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## Winners of Polk Award For Journalism Named

Long Island University has announced the winners of the 35th annual George Polk Awards in Journalism.

Two correspondents of The New York Times, Thomas L. Friedman and David K. Shipler, shared the award for foreign reporting for their coverage of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. And Richard Halloran of The Times won in the national reporting category for articles on Department of Defense planning for a possible nuclear war.

### Established in 1949

A special award was given to Rod Nordland of The Philadelphia Inquirer for his dispatches from Southeast Asia describing the plight of the peoples of East Timor, Vietnam and Cambodia.

The awards were established by Long Island University in 1949 to honor the memory of the CBS correspondent who was killed the previous year while covering the Greek civil war.

These other awards were announced last week by the university:

**Regional Reporting** — Jim Henderson of The Dallas Times Herald for a series, "Racism in the South."

**Metropolitan Reporting** — Doug Cumming of The Journal-Bulletin of Providence, R.I., for a series, "Ticket to Ride, the Commuter Airlines."

**Local Reporting** — David Johnston and Joel Sappell of The Los Angeles Times for their articles on police spying in Los Angeles.

**Magazine Reporting** — Roger Rosenblatt of Time for "Children of War," a portrait of youngsters in five war-torn nations.

**Financial Reporting** — Phillip L. Zweig of The American Banker for his reports on the collapse of the Penn Square Bank.

**Criticism** — Stanley Kauffmann of The New Republic for his film reviews.

**News Photography** — Robby Castro of The Associated Press for his photograph of an Israeli soldier and a wounded Syrian soldier in Lebanon.

**Network Television Reporting** — CBS News for "CBS Reports: Guatemala."

**Local Television Reporting** — Dick Gelfman, Theresa Crawford and John Surrick of WBAL-TV, Baltimore, for "Between the Loans," a series on the victimization of consumer borrowers.

**Documentary Television** — Andrew Stern, writer and producer of "How Much Is Enough: Decision Making in the Nuclear Age," shown on the Public Broadcasting System.

# WORLD NEWS

## Popular support for guerillas increasing — Indonesia losing fight in E. Timor

From GILLES BERTIN, in Jakarta

**I**NDONESIAN soldiers seem to be fighting a losing battle for the former Portuguese colony of East Timor.

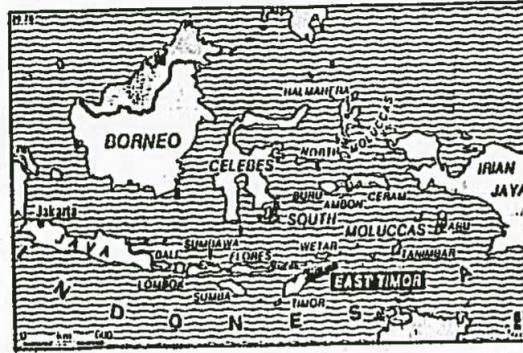
Since they were brought in to crush rebels more than seven years ago, they have made little headway. If anything, the rebels have won increasing support for their guerilla tactics among the island's population of 551,000.

The 4,000 or so soldiers have been unable to deal with the Fretilin fighters, who come down from their mountain hideouts to organise ambushes with the tacit complicity of the local inhabitants. The island's military commander, Colonel Purwanto, has put their numbers at about 500, with perhaps 100 guns among them.

Many rebel sympathisers who were interned in the nearby island of Atauro have recently been repatriated by the authorities, sources in Jakarta say. But there are at least a dozen other detention camps, including part of the jail in the capital, Dili, where the number of prisoners is not known.

The hundreds who have been freed from Atauro are still being kept under close surveillance by the Army in villages ill-equipped to receive them, and are not allowed to travel more than five kilometres without permission.

Portugal has not put any obstacles in



the way of repatriation for people who hold Portuguese passports or have strong links with Portugal, but Indonesia has held up the process on the pretext of "technical" problems. A diplomat said the authorities were afraid emigrants might make "harmful" statements.

About 400 people have asked to emigrate to Portugal, where at least 60 have relatives. Another 200 would like to go to Australia.

Many who find their applications blocked by the authorities buy their way out. Over the past five years at least 100 people have left, more or less with official approval, by dint of bribes ranging from the equivalent of \$A1,450 to \$A6,850.

Material conditions in East Timor

could be worse. There is no famine, despite the dry climate, although there are frequent shortages of rice and maize, according to an agricultural expert who recently visited the island.

