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- The Unseen Holocaust(12.07.1984) *The Tribune*
- Shultz tells concern for East Timor (12.07.1984) *Chicago Tribune*

# Restrictions in East Timor spark US concern about human rights

By Daniel Southerland  
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

More than three months ago, Secretary of State George Shultz expressed concern to Indonesian officials about reports of continuing human rights abuses in the Indonesian-occupied former Portuguese colony of East Timor.

But since that time the Indonesians have continued to restrict access to East Timor by foreign journalists and by officials of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC). Independent assessments of conditions in East Timor have been hard to come by.

The restrictions have led to renewed concern among some American congressmen that conditions in East Timor are not nearly so benign as the Indonesian government makes them out to be. One reason for congressional concern is that in violation of an arms agreement with the United States,

the Indonesians used American weapons in their 1975 invasion of East Timor. By some estimates, the invasion, and the famine that followed it in 1978 and '79, killed more than 100,000 Timorese.

In July, 123 members of Congress sent a letter to Secretary Shultz urging that "the plight of the people of East Timor" be given serious attention in the meetings Shultz conducted during his visit that month to Indonesia. The congressional letter to Shultz was drafted by Rep. Tony Hall (D) of Ohio.

A US government spokesman later confirmed that Shultz had raised the issue of human rights in East Timor in a July 11 meeting with Indonesia's foreign minister, Mochtar Kusumaatmadja.

Indonesian officials insist that conditions in East Timor are improving and that Indonesia is carrying out a program of accelerated development in the territory. But Congressman Hall and some of his colleagues are not convinced. In answer to a query from a reporter this week, Hall said, "I've seen nothing to indicate that the situation in East Timor has changed for the better since the Shultz visit."

Hall focuses on one point in particular. He notes that Indonesia has refused to permit the ICRC to conduct an independent survey of East Timor to assess the humanitarian needs of the people, despite reports from refugees and Catholic clerics of continued fighting and hunger in several areas.

In a letter sent to Lisbon earlier this year, the apostolic administrator of the Roman Catholic Church in East Timor, Msgr. Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo, wrote that the Timorese were suffering from "disease, hunger, persecution, and the loss of freedom." Monsignor Belo, who is a native Timorese, wrote in the letter dated Feb. 11 that Indonesian forces had intensified anti-guerrilla operations and were forcibly recruiting rural Timorese. In July Pope John Paul II voiced concern over Indonesian actions in East Timor.

State Department officials who have had access to

East Timor have disagreed with the Reverend Belo's account of conditions there. While acknowledging that some "sporadic" fighting continues in the eastern part of the territory, the State Department does not find any significant lack of food in East Timor.

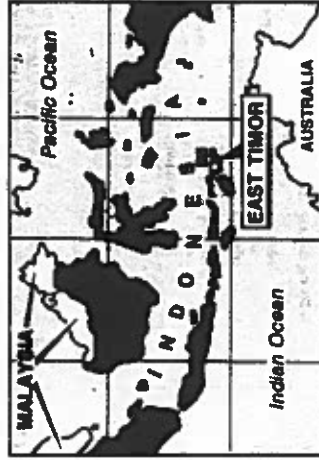
In a letter to the New York Times published Sept. 7, A. Hasnan Habib, the Indonesian ambassador in Washington, charged that "some few clerics" in East Timor were being manipulated by Fretilin, the East Timorese independence movement. Ambassador Habib described Fretilin as "a small band of renegades."

According to the State Department, an extended de facto cease-fire in East Timor broke down in August, 1983, after Fretilin insurgents killed 16 Indonesian Army engineers engaged in civic action work in East Timor. The US estimates that some 500 to 600 Fretilin guerrillas are operating in East Timor.

Last November, the Indonesian ambassador to the United Nations said ICRC operations in East Timor had been suspended due to the August 1983 incident and Indonesian concern for ICRC personnel. But Western diplomats said the ICRC made its decision to suspend food and medical assistance operations well before the August incident, because it could not get unrestricted access to all the villages where an evaluation of aid requirements would have had to be made.

A working paper for the United Nations Secretariat said the ICRC had "intended to continue the program in 1983, but it was not granted access to all the places where assistance requirements would have to be evaluated."

The ICRC has been able to visit prisons and detention centers in East Timor and on an offshore island. An agreement reached in 1983 would extend those visits to other detention centers on the main island.



WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 21, 1983

# Congressional concern rises over E. Timor

Tightened access to island for relief workers and reports of Indonesian military offensive prompt letter to Reagan urging human rights review

By Daniel Southerland  
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

East Timor, a small territory virtually unknown to most Americans, has attracted the attention of a large number of US congressmen.

That concern derives most recently from the impression that Indonesia is covering up human rights abuses in this small former Portuguese colony, invaded by Indonesia in 1975. When Indonesia tightened access to the island territory several months ago, the congressional concern increased.

With a United Nations vote on the Timor issue postponed and access to the island reduced, congressmen who have followed the issue feared that the Indonesians would launch new military operations on the island and cause new civilian casualties among a population which has already suffered heavily.

The Indonesian government denies that any major military operations are under way on East Timor at this time, but diplomats have reported increased military activity in the territory following a "beefing up" of the Indonesian forces in East Timor.

Led by Rep. Tony P. Hall, a Democrat from Ohio who has tried to monitor the Timor situation for the past several years, a bipartisan group of 105 members of the House of Representatives, wrote to President Reagan

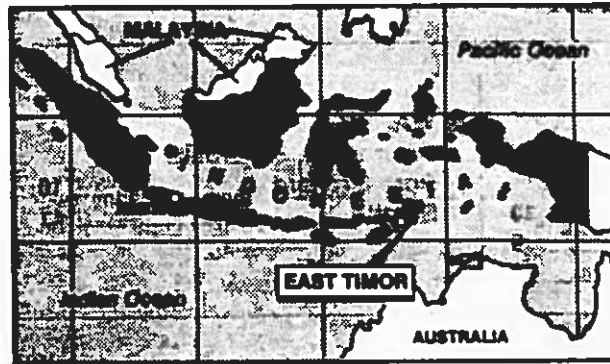
last week expressing concern over reports of a new, large-scale Indonesian military offensive. The House members urged the President to add East Timor to America's foreign policy agenda and use constructive diplomacy to prevent further bloodshed and misery there.

Hall said that the 105 signatures on the letter to Reagan marked a "high point" of congressional concern over East Timor. In a 1980 book on Indonesia and the Philippines, State Department official Robert Pringle pointed out that the Timor issue might have faded from the American public view entirely in the mid-1970s had it not been for the efforts of a single congressman, Democrat Donald Fraser of Minnesota, who doggedly questioned the US acquiescence in the Indonesian annexation of East Timor.

The letter commended the Indonesians for "measurable progress" made in the reunification of families which have been divided by the conflict in East Timor. But the 105 House members, including nine Republicans, charged that the Timorese "have barely recovered" from a famine in the years 1978-80 and a military offensive in 1981, which, the letter asserts, "caused a reported 2,000 deaths — partially attributable to a forced march of tens of thousands of villagers."

On Aug. 16 of this year, Indonesia's Armed Forces Commander, Gen. Benny Murdani, stated in an inter-

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view with the Indonesian newspaper Sinar Harapan that the Indonesian government would "crush" guerrillas of the Fretilin independence movement on East Timor. General Murdani was reported to have said that the situation in the former colony was "no game any more," that there would be "no mercy," and that he could not allow "this united country to be split apart."

An Indonesian Embassy official in Washington said that Murdani's statement may have been "misinterpreted." But he acknowledged that some small increase in Indonesian troop strength may have been ordered following an incident which took place on Aug. 8, shortly before Murdani made his statement, in which 16 Indonesians were killed in the south of East Timor by guerrillas, presumably from the Fretilin movement.

The most definitive recent statement on East Timor

was made on Nov. 8 at the United Nations by Indonesian Ambassador Ali Alatas. In a letter addressed to the secretary-general, the ambassador stated that no major military offensive was under way and that the "only security activity" in the course of this year had been in the area of the Aug. 8 incident.

He charged that "a tiny band of Fretilin diehards" carried out an attack on an army engineering unit working on a development project in a remote village. Their sole aim, he said, was "provoke the security forces" in order to undermine progress made toward a general amnesty offered by Indonesia.

Much of the letter to President Reagan points to an Indonesians' denial of free access to East Timor by the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC).

In his statement, Ambassador Ali Alatas said that the ICRC operations on East Timor had been suspended due to the August incident and Indonesian concern for the safety of ICRC personnel. Western diplomats say the ICRC made its decision to suspend operations in July of this year, well before the August incident, because it could not get access to all the villages where the evaluation of aid requirements would have had to be made.

The ICRC has continued to work on family reunification and tracing operations and sends a physician and nurse to Atauro island off the coast of East Timor to visit the Timorese being held there. But the ICRC has yet to gain access to all prisons on the main island of Timor.

All of this is of interest to the United States, because the US has sent food and medicine to the island through the ICRC and through the Catholic Relief Services (CRS), which runs a development program in a secure area of the island. The congressional letter to President Reagan said that the absence of the ICRC on the main island "becomes even more disquieting" in light of a September report by Amnesty International, the London-based human rights organization which states that the Indonesian military has "engaged systematically and persistently in practices of brutality" on East Timor.

Chris Pritchard reports from Canberra:

Indonesian and Australian officials say talks between the two countries are likely to be held early in the new year to try to settle a gap in the ocean boundary between Australia and Indonesia-ruled East Timor.

Australia has not recognized the Indonesian incorporation of East Timor — but there have been strong indications that Canberra is moving toward formal acceptance of the status quo. The belief, according to Canberra aides, is that good relations with so large a close neighbor are of paramount concern and that Indonesian control of East Timor is a fact of life.

The Indonesians blame the Australian press for, as Jakarta sees it, poisoning the attitude of Australians towards its Timor policies with charges of genocide against the native Timorese and allegations that starvation is widespread in East Timor even now.

Recently, however, there's been evidence of change. An Australian wire service reporter has been allowed to establish a bureau in Jakarta.

Australia is being pushed by oil companies toward settling the boundary issue. They point to recent encouraging oil finds between Australia and East Timor.

# E. Timor may face food shortage

Indonesian military operation could be cause

By Daniel Southerland  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

Still recovering from the famine which struck only a few years ago, the small former Portuguese colony of East Timor may now be facing new food shortages.

In January, it was learned that Monsignor Martinho da Costa Lopes, the Roman Catholic bishop of East Timor, sent an urgent appeal to nearby Australia, calling for aid. He said that a major Indonesian military operation on the Southeast Asian island territory had disrupted planting, causing food shortages.

In Australia, Indonesian embassy officials denied there was a critical need for food on Timor, but the Australian government said that it would give 1000 tons of corn to help avert shortages. Australian aid officials have been requesting direct access to the island territory, which has been largely shut off to the outside world since Indonesia annexed it after invading more than six years ago.

In the United States, Senator Paul Tsongas (D) of Massachusetts has drawn attention to East Timor. Last December, Tsongas referred to early accounts from Timorese Catholic sources reporting possible food shortages and an alleged massacre of Timorese civilians. On Feb. 8, Tsongas cited additional information from Monsignor Lopes. The Senator noted that there are no international relief agencies working on East Timor on a full-time basis and urged that Australia's Catholic Relief organization be permitted to enter the island to supervise the distribution of the newly promised Australian aid.

"To the best of our knowledge, the food

situation is not critical," said a US State Department official. The official said that his information was based on reports from diplomats and members of international organizations who visited Timor over the past several months.

As a precautionary measure, however, the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) helped late last year to fill several warehouses in Timor with food.

American interest in East Timor stems from close US ties with Indonesia, the world's fifth most populous nation. The Indonesians used American weapons in

and states that much of the current interest in human rights in Indonesia is focused on allegations of abuses in East Timor. These include allegations of killings, disappearances, and large-scale detentions. The Indonesian government denies that abuses have occurred. The State Department says that it is "difficult to independently confirm or deny" the allegations.

What the State Department does say, however, is that the Indonesians restricted access to the island to foreign observers more in 1981 than in 1980. It also says that East Timorese have left the island more slowly during the past year. Indeed, according to the department, only six of the families in an ICRC program and 47 in an Australian program have been allowed to leave Indonesia since Oct. 15, 1980.

One indication that all is not well on East Timor came last year from an unlikely source. Members of the Indonesian-installed East Timor provincial assembly, in a report to Indonesia's President Suharto, warned that members of the Indonesian military were behaving on Timor like "conquerors towards a conquered people." They said the assembly was continually receiving complaints from the Timorese about corruption and mistreatment by the military, including torture. In November, the two assembly members who signed the report were arrested. The State Department says the best available evidence indicates that they were released by the end of last year.

According to the Reuters news agency, the document prepared by the Timorese assemblymen was similar to a secret report compiled recently by Catholic priests in Timor for the Vatican.

Sen. Tsongas said this and other information confirmed his belief that an international presence is needed in East Timor to help protect the civilian population from violence and to distribute food.



their Dec. 1975 invasion.

The US has contributed heavily to international aid efforts on Timor, providing a good part of the food which was shipped to counter the widespread starvation which followed the Indonesian invasion. In the view of US officials, the Timorese, who have their own distinctive identity and language, never stood a chance of forming a viable separate state. Critics of US policy dispute this assertion.

In its recently issued annual reports on human rights, the US State Department mentions East Timor about a dozen times,

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40°

## Warm welcome for Suharto — but vexing issues

By Daniel Southerland  
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor  
Washington

To hear American officials describe it, the relationship between the United States and Indonesia, the world's fifth-largest nation, could hardly be better.

In briefings for reporters, these officials have been paying the utmost in compliments to Indonesia's leader for the past 16 years. President Suharto is described by officials here as a calm, resolute, and competent ex-military man who has led his huge island nation out of chaos and on to rapid economic growth and stability.

President Suharto meets with President Reagan on Oct. 12 in the course of a visit which, according to one senior administration official, symbolizes America's recognition of Indonesia's importance and its desire for even stronger relations with that nation of more than 150 million people.

The senior administration official went so far as to say that Indonesia has "the potential to achieve major power status in Asia in the very near future — certainly by the end of this century — indeed a major status in the world."

One critic of the Suharto regime, Benedict Anderson of Cornell University, a political scientist who specializes in Indonesian politics and culture, calls such talk of major power status, "a lot of hot air" aimed in part at flattering the Indonesians. Mr. Anderson points out that despite Indonesia's huge size, large population, and diverse natural resources, it remains a poor country with little industrial ca-

capacity, heavily dependent on outside aid. Indonesia also has a relatively small army and virtually no navy.

But flattery or not, it is clear that the Reagan administration considers Indonesia to be of major strategic importance. As John H. Holdridge, assistant secretary of state for East Asian affairs, explained at a recent congressional hearing, Indonesia is the largest country in the five-nation Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN), support for which is the cornerstone of US policy in the region.

"It is a moderate voice in the developing world, an important oil producer, and a major arena for US trade and investment," says Mr. Holdridge. "And it occupies a strategic position astride vital sea lanes . . ."

Despite the compliments being paid to Indonesia, however, there are strains and ambivalences in the relationship which have cast a few clouds over the bright picture painted by administration officials:

- Indonesia wants more American investment and wider access to American markets at a time when the US economy is depressed.

- While Indonesia officially supports ASEAN opposition to Vietnam, many Indonesians fear China more than they do Vietnam. The Indonesians were shaken by a Reagan administration decision to loosen restrictions on arms sales to China but were later reassured that such sales would be considered only on a case-by-case basis.

- Both the Indonesians and Americans have been embarrassed by the Reagan administration failure to send an am-

## bassador to Indonesia for more than a year;

- The Indonesian invasion of the former Portuguese territory of East Timor in 1975 and subsequent famine there created concerns in the US Congress, which, instead of diminishing with time, seem to have increased. One reason for those concerns is that the Indonesians used US weapons in the invasion, in violation of an arms agreement with the US.

The Indonesians — as well as US State Department officials — argue that they have put more into the economic development of East Timor than they have into any Indonesian province. But reports persist of possible food shortages, human-rights violations, and resistance to Indonesian rule.

Various initiatives taken in recent weeks include: a call by a total of 102 members of Congress for the Reagan administration to devote more attention to the East Timor problem. A letter on Sept. 30 to Secretary of State George Shultz from Sen. David Durenberger (R) of Minnesota called for a full inquiry into events in East Timor and a survey of the situation by international relief agencies. The letter got bipartisan support from 16 senators, including several conservatives.

It was also learned that Sen. Barry Goldwater (R) of Arizona, chairman of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, recently informed Senator Durenberger that he was concerned about what he considered to be a disturbing situation in East Timor. Senator Goldwater said that if for some reason the Senate Foreign Relations Committee did not look into the matter, he would be prepared to take up some of the issues involved in hearings held by his committee.



# THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

## US might have averted tragic Timor takeover

By Daniel Southerland  
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

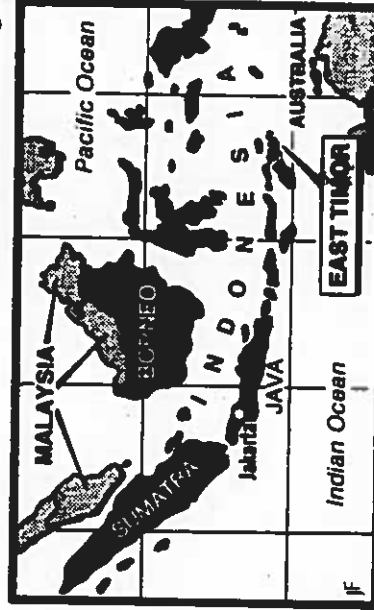
The United States might have been able to prevent Indonesia's catastrophic invasion of the territory of East Timor five years ago, according to newly available Australian documents.

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

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## US might have averted tragic Timor takeover

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

# THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

Thursday, March 6, 1980

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

Thursday, March 6, 1980

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

Legislators take new interest in American policy, aid there

By Daniel Southard  
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 refu-

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

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

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

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

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

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

Based on such experiences, outside ob-

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

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

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

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."

## Rugged terrain ideal for determined defenders

# Indonesia faces guerrilla action in East Timor

By Daniel Southland  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Having captured Dili, the capital of Portuguese Timor, Indonesia and its Timorese allies may be in for a nasty guerrilla war.

