré, suivant un principe, internationalement admis, le respect des *« frontières issues de la colonisation »* (...). Le Portugal n'a nullement cédé Timor-Oriental à l'Indonésie et n'a pas, non plus, accepté officiellement le fait accompli comme il a fini de le faire pour ses ex-possessions indiennes.

On peut s'interroger sur les raisons pour lesquelles l'affaire de Timor-Oriental semble avoir été négligée par Lisbonne, intéressée au premier chef à la situation d'un territoire dont on ne peut lui contester juridiquement la possession. Et surtout on peut se demander pourquoi l'ensemble des pays du tiers-monde a si peu manifesté son intérêt et son soutien (mis à part les cinq pays africains libérés du régime colonial portugais d'antan) à la déclaration d'indépendance proclamée par le FRETILIN.

Il est très souhaitable que, en France, ce ne soient point seulement *« quelques esprits généreux »* qui s'intéressent au sort des habitants de Timor-Oriental, mais aussi des personnalités responsables et qui mesurent à la fois, certes, le poids politique et économique de l'Indonésie et les données de la présente politique australienne, mais qui, aussi, auraient avantage à ne pas oublier qu'à partir du moment où, par omission, on laisse un pays en envahir un autre, une maladie contagieuse se répand.

D'autre part, un lecteur nous a communiqué une lettre reçue de la partie indonésienne de Timor, au centre de l'île, non loin de la frontière avec Timor ex-portugais. Voici quelques extraits de cette lettre, écrite par un Indonésien il y a quelques semaines :

Je vous avais écrit à plusieurs reprises, mais vous ne m'avez pas répondu, et pour cette raison je vous expose à nouveau notre situation (1). Pour cette année 1980, la production de maïs, de riz et de légumes est catastrophique : les pluies ont été trop abondantes, le vent trop fort, et les récoltes ont été entièrement détruites. Comme le gouvernement ne nous aide pas, beaucoup de gens vont mourir de faim. La situation est d'autant plus grave que nous avons perdu nos biens en raison des troubles à Tim-Tim (abréviation indonésienne pour Timor-Oriental). Comment allons-nous parvenir à subsister comme auparavant ?

En ce qui concerne nos traditions, elles se dégradent chaque jour davantage, et d'ici un an ou deux elles auront complètement disparu en raison des changements de pouvoir au niveau local, parce que presque tous les vieux sont morts et parce que les gens se sont regroupés sans tenir compte des maisons (clans) auxquelles ils appartenaient. Tout ce qui est bon dans nos traditions est détruit. Le rituel de récolte du maïs qui existait encore, presque plus personne ne l'accomplit, parce que la plupart des vieux sont morts et que les jeunes ne s'en souviennent plus.

(1) Le courrier en provenance de Timor est généralement soumis à la censure (N.D.L.R.).

Qui peut entrer au Cambodge ?

A la suite de la publication d'une tribune internationale de M. Sim Var sur le Cambodge (le Monde *du 4 mars), nous avons reçu de M. Pierre Max, responsable du Mouvement d'entraide pour le tiers-monde et la coopération, hôtel Méridien, porte Maillot, 75017 Paris, C.C.P. 34-625-10, la lettre suivante :*

Dans l'article de M. Sim Var je relève une inexactitude : « Seuls les thuriféraires... favorables à leurs maîtres de Hanoï... ont le droit d'entrer au Cambodge ». Or M. Sim Var ne cite à l'appui de sa thèse que le seul « comité du docteur Follezou ». Il passe sous silence le fait que les grandes organisations internationales — Croix-Rouge internationale, UNICEF, etc. — qui sont « neutres » comme l'est mon organisation, sont en permanence au Cambodge ; qu'il existe même un service aérien « quotidien » par l'action du C.I.C.R. entre Bangkok et Phnom-Penh, et qui transporte humanitaires neutres et secours. A qui ferait-on croire que la Croix-Rouge, l'UNICEF, etc., sont « aux ordres de Hanoï » ? Je suis moi-même allé porter sans problème des secours à l'intérieur du Cambodge et j'ai pu les distribuer librement à la population, j'ai pu obtenir l'envoi d'une mission médicale française, la libre circulation, par notre intermédiaire, des lettres entre familles khmères dispersées. A quoi sert de cacher la vérité ? Sinon de risquer de priver la population cambodgienne des secours occidentaux dont elle a besoin ?

[N.D.L.R. — En dépit de demandes répétées, aucun journaliste du « Monde » n'a reçu de visa pour le Cambodge, ni du régime de M. Pol Pot ni de celui de M. Heng Samrin.]

Le Monde 3/19/80

ts Bloody Nightmare Over, Indonesia's East Timor Struggles to S

LA Times FEB. 17, 1980

By PETER ROGERS

AKARTA, Indonesia—Almost everyone is aware of the Cambodian tragedy. Much less well-known is the plight of East Timor. A former Portuguese colony, it invaded and annexed by Indonesia in the mid-1970s. y, after a long period of slaughter and starvation, East r is slowly beginning to recover.

verty, hunger and disease in East Timor did not arrive the Indonesians. Deprivation was well established as y of life during 400 years of neglectful Portuguese But East Timor's bloody decolonization process ed deprivation into desperation.

hen the Portuguese withdrew, Indonesia, fearful that Timor could become a "Southeast Asian Cuba," in- d that the territory integrate with her. Its full-scale ion of the East Timor capital of Dili on Dec. 7, 1975, h followed months of clandestine activity from across border in Indonesian-controlled West Timor, showed etermination to bring about integration.

llowing the Indonesian invasion, East Timor was for- y integrated into Indonesia in July, 1976.

donesia's designs on the territory were opposed by lin, the leftist Timorese independence movement. lin had gained control of much of East Timor after a by pro-integration forces in August, 1975, and the ig- nious exit of the Portuguese from the territory.

e outbreak of violence in the territory, as Timorese t each other and then the Indonesian invader, drove reds of thousands of East Timorese into the territory's pitable mountains and jungles.

the words of a local Catholic priest, the East Timorese onded to fear"—fear for their lives, fear of their fel- Timorese and fear of the Indonesians.

me, possibly many in the early stages, also ran be- they opted to support Fretilin in its protracted gle against the Indonesians.

terms of military hardware, Fretilin was no match for ndonesians. But East Timor proved a much tougher ry nut to crack than Jakarta had anticipated and nishes between Fretilin and the Indonesians continued ears after the Indonesian intervention.

spite of long-standing claims that Fretilin was a spent even today there are still isolated instances of Freti- ctivity, usually small-scale ambushes of Indonesian ry vehicles. But Fretilin does not threaten Indone- hold on the territory.

donesian military activity gradually eroded Fretilin's capability and fractured it politically. A major sweep donesian armed forces in late 1978 led to the death of retilin leader, Nicolau Lobato.

clining military activity since then, as well as hunger disease, brought increasing numbers of East Timorese their mountain and jungle hideouts. Many emerged in ched physical condition with little more than a few y rags to cover their skeleton-like bodies.

they reappeared they were housed in what came to nown as new resettlement areas, clusters of houses ly built near villages deserted in the earlier exodus.

e resettlement areas are today the focus of massive efforts.

hen the International Red Cross began a multimillion- emergency relief program in East Timor last Octo- conditions in the territory were described by one ex-

Times map by Patrick Lynch

perienced relief worker as "as bad as Biafra and potentially as bad as Cambodia."

Frank Carlin, head of the Catholic Relief Services program in the territory, said at the time that the intensity of the humanitarian problem in East Timor was "greater than anything I have seen in 14 years of relief work in Asia."

Since then, the thousands of tons of food and medicines that have been poured into the former Portuguese colony by the Red Cross and the Catholic Relief Services have given new hope to the desperately deprived, starving and diseased people of the backward territory.

The threads of their earlier subsistence living, greatly disrupted by four years of violence surrounding Indonesia's annexation of the territory, are gradually being picked up.

For many East Timorese, however, the international relief effort came too late. They had already succumbed to starvation and sickness or were so weakened that death was inevitable.

Even now up to 10 people a month are reported to be dying from malnutrition and disease in individual villages receiving Red Cross aid. This nevertheless is a decided improvement on the death rate of as many as 10 people a day in some villages when the program first began.

The importance of the Red Cross lifeline is underscored by the fact that moves are now under way to extend the original six-month program by an additional six months.

A Red Cross official said it was obvious what would happen to many East Timorese being cared for under the program if the Red Cross stuck to its original timetable of pulling out next April.

In the last five months the International Red Cross, in cooperation with the Indonesian Red Cross and the Catholic Relief Services, have provided food and some medical care to about 300,000 East Timorese, slightly less than half the population of the territory before the outbreak of violence there in 1975.

The joint program has concentrated on providing a reasonably balanced diet and varying degrees of medical care to about 70,000 people in a dozen r

The Catholic Relief Services e less intensive care for a far greate der its program, basic foodstuffs- flour mix and rice—have been dis gers in all of East Timor's 13 adm like the Red Cross, the Catholic to become involved in long-term e the territory.

The current Red Cross program the Catholic effort a little over which lies a little more than 340 m has made substantial contributions Overall, however, the bulk of the fort has come from the United St sian government's strongest supp principal supplier of arms.

About 25% of the Red Cross h helicopters, which are the only m the isolated villages. Relief agencie cal problems in transporting food a East Timor's rugged interior.

The main medical problems in which is rampant, tuberculosis, wo problems, and skin diseases, especi

The relief programs in East Tim Timorese desperately needed brea horrors of starvation. Gradually t simple slash-and-burn agriculture badly disrupted since the outbreak

As East Timor slowly makes its two controversial questions remain

Pleas

The Terrible Cost of Prisons: Will Californians Act i

By BARRY KRISBERG

A specter is haunting America's prisons—the specter is a wave of prison riots. They already have occurred in Maryland, Washington and New Mexico and all signs point to more blowups in maximum-security prisons throughout the nation. Californians must ask themselves whether the horror of Santa Fe can happen at Soledad, Folsom, Chino or San Quentin. More important, Californians must ask what steps can be taken now to avert future prison bloodshed.

The precise causes of the violent upheaval at the Santa Fe prison are not known. Perhaps only after careful analysis by independent groups can we expect to get a clearer picture of the precipitating factors in that riot. What is known is that New Mexico State Penitentiary suffered severely from most of the classic problems of prisons—widespread availability of drugs, extreme racial hostilities, daily assaults or homosexual rapes and intense inmate hatred of the prison administration.

The Santa Fe prison was overcrowded and bulging prisons invite disaster. The cruelties of everyday prison life become more acute when inmates are jammed together in hostile living environments. Combine overcrowding with lack of inmate services, inadequate food, poor sanitation, enforced idleness and authoritarian discipline and you have the kindling for a human explosion.

The explosion, when it comes, shocks the average citizen. We ask ourselves how human beings can engage in such atrocities? This is an enduring human question unfortunately not limited to the behavior of men behind bars. Noted forensic psychiatrist Seymour Halleck asserts: "If one had systematically and diabolically tried to create mental illness and tried to create a situation in which there were no alternatives, he could probably have constructed no better system than the American prison system." Halleck's view is echoed by observers who have described how prisons destroy the human spirit, brutalize inmates, guards and families and engender continuous violence. Such broad explanations of prison violence are not meant to justify or excuse the mayhem exhibited at Santa Fe. But the crucial task ahead is to eliminate these underlying causes so that further prison tragedies can be prevented.