But the population as a whole is resisting "Javanisation". Most people are Roman Catholic and avoid contact with the soldiers and Javanese officials, who are Moslem. Ninety per cent of the 150 million Indonesians are Moslem, whereas half the population of East Timor is Catholic and the other half practise animism.

Several thousand people a month are being converted to Catholicism, which would appear to be their way of rejecting integration with Indonesia.

The Indonesian Government has poured vast sums of money into the region. The allocation for 1982-83 was

the equivalent of \$A68.4 million, and the region's income is only about \$A200,000.

Roads and schools have been built and agricultural projects launched, but economic and social progress in Indonesia's 27th province is slow in coming because of widespread corruption and the ineffectiveness of local administration.

On the diplomatic level, Indonesia's lobbying for support at the annual vote on East Timor at the United Nations seems to have made no headway. In February, the UN Commission on Human Rights voted 16 to 14 in favour of self-determination for East Timor.

The return of a socialist government in the Portuguese general elections in April, which could take a harder line over East Timor, may thwart Indonesia's ambitions, diplomats in Jakarta.

Until now Indonesia has capitalised on the weakness of the Portuguese Foreign Ministry, torn apart by internal squabbles.

Indonesia kept a close eye also on the Australian elections. Although Labor Party leaders have given it soothing assurances of support over the integration of East Timor into Indonesia, Indonesian officials have not failed to note that some members of the party have made mention yet again of the five Australian journalists who were killed when Indonesia invaded.

— AAP-AFP

# Timor battle still raging: refugees

From JILL JOLLIFFE

LISBON, 27 March. — Heavy fighting between Fretilin rebels and Indonesian troops is continuing around the East Timor town of Lospalos, according to Timor refugees.

The battles prevented a Portuguese television crew from visiting the area for a documentary just shown in Portugal.

The crew was refused permission to visit Lospalos, at the eastern end of the island, on the grounds that there was no helicopter available.

The journalist with the crew, Mr Rui Araujo, said he was told there were only three helicopters in the territory. He counted 10.

The film made a deep impact in Portugal, where the public has had little exposure to direct information about Timor since the Portuguese administration withdrew in August 1975. Its main impact stemmed from the overriding atmosphere of fear among Timorese who spoke to the Portuguese team.

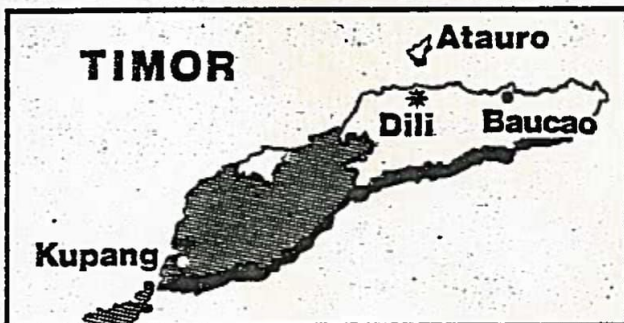
Mr Araujo said he was accompanied by Indonesian security police throughout his week-long stay; many sequences showed a bulky Indonesian official standing behind interviewees with a poorly concealed microphone.

Several people interviewed on Atauro — an island off the capital, Dili, — where thousands of political detainees are being held — constantly looked off-camera before answering questions, which they did with great reluctance.

The Timorese administrator of Atauro, Mr Eugenio Soares, told Mr Araujo that there were 3000 people "not native to Atauro" on the island.

A Timorese prisoner who was interviewed said he was arrested because members of his family were still fighting in the mountains. He and another prisoner said they had been held for two years. Groups of children were filmed among the prisoners.

The television team visited the towns of Dili, Aileu, Metinaro and Liquica in the border-to-central zone and Baucau and



Ostico in the east, apart from Atauro Island.

In Aileu they filmed mass graves which they were told were the result of Fretilin executions in December 1975.

Mr Araujo also interviewed Merio Carrascalao, the new Governor of Timor. He criticised certain aspects of Indonesian behavior but asserted that "there is liberty in Timor" and denied the description of Atauro as a prison island. Mr Carrascalao is the first Governor appointed from the formerly pro-Portuguese UDT Party. His two predecessors were from the pro-Indonesian Apodeti Party.