Hoeng Kong

As Australian veterans of World War II fighting against the Japanese can testify, the rugged terrain of East Timor is well suited to guerrilla warfare, and, if Australian journalists' accounts from the scene have been any indication, the left-leaning Revolutionary Front for the Independence of East Timor (Fretilin), which has just been driven out of Dili, has considerable support among the people in the hinterland.

Much will depend on the quantities of arms and ammunition that the Fretilin forces have hidden in the mountains and

whether they can make an orderly withdrawal from the Dili area in the face of the superior Indonesian-backed forces.

Australians familiar with the island of Timor said that if Fretilin could get outside support, it might be able to hold out indefinitely. The island has a number of beaches, they said, which would be suitable for supplying guerrillas by boat.

A Fretilin spokesman in Australia said the independence movement "will mount a never-ending campaign against the invaders. We will fight to the last drop of blood. We will never surrender."

But Fretilin's desperate pleas for support over the last few weeks have met with little international sympathy. Most countries value their relations with Indonesia too greatly to show any official sign of interest in the Fretilin cause. Diplomats who have followed developments in Portuguese Timor doubt whether the poor and undeveloped territory could be viable as an independent state under any circumstances. And, given the territory's border with Indonesia, intervention by Indonesia was considered by many observers to be inevitable.

The Indonesians, who have long controlled the western half of the island of Timor, fear that an independent Timor might attract Communist intervention or become a base for the

revival of separatist movements in other parts of the sprawling Indonesian archipelago.

North Vietnam, which is greatly distrusted by the Indonesians, has made a statement of support for Fretilin, and the Chinese delegation at the United Nations declared Dec. 5 that Fretilin's proclamation of independence "reflected the aspirations of the broad masses of people of East Timor." The Chinese called for an end to Indonesian intervention but drew short of extending official recognition to Fretilin.

The United States, a supplier of military and economic assistance to Indonesia, has made clear it would not consider recognition of Fretilin under any circumstances.

The intervention in East Timor has strained Indonesia's relations with neighboring Australia. Fretilin had developed ties with some sections of the Australian Labor Party, and Australian dockworkers began in October holding up Indonesian ships in Australian ports.

The Australian Government must move cautiously. One of its main foreign policy planks has been good relations with Indonesia, its big neighbor to the north. Australia has indicated in a number of ways in the past that it would not oppose an eventual Indonesian takeover of East Timor but that it preferred that this be achieved without the use of force.

Most observers agree intervention in civil war inevitable

# Indonesia's hidden hand in Timor

By Daniel Southerland  
Staff correspondent of  
The Christian Science Monitor

Hoang Kong  
Whatever the truth may be as to the involvement of Indonesian soldiers in Portuguese Timor, Indonesia appears to have taken the plunge into active support for some of the combatants in the Timor civil war.

It is hard to imagine the pro-Indonesian Timorese factions launching the "counter-offensive" that is under way on East Timor without some Indonesian support in the form of arms and food, if not men.

The pro-Indonesian groups were in such disarray, until recently at least, that they had little hope of recovering much territory from the Left-leaning Revolutionary Front for the Independence of East Timor (Fretilin).

Indonesia, which governs the western half of the island of Timor, has made it clear in numerous public statements that it will not tolerate Fretilin rule on the eastern half. The Indonesians fear that an independent Timor might become a base for pro-Communist forces or might encourage the separatist movements that have troubled the sprawling and ethnically diverse Indonesian archipelago ever since Indonesia gained independence.

Indonesia recently reinforced the small naval fleet it had stationed in Timorese waters

after fighting erupted in East Timor more than a month ago. Within the past few days, Fretilin leaders have reported the capture of Indonesian weapons, an attack by unidentified troops supported by a helicopter with Indonesian markings, the killing of a soldier wearing an Indonesian uniform, and the capture of another soldier who allegedly identified himself as an Indonesian regular Army corporal.

The corporal was reported by Fretilin to have said that he was a member of a 30-man group flown from the Indonesian island of Java to a border area with the mission of "provoking guerrilla activity" inside East Timor.

Indonesian military sources have denied the reports that their troops have crossed the border and attacked Fretilin positions. But it appears, despite the denials, that the Indonesians finally have run out of patience and may have opted for indirect intervention, if not a direct invasion.

A direct invasion might result in protracted resistance from many Timorese, and it would hardly enhance Indonesia's image as a peace-loving nation. Indonesian officials have said repeatedly that Indonesia does not want to resort to force unless it gets the blessing of the Portuguese.

Recent Australian visitors to East Timor

have reported, in the meantime, that Fretilin is in control of most of the Portuguese territory.

While the Australian Government cannot publicly condone an Indonesian take-over of East Timor, it has indicated in many ways that it would not oppose eventual Indonesian control of the entire island. The Portuguese territory is obviously of more importance to Indonesia, which shares a border with East Timor, than it is to Australia, which lies 400 miles to the south.

Asked recently if Australia would recognize a Fretilin-controlled East Timor, Prime Minister Gough Whitlam said that Fretilin had not achieved its current dominant position as the result of any act of self-determination.

"They got the Portuguese Army's weapons and then they tried to clean up their opponents," Mr. Whitlam said.

If Indonesia gets control of East Timor, and most observers consider this inevitable, it is not likely to have any effect on power relationships in Southeast Asia.

East Timor is hardly a rich prize. The prime export of the primitive and neglected Portuguese territory is a few thousand tons of coffee each year. And while there may be some mineral deposits in East Timor, Australian mining and petroleum companies have yet to find any significant ones.

## Timor and pragmatism

**I**t is so easy to fall to a pragmatic line over the continued Indonesian occupation of East Timor.

Chief Minister, Paul Everingham, once a strident supporter of the independent movement, showed just how easy with a statement released yesterday acknowledging Indonesian sovereignty and deploring continued violence.

It was an untimely slap in the face for visiting Fretilin representative, Jose Ramos Horta.

Unfortunately for Mr Horta and the Timorese people, it is an attitude adopted by successive Australian governments, the Labor Party and an increasing number of Australians.

Indonesia is a major market for Territory goods and produce with enormous potential for expansion.

There is also the continuing delicate debate over the dividing line between the two countries in the Timor Sea.

Resolution of that issue is vital for off-shore oil exploration where reserves are estimated to approach those of Bass Strait.

The Indonesians have made it plain they will not tolerate criticism of their policies or, as Foreign Minister, Dr Mochtar, spelled out last week, Australia's "continued carping" on East Timor.

There is an implied threat to Australia's commercial interests if the Indonesian concept of democracy is not meekly accepted and acknowledged.

But the fact remains that 300 000 Timorese do not accept Indonesian domination.

This country owes the Timorese an enormous debt for protecting and supporting Australian armed forces during the Japanese occupation — at enormous cost to themselves.

For nearly 10 years now Indonesian domination of East Timor has resulted in oppression and brutality.

Politically there is the lesson of Neville Chamberlain's "peace in our time" debacle almost 50 years ago. Must Australia grovel to a pragmatism which is far removed from long-cherished ideals in the name of self-interest and "anti-communism"?

Events in Papua New Guinea clearly show the futility of the policy of appeasing Indonesia.

Australians don't forget their mates and they don't back down in the face of bully-boy tactics.

And that should be the clear and unequivocal message to the Indonesians over East Timor.



# NORTHERN TERRITORY The News

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Mr Horta

## Horta hits at Indon 'spies'

Darwin's East Timorese community suffered harassment and intimidation from Indonesian "spies" based at the Indonesian Consulate in Darwin.

East Timor's ambassador to the United Nations, Mr Jose Ramos Horta, said this in Darwin today.

Mr Horta said the Stuart Park-based consulate was overstaffed and the consul-general was a Bakin (Indonesian official intelligence network) colonel.

### Meeting

He said there were also two lieutenant-colonels working at the consulate.

Mr Horta said intimidation tactics included the taking of photographs at demonstrations and public meetings.

"There is no

• Cont. Page 31

## Fretilin man hits at Indon 'spies'

### • From Page 1

violence. That is not the tactic they use," he said.

"Whenever there is a demonstration or public meeting, they show up to take photographs, which is intimidating."

"They send the photographs to Batik to identify members of relatives of people in East Timor."

"Back in East Timor, the relatives are called in by the military and warned to write to their relatives in Darwin and Sydney and tell them to be careful, or sometimes they just disappear."

Mr Horta said a recent case of intimidation was the effort by the consulate to stop the East Timorese community from dancing at the Shell Folkloric concert during the Bougainville Festival.

"They tried to stop them from performing under the name of East Timor and to use Indonesia instead."

Mr Horta's tour coordinator, Mr Rob Wesley-Smith, said the consulate also monitored radio messages sent from East Timor.

"We will register our strongest protests about their activities to the Federal Government in the hope that the Government will take action," Mr Horta said.

He said they would not call for the closure of the consulate.

Mr Horta is in Australia holding public meetings, lobbying members of Parliament and talking to the press in an effort to stop

a potential watering-down, during the July ALP national conference, of the policy of self-determination and independence for East Timorese people.

He said he had received tremendous warmth and hospitality from the people he had spoken to.

He said Mr Hayden was very friendly and warm on a personal level, but the official line was "very negative."

"There is no difference from the previous Government, despite the fact that the ALP Government has a mandate in the party," he said.

"It is very disappointing. There is nothing that they have done on a humanitarian level."

Mr Horta said he was confident since talking to MPs that the Timor policy would now be upheld, despite an indication of "sombreness" within the party before his arrival.

East Timorese people would continue to fight for recognition even if the Australian Government did not support them at the United Nations, he said.

"It is not because of another Australian act of betrayal that we are going to be frightened and give up."

"We want Australia's diplomatic and political support, but if we don't get it we won't give up."

He was strongly critical of the past Australian governments for their policy of appeasement and endorsement of Indonesian hostilities, which he says are now strong-

ly affected by the situation in West Irian and New Guinea.

"Their attitudes have encouraged the Indonesians to be more aggressive in relation to Papua New Guinea."

"I blame Michael Somare (Papua New Guinea Prime Minister) because of his mediocre politics."

"He has learnt too much too well from Australian Foreign Affairs teachers, to be an appeaser," he said.

"It is such policies which make Papua New Guinea a non-entity and a joke at the United Nations."

Recent press reports that the cancellation of an Australian delegation to Timor was caused by Mr Horta's visit here, were denied by him.

"Fourteen thousand Indonesian troops launched an offensive at the end of May. That is the reason that led to the cancellation," he said.

"It is so pathetic that

Foreign Affairs said it was the reason for the cancellation."

He said a recent statement by the Foreign Minister, Dr Mochtar, made it quite clear military activities were the reason for the cancellation.

Mr Mochtar's statement was "Sometimes a cancellation is made because of a military situation," Mr Horta said.

Mr Horta said hundreds of people were dying each week in East Timor both from fighting and starvation.

The International Council of the Red Cross has not been there since last July and there are no international aid organisations in East Timor at present.

Mr Horta said Fretilin was stronger and more organised than ever, and had the full support of the population.

# DEAN'S VIEW

INDONESIAN 'SPIES'  
...Horta

SPIES? ...US?  
...NEVER!



DEAN



# Hayden firm on Timor

By CARINA BRUCE

**AUSTRALIA will not be bluffed into changing its position on East Timor, according to the Foreign Minister, Mr Hayden.**

"Australians don't bluff easily, nor does this Government and nor do I," he said yesterday.

Mr Hayden had been asked about recent comments made by his Indonesian counterpart Dr Mochtar, who said last week that ties between Australia and Indonesia should be downgraded because of strain over the East Timor issue.

Mr Hayden said Australia should be "mature enough to accept commentary from people like Dr Mochtar."

But he added: "It wasn't my impression that he was threatening."

A relaxed Mr Hayden, fresh from the Queensland ALP conference, said in Melbourne he didn't think Dr Mochtar wanted diplomatic representation re-

duced, "but perhaps the intensity of the exchanges which have taken place."

"He was talking more in terms of a cool-off."

And Mr Hayden said that "somewhat like an octogenarian bridegroom," he was looking forward to talks with Dr Mochtar in Indonesia next month, although he didn't know "what sort of decision we'll get out of the federal conference."

Mr Hayden yesterday announced a total of \$1.59 million in grants to East Timor.

He said \$1 million would be given to the international committee of the Red Cross to help it carry out its traditional care and protection services.

And the United Nations Children's Fund would get \$590,000 for the provision of basic nutri-

tion, health and education services for mothers, children and their families in East Timor.

Mr Hayden said Australia had provided more than \$3.5 million for relief programs in East Timor.

"Total Australian Government assistance to the people of East Timor since 1975 now stands at approximately \$8.3 million," he said.

Australia would continue to give sympathetic consideration to requests to help the people of East Timor.

Mr Hayden would not be drawn into predicting the outcome of any of the issues to come before the federal ALP conference in Canberra next week.

But he was keen to point out that Australia's stand on East Timor was "consistent with ALP policy."

## 'Blind eye on tragedy'

BY LEIGH McCLUSKY

**THE Government was accused yesterday of "turning a blind eye to the tragedy of East Timor."**

The Fretilin representative to the United Nations, Mr Jose Ramos Horta, attacked the Hawke Government for "cowardly ignoring" the plight of the East Timorese people.

"They are so concerned with humanitarian rights elsewhere in the world, why not East Timor?" he asked.

Mr Horta was at a meeting in Fitzroy to rally support for East Timor before it comes up at the ALP national conference next week.

Almost 1000 people crammed Central Hall, in Brunswick St., to hear Mr Horta speak about East Timor's 10-year battle with Indonesia for self-determination.

His speech was interrupted by constant bursts of applause and followed by a standing ovation from the mixed audience.

"The people of East Timor are more determined, better organised and prepared to fight harder for their rights," he said.

Mr Horta told the meeting he had been told of startling new evidence about the deaths of five newsmen in the East Timorese border town of Balibo in October 1975.



● MR HORTA

"Those five newsmen were murdered in cold blood by the Indonesian army," he said.

"One witness told me last night he saw Indonesian commandos tying up one of them, whom he described as tall and heavy-set.

"The Indonesian soldiers stood around laughing because he was a good target and then they practised throwing knives at him.

"That was how he was killed, his body riddled with knives," he said.

Mr Horta accused the Australian Government of covering up the tragedy.

He said he and other Fretilin representatives had refused to talk about the murders for fear of being accused of exploiting it to political advantage.

"But we can no longer be silent. As one of the relatives of the murdered newsmen said to me the other day 'The silence is killing them again'."

Mr Horta said it was time for Australians to call for a thorough Government investigation into the murders.

"It is amazing, pathetic and tragic to see how this Government of yours, this country of yours, have engaged in such a gross, cowardly cover-up of the killing of your own people," he said.

Mr Horta said despite the wishful thinking of many politicians, the issue of East Timor would not go away.

"Anyone with an inch of decency, anyone with an inch of integrity in this country within the ALP, Liberal Party or Country Party cannot ignore the tragedy that is taking place just 365 miles north of Darwin," he said.

"We have not asked Australia to recognise the Fretilin movement or send troops.

"All we have asked is that it live up to its responsibilities as the leading power in the region, as a western democracy and our closest neighbor."



**Friday, July 13, 1984**

# The Spence Morning Herald

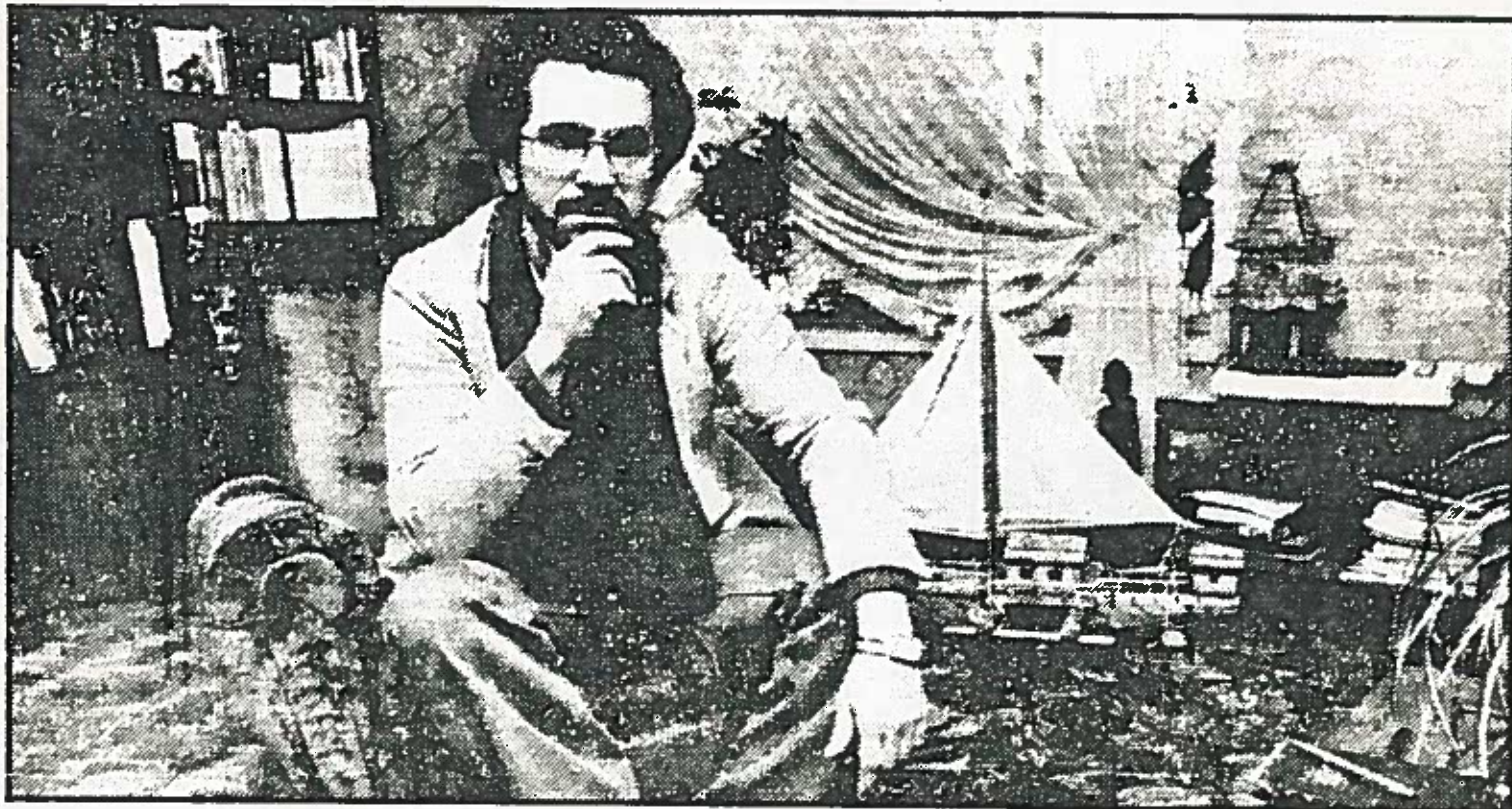
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# Ambassador Jose's travelling independence show



Mr Jose Horta at Liverpool ... his peripatetic life is spent in such places

By ROBERT THOMSON

Denim-clad diplomat Jose Horta, the Fretilin representative with a roving commission, says he has given almost 90 interviews since arriving in Australia six weeks ago, but still his media appetite is not sated.