Events in New Mexico bear alarming similarity to developments in California. Several years ago the New Mexico Legislature, like that in California, adopted a "get tough on criminals" posture, thereby increasing rates of commitments and sentence lengths. Many nonviolent men who had committed crimes against property were swept into prisons, creating the resulting o Likewise, in the last five years, C nearly a 90% increase in the annu the Department of Corrections.

The largest increase in California for property offenses, such as au theft. In 1975, violent offenses acc commitments to the corrections de fenders comprised 30% of those ne year, violent crimes made up 44% property offenses were up to 37% group.

Nearly 70% of the inmates at San racial minority groups. Latinos com on population—far in excess of th Mexico's general population. Since ulation of California's prisons has more than 60%. Minorities compri fornia's general population. Curre force is holding public hearings to are becoming an ever-larger propo carcerated population.

Two years ago, a correctional ma co concluded that overcrowding

Pleas

EAST TIMOR STRUGGLES TO SURVIVE

Continued from Third Page

Could Indonesia have done more to implement an effective relief operation earlier? How many East Timorese have perished either as a result of the violence in their homeland during the 4½ years of war, or of the disease and malnutrition it greatly exacerbated?

The answer to the first question is almost certainly, yes. Following the Indonesian invasion, the Indonesian Red Cross undertook some relief work in the territory. But its efforts were clearly inadequate.

The tardiness in getting an effective international relief operation under way in East Timor partly resulted from the security problems in the territory. But the main factor appears to have been Indonesian sensitivities about its East Timor policy and the desire to convey the impression that all was "normal" in the territory.

Added to this was a suspicion in some influential circles of the Indonesian military that the International Red Cross, which had been active in East Timor in late 1975 until the full-scale Indoensian invasion in December that year, had been assisting the Fretilin independence movement.

Indonesia's forced integration of East Timor and its attendant dismal attempts to sell its East Timor policy brought considerable international criticism and annual condemnation in the United Nations.

Most of Indonesia's friends, including the United States, have now accepted the reality, if not necessarily the legality, of integration. But the desire to present integration as a fait accompli was a strong motive for Indonesia's [illegible] aroused more controversy than any other aspect of the Indonesian takeover

Indonesia's critics claim that 350,000 East Timorese have died since 1975, well over half the territory's prewar population of around 650,000.

This figure is open to serious question. But even semi-official Indonesian figures suggest that the population of East Timor has declined by 50,000 to 100,000 people since 1975. Relief workers and church sources in the territory cautiously suggest that a current population of around 500,000 is reasonable.

The dislocation in the territory since 1975 has been such that the exact death toll will remain a subject of heated debate. However, Indonesian officials have promised a full-scale census later this year.

Whatever the result of that census and irrespective of the political arguments over integration in the short term, its cost to the people of East Timor has been great. Nevertheless, allegations of Indonesian "genocide" in the territory appear unfounded and have been discounted by informed independent sources.

The East Timorese have been the tragic victims of violence and neglect rather than any deliberate policy of extermination by the Indonesians. Slowly they are now being returned to their traditional bare-subsistence living.

Indonesia has shown a preparedness to invest substantial sums in East Timor's future economic development. Eventually the people of that backward and isolated territory may fare better than they did under Portuguese colonial rule. That day, however, is yet to come. □

WASHINGTON POST

...s Begin Skirmishing for 1983 Election

...national political cir-

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...Gen. Ali Sadikin, who
...opular governor of Ja-
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... Suharto could remain
...finitely.

...rcles in the U.S. and other Western countries that support this government are stupid if they believe there is a democracy in Indonesia," Sadikin said.

Under the current system, a congress composed of five factions chooses a president at five-year intervals. Through political appointments, Suharto commands support of three factions: the military, the *golkar* "functional group" and regional representatives. The other two, a "democratic party" and a Moslem party, have little power.

Nasution likened the system to South Korea's and warned it could provoke similar upheavals.

By Paul Zach for The Washington Post

President Suharto is at center stage in Indonesia's drawn out political drama.

"The government is like a cancer . . . once you've got it, you've got a crisis," he said.

Of seven generals marked for assassination during the bloody 1965 coup attempt, Nasution was the only one who escaped alive although his seven-year-old daughter died in a shootout.

Nasution was a senior officer, but Suharto mustered the support of the Army to propel himself to the presidency after the late Sukarno was ousted.

Both Nasution, Sadikin and others who signed the petition have been interrogated by security agents and subjected to other harassment. They cannot travel abroad and have difficulty making bank transactions.

Former national police chief Hugeng performed in a singing group called the "Hawaiian Seniors," the stars of Indonesia's longest running television show. After 12 years on the air, the government cancelled the show the week after Hugeng signed the petition.

Suharto's intelligence and security chiefs claimed early this month to have discovered a plot to remove the president and 69 others, possibly by assassination this August and replace them with a temporary government headed by Defense Minister Jusuf, who has attracted a popular following among the masses.

Nasution countered that a platform paper drawn up last year by retired generals had been doctored by security agents to make it appear as if a coup was in the wind and to justify a crackdown on opponents.

Observers here believe the possibility that groups like Nasution's, student dissidents and disgruntled Moslems may join hands is Suharto's biggest concern.

Indonesians generally do not practice Islam with the ardor of the Arabs. However, about 130 million of this country's 140 million people are Moslems. Occasional disturbances among small pockets of more zealous sects have been quickly put down by the Army.

The government rankled students by replacing democratically-elected student councils with university-appointed groups. The move sparked the largest demonstrations here in two years.

This month, more than 250 student leaders from universities throughout Indonesia marched on parliament with a resolution critical of Suharto and added their support to the petition presented earlier by Nasution's group.

Indra K. Budenani, 28, a University of Indonesia student, spent six months in jail where he said he was subjected to psychological torture for antigovernment activities.

"We want a more people-oriented government, not capitalistic, but more socialistic and more democratic. We want a clean government," Budenani said.

Charges of corruption have been a continuing source of embarrassment to Suharto. The government itself underlined the extent of the problem by filing suit in Singapore to recover $30 million from the bank account of a former executive of the Pertamina State Oil Company. The suit charges that the man, now dead, had a salary of only $9,000 annually, but had built his fortune on illegal commissions from company contracts.

Despite such problems, Western diplomats and many Indonesians still give the president high marks for bringing order and improved living standards out of the economic chaos and poverty of the Sukarno years.

One knowledgeable diplomat characterized the current criticism as "mere pinpricks in Suharto's side."

"It's shown he is more emotional than he appears on the surface," the diplomat said. "But he's also more astute and more clever than people realize. He is lacking charisma. But then again, Suharto doesn't really invite the sheer hatreds that could cause his downfall like the shah did in Iran."

THE WASHINGTON POST, SUNDAY, DECEMBER 21, 1980

Jack Anderson

Tiny Nation, Lost in a Grand Strategy

The ravaged people of East Timor have been largely forgotten by a world with weightier problems. But this does not lessen the horror of their plight—or the shame of the U.S. role in their anguish.

It was five years ago this month that the inhabitants of East Timor awoke to a full-scale invasion by troops from neighboring Indonesia. The tiny nation, about the size of Connecticut, had only recently emerged from centuries of Portuguese colonial rule and was struggling to maintain its independence.

It was East Timor's misfortune to be undergoing this struggle at precisely the moment in history when the United States had been humiliated in Vietnam and was desperately seeking allies in Southeast Asia. To the global strategists in Washington, Indonesia seemed to be the ideal choice. For one thing, its anti-communism was incontestable: the military-based regime had slaughtered 300,000 native communists a decade earlier. And Indonesia also had oil to sell.

Thus it was that the weapons used by the Indonesian troops in East Timor had been supplied by the United States, and the attack itself came a matter of hours after President Ford, on a visit to Indonesia, had given his tacit approval to what Indonesian leaders led him to believe was a police action to put down a rebellion.

The population of East Timor was massacred and systematically starved. The Indonesians threw an iron curtain around the conquered nation, declaring that East Timor was now a province of Indonesia and none of the outside world's business.

The United Nations condemned the Indonesian aggression—in a vote from which the United States abstained. U.N. fact-finders got no more than a rigged, Potemkin Village tour of East Timor. Outsiders were either excluded entirely or rigorously supervised and restricted. Relief agencies had to surmount bureaucratic obstacles before they could deliver food and medical care to the starving East Timorese.

Documents have come to light that reveal that Henry Kissinger was the architect of the Ford administration's support of Indonesia. The material is contained in an Australian publication, "Documents on Australian Defence and Foreign Policy, 1968-1975." The book is so explosive that the courts in Australia have forbidden the media to do more than paraphrase parts of it. The Australian press is challenging the censorship. Meanwhile, my associate Jack Mitchell has seen a copy.

One of the most damning pieces of evidence is a secret cable from a high-ranking Australian diplomat to his superiors just a few months before the Indonesian invasion. "The United States might have some influence on Indonesia . . . as Indonesia really wants and needs United States assistance in its military re-equipment programme," the diplomat wired. "But [U.S.] Ambassador [David] Newsom told me last night he is under instructions from [Secretary of State] Kissinger not to involve himself in discussion on Timor with the Indonesians, on the grounds that the United States is involved in enough problems of greater importance overseas at present. . . . The State Department has, we understand, instructed the Embassy [in Jakarta] to cut down its reporting on Timor."

In other words, Kissinger was too busy with global grand strategy to be bothered with the imminent extinction of a small, independent nation of 600,000.

There is, of course, dishonor enough for more than one administration. When Jimmy Carter, the self-proclaimed champion of human rights, moved into the White House in 1977, the Indonesians were still ruthlessly exterminating the East Timorese by bloody repression and the more time-consuming but equally effective method of starvation.

Yet Carter administration officials continued the disgraceful U.S. support for the Indonesians—and misled Congress about the military assistance we were sending them. American weapons were being supplied even while State Department spokesmen insisted that the arms sales had been suspended.

Five years after the first bloody attack, the diminished population of East Timor—some estimates say there are only 300,000 left—is considered to have survived the worst of its ordeal. Even if this is true, though, there is the chilling prospect that half a generation of Timorese children may be permanently retarded or crippled from the effects of war and malnutrition.

This, of course, should make it easier for the Indonesians to control the increasingly docile populace. In this cynical sense, the U.S. support of its ally has been at least a strategic success.

...doctors for help.

The man underwent a complete neurological workup after being admitted to the psychiatric ward. When ...ble," said Liggett.

Liggett said he would have liked to have tested the patient further, but the man left on his own

ABOVE IT ALL — Alex Sweeny glides over a farm in Elmira, Ont., in a motorized hang-glider. Photo was taken by a remote-control camera mounted on front of glider with the shutter fired by the flyer. AP PHOTO

...said one policemen urged the crowd to disperse a short time after they gathered.

His appeal was ignored, however, and a short time later, two yellow bus-

...However, she added, "people don know about it yet."

The Tass account of the shootir was carried by two Moscow newsp pers and by Radio Moscow.

Cables show US watched as E. Timor was invaded

By Robert Levey
Globe Staff

• A court battle in Australia over the publication of some secret government documents has shed light on the quiet complicity of the US government in Indonesia's 1975 invasion of the former Portuguese territory of East Timor.

The court fight centers on a book titled "Documents on Australian Defense and Foreign Policy 1968-75," which includes 14 classified diplomatic cables and reports involving the governments of Australia, the United States and Indonesia.

Although the Australian high court has barred publication of the book, it did not prohibit publication of the contents of the documents. The legal issue was determined to be a matter of copyright rather than government secrecy.

The documents are controversial because they reveal that both the US and Australian governments assumed a timid stance in the face of the takeover of East Timor to maintain harmonious relations with Indonesia, which has crucial security value as a Southeast Asian ally.