The team was also refused permission to visit the Comarca prison in Dili listed by Amnesty International as a place in which political detainees are held in degraded and overcrowded conditions.

Mr Carrascalao said he disagreed with the situation on Atauro. He said the concentration of prisoners there had two objectives: "military and humanitarian", and that while he agreed with its military objectives he thought it did not meet its "humanitarian" goals because "it leaves a mark on all who pass through it, including children".

The United Nations Secretary-General, Mr Perez de Cuellar, is due in Portugal soon. He will discuss means of implementing standing UN resolutions on East Timorese self-determination.

PAGE 13: Indonesia, the first foreign headache.

## Significa

By Irving Wallace,  
David Wallechinsky and Amy Wallace



Children of East Timor, victims of famine since Indonesia invaded their land

## The Forgotten War

Few people have heard of East Timor, yet it is the scene of one of the bloodiest wars in recent history—a war being fought with arms supplied by the U.S.

In August 1975, in the face of a coup and civil war, Portugal yielded its sovereignty over the eastern half of Timor, a small island 400 miles north of Australia. On Dec. 7, shortly after East Timor proclaimed its independence, Indonesian forces attacked with tanks, napalm and heavy artillery, shooting unarmed civilians in the streets. Indonesia's plan was to crush the new nation and annex it—quickly and without attracting notice.

U.S. officials knew of the attack in advance. Yet they did nothing to prevent it, though it was carried out with U.S. weapons supplied specifically for defense. When the UN voted to condemn the aggression five days after it began, this country abstained, presumably fearful of antagonizing oil-rich and pro-West Indonesia.

Today, East Timor is a devastated land, its farms abandoned, its towns in ruins, its economy destroyed. Dis-

ease and starvation are rampant, and the bloodshed continues. Out of a population of 600,000, as many as 250,000 have died in the war. Though Indonesia officially annexed East Timor in 1976, the remaining nationalist guerrillas occasionally emerge from their mountain strongholds to battle Indonesian troops. Meanwhile, thousands of civilians and political prisoners have been forced into internment camps, where they risk disease, torture, sexual abuse and murder.

Despite East Timor's desperate plight, only a few food shipments have been allowed in since 1979; the Red Cross was finally permitted to treat political prisoners in 1982. Most foreign journalists, however, still are barred. Thus the holocaust rarely receives press coverage. During talks with President Reagan in Washington last year, Indonesian President Suharto never mentioned East Timor. Neither did President Reagan.

For more information about East Timor, write to: East Timor Human Rights Committee, Dept. P, Box 363, Clinton Station, Syracuse, N.Y. 13201.

The latest book by Irving Wallace, son David Wallechinsky and daughter Amy is "The Book of Lists #3." Irving Wallace's current novel is "The Almighty."

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# Jakarta Aides Reportedly Met Timor Rebels

By Peter Wise

Special to The Washington Post

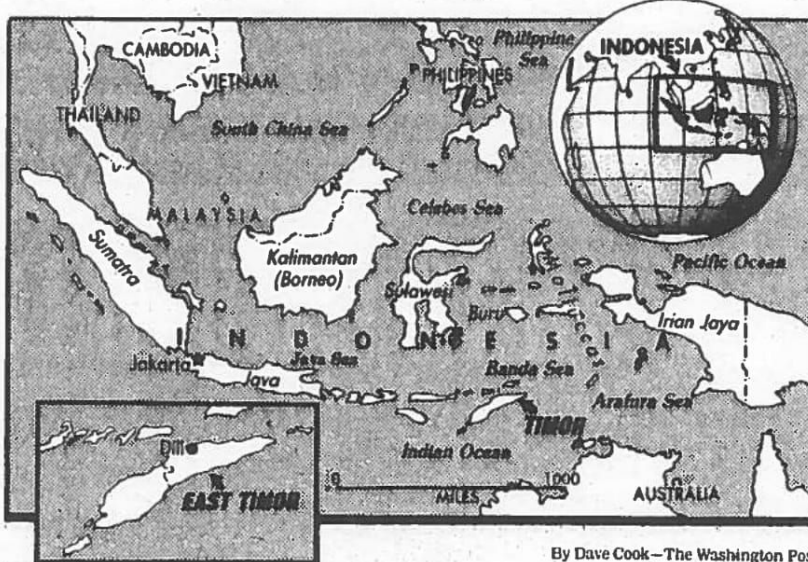
LISBON—East Timorese guerrillas have met secretly with Indonesian military officials to negotiate a demand for self-determination after declaring a cease-fire in their eight-year war to free the remote Southeast Asian island territory from Indonesian occupation, according to a highly placed source here in the Portuguese capital.