"I have been telling people that to attract the greatest amount of attention I will dress up like Boy George next time. It is the only way to get on the front page of *The Sydney Morning Herald*," said Mr Horta, 34, who travels on a Mozambique diplomatic passport and is the Fretilin observer at the United Nations.

He does not have Australian Government recognition, but has met, as a private individual, the Foreign Minister, Mr Hayden, and the Opposition Leader, Mr Peacock.

He has also had breakfast with Labor lawyers, met Catholic bishops and lost count of the number of speeches he has delivered.

The ALP National Conference decision actively to support international initiatives to settle the Timor problem was the climax of his stay, which ends on Monday when he returns to his New York base.

He described his Canberra lobbying experience as the art of

head-counting. "It was the most interesting, active cattle auction I have attended."

As for the resolution Mr Hayden took with him to Indonesia: "It was a very significant decision. We have achieved a great deal in Australia. There has been far more notice than ever before, far more hot debate than even uranium and foreign bases."

Mr Horta's return passage to Australia was financed by the Government of Cape Verde, an archipelago off the west coast of Africa. The marriage was fashioned from the Portuguese connection — East Timor and Cape Verde are former Portuguese colonies.

At the UN, the peripatetic Mr Horta — who has spent between three to six months travelling each year since the Indonesian invasion of East Timor in late 1975 — does part-time work for Mozambique, Angola and Brazil to help earn his keep.

He has discussed East Timor's plight with the French President, Mr Mitterrand, and numerous ministers from Western Europe. Singer Joan Baez is said to be a good friend.

In Australia, he has struck up some curious friendships. Mr

Peacock is a "decent man", according to Mr Horta, who was refused a visa to enter Australia in 1982 by the Fraser Government.

He also claims to have the ear of the Tasmanian Liberal Mr Michael Hodgman. These relationships show that the East Timor issue, often associated with the interests of the Left, crosses factional and party lines, he says.

"Andrew Peacock was very friendly. He was warm. He is a very bright individual. It is a pity that he is weak as a political leader because he is a very decent man."

When he arrived in Melbourne on May 28, Mr Horta had "no money".

Donations from supporters of the independence cause have bought his plane tickets around Australia, and kept the publicity machine churning out pamphlets. A public meeting in the inner Melbourne suburb of Fitzroy raised about \$1,300 toward his estimated \$4,000 expenses.

"I have not had to stay in hotels. The people in each city have looked after me and given me meals," said Mr Ramos-Horta, who will stay at his brother-in-law's Liverpool home until Monday.

In a 14-day period last month,

he visited Canberra, Newcastle, Brisbane, Darwin, Perth and Adelaide, giving speeches and holding the mandatory press conference: "When I got back to Melbourne I had laryngitis because I had done so much speaking."

He has addressed organisations ranging from Community Aid Abroad to the Australian Institute for International Affairs, and was a guest of honour at the opening of an Adelaide photography exhibition with an East Timor theme.

As well as his East Timor consciousness-raising, he has been trying to unite the Timorese community in Australia, and will spend the coming days negotiating with Left and Right groups.

"It is very important to unite the East Timorese. There are no more differences than within the ALP. They all want independence, but some don't like Fretilin. Our plan is to launch a united conference by Anzac Day next year," he said.

"If we are well organised, we can influence elections in some areas. We can carry some political weight."

To further that end, he plans to return to Australia next year, and hopes to bring, among others, Joan Baez — and "maybe Boy George".



# Fretilin's one-man diplomatic force

Fretilin's official observer at the UN, Mr Jose Ramos Horta, is back in Australia after being banned nearly eight years ago by the Fraser government. His visit coincides with the ALP State conferences and he is here to lobby for a reassessment of Australia's position on East Timor.

DAVID HIRST reports:

JOSE Ramos Horta is a one-man diplomatic mission. He is Fretilin's official observer at the United Nations. Financed by Mozambique and Angola, he holds a part-time job as an interpreter to make ends meet.

At the UN Horta regularly meets heads of states and foreign ministers and once had an informal discussion with the Indonesian Foreign Minister, Dr Mochtar — at a time when the Fraser government refused him entry to Australia.

According to Horta, the two had a friendly discussion and Horta enjoyed the irony of talking to the representative of the country with which he is at war while being banned from Australia, the country which the people of East Timor look to for salvation.

The two agreed to differ but Horta, who considers Mochtar "a good man", told him that the situation in East Timor was out of his and President Suharto's control. He told Mochtar it was the "turf" — Horta has picked up State department lingo in Washington — of General Benny Murdani, a man Horta describes as a psychopath and compares with El Salvadoran extreme rightist and death-squad leader, Roberto d'Aubuisson.

"Mochtar acknowledged the problems and said the Indonesians were trying to do their best," he said.

Closer to home, Horta is critical of Mr Gough Whitlam but admires the Prime Minister. Mr Hawke, another "good man" who, while president of the ACTU, privately expressed to Horta his support for East Timor's independence. Horta believes Mr Hawke still holds the same view.

"He was very sympathetic and very opposed to the Indonesian actions," Horta claims.

"I think deep down he supports an independent East Timor. Hawke is not like Whitlam. He is very sensitive to small states, as he has shown with Israel."

Horta still believes pressure from the rank and file of the Labor Party will force the Government to reassess Australia's relationship with Indonesia.

will not deal with any of its representatives.

"To be fair to the ALP, I would like to say that the culprit is the foreign affairs' diplomats and bureaucrats. The Australian Foreign Affairs Department is very entrenched, with no input by outside parties. This is unlike the situation in the US, where Congress and committees have a vast input in the making of foreign policy.

"The people who control foreign affairs mix only with the Indonesian top military and the big money men and so they have no understanding of Indonesian society. They reflect the short-term interests of the Indonesian military elite.

"They are naive and it is very easy for an Asian to charm them with warmth and hospitality and then cynically manipulate them.

## Hawke expressed support

Horta sees the border conflict between Indonesia and Papua New Guinea, particularly over the past few months, as being an important factor in helping the Federal Government develop a more critical attitude to Indonesia.

"It is a constant reminder that Indonesia did not stop in East Timor and will continue to press through with a militaristic and expansionist policy.

"I believe there is an awakening on the part of Australian politicians about the disastrous results of appeasement of Indonesia."

There is little difference in the situation in East Timor now from what it has been for the past nine years. At the moment it is compounded by the fact that of the many wars being fought throughout the world it is the only country where a major conflict is going on with not a single humanitarian organisation assisting the victims.

"The Indonesian Red Cross has been banned since July



Mr HORTA . . . return visit

"The Indonesian troops have an overwhelming superiority, but do not have the support of the people.

"Fretilin relies on the support of half a million people for logistical, political and intelligence back-up.

"The Indonesians have been saying for years we have only a few hundred troops, but how has Fretilin managed to tie down 20,000 to 30,000 troops backed by helicopters and armored vehicles."

And, according to Horta, Fretilin is stronger, more experienced, better organised and more effective than ever before.

In spite of Fretilin's embattled situation Horta remains optimistic about the war. It is generally conceded there is some division in Indonesian military circles about the failure to destroy Fretilin after nine years. Horta hopes the political star of General Murdani is waning.

Murdani is a Catholic in an overwhelmingly Moslem country and Horta claims his quick rise to commander-in-chief of the army has alienated many members of the elite.

His failure with scorched earth-type tactics have, according to Horta, given his enemies a chance to move against him and with his replacement Horta hopes Jakarta will finally accept a political solution.

"Murdani is desperately trying to show he has earned his stars. He has been a major force in getting Indonesia into this mess," he said.

"The other officers are asking some very tough questions, but because Fretilin has frustrated Murdani's ambitions he has taken personal revenge against East Timor."

# Fretilin: Hayden move a sell-out

By NIKI SAVVA

ACCEPTANCE of the Hayden resolution to go to the conference on Wednesday would be a sell-out of the East Timorese, the Fretilin representative at the United Nations, Mr Jose Ramos Horta said yesterday.

Mr Horta said the draft resolution being put forward by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Hayden, was grossly misleading and inadequate.

He also said the visit by Australia's ambassador in Jakarta, Mr Rawson Dalrymple, to East Timor was ridiculous, and Mr Dalrymple had been treated like a housecleaning boy by the Indonesians.

Mr Horta distributed copies of Mr Hayden's draft resolution, which expresses concern over Indonesia's incorporation of the island without any act of self-determination by the East Timorese, and also expresses concern over conflicting reports of the humanitarian situation in East Timor.

It calls on Indonesia to allow an independent international mission to go to the territory with free access to make an impartial report on conditions there.

Mr Hayden's motion, which represents a considerable softening of policy, does not mention recognition of Indonesia's sovereignty, but leaves the way clear for the Government to continue recognition.

Present policy calls for withdrawal of recognition granted by the former Fraser government, support for East Timorese self-determination moves, and suspension of military aid to Indonesia.

The Left has been pushing for the withdrawal of recognition, self-determination, an



Mr HAYDEN . . . draft likely to become policy

international peace conference and the establishment of a Fretilin office here.

Meetings of the Foreign Affairs and Defence Platform Committee had failed to reach any compromise.

Another meeting of the committee at lunchtime yesterday also failed to reach a compromise, and both sides seem determined to take their respective cases, without modification, to the conference floor.

Mr Horta said all he wanted from Australia was affirmation of East Timor's right to self-determination.

He said the East Timorese did not expect Australia to sacrifice good relations with Indonesia.

He rejected suggestions by Mr Hayden that a strong resolution on Timor would be a disservice to the East Timorese.

"As much as I can sympathise with Mr Hayden's desire to appease the Indonesian death squad leaders such as General Benny Murdani, we are not prepared to be sacri-

ficed on the altar of Mr Hayden's servility towards the Indonesians," he said.

Mr Hayden's resolution, which seems certain to become ALP policy, is headed, East Timor, and states:

"The Labor Party recognises the vital importance of developing a closer, more understanding, realistic and productive relationship between Australia and Indonesia, based on a more sensitive and better appreciation of the shared aspirations, as well as the historical, political and cultural differences, between the two countries.

"The Labor Party expresses its concern at the state of the relationship between Australia and Indonesia, which it acknowledges is not in a condition appropriate to two neighbouring states, with many shared interests and international commitments of fundamental importance to regional security and social and economic progress.

"The ALP calls for the broadening of cultural, political and economic ties between the two countries, and for the opening of the widest possible dialogue between appropriate interested groups in the Australian and Indonesian communities on questions on which there are differences, as well as on shared concerns in relation to regional and global issues.

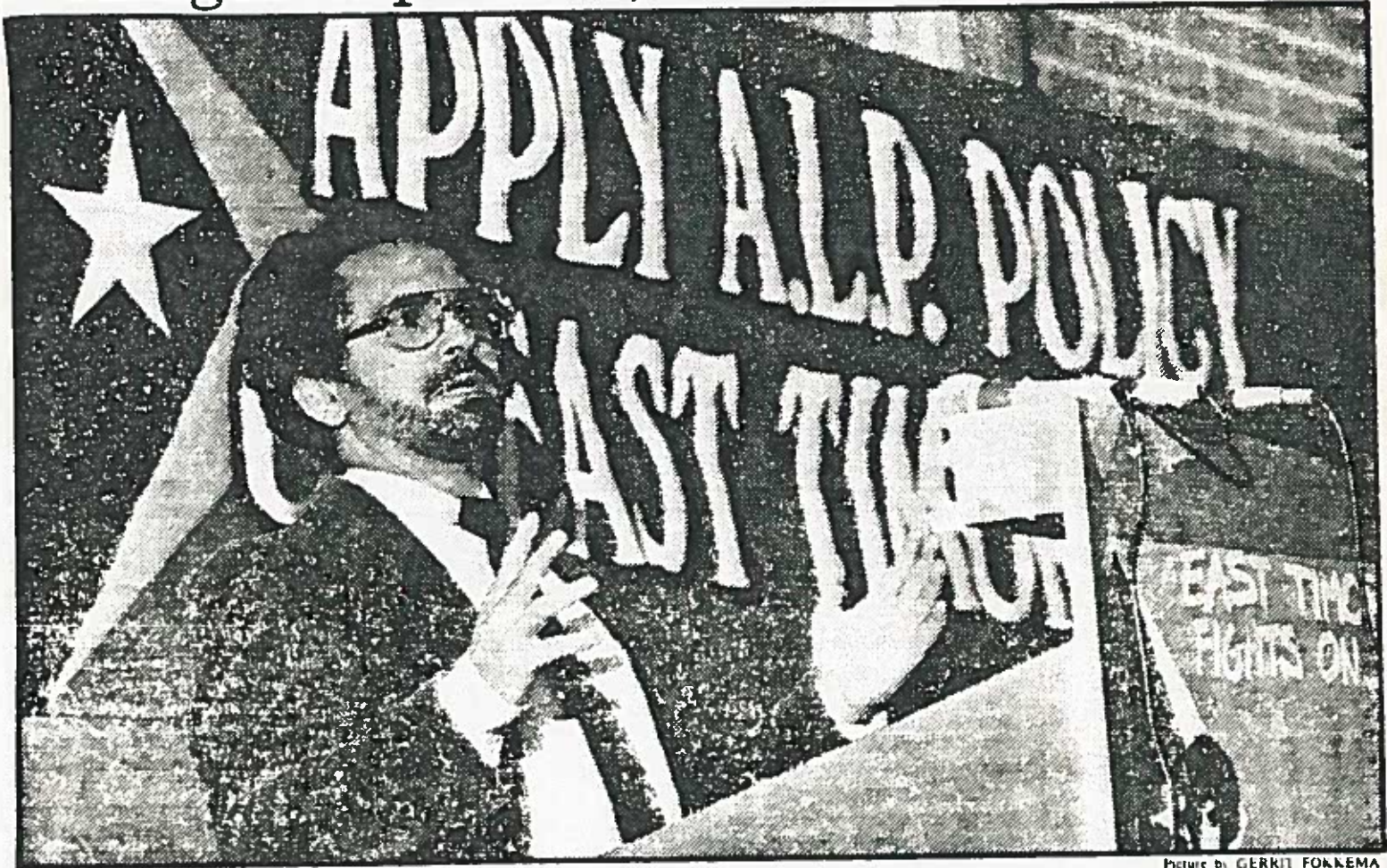
"The ALP supports the aim of advancing Indonesia's overall social-economic development as rapidly as possible, in particular the urgent need to improve the living conditions of the general population.

"The ALP expresses its continuing concern at the situation in East Timor, particularly its officially stated objection to the fact that the former Portuguese colony was incorporated without the East Timorese people having been given an adequate opportunity to express their own wishes through an internationally supervised act of self-determination.

"The ALP expresses its concern at conflicting reports about the humanitarian situation in East Timor, and calls on the Indonesian Government to allow an independent international mission to enter the territory, with free access, in order to make an independent and impartial report on conditions there."



## Villages wiped out, Fretilin leader claims



Picture by GERRIT FOKKEMA

Mr Jose Ramos Horta speaking in Sydney yesterday ... support growing for East Timor.

Current maps of East Timor are outdated because many of the villages marked on them have been wiped out, a leader of the East Timor independence movement Fretilin said in Sydney yesterday.

He said Indonesia had launched a new offensive in the former Portuguese colony with between 20,000 and 30,000 troops.

"Recently, a friend of mine travelled by helicopter from south to east looking for the villages he knew. He saw only empty spaces and houses which had been burnt down," he said.

The speaker, Mr Jose Ramos Horta, Fretilin's representative at the United Nations, was addressing an almost-packed hall at the NSW Institute of Technology.

He said he hoped the ALP national conference next month would reflect the strong public support he had received in Sydney by continuing to voice its commitment to East Timor or by putting forward a fresh resolution to take diplomatic initiative.

Mr Horta said that since his last visit to Australia in 1976 (he was refused entry into Australia under the Fraser Government in 1982) he had noticed a significant increase in Australians' interest in East Timor.

He was especially critical of the Department of Foreign Affairs and the lack of Government initiative on the issue.

He decried the department as being "transfixed by Jakarta generals".

"I believe a sociologist would better explain the Australian attitude," he said.

Mr Horta said he was asking the Australian Government to do nothing more than take the initiative in organising a peace conference. He believed this would not damage Australian-Indonesian relations.

"We would want Australia to support the United Nations resolution in 1982 to call a peace conference with no set agenda, no pre-conditions and invite all parties or countries in the region," he said.

Mr Horta said he had noticed that more nations, including the United States, were now sympathetic to East Timor.

"So Australia would not be alone. We do not understand why Australia would shy away from a role that would gain them prestige."

Yesterday's meeting was chaired by the former Deputy Premier of NSW, Mr Jack Ferguson, and the speakers were the Deputy Leader of the Australian Democrats, Senator Colin Mason, Sister Diana Santleben for Christians in Solidarity with East Timor, and Mr John Birch for the Australian Council For Overseas Aid.

Mr Birch said the East Timor issue was a tragedy for Australia.

"It is a tragedy in foreign policy because it shows we have no foreign policy at all. We have continually had a foreign policy which reflects the United States, Great Britain, and Indonesia. Never has Australia had a foreign policy which reflects itself," he said.



# Voice of Fretilin

Governments have been trying to silence Jose Ramos-Horta for more than 14 of his 34 years.