Portions of the documents provided to The Globe reveal that, in late 1975, then-Secretary of State Henry Kissinger specifically instructed US diplomats to keep out of the East Timor situation.

A report in the Christian Science Monitor last week speculated that US diplomatic intervention might have averted the tragic takeover of East Timor, which resulted in an estimated 100,000 or more deaths through war and starvation.

That report quotes a former US intelligence official as saying: "We had lots of time to move the Indonesians in another direction. Instead, we got right on the Indonesian bandwagon."

East Timor, which was an impoverished Portuguese colony for 400 years, was invaded and absorbed by Indonesia just a few months after Portugal withdrew its colonial rule.

Indonesia, which already owned West Timor, the western half of the island, invaded and took over East Timor, claiming that a civil war in East Timor could cause problems for the region.

Privately, an authoritative US government source called Indonesia's action "a pure power grab." Since the takeover, East Timor has been virtually cut off from the outside world.

The majority of the native population has been confined to refugee camps, while the Indonesian military attempts to wipe out the last vestiges of guerrilla resistance in the mountains.'

The controversial documents include a dispatch in August 1975, four months before Indonesia's invasion, from R.A. Wolcott, who was then Australia's ambassador to Indonesia. The dispatch from Wolcott to his government includes the following:

"The United States might have some influence on Indonesia at present as Indonesia really wants and needs United States assistance in its military re-equipment programme, but (US ambassador to Indonesia David) Newsom told me last night that he is under instructions from 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 . . . His present attitude is that the US should keep out of the Portuguese Timor situation and allow events to take their course. His somewhat cynical comment to me was that if Indonesia were to intervene, the United States would hope they would do so 'effectively, quickly and not use our equipment.' "

Shaded area is Indonesia. Unshaded half of Timor island, lower right, is East Timor.

As it turned out, the Indonesians relied heavily on US-supplied Bronco aircraft and replacement parts in their mountain war with the guerrilla resistance on East Timor. Even the Indonesian government has acknowledged that the war and subsequent starvation conditions claimed at least 60,000 Timorese lives. Native Timorese are not allowed to leave the island, though a few Chinese nationals have been able to get out.

Indonesia permitted a belated food relief effort by Catholic Relief Services and the International Committee of the Red Cross, under strict supervision by the Indonesian military.

But as recently as October, a delegation of nine US senators, including Paul Tsongas of Massachusetts, called on Secretary of State Edmund S. Muskie to ask the Indonesian government to permit free emigration from East Timor.

The senators also expressed concern that no outsiders had been allowed into prisons on East Timor to check on conditions under which political prisoners are being held.

The most vocal US critic of the East Timor situation has been Rep. Tom Harkin (D-Iowa), who urged in an article in this month's Progressive magazine that "commercial arms sales to Indonesia must be suspended . . . Pressure can and should be brought to encourage Indonesia to withdraw its troops . . . and allow the United Nations to administer the territory until such time as the East Timorese can determine their own political future . . .

"And finally, Congress should subject the history of our involvement in this tragedy to comprehensive scrutiny in the hopes that the United States can avoid complicity in future 'East Timors.' "

Boston Globe, Dec 22/1980

RIGHTS CAMPAIGNERS MEETING IN MADRID

In Shadow of East-West Talks, Wife of Soviet Activist and Winner of the Nobel Prize Confer

Nov. 27, 1980

By JAMES M. MARKHAM

Special to The New York Times

MADRID, Nov. 26 — The 30-year-old woman with the haunting, sad brown eyes finished her awful story, which she had told many times before. For six years, she has not seen her husband, Anatoly B. Shcharansky, who is sick in a Soviet labor camp. Their married life lasted one day, before she was obliged to emigrate to Israel, promised that he would soon follow.

Avital Shcharansky turned to the slight, balding Argentine who had arrived, unexpected, at her hotel suite high over the Plaza Colón.

"I'm sorry," she said in good English. "What prize is it that you won?"

"El Premio Nobel," answered Adolfo Pérez Esquivel softly. An American translated: "The Nobel Prize."

"For peace," interjected Mr. Pérez Esquivel's son Leonardo, who speaks some English.

"Ah," nodded Mrs. Shcharansky. "Like Sakharov." She was referring to Andrei D. Sakharov, the Soviet physicist and rights activist.

"Sí," answered the Argentine sculptor.

Human Rights Capital of the World

For a month, Madrid has been the human rights capital of the world. At the modernistic Palacio de Congresos, a conference center newly rescued from utter drabness by a dancing Joan Miró mural, diplomats from 35 nations have been sparring over human rights and the Helsinki accords on détente and security.

In hotels small and luxurious, rights campaigners, many of them Russian and Eastern European émigrés, have also installed themselves, hoping to catch the ears of diplomats and journalists.

The competition for attention is such that some of these groups resort to the hard sell. In Madrid's chaotic marketplace of ideas, one group does not always seem to recognize the existence of another. After Andrei A. Amalrik, the Russian historian, was killed in an automobile accident as he was rushing to Madrid, there were some unseemly moments as different organizations vied for the privilege of burying him.

Neither Mrs. Shcharansky nor Mr. Pérez Esquivel, who was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize last month for having "shone a light in the darkness" of Argentina's military rule, needs to push forward to the head of the crowd here.

Yet, when a reporter suggested to Mr. Pérez Esquivel over lunch that he might find a meeting with Mrs. Shcharansky interesting, the modest, 48-year-old Argentine knew as little about Anatoly Shcharansky and the Jewish emigration movement in the Soviet Union as Mrs. Shcharansky knew about Mr. Pérez Esquivel and his Peace and Justice movement in Latin America.

When they began to converse, they found that they had things in common.

"Why were you arrested?" asked Mrs.

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 is 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 observers 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

> 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 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."

Commentary

The Southeast Asia Record Week of Jan. 25-31, 1980

Troubled, troubling Timor

Donald E. Weatherbee

Just over four years ago Indonesian "volunteers" militarily intervened in the de-colonization process taking place in the former Portuguese Overseas Territory of East Timor, decisively influencing the political outcome. What in 1974 might have been a swift, neat, politically clean **coup de main**, in early 1976 turned into a nasty, messy, unlimited limited war with disproportionate casualties on both sides.

The "volunteer" disguise never really fooled anyone (outside of the Indonesian civilian population) and it quickly became apparent that the military action involved Indonesian combined operations against a force which although numerically inferior, was well dug in, having prepared positions, trained by professionals, its upper ranks ideologically committed, and well armed, equipped with the NATO standard rifle from armories opened by revolutionary Portuguese officers.

Indonesia's recent political history is such that the possibility of a regime modeled on a "democratic republic" with attendant external orientations co-existing with Indonesia in the latter's land and sea space was on the face of it improbable.

For the Indonesians the combat startingly revealed serious deficiencies in logistic planning, tactical intelligence, command and control, training and leadership. Although critics of the Indonesian government have described the outcome as a "military disaster" and "military humiliation," we cannot ignore the fact that from their own resources the Indonesians successfully mounted a major military expedition that kept in the field a force that reached 30,000 at the end of a more than one thousand mile long supply line. It is difficult to identify another regional state that could have carried out a similar campaign—with the striking exception of Vietnam.

The bottom line for Jakarta, of course, was ultimate success. The military units of Fretilin (the movement for an independent Timor) were forced back into the mountains to wage a guerrilla war that took its toll on Indonesians and Timorese alike. Although continued Indonesian restrictions on movement in certain areas suggests that sporadic and isolated pockets of insecurity still exist, Fretilin's armed struggle seems doomed, if not dead.

The military collapse was accompanied by the capture, surrender, and defections of the leading Fretilin cadres in the field, leaving the Fretilin representatives abroad urging a phantom cause in any real sense. The parlous state of Fretilin fortunes was amply demonstrated by the quick susceptibility of the emigres to the posturings and internal conspiracies of emigre politics at its worst. If left to their own devices Fretilin exiles would go the route of the Republic of the South Moluccas, with Portuguese passports instead of Dutch. But, the eventual Indonesian military success and its political pendant, the incorporation of East Timor into the Republic as the twenty-seventh province, did not solve the Timor problem for Indonesia. Timor continues to trouble Jakarta and is troubling to the wider, international community—for right, wrong and ambiguous reasons.

As the situation in Portuguese Timor developed after the revolution in Portugal and the ascendancy of military radicals in the overseas territories, Indonesia had one concern: that is that one anomalous non-Indonesian sovereignty in the archipelago not be replaced by another, particularly one whose most expressive support was derived from international quarters deemed hostile by Indonesia. Indonesia's recent political history is such that the possibility of a regime modeled on a "democratic republic" with attendant external orientations co-existing with Indonesia in the latter's land and sea space was on the face of it improbable.

This is not to argue what Fretilin's ideology represented; only to underline the controlling perception in Jakarta. As that perception assumed the lineaments of reality, Indonesian policy moved from non-interference to diplomatic negotiation, to clandestine political intervention, to direct military intervention, in a sequence paralleling Portuguese loss of control over the internal political process in the colony and the emerging dominance of the political forces from the left with the connivance, it might be added, of elements of the Portuguese garrison.

The Indonesian interest involved was security narrowly defined in a short and long range context. Of immediate concern was the potential for subversion or worse, viewed against a regional international process of dynamic change in which the Southeast Asian socialist states projected uncertain but still threatening images. Within the wider framework of Indonesian political history Jakarta's decision-makers were sensitive to the impact of the outcome in Timor on future manifestations of particularistic dissidence in the archipelago.

In the minds of Indonesian security managers there was an explicit linking of the RMS-OPM-Fretilin forces (OPM—Free Papua Movement, RMS—South Moluccas Republic). There was an articulated concern that some kind of separatist alliance might be forged receiving the support of foreign radical groups and countries. No matter how unreal both the "left" and secessionist threat might seem to the foreign observer, Indonesian leaders are historically conditioned to interpret certain kinds of events in those categories. In fairness it should be added that statements and the external activities of Fretilin agents gave some degree of credence to the fears.

Security concerns can be placed against more general Indonesian orientations towards its regional role and responsibilities. We are reminded of George Kahin's explication of Indonesia's motives nearly two decades ago it its *konfrontasi* with Malaysia, in which, to paraphrase a lengthy argument, he noted (**Pacific Affairs**, no. 37, 1964) that given Indonesia's location, size, population, and potential, its policy demands to have a voice in the alteration of the regional *status quo* and the settlement of regional problems was natural and legitimate.

The variables that led to such a demand then, are even more accentuated today, and the inherent threat in the alteration of the *status quo* in Timor was certainly outlined with greater clarity. There was no threat from Portuguese Timor and it was not "liberated" by Indonesia, as Goa was by India.

To call the Indonesian military intervention in Timor an act of international aggression, as some would have it, is simplistic, confusing the issues rather than illuminating them. If China used force to prevent the Kuomintang from organizing a successor regime in Macao, would we call that international aggression? To attribute the act of intervention to the nature of the Indonesian regime of the moment is even further from the mark. To assert that it was because Indonesia is ruled by a "fascist, military oligarchy" (a characterization prevalent in some quarters) overlooks the fact of a basic elite consensus in Indonesia, cross-cutting institutional ties and ideologies, on Indonesia's appropriate behavior in its immediate regional environment. It was not the fact that it was a Suharto government that caused the Timor intervention. There was a mix of policy determinants that would have impelled any Indonesian government to move in that direction in the circumstances that prevailed.