Top-ranking Indonesian officers traveled by helicopter from the island capital, Dili, to a jungle base in the interior twice in March to negotiate with the leaders of the Revolutionary Front for an Independent Timor, known in Portuguese as Fretilin, according to this source.

The source, a well-placed non-Fretilin Timorese who arrived here recently from the former Portuguese colony, asked not to be named. He said the Indonesian delegation headed by the military commander of East Timor, Colonel Purwanto, and an intelligence officer flew to Lari Guto in the rugged eastern region of the territory for meetings March 21 and 23.

Fretilin leader Sha Na Na, 39, and his general staff reportedly centered the talks on three principal demands: a cease-fire, government notification to the United Nations that it is willing to negotiate with the rebels, and a self-determination act supervised by the United Nations and neighboring states.

The source in Lisbon said the governor of East Timor, Mario Carrascalao, a liberal Timorese who took office in 1982, attended the meet-



By Dave Cook—The Washington Post

ings, together with two Roman Catholic priests. The guerrillas are predominantly Catholic.

[An Indonesian Embassy spokesman in Washington, Mgrah Gedhe, said Friday that "there was no such meeting" and that "we are not aware of any fighting" in East Timor. The State Department's desk officer for Indonesia, Alfred M. Lehn, said the fighting was at a low level and noted that Jakarta had made clear its intention to seek an end to the insurgency.]

Abilio Araujo, a Fretilin Central Committee member based in Lisbon, confirmed the details of the meetings and said photographs, recordings and documents of the negotiations would be released at a meeting of Fretilin representatives.

This is the first report of negotiations between the two sides since Fretilin withdrew to its mountain strongholds to wage its guerrilla campaign against Indonesian invasion forces in October 1975.

The island, about twice the size of Hawaii, historically was divided between the Portuguese eastern half and the Dutch west, where Indonesia's claim was not contested. Portugal abandoned East Timor during a three-month civil war among three independence movements. Fretilin emerged the victor. Neighboring Indonesia then invaded, alleging an independent Timor could pose what a general described as "a Marxist threat to our soft underbelly."

Relief agencies estimate that more than 150,000 islanders perished during the hostilities and the famine and disease they provoked. The East Timorese population is now about 560,000, according to Indonesian census figures.

After the fighting Indonesia pronounced East Timor its 27th province and said the population had accepted integration. It imposed a selective news blackout that diminished reports of guerrilla warfare and

virtually sealed off the island from the outside world, according to Timorese refugees here.

The Jakarta government has persistently denied well-documented and consistent reports from refugees, church sources and international human rights organizations that there have been mass executions, thousands of disappearances, torture, widespread fire-bombing of villages and other human rights violations.

It was not clear from which side the current reported truce initiative came. The non-Fretilin source in Lisbon said the guerrillas appeared to be negotiating from a position of strength, having regrouped 6,500-strong under a new leadership after setbacks last year.

Indonesian authorities say, however, that the guerrillas have been reduced to a few hundred ill-fed and ineffective men. Despite Indonesia's undoubted military superiority, observers here say, Jakarta may be seeking a respite in a war that it apparently cannot win, a war in which the guerrillas—with their intimate knowledge of the island and at least the passive support of the population—are able to hold Indonesian battalions to a stalemate.

A second motive behind Jakarta's reported role in the negotiations could be a determination to win international support for its presence in Timor by casting itself as a peace-maker and seeker of dialogue. After an intense diplomatic campaign, Indonesia has steadily reduced the number of nations supporting a U.N. resolution calling for its immediate withdrawal. Last year the motion, consistently opposed by the United States, passed by only 4 votes.

## WORLD NEWS

## Talks with Fretilin may be part of pacification plan

From JILL JOLLIFFE

LISBON, 28 June. — Negotiations between Indonesian officials and Fretilin leaders are the first breakthrough in almost eight years of fighting in East Timor.

The talks, confirmed in Bangkok yesterday by Indonesia's Foreign Minister, Dr Mochtar, appear to have been initiated by Jakarta.

This conclusion can be drawn from documents, tape recordings and photographs which Fretilin sources here claim relate to the talks. The sources claim they were smuggled out of Indonesia.