In 1970 he was expelled from East Timor by the former Portuguese colonial authorities for publicly criticising their misadministration of the territory.

In 1975 he was on the Indonesian Army's assassination list as one of the leading Fretilin independence fighters — but was able to escape just ahead of the Indonesian invasion of East Timor to act as the liberation movement's chief international spokesman at the UN.

So well has he performed this task that the Indonesian Government has sought to bribe him into silence by offering him the governorship of East Timor. He turned down the latest of such offers, in 1981, with the same angry contempt he had displayed towards earlier approaches.

Right now, the Hawke Government would no doubt like to buy Mr Ramos-Horta's silence because he is proving a considerable embarrassment to it as he whistles-stops around Australia drumming up support for the Fretilin cause.

The embarrassment arises on two fronts. Mr Ramos-Horta's well-published odyssey complicates Canberra's relations with Indonesia; it also fuels the debate

Fretilin spokesman Mr Ramos-Horta talks of Indonesia's battle to subdue East Timor, in an interview with foreign editor BILL GUY.

within the ALP on East Timor, giving the Labor Left a useful propaganda boost ahead of the contest on this issue that will be aired at next month's party conference.

From all this, it might seem that Mr Ramos-Horta is a rabble-rousing extremist — a label his Indonesian enemies certainly tried to pin on him in the past.

On the contrary, he is a calm, highly articulate moderate. Of mixed Portuguese-East Timorese parentage, he was brought up as a Roman Catholic and still counts himself a Christian. As for his political ideology, he told me when he passed through Adelaide this week that he saw himself as "a Social Democrat in the manner of Chet Palmer, Kittermand, or Willi Brandt, but not," he added in a wry afterthought, "of Bob Hawke."

I asked him how he had managed to maintain his faith in the Fretilin cause when the pragmatist might argue that East Timor's incorporation into Indonesia was now a *fait accompli* and there was no

way the Jakarta generals would release their grip on the territory.

"But it is because I am a pragmatist that I maintain my faith," he countered. "Fretilin fighters are already creating great problems for the Indonesians. In time, they will make East Timor too hot to handle and Indonesia will be forced to make concessions."

He said that although Indonesia tried to dismiss the Fretilin guerrillas as a rag-tag army of minor nuisance value, the fact was that they were tying down 14,000 Indonesian troops who were fighting a losing battle in trying to flush the liberation forces out of the mountains.

There were 3000 Fretilin men under arms and they had the overwhelming support of the East Timorese population. What role did Mr Ramos-Horta see us playing to help the Fretilin fight?

"Many nations," he said, "are looking to Australia, as Indonesia's nearest major neighbor, to give a lead on East Timor. If Australia were officially to call for an international conference on the issue, there would be plenty of support. Then the pressure would really be on Jakarta."

As we parted, Mr Ramos-Horta said: "Perhaps next time we meet, it will be in a free East Timor." Such is faith. PAGE 12 — Mr Ramos-Horta opens display.



Mr Ramos Horta ... a role for Australia

## E. Timor visit on

JAKARTA, Wednesday — Indonesia will allow a fact-finding visit to East Timor by a three-member delegation from the Australian Embassy, a Foreign Ministry spokesman confirmed today. He said the visit was likely to take place early next week. — AFP

## East Timor proposal 'sellout'



Mr Horta

A motion on East Timor being proposed by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Hayden, was a "complete sellout" of the East Timorese, the Fretilin resistance movement's United Nations representative, Mr Jose Ramos Horta, said yesterday.

While Labor Party factions continued to argue over a motion on the sensitive issue, Mr Horta made it plain that Fretilin would continue its fight for self-determination in East Timor beyond tomorrow, when the conference is expected to debate the issue.

A conference on East Timor was being planned for the end of the year, and the 10,000 East Timorese living in Australia were "prepared to challenge the politicians and the parties", Mr Horta said.

A draft motion being proposed by Mr Hayden concentrated on Australia-Indonesia relations, failed to acknowledge the human tragedy in East Timor, and made no mention of self-determination.

The motion is believed to advocate strongly that Australia could better serve the people of East Timor through access to the territory given through good relations with Indonesia.

Mr Horta's last-minute lobbying effort comes amid continued ALP faction meetings leading up to tomorrow's vote.

Party sources said the left wing was still adamant that it would not accept any motion which either recognised Indonesia's takeover of East Timor or did not specifically call for self-determination.

Mr Hayden has refused to accept either of these points.

Mr Horta told a Canberra press conference that Mr Hayden's suggestions about helping the East Timorese through access to the island was "nonsense".

"We are not prepared to be sacrificed on the altar of Mr Hayden's civility to the Indonesians," he said.

Mr Horta has also condemned the just-completed visit to East Timor by Australia's Ambassador to Indonesia, Mr Rawdon Dalrymple. Mr Dalrymple had said in his report that the visit was "too narrow" because authorities would not let him visit areas outside Dili.

Mr Horta said the fact-finding mission had to be seen for what it was — "a clumsy effort by the Foreign Affairs Department to paint a rosy picture".

He circulated a letter to all conference delegates, calling for a strong resolution backing East Timorese self-determination.



# Horta dismisses envoy's East Timor visit as bid to gloss over problem

FRETILIN representative, Mr Jose Ramos Horta, yesterday launched a scathing attack on the Australian Ambassador to Indonesia and his current visit to East Timor.

Mr Horta said the ambassador, Mr Raymond Dalrymple, had a well-known record of opposition to self-determination for the East Timorese people and was a strong supporter of Indonesia.

"The announced visit of the Australian ambassador to East Timor is a joke, a farce, an insult to the East Timorese people and an insult to the intelligence of the Australian people, particularly the delegates who will attend the ALP national conference in Canberra," he said.

Mr Dalrymple's visit was scheduled to begin yesterday, about a week before the ALP national conference is due to consider a new policy on East Timor.

Mr Horta said the ambassador's so-called "fact-finding" mission was designed to paint a rosy picture of the situation in the territory and "soften up" the ALP position on East Timor before the conference.

"If Bill Hayden really wanted to know about the real situation in East Timor he should have urged the visit a long time ago of an impartial international body of investigators to travel extensively in the territory without restrictions."

Mr Horta, Fretelin's representative to the UN, was in Hobart as part of his Australian visit to put East Timor's case for self-determination. Fretelin representatives have been banned from Australia for seven years.

Mr Horta said Fretelin rejected any attempts by the Australian Foreign Affairs Department and the ambassador to make the East Timor issue one simply of food and human rights. It was one of decolonisation and self-determination.

For the past 18 months, the ambassador

By NORMAN ANDREWS

had dismissed all reports coming out of East Timor on the "tragic situation" there. He had been engaged in an active campaign in Jakarta and Canberra to discredit heads of the Roman Catholic church in the territory.

"He has been saying for a long time that the situation in East Timor is quite stable and peaceful, and there is no problem with food. If he were to be open, frank and honest, thousands of people in East Timor would probably have been saved."

Mr Horta said that Indonesia launched a major offensive in East Timor towards the end of May, involving 14,000 troops with armoured cars and helicopters.

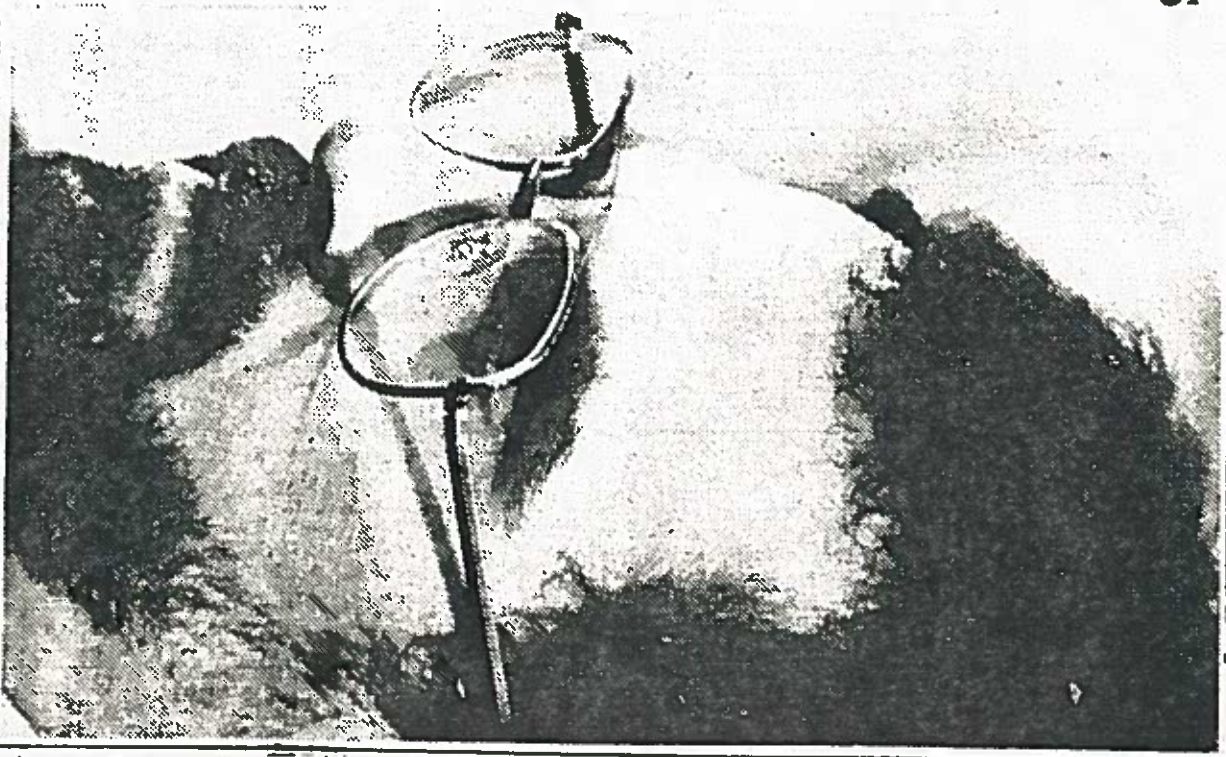
Reports in recent weeks had indicated hundreds of men, women and children were picked up in the streets of Dili, Baucau and Lospalos in preparation for the offensive.

Anyone remotely suspected of helping the guerrillas or passing information to them was arrested, tortured and beaten. Many East Timorese had been summarily executed.

East Timor is the critical foreign policy issue facing the Government at the national conference. The Government is trying to moderate the position adopted at the 1982 ALP conference.

The conference that year "rejected the Australian Government's recognition of the Indonesian annexation of East Timor" and called for cessation of all defence aid to Indonesia until Indonesian armed forces had withdrawn from the territory.

Mr Horta believed a motion drawn up by Mr Hayden proposing the ALP soften its hard-line condemnation of the Indonesian incorporation would fail.



● Fretelin representative Mr Jose Ramos Horta . . . "The announced visit of the Australian ambassador to East Timor is a joke, a farce . . ."



# Australia 'must be strong on Timor'

The so-called strained relations between Australia and Indonesia at the moment is just the empty rhetoric of gentlemen, according to the Fretilin representative to the United Nations, Mr Jose Ramos Horta.

He was commenting in Perth yesterday on reports of diplomatic salvos between the Indonesian Ambassador to Australia, Mr August Marpaung, and Australia's Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Hayden, over the issues of East Timor and Papua New Guinea. Meanwhile, Australia would resolve to take a firm stand on East Timor at the forthcoming national conference. "The ALP should not let itself be intimidated by Indonesia—a banana republic, a dictatorship," said Mr Horta.

Mr Horta said: "Such criticism from an ambassador just shows that Indonesia feels strong because they see in Australia a weak partner."

Mr Horta agreed with Mr Marpaung's comment that Australia had done nothing for East Timor.

"Australia has done nothing, but at least it hasn't killed people in East Timor," he said.

Mr Horta, who is here to gain support for the Fretilin movement before the ALP conference in two weeks, said the Labor Government's track record on the East Timor issue was no better than that for the Fraser Government.

He said the Government had failed to support the East Timorese right for self-determination at the U.N. and had continued to appease the regime in Jakarta.

Mr Horta said Australia need not fear Indonesia. Instead it should maintain a neutral position—"a more dignified posture that is firm in regard to Indonesia."



◆ Mr Horta: "At least Australia hasn't killed people."



Jose Ramos Horta: call for talks on Timor

Picture: JOHN LAMB

## Mochtar bluffing, says Horta

By REBECCA BATTIES

Indonesia's talk of downgrading diplomatic ties with Australia was an arrogant bluff, East Timor's Fretilin representative at the United Nations, Mr Jose Ramos Horta, said yesterday.

Threats to impose economic sanctions on Australia were also bluffs, he said.

If Australia were to cut off tourism to Bali it could mean a loss of \$30 million to Indonesia, he said.

"What the Australian Government should understand is that this is a bluff, a smart political strategy for the ALP conference," Mr Horta said.

Suggestions that Australia had

nesia were ironic, Mr Horta said.

"Australia has bent over backwards for Indonesia," he said.

He described the proposed visit of Australia's Ambassador to Indonesia, Mr Rawdon Dalrymple, to East Timor as a farce.

"It's a big joke and irrelevant because the idea of the whole trip is to present a rosier report," he said.

Mr Horta said Australia was nothing to Indonesia because it had been subservient.

"If Australia was to take a firmer stand, then it would be more important than it appears to be," he said.

Mr Horta is in Australia to lobby for recognition of Fretilin

movement, at next month's ALP conference.

Mr Horta said he was confident of ALP support despite a "charming" meeting with the Foreign Minister, Mr Hayden, at which Australian intervention in East Timor was ruled out.

The consequences for Australia, even if it were to recognise Fretilin, he said, would be the expulsion of the Australian ambassador to Indonesia.

Mr Horta wants Australia to call a conference with the Portuguese and Indonesian Governments, the United Nations and Fretilin.

"Australia should push for a



ROBERT DUFFIELD



WORLDWATCH

# Jose is so bitter

JOSE Ramos Horta is small and dapper and very, very bitter.

He is bitter about Gough Whitlam, who, he says, encouraged a reluctant President Suharto to annex his country, East Timor, in 1975. He is bitter about Malcolm Fraser, who banned him from this country in 1976, and about the Australian Department of Foreign Affairs, which, he says, has presented the Australian people with a distorted view of the issue.

He claims Indonesian Foreign Minister Mochtar as a friend, but is bitter about the "blatant lies" he tells on behalf of his government. Most of all he is bitter about the Indonesian army chief, General Benny Murdani, who persuaded Suharto that he could kill off the Fretilin independence movement in a matter of weeks, and is still trying to do it nine years later.



Jose Ramos Horta

## Conference

Ramos Horta is in Australia, with the Hawke Government's permission, to haunt the Labor Party through to its Federal Conference in July. Without his presence, that conference would most likely have reneged on its 1982 East Timor platform and accepted the fait accompli of the Indonesian occupation.

Because of his presence, Labor men of conscience, including the pragmatic Centre Left under Foreign Minister Bill Hayden, are going to find it very difficult, indeed, to ignore the principle of self-determination.

Ramos Horta addressed the Perth Press Club on Thursday, a few hours after Indonesia's Ambassador to Australia, Mr Marpaung, had warned that East Timor was a closed book and that Australians should not try to meddle in it.

The club has hosted many a sincere political proselytiser, but none quite like this. Ramos Horta was one of the founders of Fretilin, and two of his brothers and one of his sisters have died in its cause. He himself escaped in 1975 to become Fretilin's official representative at the United Nations, a job at which he has become, at age 34, a battle-weary veteran.

It was in the UN corridors that he watched in dismay as Richard Woolcott, Australia's Ambassador to the UN, a former Ambassador to Indonesia, lobbied

assiduously for a pro-Indonesian vote on East Timor in the General Assembly.

Speaking largely off the cuff, which is what allowed the bitterness to come through, Ramos Horta hammered home points which included:

- A tougher stand by Australia would have a tremendous effect on world opinion, and on Indonesian opinion.

- President Suharto, faced with this opinion, could de-annex East Timor and save face by blaming the whole mess on the increasingly unpopular Benny Murdani.

- An act of self-determination could then take place. Fretilin would accept this internationally-supervised act, win or lose.

- Fretilin has always been sensitive to Indonesia's peculiar problems of post-colonial nation-building. In power, it would never allow East Timor to become another Cuba, nor a safe haven for Indonesian dissidents.

- After nine years and many concerted Indonesian offensives (another "final drive" is under way now), the Fretilin guerrillas and their civilian supporters were stronger than ever.

Should Indonesia be considered a military threat to Australia? "Not directly," said Ramos Horta, "but population pressures must make Indonesia expansionist. By the time it has resettled three million Javanese in West Irian, the border situation with Papua New Guinea will become unmanageable. Jakarta is then likely to use the same *lebensraum* (breathing space) argument as Hitler. Michael Somare is convinced Australia would come to its help. Me, I am not so sure."

Me, I am not so sure about the Australian Foreign Affairs Department line, which previously I have largely swallowed.

# O diário

Quarta-feira 11.7.84

## Congressistas norte-americanos contra ocupação de Timor-Leste

**Washington** — Mais de uma centena de congressistas norte-americanos enviaram uma carta ao secretário de Estado, George Shultz, na qual se manifestam contra a ocupação indonésia de Timor-Leste.

Um grupo de 123 congressistas, democráticos e republicanos, em carta dirigida ao secretário de Estado norte-americano, pedem que Shultz aproveite a sua visita à Indonésia, esta semana, para manifestar a preocupação de Washington quanto à «tragédia de Timor-Leste».

Os congressistas signatários do documento salientam que «a desdita dos timorenses orientais é em grande parte

da responsabilidade dos Estados Unidos, dado que estamos a fornecer à Indonésia as armas utilizadas para suprimir os seus direitos».

Depois de reconhecerem que o povo de Timor-Leste vive sob um regime militar imposto pela força «em violação do direito internacional», os congressistas consideram que o secretário de Estado dos EUA deverá instar o regime de Djakarta a autorizar a ida a Timor-Leste da Cruz Vermelha Internacional, de outras organizações humanitárias internacionais, bem como de jornalistas e observadores independentes.

A carta enviada a Shultz alerta para a situação dramá-

tica que se vive em Timor-Leste e lembra que muitos timorenses estão a ser vítimas de doença, fome, falta de liberdade e perseguição, devido à ofensiva militar lançada pelo exército indonésio.