The policy priority assigned to the solution of the Timor problem by Jakarta was not changed by the chorus of international criticism deploring the method of annexation. Indonesia has ignored the efforts of the U.N. to multilaterize the issue. The "Question of East Timor" regularly appears on the agenda of the U.N. General Assembly, perhaps to become as perennial as the questions of Tibet and Kashmir were. As far as Jakarta is concerned continued opposition to Indonesia's integration of East Timor into the Republic is the acid test for determining friendship or hostility.

Jakarta expected angry reactions from the PRC and Vietnam—and got them. Less expected, and confusing, was the anti-Indonesian reaction among some activist groups in Australia and the equivocation of the Australian government. Indonesian officials have privately expressed

anger over what they saw as Australian duplicity. Indonesia thought that in their consultations with Australia about Timor understanding had been reached. There is no question but that the Whitlam government accepted East Timor's integration into Indonesia as the form of decolonization that would best serve the interests of stability in the region. At issue was the nature of the "act of self-determination." Australian state accomodation to the "established fact" of East Timor's integration came in January of 1978.

Life continues to be breathed into the "Timor Question" by the injection of the humanitarian issue. By including an appeal for humanitarian assistance to Timor in the most recent U.N. draft resolution, states that would have otherwise voted against it, voted for it or abstained. That there are serious problems of nutrition, health and shelter in wide areas of Timor is not denied by Indonesia itself. One can argue about the relative weighting to be assigned to different causal factors: the legacy of rural impoverishment that marked 400 years of Portugal's colonizing mission; the initial struggle preceding Indonesian intervention; the disruption of the military campain; the "Pol Pot-ish" guerrilla war of Fretilin; the irregularity of rainfall; etc.

The sum total is the same, however: the population of East Timor deliberately requires external assistance. But to tie this to the notion that Indonesia has deliberately conducted a genocidal campaign against the Timorese people which has resulted in the death of over half the population, irresponsibility cloaks the problems of aid to Timor in the garments of a political vendetta against Indonesia, the roots of which have little to do with Timor, but a great deal to do with wider orientations towards the Indonesian government that emerged from the economic, social, and political wreckage of Sukarno's "Guided Democracy" and the elimination of the Indonesian Communist Party.

The cynically blatant and misleading manipulation of data from Timor in an attempt to wound politically the Suharto government certainly does not serve the interests of the Timorese people.

The cynically blatant and misleading manipulation of data from Timor in an attempt to wound politically the Suharto government certainly does not serve the interests of the Timorese people. In fact, as David Jenkins has remarked in the **Far Eastern Economic Review**, it makes less credible the real problems in Timor. To argue, as some have, that Indonesia is impeding the flow of assistance to Timor denies the testimony of the relief agencies working in the field and the information given by those governments facilitating relief deliveries. To suggest that poor administration and corruption on the part of the Indonesian authorities in East Timor is somehow part of an anti-Timorese plot betrays woeful ignorance of bureaucratic patterns throughout Indonesia and the Third World in general.

But, the anti-Suharto fervor, with its anti-Indonesian spill-over still is stoked. An amazing editorial in the **New York Times** on December 24, not only restated the myth of continuing Indonesian terror in Timor but embellished it. According to the writer, Indonesia at the end of 1979 was bombing the populated coastal areas, forcing the population into the mountains. If this were indeed happening Indonesia would be bombing populations that have been under its sway since 1977, and would make inexplicable the Indonesian opening of the province to the International Committee of the Red Cross and Catholic Relief Services (even though the **Times** writer suspects that the agencies really do not have access). The **Times** called for U.S. Congressional sanctions against Indonesia, "double thinking" the situation was analagous to the Vietnam invasion of Democratic Kampuchea.

The failure of Indonesia to conduct a substantially meaningful act of self-determination for the peoples of East Timor can be criticized, although against the background of the social stratification patterns of ninety percent of the population it is difficult to see how it would have been any more an empirically valid expression of informed will than the U.N. sanctioned acts in West Irian or East Malaysia. Indonesia's shortcoming in this respect is not unique to either developed or underdeveloped world. It is not a consequence of a particular kind of invidious Indonesian government.

It is that particular kind of government, however, described by the **Times'** editorial writer as a "rightist" (the unstated implication being that it *ipso facto* is to be suspected), that provokes the angry agitation. Timor is placed in the litany of Indonesian political crimes. To understand the political yardstick by which Indonesia is to be judged helps make it possible to weigh the advice of its enemies.

An amazing editorial in the New York Times on December 24, not only restated the myth of continuing Indonesian terror in Timor but embellished it.

This is not to justify the Indonesian role in Timor but to suggest that its policy implications for other countries should be identified on real appreciations of Indonesian means and ends in Timor, not ideological reflex. We are mindful of the advice of one of Australia's most skilled and sensitive diplomatists, Alan Renouf, who in advocating "understanding" of Indonesia's position has argued that Indonesia's national interest require that it "prevent by any means the establishment within its boundaries of the small, powerless, non-viable, hence, unstable, but independent nation that East Timor could become." It would be better for all, including the Timorese, if our Congress should heed that reasonable voice rather than the strident hostility of the **New York Times**.

Donald Weatherbee is Professor and Associate Director of the Institute of International Studies at the University of South Carolina.

Guerilla of East Timor. See story on opposite page.

BROADWAY
COLUMBIA'S SPECTATOR'S BI-WEEKLY MAGAZINE
THE ARTS
THOUSANDS

'My people, Bathed in blood'

By EILEEN TABIOS

He was 30 years old when he was tortured and killed in 1975 by Indonesian paratroopers who were invading his country of East Timor. But the murder of Francisco Borja da Costa was of great strategic value to the Indonesians. Borja was one of the most stalwart revolutionaries working to liberate East Timor from Indonesia and a poet whose depictions of heinous colonialism served as a daily rallying cry for the East Timorese in their struggle for political independence.

Borja's murder was also connected to the United States' military and diplomatic support of Indonesia, whose actions against the small country to its east are criminal by Geneva Constitution standards for the treatment of prisoners and United Nations rights resolutions. Many observers in this country charge that U.S. involvement has prolonged the Indonesian-East Timor conflict—a conflict rated in 1979 by Washington's Center for Defense Information as the single most violent of 37 wars going on worldwide.

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Timor was colonized by Portugal and Holland beginning in the 16th century. When Indonesia gained its independence in 1945, the Dutch portion was apportioned to the Indonesian Republic while Portugal held its claim to East Timor, which now has a population of 700,000. In 1974, the government in Portugal was replaced by a coalition of moderate and leftist military officers who had criticized the Lisbon government for the increasing failure of colonial wars in Africa. The new government soon announced that independence would be granted to all of its colonies, including West Timor.

Before the fall of the new Portugese regime, however, East Timor students and professionals had begun studying the foreseeable effects that independence would have on their country. Several political organizations emerged from such study groups, the most important of which is the Revolutionary Front for the Independence of East Timor, or Fretilin. Fretilin, and another political action group called UDT, have gained support from political parties which were formed after the 1974 Portugese coup. Fretilin introduced such reforms as adult education (often using the Paulo Freire technique of imbueing elementary school curriculums with political thought), health clinics, agricultural co-ops, and a national women's organization. UDT did not provide serious opposition to Fretilin when it failed to offer a program of social development and change. After an attempted coup by UDT in 1975, Fretilin emerged victorious. The territory was then at peace, apart from Indonesian military attacks at the border and naval bombardment.

Indonesian attacks gradually increased, however, and so did the casualty figures. On October 16, 1975, 2,000 Indonesians crossed the border and captured a nearby town. The invasion, in which five Australian journalists were killed, convinced Fretilin leaders that Indonesia was determined to annex East Timor. Fretilin thus declared the country the independent Democratic Republic of East Timor on November 28, 1975 and attempted to bring the charges of Indonesian aggression before the United States.

Indonesia began its most massive attacks on East Timor less than two weeks later and succeeding in instituting a military regime consisting of 40,000 trees. Using weapons purchased from the U.S., Indonesia bombed agricultural areas, destroyed entire villages and set up prisons and torture centers. Catholic priests who escaped the island have reported similar violence by Indonesian troops. About 250,000 East Timorese are now in "resettlement" camps, since the Indonesians have refused to let them return to their farms, frequently uncultivable because of defoliants. Currently an estimated 60,000 people face starvation within the next two months unless the Indonesians agree to permit free access to East Timor by independent relief agencies. Still even after five years of fighting a superior army, the East Timorese continue to resist, having yet to show any sign of giving up.

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"The topic is rather sordid and depressing," said Noam Chomsky, the MIT professor of linguistics who has been among the severest critics of U.S. policy in Indonesia. "The basic fact is that since 1975, there was a huge massacre of people in East Timor in wake of the Indonesian invasion. The crucial fact is the primary responsibility falls directly on the U.S. government by virtue of its support of Indonesia."

Chomsky was one of 200 people from around the world who joined in denouncing U.S. involvement in the East Timor crisis at a recent two-day conference at the United Nations Church Center. Many of the participants were internationally known researchers and activists who have urged Congress, the State Department and the Pentagon to end its policy of giving arms to support the Indonesian "pacification" programs against the East Timorese.

The conference came, too, as a response to a recent communique from Portugal which is currently being discussed by the U.N. Fourth Committee on De-Colonization. The message expressed a commitment to negotiations between Indonesia, Portugal, the U.S., Japan, China, Holland, the newly independent Portugese-speaking countries and the Common Market countries about ways of returning East Timor to de-colonization status and of allowing for self-determination.

Jose Ramos Horta, the East Timorese representative at the U.N., however, would not express optimism over the communique, as he and others at the conference stressed that the solution is ultimately in the hands of the U.S. government. "We certainly welcome the initiative because . . . it *could* lead to peace," Ramos said. "It will succeed if all the governments involved in the situation consider this aspect: the problem in East Timor exists because of the Indonesian presence there." Indeed the consensus was that the only way that Indonesia can be persuaded to withdraw from East Timor is if it loses U.S. military support. "Ninety-five per cent of its arms now come from the United States. Indonesia couldn't carry on the war without U.S. support," Ramos noted. However, he said, "As long as the U.S. is the source of the problem, it can be the source of the solution—the source of peace for East Timor.

"There are thousands of people being killed but no cry for help is heard in the U.S., because the U.S. was deeply involved in the invasion," said Michael Chamberlain, two students of the East Timor affair said Former President Ford admitted in an interview with the Washington Post that he and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger had given tacit approval to the invasion, Chamberlain noted. And, the State Department apparently admitted in 1977 that 90 per cent of the arms used by Indonesia to invade East Timor was supplied by the U.S.

In the ensuing discussion, testimonies often overlapped, with each participant providing bits and pieces to the picture of U.S. military and economic involvement. Despite his Human Rights program, President Carter increased military aid by 50 per cent in 1977, with an attendent 100 per cent increase in the following three years of his administration, said Horta. Horta added grimly, "In 1977, the Indonesian army was on the verge of collapse when the U.S. increased military assistance. If, at that time, Carter would have wanted the Indonesian government to withdraw, the whole Indonesian hold on East Timor would have collapsed."

Admiral La Rocque, who works at the Center for Defense Information, provided more details: "We have given them four old destroyers and 32 combat aircrafts including OB10 Broncos [planes with infra-red detectors and the ability to fly low above the terrain in order to deposit bombs and napalm.] But now we are sending in new Freedom Fighters—F5 jet planes which are very effective in that area. We've promised them 16."

La Rocque looked up from his notes. "I think we're giving these Freedom Fighters to the wrong side," he said.

The continuous flow of arms to Indonesia may violate the U.S.' own 1958 Arms Bilateral Agreement, whereby arms supplied by the U.S. to another country may not be used for offensive purposes. "When the State Department talks about the East Timor anguish, these are crocodile tears which hide a continuous flow of guns," said Ben Anderson, a professor of political science at Cornell University.