The evidence suggests, but does not prove, that the talks were authorised by Jakarta. The junior officers whose voices are heard in a tape of a meeting on 20 March

were preparing the way for Fretilin to receive Colonel Purwanto, military commander of Timor who, as the photos show, went to the meeting of 23 March, accompanied by the Timor Governor, Mario Carrascalao.

The negotiations do not necessarily mean that Indonesia decided a ceasefire, despite the nagging military pressure of Fretilin rebels. As one refugee put it: "They could continue until they kill us all — that's what they've been doing all along".

It is more likely part of a wider Indonesian strategy to clear up the image of the territory before this year's United Nations debate, to apply a new and more subtle strategy of pacification after seven years of military campaigns. The appointment of the liberal-minded Mr Carrascalao as Governor is part of this strategy.

By meeting the Fretilin demand for a ceasefire but delaying reply on two other demands, Indonesia may seek to psychologically disarm — and later perhaps, physically disarm — the resistance before the UN debate.

In the talks, the Fretilin leader Jose Gusmao (Fretilin code name Sha Na Na) certainly says nothing to suggest surrender. On the contrary, the impression is that he has the upper hand.

Having won a ceasefire, whatever the Indonesian motivations, the Timorese resistance is now hoping that they will be aided in the next difficult phase by international friends, particularly the Australian leader, Mr Hawke.

Mr Gusmao was certainly influenced by Labor's win in Australia, and Portugal's drive to win votes at the UN could have convinced him that the time was ripe for the

world to focus on trying to find a Timor solution.

The 40-minute tape recording, alleged to be of the first meeting between Fretilin and Indonesian officials reveals the presence of three Indonesian officials — Major Willem da Costa, Major Stefanus and Captain Dayun.

The tape was smuggled from Timor torn out of its cassette casing, wrapped and glued to the bottom of an overnight bag, according to its recipient, who says he cleaned and re-assembled it in Lisbon. The quality of the sound is good and the conversation between Mr Gusmao, his secretary and the three Indonesians is punctuated by nervous laughter and the piping of lorikeets.

The discussion ranges between three languages — Bahasa Indonesian, Tetum, and Portuguese.

The start of the tape appears to have been recorded after the meeting. It speaks in the past tense of the atmosphere of the meeting: "the atmosphere was friendly, frank and showed an openness on the part of both sides, Fretilin and Indonesian," the speaker says. The voice of Mr Gusmao then says that the Timorese put two important questions to the Indonesians to study: "The lifting of the blockade to facilitate contact with the exterior... and our representatives abroad" and "the entry of independent observers to attend and supervise the meeting (to solve) the war in East Timor".

Indonesian voices can be heard, with the first speaker saying: "We are here as brothers, not as enemies." To which Mr Gusmao replies: "We also think of the Indonesian people as brothers."

We want good relations and peace: seven years of war have passed and now we leaders must join together to find a solution."

Indonesian voice: "My soldiers and I have always sought this. I don't speak of politics because I know nothing of them."

A photograph of the second meeting shows the military commander of East Timor, Colonel Purwanto, seated with Mr Gusmao in a hut in a rural area of Timor. Colonel Purwanto is clearly identifiable because of an interview he gave in February to a Portuguese television team.

The Fretilin flag is draped over the table between Colonel Purwanto and Mr Gusmao. To the left in the photo a Fretilin soldier stands guard with an automatic weapon and three grenades in his belt.

## Reagan Indonesia trip symbolic bow to Asean

From PETER COLE-ADAMS

WASHINGTON, 28 June. — President Reagan's decision to visit Indonesia — rather than China, the Philippines or Australia — during his first Asian trip as President is a measure of the importance of the ASEAN grouping in US eyes.

At the time of the President's visit, in November, Indonesia's President Suharto will still be chairman of the Association of South-East Asian Nations.

Thus, by paying his compliments to the world's most populous Islamic country, Mr Reagan will also be complementing a regional grouping of anti-communist, and economically and strategically important, nations of which he strongly approves.

Indeed, the fact that the ASEAN chairmanship resides for the time being in Jakarta obviously made it easier for the President's advisers to resolve a dilemma: two of the other four ASEAN States, the Philippines and Thailand, also had strong claims to be included in the itinerary.