### Portugal

O representante da Fretilin junto das Nações Unidas, Ramos Horta, enviou uma carta à missão de Portugal na ONU na qual é chamada a atenção da representação portuguesa para as conversações sobre a fronteira marítima entre Timor-Leste e a Austrália, nas quais a Indonésia tem, abusivamente, assumido a posição de representante de Timor-Leste.

As conversações sobre a fronteira marítima assumiram particular importância depois de uma companhia petrolífera australiana, a «BHP», ter anunciado a descoberta de reservas de mais de 250 milhões de barris de petróleo numa zona não disputada, isto é, dentro da zona económica australiana.

Diversos peritos consideram, entretanto, que na zona em disputa existem também grandes reservas de petróleo e gás natural.

Na carta enviada à missão diplomática de Portugal junto das Nações Unidas, o representante da Fretilin, Ramos Horta, salienta que «a questão que se põe não será tanto

a do petróleo, mas sim a da soberania portuguesa sobre Timor-Leste e a sua única e exclusiva capacidade jurídica para negociar com a Austrália a fronteira marítima».

O dirigente timorense alerta para o facto de que à luz do direito internacional «se Portugal não registar o seu protesto através de uma nota endereçada aos dois países (Austrália e Indonésia) e publicada como documento oficial da ONU», a posição futura de Timor-Leste no campo jurídico será muito mais fraca.

Entretanto, em Portugal, a Comissão para os Direitos do Povo Maubere qualifica esta situação de «vergonhosa».

# a tarde

Terça-feira 10/7/84

## TIMOR-LESTE NA AGENDA DAS CONVERSACÕES

### Schultz visita Indonésia

A Indonésia, que aguarda a visita do secretário norte-americano de Estado George Schultz, poderá ser levada a dar explicações sobre uma situação aparentemente votada ao esquecimento pela comunidade internacional: a questão de Timor-Leste. Com efeito, 123

membros da Câmara dos Representantes dirigiram hoje uma carta a Schultz, na qual pedem ao chefe da diplomacia norte-americana para pressionar Jacarta no sentido de pôr termo «às perseguições e à brutalidade» de que é vítima a população da antiga colônia portuguesa, que «como no Afeganistão,

vive sob um regime militar imposto pela força, numa violação da lei internacional». Em vésperas de eleições presidenciais nos Estados Unidos, será difícil para Schultz ignorar este apelo, como referimos na página 11. Uma esperança para a «tragédia de Timor-Leste?»

#### COM OS DIRIGENTES INDONÉSIOS

### Shultz deverá abordar a pedido do Congresso a «tragédia» de Timor

Um grupo de 123 membros da Câmara dos Representantes dos Estados Unidos divulgou hoje um apelo ao secretário de Estado George Schultz, para debater com a Indonésia «iniciativas construtivas» que resolvam a «tragédia de Timor-Leste».

Os 123 representantes, 115 democratas e oito republicanos, pedem numa carta para o secretário de Estado abordar a «prolongada tragédia» de Timor-Leste nos encontros que mantiver, a partir de amanhã, com os dirigentes indonésios em Jacarta, onde participa na cimeira da ASEAN.

«Não podemos ignorar a situação em Timor-Leste, onde, tal como no Afeganistão, vive um povo sob um regime militar imposto pela força, numa violação da lei internacional», dizem os legisladores norte-americanos.

A carta cita monsenhor Carlos Ximenes Belo, representante máximo da Igreja Católica em Dili, que, numa carta ao seu antecessor, monsenhor Martinho

Lopes, refere que o povo de Timor é vítima «da doença, da fome, da falta de liberdade e da perseguição».

Ximenes Belo refere que a «Igreja está a ser perseguida e acusada», tendo uma residência de padres salesianos sido «selvaticamente revistada» por tropas de elite indonésias.

#### Pressões sobre Jacarta

A carta dos representantes pede especificamente a Schultz para pressionar as autoridades indonésias a permitirem o acesso livre a Timor por parte da Cruz Vermelha Internacional e outras organizações humanitárias, bem como jornalistas e observadores independentes.

«Esperamos que aproveite a sua viagem à Indonésia para iniciar um diálogo com os indonésios sobre iniciativas construtivas que conduzam a uma solução justa para o conflito em Timor-Leste», diz a carta a Schultz.

«Os Estados Unidos não de-

vem perder outra oportunidade para pressionar pelo termo das causas da perseguição e brutalidade em Timor-Leste», disse Tony Hall, representante do Ohio, que redigiu a carta a Schultz.

Hall é autor de uma secção na lei da ajuda externa em que se insta os Estados Unidos a ajudar a resolver as dificuldades em Timor-Leste e tem criticado frequentemente o departamento de Estado por ignorar a questão.

«A condição dos timorenses é em grande parte da responsabilidade dos Estados Unidos, pois estamos a fornecer à Indonésia as próprias armas que estão a ser usadas para suprimir os seus direitos», disse Hall.

A carta dos representantes sublinha que a população de Timor-Leste é maioritariamente católica.

Indica ainda que, desde a invasão de 1975, «mais de 100 mil timorenses morreram, devido aos efeitos da ocupação indonésia».

A carta a Schultz é assinada por representantes de 30 estados norte-americanos.

# **Exercício do Poder**

**Terça-feira, 10 de Julho de 1984**

## Denunciam deputados americanos

### **Timorenses são vítimas de fome e perseguição**

Um grupo de 123 deputados norte-americanos pediu ontem ao secretário de Estado, George Shultz, que utilize a sua visita à Indonésia, esta semana, para manifestar a preocupação de Washington quanto à «tragédia de Timor-Leste».

«Não podemos ignorar a situação em Timor-Leste, onde, como no Afeganistão, um povo sob um regime militar imposto pela força, em violação do Direito Internacional» — disseram os deputados, entre eles os democratas Tony Hall, Morris Udall, Jim Bates, Tony Coelho e Peter Rodino.

Muitos timorenses estão a ser vítimas da doença, fome, falta de liberdade e perseguição, devido à nova ofensiva militar lançada pela Indonésia em Agosto do ano passado — recordaram os signatários da carta a Shultz, os quais citaram a esse propósito o actual administrador apostólico da Diocese de Dili, mons. Carlos Ximenes Belo.

O secretário de Estado deve fazer com que possam ir a Timor-Leste a Cruz Vermelha Internacional, outras organizações humanitárias, jornalistas e demais observadores independentes — pediram os congressistas, entre os quais estão também os republicanos Douglas Borenstein, Christopher Smith, Benjamin Gilman e Rod Candler.

«A desfilta dos timorenses orientais é em grande parte da responsabilidade dos Estados Unidos, dado que estamos a fornecer à Indonésia as armas utilizadas para suprimir os seus direitos».

## DEPUTADOS NORTE-AMERICANOS INTERCEDEM POR TIMOR LESTE

• SHULTZ VISITA ESTA SEMANA A INDONÉSIA PELO QUE OS CONGRESSISTAS LHE RECORDAM AS VIOLAÇÕES COMETIDAS PELOS INDONÊSIOS

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Muitos timorenses estão a ser

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«Estamos a fornecer à Indonésia as armas utilizadas para suprimir os direitos do povo de Timor-Leste» — afirmam os deputados norte-americanos

(Foto de Arguino)

«A desdita dos timorenses orientais é em grande parte da responsabilidade dos Estados Unidos, dado que estamos a fornecer à Indonésia as armas utilizadas para suprimir os seus direitos» — sublinharam os au-

tores da carta, que destacaram o facto de Shultz ir ser agora o primeiro secretário norte-americano de Estado a visitar a Indonésia, desde que esse país invadiu Timor-Leste, em Dezembro de 1975. — (Anop)

## Apelo nos EUA sobre Timor

QUARTA-FEIRA 11 DE JULHO DE 1984

UM GRUPO de 123 congressistas, pertencentes aos partidos Democrático e Republicano, pediu ao secretário de Estado George Shultz, que expressasse junto do Governo da Indonésia a preocupação dos Estados Unidos quanto à trágica situação que reina em Timor-Leste.

Numa carta enviada a George Shultz, nas vésperas da chegada do secretário de Estado a Jacarta para assistir à reunião da ASEAN, os 123 congressistas afirmam que «não podem ignorar a situação existente em Timor-Leste».

Os congressistas, liderados por Tony Hall, citam na sua carta as declarações do monsenhor Carlos Ximenes Belo, chefe da Igreja Católica de Timor-Leste, segundo as quais muitos timorenses estão a ser «perseguidos e afectados por doenças e fome» na sequência da nova ofensiva militar indonésia na ex-colónia portuguesa. Estima-se em cerca de 100 mil o número de timorenses mortos desde 1975, data em que o território de Timor-Leste, com uma população maioritariamente católica, foi invadido pela Indonésia.

Os congressistas pedem também na sua carta que o secretário de Estado use da sua influência junto do Governo do Presidente Suharto, para que este acabe com a sua acção perseguidora contra a Igreja Católica e a população em geral de Timor-Leste, permitindo ao mesmo tempo uma maior abertura do território às organizações humanitárias internacionais, como a Cruz Vermelha, e ainda aos observadores independentes e jornalistas.

Tony Hall, democrata de Ohio, que tem frequentemente criticado o Departamento de Estado por ignorar o problema de Timor-Leste, afirma que os Estados Unidos também têm «a sua quota parte das responsabilidades na situação trágica dos timorenses, pois estamos a fornecer à Indonésia armas que ela



# Diário de Lisboa

TERÇA-FEIRA, 10 DE JULHO DE 1984

*George Shultz, na Ásia*

## Congressistas dos EUA apelam à solução do caso de Timor

Um grupo de 123 deputados norte-americanos pediu ontem ao secretário de Estado, George Shultz, que utilize a sua visita à Indonésia, esta semana, para manifestar a preocupação de Washington quanto à tragédia de Timor Leste. Não podemos ignorar a situação em Timor Leste, onde, como no Afeganistão, um povo vive sob um regime militar imposto pela força, em violação do direito internacional — disseram os deputados, entre eles os democratas Tony Hall, Morris Udall, Jim Bates, Tony Coelho e Peter Rodino. Muitos timorenses estão a ser vítimas de doença, fome, falta de liberdade e perseguição, devido à nova ofensiva militar lançada pela Indonésia em Agosto do ano passado — recordaram os signatários da carta a Shultz, os quais citaram a esse propósito o actual administrador Apostólico da Diocese de Dili, Mons. Carlos Ximenes Belo.

O secretário de Estado deve fazer com que possam ir a Timor Leste a Cruz Vermelha Internacional, outras organizações humanitárias, jornalistas e demais observadores independentes — pediram os congressistas, entre os quais estão também os republicanos Douglas Bereuter, Christopher Smith, Benjamin Gilman e Rod Candler.

A desdita dos timorenses orientais é em grande parte da responsabilidade dos Estados Unidos, dado que estamos a fornecer à Indonésia as armas utilizadas para suprimir os seus direitos — sublinharam os autores da carta, que destacaram o facto de Shultz ser o primeiro secretário norte-americano de Estado a visitar a Indonésia desde que esse

país invadiu Timor Leste, em Dezembro de 1975.

Enquanto isto, o secretário de Estado norte-americano, George Shultz, encontrou-se ontem com dirigentes da Malásia para discutir a situação no Kampuchea e a sua pre-ocupação sobre a provável venda de armas norte-americanas à China.

O jornal «New Straits Times» escreve que Shultz pode influenciar alguns problemas políticos tais como os receios da Malásia e de outros países membros da Associação dos Países do Sudeste Asiático (ASEAN), sobre a crescente cooperação sino-norte-americana em tecnologia militar.

Funcionários norte-americanos admitiram que Shultz vai assegurar aos líderes asiáticos que as armas anti aéreas e anti tanque a serem provavelmente vendidas à China destinam-se à defesa contra a União Soviética e não constituem nenhuma ameaça para a ASEAN.

Mas o «New Strait Times» afirma que isso não é sufi-

ciente. Para aquele periódico malaiu o secretário de Estado norte-americano vai ter muitas dificuldades para explicar porque é que Washington é mais relutante em vender material de guerra aos países da ASEAN — Malásia, Tailândia, Indonésia, Filipinas, Singapura, e Brunel que à China.

George Shultz parte hoje para Jacarta onde assistirá ao encontro de ministros dos Negócios Estrangeiros da ASEAN, que procuram uma solução política para a situação no Kampuchea, nomeadamente, no que diz respeito à retirada dos soldados vietnamitas que ocupam aquele país da Indochina.

### China-Japão

Os ministros da Defesa da China e do Japão encontraram-se ontem pela primeira vez numa reunião simbólica, que responsáveis dizem poder significar o início de intercâmbio militar entre os dois países.

O ministro chinês da Defesa Zhang Aiping, que efectuou

uma breve paragem em Tóquio quando regressava à China de uma visita aos Estados Unidos e ao Canadá, encontrou-se durante 50 minutos com Yuko Kurihara, director-geral da Agência Japonesa de Autodefesa.

Foi a primeira vez desde que os comunistas subiram ao poder na China em 1949 que os responsáveis pela defesa dos dois países se encontraram.

Um funcionário governamental japonês referiu que o encontro, realizado a pedido da China, constituiu uma coreia destinada a quebrar apenas o gelo através da realização de um contacto de alto nível.

Contudo, o encontro, durante o qual se previa que não fossem abordados assuntos de grande importância, demorou mais meia hora do que os 20 minutos inicialmente previstos, facto que foi interpretado como um passo «significativo» com vista ao estabelecimento de laços militares mais estreitos entre a China e o Japão.

# O DIA

11 DE JULHO 1984

No dia em que Shultz chega a Djakarta

## Parlamentares norte-americanos interessam-se pela situação de Timor

*123 parlamentares norte-americanos denunciaram ontem — véspera da chegada à capital indonésia do secretário de Estado, George Shultz — a situação reinante em Timor Leste, onde, pelo menos cem mil pessoas morreram devido à fome, doença e combates que se seguiram à invasão em 1975.*

(Pág. 12)

Deputados norte-americanos exigem

## Fim da tragédia de Timor

Um grupo de 123 membros da Câmara dos Representantes dos Estados Unidos divulgou ontem um apelo ao secretário de Estado, George Shultz, para que sejam debatidas com a Indonésia «iniciativas construtivas» que resolvam a «tragédia de Timor». Na carta enviada ao secretário de Estado, esses parlamentares pedem que a questão de Timor não seja esquecida nos encontros que tiver, a partir de hoje, com os dirigentes indonésios com os quais se encontra, em Jacarta, durante a primeira da «ASEAN». «Não podemos ignorar a situação em Timor, onde, tal como no Afega-

nistão, vive um povo sob um regime militar imposto pela força, numa violação da lei internacional», dizem.

A carta cita monsenhor Carlos Ximenes Belo, actual representante máximo da Igreja Católica em Dili, que, numa carta ao seu antecessor, padre Martinho Lopes, refere que o povo de Timor é vítima «da doença, da fome, da falta de liberdade e da perseguição». Acrescenta que a «Igreja está a ser perseguida e acusada», tendo uma residência de padres salesianos sido «selvaticamente revistada» por tropas da Indonésia.

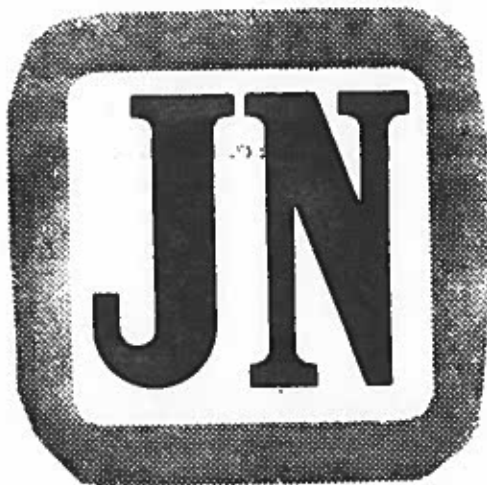
A carta dos representantes

pede, também, para pressionar as autoridades indonésias no sentido de permitirem o acesso livre a Timor da Cruz Vermelha Internacional, bem como de outras organizações humanitárias, e, ainda, dos jornalistas e observadores independentes. «Esperamos que aproveite a sua viagem à Indonésia para iniciar um diálogo com os indonésios sobre iniciativas construtivas que conduzam a uma solução justa para o conflito em Timor», disse o representante de Ohio, Tony Hall, que redigiu a carta enviada a Shultz.

Aquele parlamentar norte-americano, que tem frequente-

mente criticado o Departamento de Estado por ignorar a questão de Timor, acrescenta na sua carta: «A condição dos timorenses é em grande parte responsabilidade dos Estados Unidos, pois estamos a fornecer à Indonésia as próprias armas que estão a ser usadas para suprimir os direitos dos timorenses».

Sublinhando que a população de Timor é essencialmente católica, a carta dos representantes dos Estados Unidos sublinha que, desde a invasão de Timor, em 1975, na sequência da guerra civil desencadeada pelo MFA/PC, «mais de 100 mil timorenses morreram, devido aos efeitos da ocupação indonésia».



JORNAL  
DE NOTÍCIAS

10 DE JULHO 1984

**Timor-Leste: tragédia que impressiona a América**

## **SHULTZ RECEBEU APELO DE 123 DEPUTADOS DOS EUA**

• **Casa Branca pressionou a Indonésia?**

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«Não podemos ignorar a situação em Timor-Leste, onde, como no Afeganistão, um povo vive sob um regime militar imposto pela força em violação do Direito Internacional» — disseram os deputados, entre eles os democratas Tony Hall, Morris Udall, Jim Bates, Tony Coelho e Peter Rodino.

Muitos timorenses estão a ser vítimas de doença, fome, falta de liberdade e perseguição devido a nova ofensiva militar lançada pela Indonésia em Agosto do ano passado — recordaram os

signatários da carta a Shultz, os quais citaram a este propósito o actual administrador apostólico da Diocese de Dili, Mons. Carlos Ximenes Belo.

O secretário de Estado deve fazer com que possam ir a Timor-Leste a Cruz Vermelha Internacional, outras organizações humanitárias, jornalistas e demais observadores independentes — pediram os congressistas, entre os quais estão também os republicanos Douglas Breuter, Christopher Smith, Benjamin Gilman e Rod Candler.