Why has the U.S. backed Indonesia? The reasons are complex, and are associated with U.S. economic and political ties to Indonesia which date back to World War II. La Rocque and Anderson agreed that the central reason for America's aid to the Suharto regime is its non-Communist status and the part it played in throwing out the previous Communist government. "During the Indonesian coup of Suharto, one-half million leftists of all stripes were killed and 700,000 jailed which severely liquidated the Communist Party," Anderson said. "We really fell in love with Indonesia," La Rocque added. "When they kicked off the Communists, no longer could they do any wrong.

Continued on page eight

Starving East Timorese children in a refugee camp.

Silence my reason
In the reason of your laws
Suffocate my culture
In the culture of your culture
Smother my revolts
With the point of your bayonet
Torture my body
With the chains of your empire
Subjugate my soul
With the faith of your religion

Plunderers
Assassins
Murderers
Robbers

My land, my people
Bathed in blood,
Drained, exhausted

Barbarous cruisers: a nation
of demagogues
Brutal colonialists: an empire
of pillagers

In the point of the bayonet
Is carved the trail of your progress
In the point of my bayonet
Is carved the history and the form of
my liberation.

Francisco Borja da Costa

The fighting goes on—with U.S. support

Continued from page three

"The U.S. also has an economic stake," Anderson continued. "The U.S. is a major contributor to the consortium which oversees Indonesian development. Since 1967, $16 billion have been given in aid."

The U.S. is trying to show the "wrongness" of the Soviet Union in invading Afghanistan Anderson concluded, "but in the case of East Timor where there was an invasion of government, the U.S. fails to realize that East Timor also has the right to self-determination."

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The overall feeling at the conference was indeed one of bitterness about the U.S.' cavalier treatment of East Timor: "when Carter came into office, he blamed the previous administration and excused himself, saying nothing could be done" even as he increased military aid, Horta exclaimed. Researchers and eye-witnesses reinforced the horror felt by many at the conference over the starvation and casualties inflicted on the East Timorese by Indonesia's continuing "genocidal" policy for imprisoning and containing Fretilin members and their supporters.

By January, 1978, local relief officials said 50,000 a month were dying of starvation in one district alone," Kohen said. When Indonesia finally allowed the International Red Cross to enter East Timor in 1979, 60,000 were malnourished. "Of these, 20,000 were in a calamitous condition—they would die even if aid reached them," Kohen told the audience.

"By November, 1979, the IRC said the situation may be worse than Biafra and certainly is worse than Cambodia," he added.

Horta estimated 200,000 to 300,000 East Timorese died since 1975. Jill Joliffe, an Australian journalist who has closely watched the events unfold in East Timor, added: "The East Timor community abroad is a community of mourning. Of 2,000 refugees in Lisbon, it is impossible to find one family intact."

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Yet the fighting goes on. Five years and little progress by the militarily-superior Indonesian regime in containing Fretilin's resistance to their invasion, has not deterred Indonesia's war on East Timor.

"It's quite possible that the war can continue indefinitely, just as the U.N. debate can continue indefinitely," Joliffe said. This year, guerilla raids outside Dili, the East Timor capital now being held by Indonesian forces, forced Indonesian soldiers there to be on alert. "If even a small group can strike at the military, how can we talk about adjusting to the reality" of the Indonesian take-over, Joliffe asked?

"Many military people are struck by the ineptitude of Indonesia in its fight in East Timor," said La Rocque. "I'm struck with not so much the ineptitude but the stalwart stubbornness of East Timorese to fight for their country." La Rocque remarked.

"In spite of the superiority of the Indonesian army, after five years of war and contrary to the predictions of experts, the resistance is continuing very actively," Horta noted. "Guerilla warfare will be successful because 85 per cent of East Timor is made of mountains. One can travel for 15 hours around the country without going through the flat land. Indonesian soldiers don't know the terrain, they don't know the [East Timor native] language and they face a hostile population.

"There is also growing opposition in Indonesia to the war," said Horta. "Many Indonesian families themselves were killed. We believe if the Indonesian government has the courage to acknowledge a historical mistake, in the long run, this could only benefit their Indonesian economy."

Yet, on a larger scale, the East Timor issue is another reflection of the U.S. traditional foreign policy of supporting repressive regimes in the Third World. Chomsky's latest book, (written with Edward Herman), The Washington Connection and Third World Fascism, for example, mentions at least nine countries—from Guatemala to the Philippines—where the U.S. increased its military and economic aid to regimes which simultaneously increased their use of tortures, death squads and imprisonment of political prisoners.

So a message of the East Timor gathering was that the U.S. foreign policy-makers need to seriously re-assess its traditional policy of backing supposedly anti-Communist regimes, with little regard to the actions or stability of such governments. As Nicaraguan representative to the U.N. Alejandro Benbana testified "in a show of solidarity" at the conference, "the principles that the East Timor people are fighting for are the same principles the Nicaraguan people gave their lives for. As in Nicaragua victory is inevitable."

In the meantime, however, U.S. support of a violent and oppressive government goes on, and thousands upon thousands of war-weary East Timorese and Indonesians are being killed off. And as Horta stressed, "The U.S. interests are not served by supporting an unpopular, repressive regime—a regime which will also alienate the Indonesian people from its own government. Just remember Iran."

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Famine on East Timor

By The Associated Press

Few Americans knew much about East Timor, a former Portuguese colony, when it was taken over by Indonesia four years ago. Now they are hearing a lot about the Indian Ocean island where widespread hunger is reported.

Indonesia's foreign minister, Mochtar Kusumaat Madja, said recently that famine in East Timor might be worse than that suffered by the people of Cambodia.

The plight of this island of some 600,000 inhabitants has been attributed in part to the 1975-76 civil war, which disrupted agricultural production in East Timor and forced thousands of people to leave.

Observers estimate that up to one third of the islanders are suffering from malnutrition, but some blame it on the island's agricultural methods over the years.

Indonesia has received considerable economic and military aid from the United States which considers the Asian nation important because of its anti-Communist stance and its oil-producing capacity.

In a recent congressional hearing on East Timor, Armando Sonaggere, regional director of the Catholic Relief Service (CRS), main outlet for U.S. aid to East Timor, described the island's plight.

He quoted Frank Carlin, CRS program director in the area, as saying that malnutrition was the worst he had encountered in 14 years' experience.

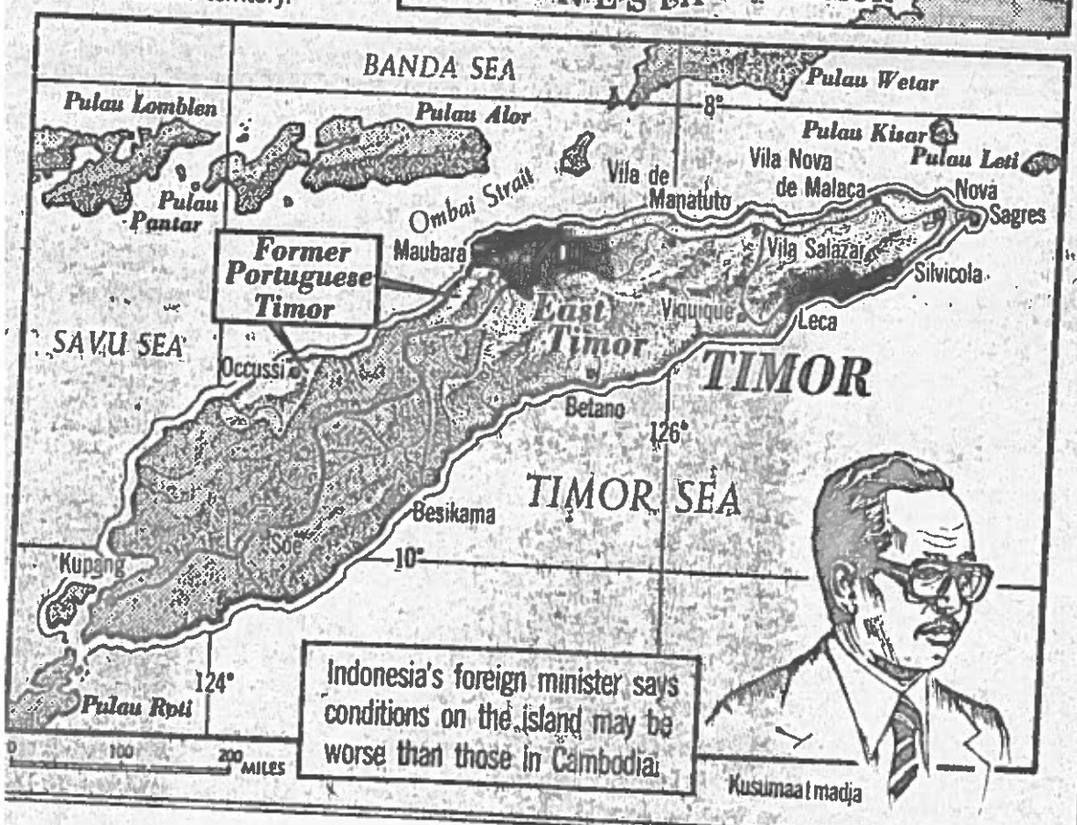
The State Department has said the major reason for famine on the island has been the islander's slash-and-burn method of farming which caused erosion and deforestation.

Some who testified at the hearing asserted that warfare involving the island has been the main reason for its plight, but reports from East Timor say that fighting there is at an extremely low level compared with the past.

The United States has contributed $1.8 million to the International Red Cross relief effort for East Timor and $6.9 million in funds and commodities to the Catholic Relief Services.

Hunger Said to Affect 200,000 People

United States has contributed nearly $9 million so far to the Indonesian territory.



Indonesia's foreign minister says conditions on the island may be worse than those in Cambodia.

Kusumaat madja

Kissinger's personal instructions

Secret documents reprinted here reveal the complicity of the British and American governments in a remarkable human tragedy. In 1975 Indonesian forces invaded the former Portuguese colony of East Timor (see map). Even on Indonesia's figures, one-tenth of the population died; the real toll may be as high as one in three. The story of secret British approval for 'strong action' by Indonesia is contained in a new book, *Documents on Australian Defence and Foreign Policy*. Court orders have suppressed the book and prevented two Australian newspapers from revealing its contents. The *New Statesman* has received extracts that shed new light on the whole network of American-dominated alliances. We print them below.

CONSERVATIVE politicians in Australia have always insisted that the ANZUS treaty — Australia, New Zealand and the US — is the 'ultimate guarantee' of the country's security. Those were the words Malcolm Fraser used in last month's election, with the usual suggestion that no Labour government could be entrusted with this priceless jewel. But the suppressed documents, collected by two publishing executives, George Munsler & Richard Walsh, suggest the treaty is of small practical value.

The Australian public has already learnt that America rejected the only appeal for help yet made under the treaty: documents from the Kennedy Library show that this occurred after the 1963 decision of the Menzies Government to put Australian troops into Borneo during the period of Indonesian confrontation with Malaysia. Sir Garfield Barwick, then External Affairs minister, flew to Washington for talks with Under-Secretary of State Averell Harriman.

Barwick argued that as the treaty referred to attacks on any of the forces of any party in the Pacific area, then the troops in Borneo were entitled to American protection.

Harriman insisted that the treaty didn't cover 'subversion, guerilla warfare or indirect aggression'. This didn't prevent Barwick, on his return to Australia, telling a press conference that there was no doubt the ANZUS treaty covered the Borneo case.