The Philippines hosts two important US military bases and is also a former US dependency. Thailand, during and since the Vietnam war, is one of the non-communist world's front-line States.

Given that the two other presidential destinations, Japan and South Korea, were of even higher priority, and given that any President (let alone one of 72) can be away from the White House for only limited periods of time, there was no way he could visit three ASEAN nations. A visit to Jakarta thus becomes a symbolic bow to them all.

While the White House has not absolutely ruled out adding other nations to the Reagan itinerary, officials say it is most unlikely. The problems posed by time and distance put Canberra out of consideration. Besides the Australian Prime Minister, Mr Hawke was very recently in Washington.

As a White House official put it yesterday: "there are a number of countries with whom we have excellent relations which the President would like to visit, but given

the time problem, you do what you can".

Presidential aides specifically ruled out a visit to Peking during the November trip, though they said Mr Reagan would like to go to China and was hopeful of doing so during his presidency.

The US view is that it is China's turn to send its leader to Washington, and the Chinese Premier, Mr Zhao, has accepted "in principle" an invitation from Mr Reagan.

Protocol aside, a Reagan visit to Peking could be politically risky in view of recent strained relations and Mr Reagan's affection for Taiwan. The President wants a triumph, not a controversy, from a journey that is expected to be followed, within a week or two, by his announcement on whether he will seek a second term.

In Japan, Mr Reagan will seek to further strengthen ties with the pro-American Prime Minister Mr Nakasone following his electoral victory last weekend. In Korea, he will certainly reaffirm the US commitment to a nation in which more than 41,000 American troops are stationed.

## Hayden wrong about Timor

As 6/29/83  
Letter to Rod For  
from P. G. Lynch

You reported the Foreign Affairs Minister, Mr Hayden, rejecting claims by the Timorese Community of Indonesian oppression in their country (The Age, 20/6). Furthermore, he argued that East Timor "had always suffered famines", that Indonesia had responded well to food shortages, and that welfare and medical services were improved since the Indonesian intervention.

While there were high rates of malnutrition and infant mortality during the Portuguese rule of apathy and mismanagement, famine and starvation were not common in East Timor prior to 1975. Writing in early 1975, Peter Hastings noted that "broadly speaking the Timorese are self-sufficient in food, although there are occasional severe shortages" (Australian Outlook, April 1975).

In a submission to the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee on East Timor last year, several Timorese health workers and I outlined some features of "health and welfare" in East Timor since the Indonesian occupation.

During the first year after the invasion, what remained of the hospital and health service almost exclusively served Indonesian soldiers. The bulk of the population had fled the towns for the safety of the interior. From 1977 to 1979 full-scale bombing throughout rural areas led to crop destruction, massive injuries and death.

A Portuguese priest present at the time, Father Leonelo da Rego,

summarised thus: "The genocide and starvation was the result of the full-scale incendiary bombing... People could not plant." (Boston Globe, 20 January 1980).

During those years thousands of Timorese came from rural areas to the towns in advanced stages of starvation and disease. The tiny health services offered them nothing and they perished. Thousands more had died before the Red Cross was allowed to return in October 1979. The exact numbers may never be known but a simple comparison of population statistics gives a figure of 150,000.

In our submission we also detailed evidence of misuse, abuse, and even destruction of the meagre colonial health facilities that occurred during and after the Indonesian invasion.

As regards the Indonesian "response" to food shortages, barely one year ago in June 1982, Rod Nordland of the Philadelphia Inquirer reported detailed evidence of hunger and malnutrition all over East Timor including some regions of famine.

I hope Mr Hayden's arguments are not an example of the "detailed information on issues available only to senior Ministers" which the Prime Minister has claimed is a rationale for the superiority of his views over those of his party. They offer no logical or moral justification for failing to implement Labor Party policy on East Timor.

PETER G. LYNCH,  
Kew.

# Howe pushes his line, but carefully

AGE 26/7/83

From SIMON BALDERSTONE

CANBERRA. — Mr Brian Howe, a former Wesleyan minister, says he is not a pacifist, but says he would like to see tougher guidelines governing the export of defence products.

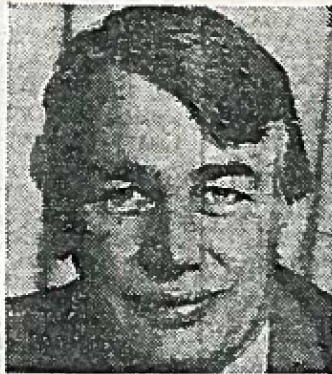
But that is the responsibility of the Foreign Minister, Mr Hayden, and Mr Howe, the Minister for Defence Support, is quick to add that point.