«A desdita dos timorenses orientais e em grande parte da responsabilidade dos Estados Unidos, dado que estamos a fornecer a Indonésia as armas utilizadas para suprimir os seus direitos» — sublinharam os autores da

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# Diário de Notícias

FUNDADO EM 1864

## Preocupação por Timor

**P**OR mais de uma vez, a Igreja Católica tem advertido as autoridades de Jacarta para a situação que se verifica no território de Timor actualmente ocupado pela Indonésia. Ainda na recente viagem de Mário Soares ao Extremo Oriente, dois bispos japoneses se lhe dirigiram a pedir que intervisse no mesmo sentido, em consonância, aliás, com os documentos a esse respeito divulgados pelo Conselho Episcopal Português. Nunca, porém, a intervenção eclesiástica deve ter assumido a veemência utilizada agora pelo próprio Papa João Paulo II, ao receber as credenciais do novo embaixador indonésio no Vaticano, a quem avisou repetidamente de que a Santa Sé continua a seguir «com preocupação» o que se passa em Timor e a «recomendar seriamente o respeito pelos direitos humanos».

Compreende-se a preocupação da Igreja. Oito anos depois dos trágicos acontecimentos ocorridos naquela ex-colónia portuguesa, a situação continua por solucionar do ponto de vista político e à luz do direito internacional, ao mesmo tempo que se verificam condições sociais que não será excessivo designar por catástrofe, como se prova pelo documento publicado por alguns padres portugueses fugidos da ilha há não muito tempo e que denunciaram a morte de cerca de um terço da população, vítima da sistemática destruição das colheitas. O próprio Governo de Jacarta, de resto, evidencia indirectamente tal situação ao dar agora prioridade ao «desenvolvimento» da ilha, conforme referiu o citado embaixador em resposta às advertências de João Paulo II.

Perante tudo o que aconteceu, os anunciados investimentos de Jacarta em Timor Leste, além de uma reparação tardia, não podem deixar de ser olhados também como uma forma de atenuar as pressões que, pelo menos durante alguns anos, sobre ele exerceu a Comunidade Internacional. São conhecidas as votações maciças que repetidamente condenaram na ONU, e não só, a ocupação ilegal do território e os métodos utilizados pela Indonésia. Infelizmente, é também conhecida a mais recente inflexão no sentido dessas votações e a forma como vários Estados, a princípio enérgicos na condenação de Jacarta, se manifestam hoje, quando muito, pela abstenção sempre que o assunto é discutido, procurando assim acautelar os seus interesses, ora estratégicos, ora comerciais, na região, em detrimento da defesa de um povo sobre quem se perpetraram acções que não andarão longe do genocídio.

A posição de Portugal, neste capítulo, tem sido balizada por dois sentimentos: por um lado, reconhecem-se cum-

plicidades no início do processo que degenerou em guerra civil e acabou depois na anexação pela Indonésia; por outro lado, constata-se a impotência no plano militar para corrigir o que talvez se pudesse ter evitado se em tempo oportuno tivesse havido uma consideração do problema não viciada por ideologismos irresponsáveis. Nessa medida, só nos resta agora uma atitude que, fundada embora numa indiscutível legitimidade moral e histórica, nem por isso tem, infelizmente, revelado maior eficácia.

Mas a verdade é que, para além de todas as responsabilidades que a Portugal caibam no problema, designadamente as responsabilidades que o actual regime não tem enjeitado, Timor Leste tornou-se, hoje em dia, um caso em que as culpabilidades se foram acumulando, em particular as que cabem ao regime de Jacarta. Por isso mesmo, as advertências de João Paulo II, apesar de não serem suficientemente secundadas pela comunidade internacional, não deixam de apontar o nó do problema e aqueles que terão de fazer o primeiro movimento para o desatar.

# Diário de Notícias

8 de Julho de 1984

## Reparo frontal do Papa à Indonésia sobre Timor

• Embaixador de Jacarta confrontado com a insistência pontifícia

ESPERANÇA de que seja dada pela Indonésia, em qualquer circunstância, uma atenção particular à identidade étnica, religiosa e cultural do povo de Timor-Leste foi manifestada ontem por João Paulo II, falando frontalmente ao novo embaixador indonésio, que apresentou creden-

ciais no Vaticano. «Você conhece os muitos esforços que o Vaticano tem feito para ajudar o povo dessa área e como tem recomendado seriamente o respeito pelos direitos humanos», observou o Papa ao embaixador, general Hardinan Sastrapoespita.

«Você sabe com que atenção a Santa Sé vê este problema muito delicado», prosseguiu João Paulo II. O embaixador indonésio, entretanto, disse ao Papa assegurar que o Governo de Jacarta deu prioridade «ao desenvolvimento» de Timor-Leste.

## SOUTHEAST ASIA

# George Shultz Tries To Mend Some Fences

Less than a decade ago the United States pulled out of South Vietnam, spreading fears that it would abandon Southeast Asia altogether. But as Secretary of State George Shultz paid calls last week on Hong Kong, Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia and Australia, relations between the region and the superpower across the Pacific looked more solid than ever. The trip was just the latest in a series of fence-mending visits by high-ranking U.S. officials, including Vice President George Bush and United Nations Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick. And at each stop, Shultz took pains to stress the strategic and economic importance of the region. "Let me assure you," he said, "that . . . we are committed to an active, constructive and long-term presence in Southeast Asia."

In Jakarta, Shultz attended a meeting of the six-member Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and its Pacific "dialogue partners"—the United States, Japan, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. He endorsed a new agreement calling for an increase in technological, educational and cultural exchanges among the 11 countries. The accord was a tentative step toward an economic union that some planners hope will develop into a kind of Southeast Asian common market. The ASEAN nations had resisted any notion of large-scale economic cooperation, fearing that it would be dominated by the United States and Japan. But lately they seem to be warming to the idea.

Shultz's trip was not without its rough spots. In Malaysia, officials expressed concern that improved Sino-American economic relations could lead to an increase in Chinese military power. In Jakarta, Shultz raised the issue of human-rights violations in east Timor, a former Portuguese colony that was invaded by Indonesia in 1975 and subsequently annexed. According to a recent letter signed by 123 U.S. congressmen, more than 100,000 people have been killed or have died of disease and starvation in east Timor. Shultz also denounced Vietnam's continued occupation of Cambodia and its refusal to provide information about missing American servicemen; he said it was still "fruitless to speculate" about normalizing U.S. relations with Hanoi. But for the most part, Shultz remained relentlessly upbeat. "This whole area is going like gangbusters," he said. "It's a wonderful thing to see."



# East Timor Prelate Reports Abuses

By Peter Wise

Special to The Washington Post

LISBON, July 11—The population of East Timor, caught up in Indonesian efforts to stamp out a guerrilla movement on the island, is suffering "disease, hunger, persecution and the loss of freedom," according to the head of the Southeast Asian island territory's Roman Catholic Church.

In a letter sent to this Portuguese capital, the Rev. Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo, the apostolic administrator of the East Timorese capital, Dili, wrote that Indonesia has stepped up its antiguerrilla operations in the nine-year effort and the rural Timorese were being forced to abandon crops and to fight against their countrymen.

[In Jakarta Wednesday, Secretary of State George P. Shultz met with Indonesian Foreign Minister Mochtar Kusumaatmadja. A U.S. spokesman said Shultz voiced concern about human rights, especially the situation in East Timor.

[A letter to Shultz signed by 123 House members last week said more than 100,000 people had perished as a result of the Indonesian occupation, and called on Shultz to raise the issue. The spokesman said Shultz did not mention or present the congressional letter.

[In Washington, a State Department official who visited East Timor in February, the time of Belo's letter, differed with the account by the churchman. The desk officer said he found fighting to be sporadic and the Indonesians to be clearly in control, with problems of food supply generally resolved and medical care improved.]

Belo, who is a native East Timorese, wrote of the alleged forcible recruitment of local fighters, "It is surprising that in this island of so many battalions, helicopters, tanks and bomber planes," the Indonesians should need such militiamen.

Belo's letter is a rare independent account of events in East Timor, where Indonesia has imposed a rigorous news blackout since it invaded, and subsequently annexed, the former Portuguese colony in 1975. Dated Feb. 11, 1984, it was smuggled to Belo's predecessor, Msgr. Martinho da Costa Lopes, who retired here two years ago. He showed the letter to foreign journalists.

Numerous allegations of the use of torture, large-scale jailings, disappearances, famine, torture, and the death of more 200,000 Timorese in the wake of the

invasion have been difficult to confirm or dismiss because Indonesia has restricted access to the territory.

The churchman's letter confirms earlier reports that the Indonesian military launched a major offensive last summer with the aim of defeating the guerrillas of the Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor, the national resistance group known by its Portuguese acronym, Fretilin.

Belo wrote that the Indonesians "thought they would clean up the situation by the end of December 1983, but now we are already in February and the end of the military operation cannot be seen . . . there are 10 battalions in Lospalos [a principal town] alone," but "the Indonesians cannot win the war."

His account is corroborated by more recent reports of refugees coming here. One who arrived last month said military activity was intense, with frequent arrivals of troop reinforcements and a military hospital plane flying wounded Indonesian soldiers home weekly. Refugee estimates of the military strength in Timor vary from 10,000 to 20,000 troops.

One refugee said he had seen the funerals of two soldiers killed last month in an exchange of small-arms fire with resistance fighters on the outskirts of Dili, suggesting the combat zone was approaching the capital.

In his letter, Belo described widespread jailings throughout the island, with 600 imprisoned in Dili alone. "They are going to be tried in military courts. Other people have disappeared. We do not know if these courts are impartial or if there are defense lawyers," he wrote.

His account was supported by informed western sources monitoring the situation in Timor who said several hundred suspected Fretilin sympathizers are thought to have been sentenced this year by secret military courts. Recently arrived refugees said repression was causing large numbers of people to flee the towns for the mountain strongholds where Fretilin is based.

Many of them said they intended to side with the guerrillas. Many civilians sought refuge in the bush with Fretilin in the early years of the conflict but the insurgents later urged them to go back to the towns as civilians fell victims to bombings and food shortages.

The Catholic church "is being persecuted and accused and our schools are being searched and the students interrogated," said the prelate.



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## A letter for the Secretary

Secretary of State George Shultz arrives today in Indonesia to participate in meetings of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). A bipartisan group of 123 members of Congress has signed a letter urging Shultz to raise with the Indonesian government the legal and human rights issue of East Timor.

In December of 1975, the day after President Gerald Ford and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger departed from Jakarta, Indonesian armed forces invaded the island of East Timor to crush an independence movement and to annex the former Portuguese colony. The Indonesian war of conquest has been going on for nearly nine years now, and in that time the primarily Roman Catholic Timorese people have suffered from merciless massacres, torture, the bombing of villages and the systematic destruction of their food supply. The Indonesian assault has caused the deaths of between 100,000 and 200,000 people - from a population of less than 700,000.

Some 90 percent of the weapons used to carry out the invasion were supplied by Washington. Succeeding administrations continued to supply American arms; made false and misleading statements about improvements in

the human rights situation on the island; and defended the Indonesian position in the United Nations, where Indonesia was condemned eight years in a row.

The congressmen's letter proposed that Shultz ask the Indonesians to allow independent journalists as well as church officials and human rights workers to visit the island, which has been sealed off from nearly all outside contact. The congressmen asked that the Red Cross be given access to the victims of famine and violence. They also asked Shultz to raise "the issue of the church's right to exist in East Timor free of persecution and harassment."

The letter writers suggest that support for the Indonesian invasion of East Timor places America in the same position as those countries that support the Soviet conquest of Afghanistan.

The congressmen expressed the hope that Shultz would press for "an equitable settlement of the conflict in East Timor." This would mean telling the Indonesians to permit the Timorese to decide their own fate. Nothing could be more consistent with the original, anticolonial spirit of the American Revolution.

**EDITORIAL**

*"First the blade, then the ear,  then the full grain in the ear"*

## Candor on Timor

**T**HE Reagan administration contends that when it comes to human rights issues, quiet diplomacy works best. Secretary of State George Shultz's visit to Indonesia this week provides an opportunity for just such diplomacy.

Given its past support for Indonesia and its provision of arms to the Suharto regime, the United States clearly had a responsibility to raise the question of Indonesia's suppression of human rights on the island territory of East Timor, as Mr. Shultz apparently did in a meeting with Indonesian officials. East Timor was invaded by Indonesia in 1975.

Once a Portuguese colony, East Timor has its own language and identity. The former acting bishop estimates that more than 100,000 East Timorese perished as a result of the Indonesian invasion and the starvation, executions, and disruptions that followed it.

The US helps to finance work on the island by the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC). Secretary of State Shultz should press the Indonesians to allow full and unrestricted access to the ICRC so that it can determine food needs and visit all of the prisons on the island. If the situation on the island is as normal as the Indonesians sometimes claim it is, why not allow normal access to it by relief agencies? And, whoever may have been to blame for the breakdown of the last ceasefire on East Timor, why not seek another one? . . .

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Editor

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Page 18-A

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## Terror in East Timor

East Timor is hardly a household word. Nor does this remote piece of an island situated between Australia and Indonesia have a built-in constituency in the West to protest massive human-rights abuses. Few know about reports of torture, the forced relocation of much of the population or the 100,000 Timorese who have starved to death since Indonesia invaded the largely Roman Catholic former Portuguese colony in 1975.

The full extent of the tragedy is hard to determine because the Indonesians have sharply restricted international relief agencies and have kept out journalists and independent observers. The Indonesians deny there's any problem. But Pope John Paul II, reflecting the recent urgent plea of the head of the Catholic Church in East Timor, pointedly expressed his concern about human rights on the island when greeting the new Indonesian ambassador to the Vatican.

Secretary of State George P. Shultz raised the East Timor human rights issue with Indonesia's foreign minister while in Jakarta recently, the first visit by a U.S. Secretary of State since 1975. Although Mr. Shultz did not mention it, he had been urged to plead the case of the people of East Timor by a group of 123 members of Congress.

Little U.S. criticism has been heard in the past of Indonesian policy in East Timor, perhaps because the oil-rich, strategically located nation is a useful anti-communist ally. The 1975 invasion, against a short-lived leftist Timorese republic, came only 12 hours after a visit by Henry Kissinger and President Ford. The congressional critics say U.S.-supplied weapons are being used by Indonesian troops in efforts to wipe out a guerrilla movement on the island, with devastating consequences for many civilians.

Mr. Shultz's aides contend that Washington has been discussing East Timor's case quietly with the Indonesians on a regular basis. If so, it's high time to press for some results. One immediate need is to persuade the Indonesian government to allow the press, along with the International Red Cross and other relief organizations, unrestricted access. That should help check human rights abuses.

Finding a political solution for the islanders that doesn't arouse Indonesian security concerns will be harder and take longer. But in the meantime, the United States, which has inveighed so hard against the invasions of Afghanistan and Cambodia, should not turn a blind eye to the Indonesian military occupation of East Timor.



# commentary

## Torture And Death In East Timor

By Steve Schmidt

**O**n Monday Secretary of State Shultz will visit Jakarta to confer with the leaders of Indonesia. It is crucial that he utilize this opportunity to condemn the Indonesia government's flagrant abuse of human rights in the tiny island territory of East Timor.

Nine summers ago, East Timor was a neglected remnant of the once-vast Portuguese colonial empire. Its population of 700,000 was a distinctive people with its own language and cultural traditions. They were mostly farmers, living in thatch-roofed huts in small villages that resembled a movie-maker's vision of a South Seas island paradise.

This summer, however, East Timor seems more like hell. In 1975, after the Portuguese announced their intention to leave, Indonesian forces invaded East Timor and embarked on the "Indonesianization" of the East Timorese. Resistance by Fretilin, the East Timorese independence movement, has over the last nine years been met with savage repression involving grievous violations of human rights. According to Amnesty International, 150,000 to 200,000 East Timorese have died in this period.

Some have died in combat, but many deaths are attributable to the Indonesian policy of moving the population to remote resettlement areas or concentration camps, thus disrupting agricultural practices and engendering mass starvation. Still other East Timorese have "disappeared" or have been massacred, summarily executed, tortured to death, or forcibly conscripted into suicidal military missions. The lush, tranquil farming villages have in many cases vanished. Their former inhabitants are also gone.

Now there is new cause for concern. In August 1983, after negotiations with Fretilin broke down, Indonesia launched

**The thoroughly documented use of torture by Indonesian military personnel against the East Timorese . . . indicates the general ruthlessness of the Indonesian occupation.**

yet another offensive in East Timor, imposing a news blackout on the island and severely curtailing the operations of the few international relief organizations previously granted access to the territory. According to East Timorese refugees in Lisbon, at least 10,000 Indonesian troops, many of them crack red beret commandos, have arrived on the island since August of last year, along with scores of Hercules transport aircraft and ships loaded with arms. Refugees report on various massacres, including the systematic burning of villages by occupying troops.

According to Amnesty International, several hundred arrests and more than 20 "disappearances" have occurred since August 1983. Western diplomatic sources say that the new invasion has disrupted agriculture, causing food shortages and once again raising the horrifying possibility of mass starvation.

The thoroughly documented use of torture by Indonesian military personnel against the East Timorese — of suspected resisters, their families and even casual acquaintances — indicates the general ruthlessness of the Indonesian occupation. Many have been tortured to death. Others are damaged for life. Last summer Amnesty International announced the existence of a captured field manual issued to occupying forces by the Indonesian military command. The torture manual instructs on how to brutalize so "the antipathy of the people is not aroused." It recommends, for example, that no photographs be taken of victims enduring electric shock and other forms of torture.

During the past year, Rep. Tony Hall, D-Ohio, and Sen. Dave Durenberger, R-Minnesota, have expressed their concern regarding East Timor in two letters to the State Department co-signed by 105 representatives and 21 senators. The State Department's response indicated an acceptance of Indonesia's whitewash of the situation, reflecting the United States' long-time reluctance to risk alienating a major ally. The State Department did, however, endorse the proposal that international relief agencies such as the International Committee of the Red Cross and UNICEF be permitted full access to the territory. The Red Cross has recently been denied such access.