But the Munster/Walsh book reveals that Barwick wrote at the same time a secret memo which began with the sensible admission that each party would interpret the treaty according to its judgments at the time, and went on to warn Australian diplomats, amazingly, that

> the Government is of the opinion that discussion of the treaty's meaning is almost certain to narrow its meaning . . . We will only tend to embarrass each other if we try, either in public or in private, to explore such topics, and in the government's view such exploration is bound to weaken rather than strengthen the reliance we can place on ANZUS.

Clearly, an odd sort of 'ultimate guarantee' (see opposite for more details). The same section of the book also contains a cable from the Australian Embassy in Washington which severely undercuts the repeated assurances that Australian officials are fully informed about the functions of American bases in Australia.

It was sent in March 1973 by the Ambassador, Sir James Plimsoll, and opens with a remarkable confession of ignorance:

> Because of the absence from Washington of a number of senior defence group officers we have been hampered in providing answers to the questions you have raised in your telegram (about the bases)

Without providing any official information from the US, Plimsoll's cable goes on to suggest that his government should make reference to a number of public sources, such as the Adelphi Papers of London's International Institute for Strategic Studies, and a book by a correspondent for the US magazine *Aviation Week*.

ESTIMATES of the death-toll from the Indonesian invasion of East Timor in late 1975 range from Indonesia's own 60,000 to a recent e mate of 200,000 made at a conference in N York — in any case, it is an enormous disa afflicting a tiny population. Secret cables fr the Munster/Walsh collection show that B ish, American and Australian policy-mal showed collusive indifference to the fate of E Timor's population, though their influe with the Indonesians — Western 'allies' by r — was considerable.

Where the options were argued at all, it claimed that the East Timorese would be be off if Indonesia Dominion were to follow collapse of Portuguese colonial rule. Indepe ence would only mean political and econo instability, which might make a popula (then) numbering 600,000 turn towards c munism. The US State Department, then c trolled by Henry Kissinger, ordered its emb in Indonesia to cut back on its reporting of East Timor issue, while the British ambassa Sir John Ford, recommended the turning blind eye to the invasion of what he called ' problem child'.

21 July 1975.

Portuguese Timor: British Policy Confidential

To Canberra from Djakarta*

British Ambassador Ford has given me on a personal basis copy of report of his Head of Chancery (Gordon Duggan) on his visit to Portuguese Timor earlier this month. We are sending copy by safehand bag today. Meantime, you might be interested in following comment by Ford in covering letter to Foreign and Commonwealth Office. Begins:

'One conclusion does seem to stand out from Gordon's report. The people of Portuguese Timor are in no condition to exercise the right of self-determination. Their politicians are likely to continue their squabbling and dissension and, in the absence of a strong lead from Lisbon or a military coup, political confusion will grow worse and the territory's s become even more fertile for trouble making.

Duggan saw no evidence that either the R sians or the Chinese were yet stirring the p — but any increase in Soviet influence in L bon might increase the chances that the f mer will seek to exploit the situation, and shall keep a close eye out for signs that th are doing so.

Even without Soviet or Chinese interventi the territory seems likely to become more o problem child and the arguments in favour its integration into Indonesia are all t stronger. Though it still remains in our inter to steer clear of becoming involved in futu developments in Lisbon now seem to argue favour of greater sympathy towards Indone should the Indonesian government feel forc to take strong action by the deteriorating si ation in Portuguese Timor. Certainly as se from here it is in Britain's interest that In nesia should absorb the territory as soon a as unobtrusively as possible.

If it comes to the crunch and there is a row the UN we should keep our heads down a avoid siding against the Indonesians.'

Above, the message in which British diplomat Sir John Ford (left) approved Indonesia's invasion of East Timor: the US ambassador colluded, under personal orders from Henry Kissinger (right). Fighting continues, with lavish use of US equipment like the Bronco STOL ground-attack aircraft.

* *Capital of Indonesia, and location of Australian embassy.*

Peter Kellner, Political Editor

The great rose-tinted spectacles show

TRY THIS FOR SIZE. There need be no U-turns, or reflationary tax cuts. On present policies the recession will end this winter anyway. By next spring inflation will be down to 8 per cent. The Government's money supply targets will be met. Short-term interest rates will be down by six per cent. Unemployment will peak soon after, at a figure not much higher than it is today. Thereafter things will continue to improve on all fronts. By 1984, Britain's national income will be £20 billion higher than it is today, even after allowing for inflation —which by then will be down to 3 per cent a year.

You think I am joking? I promise you I am not. With as straight a face as I can muster, I am simply reporting the latest forecast of Professor Patrick Minford of Liverpool University. Now there are people who think that Minford is a bit over the top; that he is doing to economics what Rasputin did to medicine; that he should be ignored. On the other hand there are those, like Nigel Lawson, the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, who think that Minford is the bees' knees; Lawson wanted Minford to be the Treasury's chief economic adviser, when the post became vacant a few months ago. In any case, I don't hold with the idea of ignoring people whose mental faculties do not function quite like yours or mine. Rasputin was a pretty powerful chap, after all.

Minford, you see, is a one hundred per cent, pure beef monetarist. More than that: he is the one pure monetarist in Britain with a computer model of the economy. His is not the economics of vague pipe-dreams or fudged ideology; he has a clear view of how money supply shapes the economy, and is willing to put numbers to the connections. If the Government's monetarist vision of the way the world works is correct, then Minford's projections should prove to be broadly correct. This week's cabinet decision to cut public spending further and increase taxes next spring should actually help recovery.

But if the Government is wrong, then Minford's figures will be way out of line. Minford's model is the nearest thing Britain possesses to an objective test of what this Government is up to. Top Treasury officials, who shy away from such clear cut tests, go to some pains to distance themselves from Minford's work: they all want their alibis in case the strategy fails. They are like nervous pilots for whom Minford has provided an unwelcome black box: if the aeroplane crashes, the evidence for monetarism's failure will be beyond dispute.

THE INTELLECTUAL gulf that separates the monetarists from the Keynesians is indicated by the table on this page. Twenty-four hours before the Minford forecast was published, a group of Cambridge economists — Cambridge Econometrics — put out their own avowedly Keynesian view of where the Government's policies will lead. (Cambridge econometrics, incidentally, should not be confused with the separate Cambridge Economic Policy Group, which is best known for its advocacy of import controls.)

The Cambridge model predicts that a cut in government spending leads to higher unemployment, and that the level of demand in the economy is much more influential than interest rates in determining industry's decisions on stockbuilding and investment. So Cambridge foresees the Government's tight money policy exacerbating the recession, with stocks and investment both declining until the mid-80s. (Indeed, Cambridge would predict an even deeper depression if it thought the Government could keep to its public spending plans; but it expects continued overspending — *and* income tax cuts ahead of the next general election.)

LIVERPOOL'S IDEAS are very different, not only from Cambridge, but from every other computer model of the economy. It is based on what Minford calls the 'theory of rational expectations'. Employers and workers, he argues, are now convinced that the Government will keep to its money supply targets. For this reason — and solely for this reason — wage settlements this winter will be low; consumers will spend more and save less as inflation falls, and by next spring industry will be building up its stocks and expanding its investment plans.

It is important to recognise that there are two stages to this argument: first, that monetary policy is tightly linked to inflation, and secondly that falling inflation (as well as falling interest rates) is tightly linked to rising output. Although most of the public debate about monetarism concentrates on the money-inflation link, it is really the inflation-output link that is more suspect. Historically, declining inflation has been associated more with recession than with growth.

Minford, however, claims that his model has better predictive powers than his rivals'.In evidence to the House of Commons Treasury Committee he produced figures to show that the (Keynesian) National Institute's model was twice as inaccurate as his at charting the course of inflation and output from 1971 to 1976. That is rather odd, because the Liverpool model did not exist then. What Minford has done is compare what he says his model *would have* predicted with what the National Institute *actually did* predict at the time. Unlike the National Institute, Minford has 'predicted' the traumatic events of the early 1970s after knowing what actually happened. To ask us to accept that as serious evidence of the model's value is like asking Littlewoods to accept a football pools coupon filled in on Saturday evening.

No, the important evidence is what Minford says is going to happen. And his evidence to the MPs, dated 28 May 1980, contains the following lulu:

> On the output side, there is little sign yet of any recession . . . The economy is stagnant or growing slowly, but not yet in recession.

At that time, when every other model was predicting a fall in Britain's gross domestic product this year, Minford was predicting none. Minford has now revised his 1980 projections; he is expecting GDP this year will be 1.9 per cent lower than last year. But on the basis of this week's figures from the Central Statistical Office, the final result is likely to be a decline of nearer 4 per cent — as Cambridge has said all along.

Minford now admits he was too optimistic in the spring. He says the recession is partly 'due to mistakes made by firms and unions in assessing the monetary environment that would prevail during the 1979-80 wage round.' He maintains that this winter pay bargainers will have a

> new understanding of the likely course of monetary policy in which presumably, having been once badly burnt by their scepticism about monetary change, they will treat future monetary and fiscal targets with greater respect.

I can well believe that wage settlements will be lower this winter, mainly because the recession is biting too hard. The notion that shop stewards have been converted overnight to solemn respect for money supply targets strikes me as nonsense.

There is a simple way to settle the matter. Why don't you, I and Patrick Minford cut out this article and compare notes again in a year's time? If I am proved wrong, I will promise never to criticise him, Margaret Thatcher or Milton Friedman again — on one condition: that Minford promises that if he is proved wrong, he will pay an unemployed Liverpool school-leaver to throw his computer terminal in the Mersey.

Two rival views of the future

	Gross Domestic Product (1979 = 100)		Unemployment(1) (millions)		Inflation rate (per cent)		Interest rates(2) (per cent)		Government borrowing(3) (£ billions)	
	Cambridge	Liverpool	Camb.	L'pool	Camb.	L'pool	Camb.	L'pool	Camb.	L'pool
1979	100	100	1.4	1.3	12.2	12.0	13.9	13.6	12.6	9.9
1980	96.2	98.1	1.97	1.65	17.7	18.0	16.0	16.5	11.7	9.7
1981	94.5	99.5	2.5	2.1	11.7	8.1	14.0	10.8	9.4	7.7
1982	94.6	102.8	2.7	1.9	12.9	5.0	9.5	9.5	9.8	5.8
1983	96.4	105.5	3.1	1.8	8.6	4.1	8.8	7.3	9.9	3.9
1984	98.3	108.2	3.3	1.7	9.4	2.9	8.5	6.9	8.9	4.1

1 Cambridge includes school-leavers, Liverpool excludes them.
2 Cambridge: Minimum lending rate; Liverpool: Treasury bill rate.
3 Cambridge PSBR Figures relate to calendar years, Liverpool to fiscal years (e.g. '1980' means April '80 to March '81).

When is a treaty not a treaty? ANZUS below

In a cable on 17 August 1975 Richard Woolcott, the Australian ambassador, reported that America could influence Indonesia's behaviour because of the need for Congressional support for US military aid. But Woolcott added that

> US Ambassador Newsom told me last night that he is under instructions from Kissinger personally not to involve himself in discussions on Timor with the Indonesians on the grounds that the US is involved in enough problems of greater importance . . . I will be seeing Newsom on Monday but his present attitude is that the US should . . . allow events to take their course. His somewhat cynical comment to me was that if the Indonesians were going to intervene they (US) would hope they do so 'effectively, quickly, and not use our equipment'.