As leader of the outnumbered Left faction in the parliamentary ALP, Mr Howe is obviously intent on pushing his line on such matters as East Timor, Budget deficits and, more recently, the Central American fracas, but selectively and carefully.

Dubbed by some as the Minister for Peace Support because of his background and ideological position within the party, his public statements on such issues have brought him under that "Ministerial responsibility" microscope that focuses on most Ministers at some time.

He now recognises the difference between being a Minister and an Opposition backbencher or even a shadow Minister: "Ministers have to be a lot more thoughtful. You have to be a lot more careful," he said yesterday. "You don't comment on anything and everything; you concentrate on what you think are the crucial issues."

But Mr Howe does not back away from his statements attacking US policy in Central America



Mr Howe: 'There are always disagreements'.

and he is adamant that there is a strong ALP line to be pushed on East Timor.

"In terms of issues like East Timor and Central America, there is a very strong party policy and there is a very strong commitment in the party to see that policy implemented," he said. "I think any Minister has got to be concerned about the party meeting its commitments as they are set out in a platform."

On the export of weapons he sees a need to study what we sell and who we sell it to, although he is quick to acknowledge that our arms export industry is extremely small. He sometimes finds it difficult, dealing with some of the defence industry, but reiterates that he is not a pacifist.

Mr Howe, the intellectual leader of the Left, has already criticised Federal economic policy for

not being expansionary enough, at the Victorian ALP conference earlier this year.

Yesterday he said the Left was concerned "not that we have some sort of radical revolutionary program, but that the Government is heavily expansionist in terms of its emphasis".

He then outlined some of that philosophy. Employment must be given the highest priority. The Government must attempt to maintain a commitment to redistribution.

"If we are calling for sacrifice we should call for sacrifice from the wealthy and those who have capital, and not simply depress wages and living standards for ordinary working people," he said.

The 47-year-old member for Batman (since 1977) has learnt one thing since he became a Minister: "You realise it takes a long time to effectively change anything and to achieve any effective reform will take a long time — certainly not one term of Government."

That won't stop Brian Howe from speaking his mind — "thoughtfully and carefully" — and from fighting for the implementation of policies he holds close to his political heart.

He finds no incompatibility between that fight and being a Minister. "There are always disagreements, but I think the forums are there to push your line," he said.

## Indonesian human rights different, delegation told

CT. 26/7/83

JAKARTA, Monday (AAP). — A leading Indonesian politician told the visiting Australian parliamentary delegation today that the United Nations declaration of human rights could not be fully applied in Indonesia, which placed "public interests above private interests".

The chairman of Indonesia's committee for inter-parliamentary co-operation, Mr Sukardi, also told the five-man Australian team that there were still "shootings" in East Timor, although he did not clarify whether he was referring to a recent Indonesia-wide crackdown on alleged criminals, or to army action against Fretilin guerrillas.