Secretary Shultz should press the Indonesians to reverse this decision. The Indonesian government's persistent limiting of access of East Timor relief organizations, journalists and other interested, responsible parties only fuels the worst fears of the world community.

The secretary of state should also prevail upon the Indonesian leaders to resume negotiations with Fretilin. The United States is one of Indonesia's main sources of military and economic aid; indeed the war against the East Timorese has been waged almost exclusively with American-made weapons. The United States thus has both special obligations and special opportunities to help bring an end to the troubles in East Timor. Not to exercise our influence would be criminal.

*Steve Schmidt is the chairman of Amnesty International U.S.A.'s coordination group on Indonesia.*

July 10, 1984

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## EDITORIALS

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### With Shultz On an Asian Trip

AT HIS FIRST stop in Hong Kong on a long and delicate mission to Southeast Asia, Secretary of State George Shultz expressed hopes for the now-thriving crown colony's continued stability. That is certainly a legitimate stance to take, although Washington must be careful not to obtrude itself into a situation that is up to Great Britain and China to resolve.

While the United States does not perceive itself as having a direct role, Shultz said nonetheless "we have a deep interest in preserving Hong Kong's stability and prosperity and strongly support efforts to reach a settlement which achieves that goal and which accords with the interests of all involved." Hong Kong's free-wheeling vitality has long stemmed from its special status of independence "between two worlds." So the U.S. does well to support British efforts toward continuing a high degree of autonomy for the colony once its lease runs out in 1997.

**TROPICAL STORM** Betty then blew the Secretary of State one day early into Kuala Lumpur, where he heard fears from Malaysian ministers that the United States contributions to the Chinese economy may eventually serve to endanger the security of Southeast Asian countries. Concern about China is historic in this area and will doubtless come up again when he arrives in Indonesia as the U.S. observer at the Association of South East Nations.

While the main topic of discussion at this meeting in Jakarta will be trade, we hope that Secretary Shultz will find time to nudge the Indonesian authorities on the subject of East Timor. Last Spring, a bipartisan group of U.S. senators urged the administration to give attention to reports of escalating human rights violations in this former Portuguese colony annexed by Indonesia in 1975. It would be only reasonable for the secretary to press for increased access to East Timor by humanitarian organizations, journalists and other independent observers.





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B-4 Thursday, July 12, 1984

Oakland, California

## The unseen holocaust

For too long the United States has spoken softly and carried no stick at all in the face of a modern-day massacre of innocents.

The victims, largely ignored by the outside world, live on East Timor, a small island at the end of the Indonesian archipelago. The executioners are the armed forces of the Indonesian military dictatorship.

Secretary of State George Shultz, currently on a state visit to Indonesia, can help bring the killing to an end by wielding strong words and big sticks against aggression and murder.

East Timor, ruled for four centuries by Portugal, tasted independence in 1975 when the Lisbon dictatorship finally collapsed. But the island's freedom was short-lived. Indonesia invaded on Dec. 7, 1975, and declared sovereignty over its 700,000 inhabitants.

From the start, the United States ignored this blatant violation of international law and morality. President Ford, who arrived in Indonesia 12 hours before the attack began, didn't raise the issue with his hosts. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger informed the U.S. ambassador to Indonesia not to discuss Timor "on the grounds that the United States is involved in enough problems of greater importance overseas at present."

Indeed, the ambassador told colleagues that the United States hoped Indonesia would get its invasion over with "effectively, quickly, and not use our equipment."

But use it they did; U.S. counterinsurgency aircraft wreaked havoc on villages and crops through incendiary bombing attacks. Though such offensive use of American-supplied weapons was illegal, the United States continued to offer Indonesia further arms.

The results of Indonesia's invasion ranks with recent holocausts in Cambodia and Uganda. Some 150,000 people, one-fifth of the population, perished from war, famine and disease. An equivalent disaster would have killed more than 40 million Americans — roughly the impact of a nuclear war.

In late 1979, international relief officials, who finally gained access to the tightly closed

island, reported that conditions were "worse than Biafra and potentially as serious as Cambodia."

Even today, Amnesty International reports that "human rights violations occur there within the context of an occupation of extraordinary brutality in which a whole range of fundamental human rights have been denied the population."

And the Vatican's chief representative on the island appealed in February "to the free world to open its eyes to the barbarities of which the Indonesians are capable." He reported widespread "sickness, hunger, lack of liberty and persecution" of the church.

Yet while the United States denounces the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and Vietnam's conquest of Cambodia, it accepts as a *fait accompli* Indonesia's yet unfinished "pacification" of Timor. Since 1975 the United States has opposed 10 United Nations resolutions condemning the illegal invasion.

Despite the testimony of refugees, church officials and international relief workers, despite the vow of Indonesia's commanding general to show "no mercy" in the latest round of fighting, the State Department assures congressional critics that "the Indonesian forces, in conducting their operations, are attempting to minimize the impact of the fighting on non-combatants."

No doubt the Kremlin makes the same claims about its search-and-destroy missions in Afghanistan.

But 123 members of the House and 21 senators don't buy it. In separate letters to Secretary of State Shultz, these legislators have expressed their concern and implored the administration to help end the fighting and dying.

Shultz has at least taken up the matter with Indonesia's foreign minister during his current visit. He must persist forcefully to make that regime know the issue won't be forgotten. East Timor may be small and remote, but it remains close to the hearts of Americans who deplore its tragic fate.

**Nation/world**

# Shultz tells concern for East Timor

**JAKARTA, Indonesia [UPI]**—Secretary of State George Shultz Wednesday told Indonesian officials the United States is concerned over charges of human rights abuses in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor, local news reports said.

During a meeting with Indonesian Foreign Minister Mochtar Kusumaatmadja, Shultz brought up a letter from 123 U.S. congressmen urging him to express concern over reports of "atrocities against the Timorese population," the reports said.

The government-controlled Indonesian press said, however, Mochtar deplored the letter and dismissed the concerns, saying the reports contradicted the findings of other observers.

The letter cited "credible reports" that more than 100,000 of the 700,000 people in East Timor had died from famine, disease and fighting since 1975.

**EAST TIMOR**, a former Portuguese colony, was annexed by Indonesia in 1976.

Repeated charges have surfaced of human rights abuses by some 8,000-10,000 Indonesian troops in East Timor, located on the eastern half of Timor, a Pacific island some 350 miles north of Australia.

Amnesty International, the London-based human rights organization, said in a report last year it had received reports the troops had used torture, threats of force, arbitrary detention and illegal arrests to subdue the East Timorese.

**AFTER HIS** meeting with Mochtar, Shultz and his delegation flew to the world's oldest Buddhist temple at Borobudur, in the Java jungles 275 miles southeast of Jakarta, for a day of sightseeing.

Shultz, who arrived from Singapore on the fourth leg of his two-week, six-nation Asian tour, meets Thursday with foreign ministers of the six members of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations [ASEAN].

# Shultz confronts Indonesia on rights abuse

Special for USA TODAY

JAKARTA, Indonesia — Secretary of State George Shultz today meets foreign ministers of the six-member Association of Southeast Asian Nations to strengthen economic and political cooperation against the communist threat in the region.

But Shultz, arriving from Singapore on the fourth leg of his six-nation Asian tour, brought up another problem Wednesday

with his Indonesian hosts: Concern over human rights abuses in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor, which Indonesia has annexed.

He met with Foreign Minister Mochtar Kusumaatmadja for 50 minutes on the matter, but did not cite a letter from 123 U.S. congressmen charging that Indonesia committed "atrocities against the Timorese" and that more than 100,000 of East Timor's 700,000 people had died from famine,

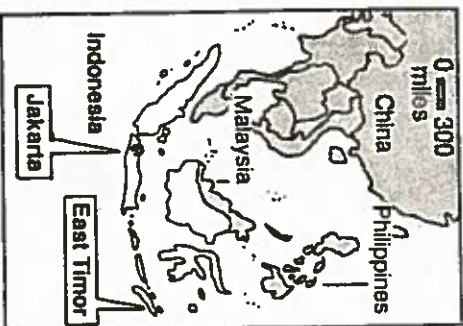
disease and fighting since 1975.

The government-controlled Indonesian press said Mochtar dismissed the U.S. concerns, saying the reports contradicted the findings of other observers.

While military talks are not on today's agenda, certain security issues are likely to be raised. Shultz is expected to discuss projected U.S. arms sales to China and reassure the association the weapons will be deployed only for defense along the Sino-Soviet border.

Association members — Indonesia, Thailand, Singapore, Malaysia, the Philippines and Brunei — have a combined population of nearly 250 million and present a strong anti-communist and pro-capitalist front in Southeast Asia.

Mochtar said he will present "very interesting and practical suggestions" on economic, social and cultural affairs. He also called for a common position on Cambodia, dominated by 160,000 Vietnamese troops.



By Heidi Enrich, USA TODAY



# The Washington Post

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THURSDAY, JULY 12, 1984

Higher in Areas Approximately 75 miles  
From District of Columbia (See Box on A3)

## Pope Condemns Priests' Ouster By Nicaragua

By Sari Gilbert  
Special to The Washington Post

VATICAN CITY, July 11—Pope John Paul II today sharply criticized the Nicaraguan government's expulsion Monday of 10 foreign Roman Catholic priests, expressing his "firm disapproval" and saying the action by the Sandinistas was "openly harmful to the church."

Speaking at today's general audience in St. Peter's Square, the pope called on the Nicaraguans to reverse their decision, which he described as "painful and particularly grave."

The statement was one of a series of recent public declarations on human rights, church and political issues in widely separated countries that is part of what some Vatican observers see as an effort to expand a focus by the Polish-born pontiff on Eastern Europe.

Today's commentary on Nicaragua also appears to be one of several recent statements interjecting the pope into issues with political overtones, despite his constant admonitions to Catholic priests that they should not become political activists.

On Saturday, John Paul II told Gen. Hardiman Sastrapoespita, the new Indonesian envoy to the Holy See, that he was deeply concerned about the people of East Timor, a largely Catholic former Portuguese colony

See POPE, A27, Col. 1

## Pope Condemns Ouster Of Priests by Managua

POPE, From A1

which is under Indonesian military occupation.

On the same day, in a meeting with members of a special United Nations commission, John Paul sharply condemned the South African system of racial segregation called apartheid and criticized that government's policy of relocating its black population in special enclaves.

Church sources argue that the pope's recent burst of outspokenness, in part dependent on the pace of international events, is not new and like his extensive foreign travel—so far he has visited more than 40 countries—distinguishes his papacy from those of his predecessors.

But the growing emphasis on the plight of the church and on human rights problems in a vast range of countries also is seen as a counter to criticism that surfaced frequently over a long period in which a majority of John Paul's comments appeared to be directed primarily at Poland and, to a lesser degree, at other Soviet Bloc countries.

As a new meeting with Czechoslovak authorities last week indicated, the Vatican is still pursuing a policy designed to better the situation of Catholics in Soviet Bloc countries. But a firm expression of support two weeks ago for Polish bishops calling for the release of political prisoners in that country was one of only a handful of statements on Poland over the past year.

Speaking at today's general audience in St. Peter's Square, the pope said the expulsion of the 10 priests—three Italians, six Spaniards and one Costa Rican—from Nicaragua was "a grave loss for the church." He went on to say, "I express my firm disapproval and my intimate participation in the suffering of the church" in that Central American country.

Church relations with the leftist Nicaraguan government have been deteriorating in recent months and hit a new low on Monday when the government reacted to a demonstration led by the Roman Catholic archbishop, Miguel Obando y Bravo. The 10 priests were among about 300 demonstrators protesting the house arrest of the Rev. Luis Amado Pena, whom the government has accused of conspiring with antigovernment rebels.

On Tuesday the Vatican daily Osservatore Romano ran an editorial describing Father Pena as a political prisoner and terming the expulsions "extremely serious."

Tensions between the Vatican and Nicaragua in the past have centered on the church's objections to

the participation in the Sandinist government of five priests. They worsened during the pontiff's visit to Managua last year when a huge outdoor mass was disrupted by government supporters, and as human rights criticisms of the Marxist dominated regime have grown.

For the past two decades, segments of the predominant Roman Catholic church in Latin America have been closely involved in struggles against rightist government and oppression of the poor. Following the pope's visit to Mexico in 1979, his first foreign trip as pontiff, a number of Latin American priests expressed disappointment with his frequent admonitions that they stay out of political affairs, seeing it as a failure to understand regional realities.

The pope in recent years frequently has spoken out to criticize the war and violence in El Salvador and he did react sharply when six political prisoners were executed by Guatemala's rightist military government on the eve of his visit there last year. But he otherwise has remained generally muted on political affairs in the region, despite pleas by senior prelates that he become involved as a force for peace in the region.

By this view, today's exception ally strong statement on Nicaragua may come to be viewed by critics of Vatican policy as a political criticism of a government on the left of the spectrum that the pope has been unwilling to make about the Latin American right.

During his March 1983 visit to Central America, in which he visited six countries, the pope made headlines with a keynote speech in which he warned about the danger of foreign involvement in the region. In El Salvador, the pope made a point of visiting the grave of outspoken Archbishop Oscar Romero who was assassinated, allegedly by a right-wing death squad, in 1980.

During his trip to East Asia in May, the pope followed up a visit to a Thai refugee camp with an open rebuke, made before the assembled Bangkok diplomatic corps, of the Cambodian, Laotian and Vietnamese policies that force people to flee their homelands.

Asked by an Italian reporter during the flight home from Thailand if such a speech did not constitute the same kind of political interference against which he has frequently warned other Roman Catholic priests, the pontiff retorted sharply that he had been discussing not a political issue but a human matter on which he felt compelled to speak out. Later he apologized for raising his voice and explained how strong he felt on such matters.

LISBON — When Secretary of State George P. Shultz visits Jakarta, the capital of Indonesia, this week, he must not ignore the plight of East Timor, where the Indonesian military has waged a war of extreme brutality, with little respite, for nearly nine years. While this conflict may seem remote from American concerns, the unfortunate facts show that the United States, through military aid and diplomatic support for Indonesia, is deeply involved in the tragedy of East Timor, my native land. In his meetings with the Indonesian leadership, Mr. Shultz has an obligation to address the situation.

An island territory north of Australia, exquisitely beautiful to those who know it, East Timor was a Portuguese colony for four centuries and developed a cultural identity and language quite different from neighboring Indonesia. Under the guise of fighting Communism — a false pretext, I believe, used to mask aggressive policies — Indonesia launched a full-scale invasion of East Timor in

Martinho da Costa Lopes was the Papal Administrator, or acting bishop, of East Timor from 1977 to 1983.

December 1975, after Portugal abandoned the territory.

Jakarta has tried to hide the truth by isolating East Timor from normal contact with the outside world. But from my own experience and that of my people, I can say that Indonesian forces have left a trail of ruin and violence of every sort, including torture, rape and massacre. The death toll, at the hands of the armies of an Indonesian nation numbering 160 million, has been catastrophic: More than 100,000 East Timorese, or more than one-sixth of our population, have died from warfare, starvation, executions and disease.

But the tragedy is far from over and in fact has intensified since last August, when Indonesian forces began a new military offensive aimed at crushing Fretilin, the non-Communist independence movement that continues to resist Indonesian rule. Letters that I have received from East Timor, including one from my successor as acting bishop, Monsignor Carlos Ximenes Belo, say that on top of new atrocities the offensive has created still another bout of human misery — this at a time when international relief agencies are pre-

## Shultz, Help East Timor

By Martinho da Costa Lopes

vented by the Indonesian armed forces from operating freely in the territory. And, for the first time, the Roman Catholic Church in East Timor is the target of persecution.

With great sadness, I acknowledge that the United States, apparently because of close political and commercial links with Jakarta, has placed itself heavily on the Indonesian side of the conflict. Henry A. Kissinger, then Secretary of State, was in Jakarta in 1975 on the day before the invasion — it was widely known that Indonesia was set to invade — and stated that "the United States understands Indonesia's position on the question" of East Timor.

Since then, the East Timorese people have seen for themselves that many, if not most, of the weapons, bombers and military equipment used by the Indonesian forces are supplied by the United States. Although the invasion and occupation of East Timor was, and is, a flagrant violation of international law, condemned by the United Nations in 10 resolutions between 1975 and 1982, the United States has continued to give diplomatic support to Jakarta's claim that it has "integrated" the territory — even though the State Department admits that East Timor has not had the opportunity to exercise its internationally recognized right to self-determination.

I would have no objection at all if the people of East Timor, free of all pressure, internal and external, chose to be part of Indonesia. But I am convinced that 90 percent, if not 99 percent, would, if they were given the chance, vote for an Indonesian withdrawal — and, after all the death and untold suffering, who can blame them? Without a legitimate political solution, based on dialogue, the

tragedy will go on indefinitely.

What could the United States do now? Secretary of State Shultz should be trying to persuade Indonesia's rulers that there is wisdom in a peace process and just political settlement for East Timor — a settlement based on authentic freedom of choice. To those who argue that this is impossible, that the Indonesian military will never accept an independent East Timor, I ask: Have such prospects prevented America from assisting the right of Afghanistan to be free?

Mr. Shultz should also press Indonesia to provide immediate and unrestricted access for all international humanitarian agencies seeking to work in East Timor, for journalists and other independent observers. As a churchman, I also feel that it is particularly important that the United States take all possible steps to defend the integrity of the East Timorese church — a church whose only offense is its refusal to betray our own people, to be silent while they remain prisoners in their own country. For the church, as for all my people, freedom is the basic issue.



## COMMENTARY

# Recalling Timor's Forgotten Voices

By MARTINHO DA COSTA LOPES

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

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

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

## Fear of Reprisals

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

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

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

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

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

## Eradicating a Culture

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

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

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

To an East Timorese, however, the idea that one should spend long years in jail for

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

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



Indonesian engineers. Many East Timorese insist that the incident actually involved a similar number of off-duty Indonesian soldiers, who arrived at a Timorese wedding in Viqueque and abducted and raped several Timorese women—thereby provoking Timorese retaliation. This account is quite different from the allegedly unprovoked attack on Indonesian civilians that has been widely reported.