The intervention is still going on today, with extensive use of US equipment, especially the Bronco ground-attack aircraft. In the same cable, Woolcott advised that Indonesian suppression of Timorese independence was in Australia's interest, and objected to plans for the then Prime Minister, Gough Whitlam, to send a message asking Indonesia's president, General Suharto, to avoid the use of force.

> Suharto will be looking to Australia for understanding of what he, after very careful consideration, decides to do, rather than what he might regard as a lecture, or even a friendly caution.

Actually, the Labour government was divided on the issue: Whitlam was amenable to an Indonesian take-over, but the External Affairs minister, Don Willisee, favoured an act of real self-determination. The invasion, however, did not take place until after Whitlam had been sacked by Governor-General Sir John Kerr.

THE FRASER government's court argument for suppression of the book includes a particularly vehement claim that relations with Indonesia will be damaged by its revelations. Certainly one embarrassment is a top-secret cable from Woolcott of 4 January 1975, including the text of a recent meeting of the Association of South-East Asian Nations, at which proposals for neutralisation of the area were discussed. The cable states that the text — supposed to be kept top-secret within ASEAN — had been leaked by Colonel Setiawan of the Indonesian intelligence agency BAKIN. Other documents refer to collaboration in 'internal and external intelligence' between Indonesia and Australia — something not previously admitted.

Another cable from Woolcott documents Britain's role in getting the East Timor disaster under way (see separate extract).

But embarrassment may well reverberate further afield if the ban on the book is lifted. For instance Malcolm Fraser, refreshed by electoral victory, is trying to add more muscle to the five-power defence arrangement (ANZUK) cobbled together in the latter sixties between Malaysia, Singapore, America, Australia and New Zealand, with British support. Secret documents suggest that Australian officials have always been aware that this structure was imposed over considerable Malaysian doubts — none of which are likely to have been alleviated by the passage of time.

A secret brief prepared for a visit by the Australian Defence Minister to Singapore and Malaysia in March 1972 opens with a scathing estimate of the military stance of Lee Kuan Yew's Singapore government:

> Facets of Singapore's force development are designed as deterrents. Unfortunately, they also convey the appearance of being 'aggressive' or 'interventionist' in purpose. Combined with phrases in Singapore's recent history typified by slogans such as 'national survival', the development or overdevelopment of such facilities runs the risk of antagonising the wolf it is intended to deter. Our own judgment furthermore is that one strand in Singaporean military thinking countenances the possibility of making a lodgment in the Malayan peninsula.

The Australian brief-writer sympathised with a Malaysia official's remark that, in this context, Singapore's request for jungle-training facilities in Malaysia was as provocative as would be a Malaysia request to train for street-fighting in Singapore. Malaysian dislike of the mutual-defence scheme intensified after the return of the Tories to power in Britain in 1970, for the British then decided to station all their remaining forces in Singapore: in the original plan worked out with Australia and New Zealand, the forces involved would have been split roughly evenly between Singapore and Malaysia.

> Particularly with the return of the British, who the Malaysians probably identify more closely with Lee Kuan Yew than they identify with Australia or New Zealand, the Malaysians have shown some suspicion that ANZUK could become SANZUK — ie Singapore plus ANZUK. One practical consequence is that it is unrealistic for us any longer to hope to bring Singapore forces into Malaysia for training purposes on the 'coat-tails' of our own forces . . .

Given the facts of Malaysia suspicion of Le Kuan Yew, the writer of the secret brief sug gests that attempts to pin both countries into single pro-Western defensive alliance might b counter-productive.

> Would we be better by allowing matters to take bilateral course . . . Do our attempts to bring th Malaysians and Singaporeans together simpl open-up areas of friction rather than achieve constructive purpose?

Documents on Australian Defence and Foreig Policy 1968-75 undoubtedly presents a disturb ing picture of the inner workings of inter national politics: undoubtedly the Frase government will earn gratitude in many othe capitals if it succeeds in turning its injunctio into permanent suppression. A piquant aspec of the court proceedings is that the Chief Jus tice of Australia is now the same Sir Garfiel Barwick who plays a distinguished role in th early sections of the book as External Affair minister when he challenged American inter pretation of the ANZUS treaty.

Brief for Minister for Foreign Affairs
From Department of Foreign Affairs,* June 1975

ANZUS

Secret. A renewal of hostilities that involved US forces (in Korea) might raise the question of Australian obligations under the ANZUS treaty. Article 4 of the treaty requires each signatory in the event of an armed attack in the Pacific area on any of the parties 'to act to meet the common danger in accordance with constitutional processes'. Article 5 defines armed attacks on the armed forces, public vessels or aircraft of a signatory in the Pacific area. Papers from the time of drafting indicate that, although the treaty has its origins — in part — in Western reaction to North Korean aggression in 1950, the treaty area was not meant to extend to the Asian mainland and that the intention rather was to accept an offshore commitment only.

In 1959 Mr Whitlam asked in Parliament: 'Which of the islands off the coasts of China and Australia are included in the term "Pacific area" in the treaty between Australia, New Zealand and the USA?' The US State Department suggested a reply as follows:

> The phrase 'Pacific area' as used in several places in the ANZUS treaty is not precisely defined, but doubtless has wide application. In view of the intimate relationship between the three governments any areas of doubt might well be left for decision from time to time in the light of changing circumstances.

Mr (later Lord) Casey, the Minister for External Affairs, replied to Mr Whitlam:

> The broad phrase 'Pacific area' as used in several places in the ANZUS treaty is no precisely defined. In view of the intimat relationships between the three govern ments this is something that is well left t decision from time to time in the light o changing circumstances.

Despite the apparent earlier intention that the treaty should not apply to the Asian mainland there were in 1963 Ministerial exchange with the US on the applicability of the treaty t Australian forces in Malaysia during the con frontation. These resulted in a secret record o understanding of 17 October 1963 . . . the Minister for External Affairs at the time (Si Garfield Barwick) in a minute to the Depart ment commented:

> In practice, each of the parties to the ANZUS treaty is going to decide whether o not to take action under the treaty accord ing to its own judgment of the situation that exists . . . The Government is of the opinion that discussion of the treaty's meaning is almost certain to narrow its meaning . . . We will only tend to embar rass each other if we try, either in public o private, to explore such topics and in the Government's view such exploration is bound to weaken rather than strengthen the reliance we can place on ANZUS.

In the case of South Vietnam, although the original Australian undertaking to provide military advisers arose during a meeting of high-ranking US officials for an ANZUS meeting, the ANZUS treaty was never invoked as a legal basis for the involvement. To sum up, the exact area of the ANZUS treaty was deliberately left vague when it was drafted, has never been defined, and could fairly be left to determination in the light of circumstances at the particular time.

Australia's Chief Justice, Sir Garfield Barwick was formerly External Affairs Minister: at which time he wrote a secret, but highly sceptical assessment of the treaty under which America guarantees Australia's defence. Now, he presides over the court which must decide whether the document (above) is to be published.

** In the early 70s the Australian Department of External Affairs changed its name to Department of Foreign Affairs.*

The tragicomedy of the Housing Bill

According to constitutional textbooks the committee system is one of the strengths of Parliament. Here, the theory goes, MPs who are expert in the subject can discuss, in a relatively non-party way, the details of legislation and the merits of the proposals. The reality is rather different. MONICA FERMAN attended virtually every minute of the 136 hours which Standing Committee F spent discussing the Housing Bill in Committee Room 11. As her report below shows, the proceedings were a perfect example of the parliamentary theatricals which give the appearance of conflict and decision making to a system in which the elected participants have no real role.

STANDING COMMITTEE PROCEEDINGS are a curious thing to follow. Members sit on opposite sides of the room, separated from the public only by a wooden bar resembling an altar-rail. They can chat to one another, exchange pleasantries with lobbyists or the public as they wish. Only when a vote approached did formality prevail in the Housing Committee. The chairman — Janet Fookes, with red hair and an extensive range of outfits in green or blue to match her eye-shadow — called 'Division' whereupon ushers in fancy dress threw open the doors and boomed out 'Division in Room 11'. A few moments were allowed for the whips to collect stragglers and then, in chilling tones, the chairman commanded 'Lock the doors,' which were physically barred by the ushers while the Clerk to the Committee called out the Register and each member answered Aye or No to his name. The opposition whip — Joe Dean (Labour, Leeds West) got himself locked out by accident once. He battered on the doors during the calling of the Register, and when they were eventually unlocked, he shot in like an angry bull, complaining that it was a 'poor show' when the Chairman allowed the government whip plenty of time in a Division. He got nowhere, for the chairman, carefully guided in procedure by her committee clerks, knew that the Chair's discretion was absolute.

The government sit with civil service advisers at their left hand, which is rather like starting with a free kick. Rapid briefings are provided for them throughout proceedings, and these make their way to the Front Bench via the Parliamentary Private Secretary or the Whip. Ministers vary in the skill with which they can digest and reproduce the expert information. John Stanley was good at a prepared brief but, caught by some tricky questions, seemed unable to think quickly on his feet and make use of extra material. He often answered by repeating the statement again, but louder. This habit so maddened Gerald Kaufman that he once had the novel idea of calling for an adjournment of the Committee until the Minister could answer the question. He didn't get it.

Kaufman led the eight Opposition members of the committee against John Stanley's eleven Conservatives. Plaid Cymru had one member — Dafydd Elis Thomas, who saw fit to vote with Labour on all issues except one. In a wild gesture of defiance he voted with the government on a small drafting amendment, to assert his independence. Kaufman said it would debar him from holding office in a future Labour government.

KAUFMAN WAS, OF COURSE, the wit and jester of the Committee. He flirted outrageously with the chairman. On 14 February he opened proceedings by wishing Miss Fookes 'a happy St Valentine's Day from all your bashful admirers.' A few sittings later, when an amendment was described as 'a Trojan horse in the Bill' he winked and she dimpled delightfully as he turned to the chair and asked '. . .but WHO is Helen of Troy.'

Committee proceedings were dominated by the government whip David Waddington Q.C. who seldom spoke except to raise a Point of Order or once to make a quip in Greek. He could produce an absolute majority for the government on every vote so long as he could bring in members from the corridors, the bars or the telephone booths. As a division approached David Waddington would pad swiftly from the room, like a wild cat stalking its prey, and return with an Hon. Member just in time for the vote, only slightly mauled. Once Tristan Garel-Jones (Con, Watford) went missing completely. The doors stood unlocked for longer than usual and Waddington came back empty handed.

The government just scraped home with a majority of one and when Garel-Jones appeared all sunny smiles ten minutes later, he felt it necessary to kneel by the Whip's seat and

Tories who knew about housing were excluded from the committee

explain, with penitent gestures, why he had not been found when Mr Waddington had been wanting. Many a time after that he rushed in at the last moment, completely unaware of the clause under debate, or even if he was required to vote Aye or No. He admitted to the public gallery that, had it been the Social Security Bill under discussion that would have been a different matter for him. A well-known 'wet' on those matters, he had been greatly relieved to find he hadn't been chosen to serve on that

Wyn Roberts, Minister for Wales, slow-mov and slow-speaking with the panache of a stea roller is watched by the committee chairm the severe but easily flattered Janet Fookes.

Committee next door. No doubt the same lo that had put Garel-Jones on Housing had a excluded Brandon Rhys-Williams, Nick Sc and other government housing-buffs fr Standing Committee 'F'.

The most promising expert was John Till the only member of the Opposition with a L don consituency, who had the distinction speaking on behalf of almost every lobby organisation in the land. As he moved from London Boroughs' Association, through Sh ter, housing co-operatives and housing assoc tions, to his own constituents of Lambeth a the Campaign for Homosexual Equality Refuges for Battered Wives, he became a m for all tenants. He also had the honour of p posing the only opposition amendment to accepted by the government. It was a mi drafting amendment which gave some joy didn't provide a pattern for the future.