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

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

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

## Congressional Concern

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

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

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

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

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 30, 1986

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

### MARTINHO DA COSTA LOPES

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

TRIBUNA LIBRE

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

### Peculiaridad cultural

Timor oriental es un territorio insular situado al norte de Australia y cuantos lo conocen juzgan que es de una belleza exquisita. Sus cuatro siglos como colonia portuguesa le han dado una identidad cultural y lingüística muy distinta de la de su vecina Indonesia, que procede de antiguas colonias holandesas. Bajo el pretexto —falso a mi entender y destinado a encubrir la agresión— de la lucha contra el comunismo, Indonesia lanzó a finales de 1975 una invasión sobre Timor oriental.

## La tragedia de Timor

MARTINHO DA COSTA LOPES

El autor de este artículo pide que la visita mor Oriental, territorio situado al norte a Portugal y España, el próximo mes de de Australia, en donde, asegura, se violan mayo, del presidente estadounidense sir los derechos humanos desde su invasión, va para dar a conocer la situación de Timor en 1975, por Indonesia.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Debo hacer hincapié en que no pondría objeción alguna si el pueblo de Timor oriental, sin presiones, decidiera ser parte de Indonesia. Pero estoy convencido de que el 90%, si no el 99%, votaría en fa-

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

### EE UU, del lado indonesio

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

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

Martinho da Costa Lopes fue observador administrativo papal de Timor oriental de 1977 a 1983.

July 10, 1984

## EDITORIALS

### With Shultz On an Asian Trip

AT HIS FIRST stop in Hong Kong on a long and delicate mission to Southeast Asia, Secretary of State George Shultz expressed hopes for the now-thriving crown colony's continued stability. That is certainly a legitimate stance to take, although Washington must be careful not to obtrude itself into a situation that is up to Great Britain and China to resolve.

While the United States does not perceive itself as having a direct role, Shultz said nonetheless "we have a deep interest in preserving Hong Kong's stability and prosperity and strongly support efforts to reach a settlement which achieves that goal and which accords with the interests of all involved." Hong Kong's free-wheeling vitality has long stemmed from its special status of independence "between two worlds." So the U.S. does well to support British efforts toward continuing a high degree of autonomy for the colony once its lease runs out in 1997.

TROPICAL STORM Betty then blew the Secretary of State one day early into Kuala Lumpur, where he heard fears from Malaysian ministers that the United States contributions to the Chinese economy may eventually serve to endanger the security of Southeast Asian countries. Concern about China is historic in this area and will doubtless come up again when he arrives in Indonesia as the U.S. observer at the Association of South East Nations.

While the main topic of discussion at this meeting in Jakarta will be trade, we hope that Secretary Shultz will find time to nudge the Indonesian authorities on the subject of East Timor. Last Spring, a bipartisan group of U.S. senators urged the administration to give attention to reports of escalating human rights violations in this former Portuguese colony, annexed by Indonesia in 1975. It would be only reasonable for the secretary to press for increased access to East Timor by humanitarian organizations, journalists and other independent observers.



# Smuggled Letter Details Suffering in East Timor

## *Priest Describes Famine, Repression As Indonesia Tries to Crush Rebels*

By Peter Wise

Washington Post Service

LISBON — Indonesia shows no sign of defeating nationalist insurgents in East Timor despite a marked intensification of a nine-year military campaign that has inflicted widespread suffering among civilians, according to the head of the Southeast Asian island territory's Roman Catholic Church.

In a letter smuggled to Lisbon, the Reverend Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo, the apostolic administrator of Dili, the East Timor capital, wrote that civilians were suffering "disease, hunger, persecution and the loss of freedom" as Indonesia stepped up its anti-guerrilla operations.

The rural population was being forced to abandon their crops and fight with Indonesian troops against their countrymen, Father Belo wrote. "It is surprising," he added, "that in this island of so many battalions, helicopters, tanks and bomber-planes" the Indonesians should need to recruit local militiamen.

Indonesia imposed a rigorous news blackout in East Timor after it set up a provisional government and then annexed the former Portuguese colony in 1975. Father Belo's letter, dated Feb. 11, 1984, was smuggled to his predecessor, Monsignor Martinho da Costa Lopes, who retired to Lisbon two years ago.

Numerous allegations of torture, jailings, disappearances, famine, torture, and the deaths of more than 200,000 Timorese after the invasion have been difficult to confirm because of restricted access to the territory.

The letter confirms earlier reports that the Indonesian military launched a major offensive last summer with the aim of wiping out the nationalist guerrilla movement, known as Fretilin.

Father Belo wrote of the Indonesians, "They thought they would clean up the situation by the end of December 1983, but now we are already in February and the end of the military operation cannot be seen."

His account is supported by recent reports from refugees who have fled to Lisbon. One who arrived last month said military activity was intense, with frequent arrivals of troop reinforcements and a military hospital airplane flying

wounded Indonesian soldiers home each week.

In his letter, Father Belo described widespread jailings, with 600 imprisoned in Dili alone. "They are going to be tried in military courts," he wrote. "Other people have disappeared. We do not know if these courts are impartial or if there are defense lawyers."

The priest's account was confirmed by Western sources monitoring the situation in East Timor who said several hundred suspected Fretilin sympathizers are thought to have been sentenced this year by secret military courts. The reports named two men who were sentenced to 17-year prison terms because of their connections with the guerrillas.

Recently arrived refugees, who asked not to be identified for fear of reprisals, said the wave of arrests and increasing repression were causing large numbers of people to flee the towns for the mountain strongholds where Fretilin is based. Many said they intended to side with the guerrillas.

In the early years of the conflict, many civilians sought refuge in the bush with Fretilin but were later urged by the insurgents to return to their homes because they were falling victim to bombings and food shortages.

Father Belo also described what he called "public judgments," where people thought to have contacts with Fretilin were "killed in front of other inhabitants by knife, cutlass and by beating with sticks."

INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, FRIDAY, JULY 13, 1984

# Houston Chronicle

Houston's Family Newspaper

**Thursday  
July 12, 1984**

## Shultz voices concern

JAKARTA — Secretary of State George Shultz, making a six-nation Asian tour, told Indonesian officials that the United States is concerned over charges of human rights abuses in East Timor. Reports say 100,000 of the 700,000 people on the island have died from famine and fighting against government authority since 1975. Indonesian Foreign Minister Machtar Kusumaatmadja dismissed the concerns, saying the charges contradicted findings of observers.

## Lisbon wants rights pledged from Jakarta

# East Timor gripped by war

From Martha de la Cal  
Lisbon

Portugal is continuing to discuss the problem of Portuguese East Timor with Indonesia which invaded the territory in 1975. A foreign ministry official here said Lisbon wants to resolve the situation within the framework of the mandate laid down by the UN Secretary General.

"We want a solution that respects the human rights of the population and one that will provide an internationally recognized act of self-determination by the Timorese people."

The Portuguese Foreign Minister, Senhor Jaime Gama, said recently that Lisbon was willing to begin formal negotiations with Indonesia over East Timor. Portugal has refused to bring the Fretilin resistance movement into the negotiations, but officials here say the UN Secretary General is in contact with the Fretilin who are recognized as "talking partners".

Reports that conditions in East Timor have been worsening over the past few months have been confirmed recently by several sources.

Recently arrived refugees



from Dili tell of increased fighting. One refugee, who refused to be named because he had left his family in East Timor, said: "There have been more troops lately, and every two or three days there are battles. Houses have been burned by the soldiers - 300 in one place. There have been many trials and many more people are in prison. One Portuguese man was condemned to death for writing to Fretilin."

The refugee said the Indonesian troops behave very badly toward the Timorese, taking their food and mistreating them. He said there is very little work, except for persons willing to take jobs with the Indonesians. "Most of the important

jobs have been filled with Indonesians," he said.

The refugee's description of conditions tallies with that given in a letter in April from the Bishop of Timor, Monsignor Carlos Ximenes Belo. The bishop described summary trials in which persons found guilty of contacts with the guerrilla fighters were hanged to death.

"There is a real war in most districts," he said, "and the people are suffering disease, hunger, lack of liberty and persecution." The church was also being persecuted. Bishop Belo asked for his letter to be open their eyes to the barbaric acts of which the Indonesians are capable."

According to the refugees just arrived from Dili, Bishop Belo was taken to Jakarta for interrogation because of the letter.

Portuguese authorities are expecting a condemnation of Indonesia's actions in East Timor to come out of the Australian Labour Party congress this week in spite of the damage this could do the already deteriorating relations between Jakarta and Canberra.

**THURSDAY, JULY 12, 1984**

## East Timor Injustice

While visiting Indonesia this week, Secretary of State George Shultz has a chance to demonstrate U.S. evenhandedness in opposing unjust colonial wars. Everyone knows where Washington stands on Afghanistan and Cambodia, nations occupied by Communist neighbors. But Indonesia's occupation of East Timor has been passed over by three U.S. administrations with shamefully vague murmurs of the kind Americans scorn in United Nations declarations.

Indonesia has triply offended. It invaded East Timor, a former Portuguese colony, in 1975. A year later it annexed the territory. And under its administration since then, more than 100,000 Timorese, a sixth of the mostly Catholic population, are believed to have died from famine, disease and fighting. The extent of the calamity can only be estimated because Jakarta has impeded relief measures and closed the island to foreign observers.

Americans have only gradually become aware of Indonesia's assault on this poor and primitive territory. The pretext is combating Communism. The invasion began a day after President Gerald Ford and Secretary of State

Henry Kissinger visited Jakarta. Though they did not condone the attack, they failed to condemn it.

Mr. Shultz has been reminded of this persisting neglect by the bipartisan plea of 22 senators and 123 representatives. They urge him to press Indonesia to give relief organizations and other monitors unrestricted access to East Timor. Last Saturday their appeal was reinforced by an unusual admonition from Pope John Paul II.

In accepting the credentials of an Indonesian ambassador, a general, the pope broke with custom by speaking out on behalf of the East Timorese. He "earnestly recommended" respect for their human rights and said it was his "ardent wish" that relief organizations gain access to the many in need.

East Timor has as much right to self-determination as Cambodia and Afghanistan. At the minimum, its people should be rescued from starvation and brutal persecution. Saying that may not sway Indonesia's military rulers. But they need to hear it, and high-placed Americans need to say it.

— THE NEW YORK TIMES



## SOUTHEAST ASIA

# George Shultz Tries To Mend Some Fences

Less than a decade ago the United States pulled out of South Vietnam, spreading fears that it would abandon Southeast Asia altogether. But as Secretary of State George Shultz paid calls last week on Hong Kong, Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia and Australia, relations between the region and the superpower across the Pacific looked more solid than ever. The trip was just the latest in a series of fence-mending visits by high-ranking U.S. officials, including Vice President George Bush and United Nations Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick. And at each stop, Shultz took pains to stress the strategic and economic importance of the region. "Let me assure you," he said, "that . . . we are committed to an active, constructive and long-term presence in Southeast Asia."

In Jakarta, Shultz attended a meeting of the six-member Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and its Pacific "dialogue partners"—the United States, Japan, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. He endorsed a new agreement calling for an increase in technological, educational and cultural exchanges among the 11 countries. The accord was a tentative step toward an economic union that some planners hope will develop into a kind of Southeast Asian common market. The ASEAN nations had resisted any notion of large-scale economic cooperation, fearing that it would be dominated by the United States and Japan. But lately they seem to be warming to the idea.

Shultz's trip was not without its rough spots. In Malaysia, officials expressed concern that improved Sino-American economic relations could lead to an increase in Chinese military power. In Jakarta, Shultz raised the issue of human-rights violations in east Timor, a former Portuguese colony that was invaded by Indonesia in 1975 and subsequently annexed. According to a recent letter signed by 123 U.S. congressmen, more than 100,000 people have been killed or have died of disease and starvation in east Timor. Shultz also denounced Vietnam's continued occupation of Cambodia and its refusal to provide information about missing American servicemen; he said it was still "fruitless to speculate" about normalizing U.S. relations with Hanoi. But for the most part, Shultz remained relentlessly upbeat. "This whole area is going like gangbusters," he said. "It's a wonderful thing to see."

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## Terror in East Timor

East Timor is hardly a household word. Nor does this remote piece of an island situated between Australia and Indonesia have a built-in constituency in the West to protest massive human-rights abuses. Few know about reports of torture, the forced relocation of much of the population or the 100,000 Timorese who have starved to death since Indonesia invaded the largely Roman Catholic former Portuguese colony in 1975.

The full extent of the tragedy is hard to determine because the Indonesians have sharply restricted international relief agencies and have kept out journalists and independent observers. The Indonesians deny there's any problem. But Pope John Paul II, reflecting the recent urgent plea of the head of the Catholic Church in East Timor, pointedly expressed his concern about human rights on the island when greeting the new Indonesian ambassador to the Vatican.

Secretary of State George P. Shultz raised the East Timor human rights issue with Indonesia's foreign minister while in Jakarta recently, the first visit by a U.S. Secretary of State since 1975. Although Mr. Shultz did not mention it, he had been urged to plead the case of the people of East Timor by a group of 123 members of Congress.

Little U.S. criticism has been heard in the past of Indonesian policy in East Timor, perhaps because the oil-rich, strategically located nation is a useful anti-communist ally. The 1975 invasion, against a short-lived leftist Timorese republic, came only 12 hours after a visit by Henry Kissinger and President Ford. The congressional critics say U.S.-supplied weapons are being used by Indonesian troops in efforts to wipe out a guerrilla movement on the island, with devastating consequences for many civilians.

Mr. Shultz's aides contend that Washington has been discussing East Timor's case quietly with the Indonesians on a regular basis. If so, it's high time to press for some results. One immediate need is to persuade the Indonesian government to allow the press, along with the International Red Cross and other relief organizations, unrestricted access. That should help check human rights abuses.

Finding a political solution for the islanders that doesn't arouse Indonesian security concerns will be harder and take longer. But in the meantime, the United States, which has inveighed so hard against the invasions of Afghanistan and Cambodia, should not turn a blind eye to the Indonesian military occupation of East Timor.

July 10, 1984

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## The unseen holocaust

For too long the United States has spoken softly and carried no stick at all in the face of a modern-day massacre of innocents.

The victims, largely ignored by the outside world, live on East Timor, a small island at the end of the Indonesian archipelago. The executioners are the armed forces of the Indonesian military dictatorship.

Secretary of State George Shultz, currently on a state visit to Indonesia, can help bring the killing to an end by wielding strong words and big sticks against aggression and murder.

East Timor, ruled for four centuries by Portugal, tasted independence in 1975 when the Lisbon dictatorship finally collapsed. But the island's freedom was short-lived. Indonesia invaded on Dec. 7, 1975, and declared sovereignty over its 700,000 inhabitants.

From the start, the United States ignored this blatant violation of international law and morality. President Ford, who arrived in Indonesia 12 hours before the attack began, didn't raise the issue with his hosts. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger informed the U.S. ambassador to Indonesia not to discuss Timor "on the grounds that the United States is involved in enough problems of greater importance overseas at present."

Indeed, the ambassador told colleagues that the United States hoped Indonesia would get its invasion over with "effectively, quickly, and not use our equipment."

But use it they did; U.S. counterinsurgency aircraft wreaked havoc on villages and crops through incendiary bombing attacks. Though such offensive use of American-supplied weapons was illegal, the United States continued to offer Indonesia further arms.

The results of Indonesia's invasion ranks with recent holocausts in Cambodia and Uganda. Some 150,000 people, one-fifth of the population, perished from war, famine and disease. An equivalent disaster would have killed more than 40 million Americans — roughly the impact of a nuclear war.

In late 1979, international relief officials, who finally gained access to the tightly closed

island, reported that conditions were "worse than Biafra and potentially as serious as Cambodia."

Even today, Amnesty International reports that "human rights violations occur there within the context of an occupation of extraordinary brutality in which a whole range of fundamental human rights have been denied the population."

And the Vatican's chief representative on the island appealed in February "to the free world to open its eyes to the barbarities of which the Indonesians are capable." He reported widespread "sickness, hunger, lack of liberty and persecution" of the church.

Yet while the United States denounces the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and Vietnam's conquest of Cambodia, it accepts as a *fait accompli* Indonesia's yet unfinished "pacification" of Timor. Since 1975 the United States has opposed 10 United Nations resolutions condemning the illegal invasion.

Despite the testimony of refugees, church officials and international relief workers, despite the vow of Indonesia's commanding general to show "no mercy" in the latest round of fighting, the State Department assures congressional critics that "the Indonesian forces, in conducting their operations, are attempting to minimize the impact of the fighting on non-combatants."

No doubt the Kremlin makes the same claims about its search-and-destroy missions in Afghanistan.

But 123 members of the House and 21 senators don't buy it. In separate letters to Secretary of State Shultz, these legislators have expressed their concern and implored the administration to help end the fighting and dying.

Shultz has at least taken up the matter with Indonesia's foreign minister during his current visit. He must persist forcefully to make that regime know the issue won't be forgotten. East Timor may be small and remote, but it remains close to the hearts of Americans who deplore its tragic fate.



**Nation/world**

# Shultz tells concern for East Timor

**JAKARTA, Indonesia [UPI]**—Secretary of State George Shultz Wednesday told Indonesian officials the United States is concerned over charges of human rights abuses in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor, local news reports said.

During a meeting with Indonesian Foreign Minister Mochtar Kusumaatmadja, Shultz brought up a letter from 123 U.S. congressmen urging him to express concern over reports of "atrocities against the Timorese population," the reports said.

The government-controlled Indonesian press said, however, Mochtar deplored the letter and dismissed the concerns, saying the reports contradicted the findings of other observers.

The letter cited "credible reports" that more than 100,000 of the 700,000 people in East Timor had died from famine, disease and fighting since 1975.

**EAST TIMOR**, a former Portuguese colony, was annexed by Indonesia in 1976.

Repeated charges have surfaced of human rights abuses by some 8,000-10,000 Indonesian troops in East Timor, located on the eastern half of Timor, a Pacific island some 350 miles north of Australia.

Amnesty International, the London-based human rights organization, said in a report last year it had received reports the troops had used torture, threats of force, arbitrary detention and illegal arrests to subdue the East Timorese.

**AFTER HIS** meeting with Mochtar, Shultz and his delegation flew to the world's oldest Buddhist temple at Borobudur, in the Java jungles 275 miles southeast of Jakarta, for a day of sightseeing.

Shultz, who arrived from Singapore on the fourth leg of his two-week, six-nation Asian tour, meets Thursday with foreign ministers of the six members of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations [ASEAN].