Tilley sat next to Jack Straw (Lab., Bla burn), who seemed to have been seriou affected by seeing Gerald Kaufman in acti As the Committee progressed, Jack Stra jokes became longer and more carefully stag and his smile began to precede him into room. He took to flirting with Miss Fookes had a running gag about the 'O' levels he or had not taken. It was discovered, *à propo* a discussion about tenants' fixtures and fitti in 'shorthold', that Straw had been someth

Three of Labour's men on the committee: John Tilley (right), the spokesman for virtually every lobbyist who got near the committee; Jack Straw (centre) whose ability to play Mozart aged seven proved little help when struggling with housing finance; Gerald Kaufman, leader of the opposition, wit, jester, outrageous flirt and always ready with a story of his Ardwick, Manchester constituency.

U.S. & World

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Boston Sunday Globe Jan. 20 1980

Sick and hungry children in the East Timor village of Laga last November. (UPI photo)

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Power play cripples E. Timor

By Robert Levey
Globe Staff

WASHINGTON — For more than four years, the suffering, starvation and killing in East Timor has been going on out of world view.

In a brutal scenario that one observer calls "one of the great and ongoing crimes of the century," the government of Indonesia has been tightening its hold on the obscure island of East Timor, a former Portuguese territory at the eastern end of the Indonesian archipelago, which it invaded Dec. 7, 1975.

The Indonesians took advantage of chaotic conditions in East Timor caused by Portugal's decision earlier in the year to withdraw from the territory.

The Indonesian armed forces were heavily equipped with American-made weapons and aircraft from military aid that had amounted to about $15 million a year. Since the invasion, aid has increased dramatically. A total of about $178 million more in military aid has flowed to Indonesia from the United States in the last four years.

Although the invasion and the use of the arms for aggressive purposes are blatant violations of international law and US-Indonesia agreements, the US government has never publicly condemned the events. Privately, an authoritative government source called Indonesia's action "a pure power grab."

In fact, after the invasion, when the United Nations voted to support East Timor's right to self-determination, the United States voted against the resolution.

Recently, a conscience-stricken US official confided anonymously that the State Department even ignored internal recommendations that the United States at least abstain on the self-determination vote. He said this government's motives for voting against the resolution were simple: "We didn't want to upset Indonesia."

The State Department still maintains a "don't rock the boat" attitude toward events in East Timor. James Landberg, deputy director of the Indonesian desk, said, "State is basically taking the position that what's done is done and now it is a relief situation."

Meanwhile, the death toll among the East Timorese through war and famine is estimated by even the Indonesian officials to be at least 60,000 to 75,000. Even US reports place the estimate at about 100,000. International human rights activists think the figure could be as high as 200,000.

There are no reliable population figures for East Timor, but estimates made before the takeover ranged from 500,000 to 650,000.

For 3½ years, until last July, Indonesia closed East Timor to the outside world and went about the business of destroying pockets of armed resistance and bombing the peasants out of the hills so they would not be able to help maintain the Fretilin guerrilla movement. Fretilin is the local political party that has been most dominant in the crusade for independence.

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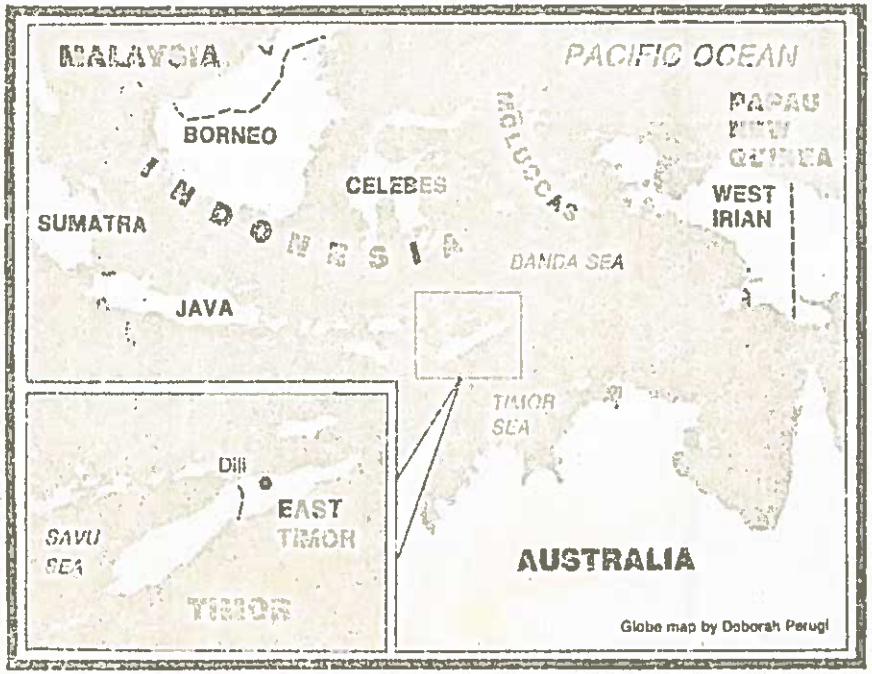

Indonesia's deadly pow

★ TIMOR

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The East Timorese had been impoverished hill peasants living on an island about the size of Connecticut that is bisected by a rugged mountain range.

But today up to 300,000 East Timorese have been moved into 150 "resettlement villages" under strict Indonesian control.

A report leaked from the US embassy in Indonesia last September confirmed that "the people are now in these villages and the government of Indonesia plans for them to remain there."

The western half of the island, West Timor, was already part of Indonesia. But East Timor had been a Portuguese territory for 400 years. The Portuguese withdrew in 1975 as part of an overall decolonization policy. Under colonial rule, the island had remained primitive. There are only 15 miles of paved road in the territory — all in the capital, Dili.

"The Portuguese didn't leave behind a light bulb when they pulled out," a US official said. When Portugal withdrew, a minor civil war broke out among Fretilin and two other political parties vying to control the government. That is when Indonesia stepped in, claiming it was putting down a rebellion that could cause problems for the region.

That invasion took place just one day after then-President Gerald Ford and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger left Jakarta, Indonesia, after a state visit.

Little first-hand information found its way out of East Timor after Indonesia closed it off. But last month a sobering account was offered by Rev. Leoneto Viera do Rego, a mission priest from Portugal who has spent 23 years on the island, including three years among the resistance fighters in the hills. Fr. Leoneto surrendered to the Indonesians in early 1979 and, after 17 days of imprisonment and interrogation, was permitted to leave the country.

Last month, at a session with New York Times editors, Fr. Leoneto, speaking through an interpreter, said things were normal during 1976, the first year after the invasion. "Apart from the main towns, people in the interior weren't aware of the war. People had food commodities aplenty. It was a normal life under not-normal circumstances. Problems started in early 1977. A full-scale bombardment of the whole island began. From that point there emerged death, illness, despair.

"The second phase of the bombing was late 1977 to early 1979, with modern aircraft. This was the firebombing phase of the bombing. Even up to this time, people could still live. The genocide and starvation was the result of the full-scale incendiary bombing. . . . We saw the end coming. People could not plant. I personally witnessed — while running to protected areas, going from tribe to tribe — the great massacre from bombardment and people dying from starvation.

"In 1979, people began surrendering because there was no other option. When people began dying, then others began to give up."

Fr. Leoneto estimated that 200,000 people have died in the last four years.

Sporadic fighting continues today in remote parts of the island where the remaining guerrillas of the independence movement are still being pursued by regular Indonesian forces.

The US Congress has twice held hearings about the unsettling events in East Timor, but the proceedings were virtually ignored by the media.

The Indonesian government has consistently opposed any congressional inquiry into the East Timor matter, contending that it is an internal issue. It claims that, the summer after the invasion, an Indonesian-appointed council of local officials voted to "integrate" East Timor into Indonesia.

In March 1977, the House subcommittee on Asian and Pacific affairs looked into both human rights violations and the question of the use of US equipment by the Indonesian armed forces during their invasion of East Timor. It was confirmed that more than 90 percent of Indonesia's arms and aircraft had been supplied by the United States.

That hearing led to a fact-finding mission in April 1977 by two members of Congress, Rep. William Goodling (R-Pa.) and then-Rep. Helen Meyner (D-N.J.). They reported that their visits had been carefully orchestrated by the Indonesian military, which refused them permission to have their own independent interpreter or meet privately with East Timorese people.

They reported they were unable to investigate reports of atrocities but concluded that conditions did not seem repressive. The East Timor issue dropped almost entirely out of view after that, overshadowed by the massive problem of starvation developing in Cambodia.

However, at the second subcommittee hearing just six weeks ago, Bruce Cameron, foreign affairs lobbyist for the Americans for Democratic Action, testified: "The magnitude of suffering in East Timor is shocking. On Nov. 2, the Indonesian foreign minister stated that conditions in East Timor may be worse than Biafra or Kampuchea (Cambodia)."

Rep. Tom Harkin (D-Iowa) has been one of the few US elected officials to speak out on East Timor. In direct contrast to the State Department view, he said at the hearing: "I do not think it does justice to the American people, or Congress, to close our eyes to what may have happened in the past and to just move ahead with today. We have to assess what happened in terms of our involvement and whether or not something could have been done about it at an earlier stage."

Edward E. Masters, US ambassador to Indonesia, testified that, although there

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are "acute difficulties of poverty and malnutrition, . . . I am confident that the government of Indonesia, with help from abroad, is now on the path which will lead to a more prosperous and happy future for the people of East Timor."

This optimistic view is strongly disputed by Massachusetts Institute of Technology professor Noam Chomsky, a noted human rights activist. Chomsky said, "The aid coming now in driblets is unlikely to reach much of the population. Anyone familiar with the incredible corruption of the Indonesian military would not be surprised. The central fact is that the

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East Timor paying the price

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US is directly responsible for bringing about a situation quite comparable to the horror of Cambodia."

Several informed observers believe the Indonesian government began to open East Timor to international aid only after it felt the population was pacified and resistance was effectively wiped out. "It saves them the cost of a relief effort," said Arnold Kohen of Ithaca, N.Y., a specialist in Southeast Asian affairs.

Since last June, after the Indonesian government permitted aid to be brought in, the US government has spent about $3.8 million on food and medical supplies for East Timor, mostly routed through Catholic Relief Services (CRS). Australia has kicked in about $4 million, and $6.7 million has come from the rest of the international community.

The relief effort that began last summer has been questioned because there is no proof that the food and medical supplies are actually getting through to starving and ill Timorese people.

Catholic Relief Services has been the prime agency involved in the aid plan. It has been criticized for being too close to the Indonesian government. For instance, contrary to usual procedure for an international relief agency, CRS has used military trucks and convoys to aid in distribution of food.

There have been charges that some materials pass from the military onto the black market.

A group of refugees from East Timor arriving in Lisbon this week repeated charges that the military was embezzling part of the relief aid.

Field officer Frank Carlin is the only CRS official "on the ground" in East Timor. He works with a staff of 93 — 50 of them East Timorese and the rest Indonesian.

Armando Sonagerre, CRS regional director for Asia and the Pacific, said last week that CRS had distributed 3000 tons of food in the last six months and planned to distribute 5900 more.

The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), which refuses to make the same compromises, at first was denied any access to the area and now has only five staff members in the field, doing mostly medical work. They are restricted to 13 of the 150 settlements.

Despite firm evidence to the contrary, Indonesian officials have repeatedly claimed that all relief services have free access in East Timor.