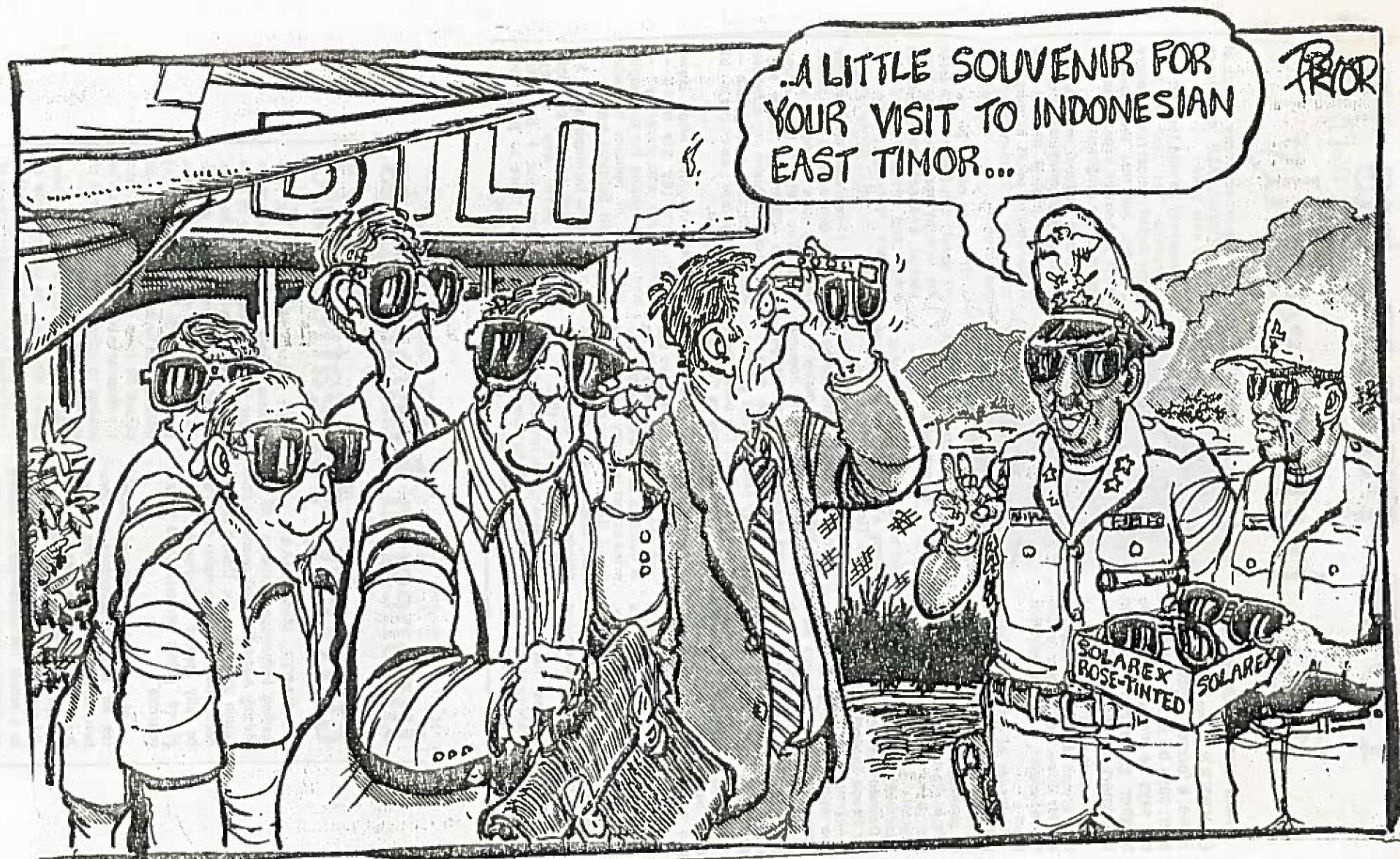
The delegation of three Labor and two Liberal MPs discussed East Timor and human rights with Mr Sukardi and the Indonesian Parliamentary Commi-

Mr Sukardi said he told the Australians, "There are still shootings in East Timor, as there are also in New York and other places around the world."

"Indonesian human rights are different from those of the British and the United States. In Indonesia the [UN] international human-rights declaration cannot be fully implemented because the observance of private rights must be subject to safeguarding the interest of the public in general."

Mr Sukardi also reiterated Indonesia's view that its incorporation of East Timor was "irreversible," and that Fretilin had been reduced to "a gang of troublemakers".

The delegation is led by Mr Morrison, (Lab, NSW), a former Defence Minister in the Whitlam Government, and the others are Senator McIntosh (Lab,



Cartoon by Tim

27/7/83

# Indonesia 'pulled strings' over churchmen

MANY PRIESTS in the war-torn island state of East Timor have protested to the Vatican at the removal of its Apostolic Administrator, Mgr Martinho da Costa Lopes.

Mgr Costa Lopes revealed in a recent interview that he cannot return to East Timor which lies at the South East end of the Indonesian archipelago, towards Australia. The Indonesian government controls the island which it overran after Portuguese colonial withdrawal.

Mgr Costa Lopes said in Portugal this month that the recent cease-fire negotiated between Indonesia and the Fretilin guerrillas of Timor might reflect the exhaustion of Indonesian troops after nearly eight years of continuous resistance.

Thousands are thought to have died in the conflict and accompanying famine.

Mgr Costa Lopes said that his outspokenness in defending his people against the Indonesian invaders cost him his position. He thought it likely that Indonesia had pulled as many strings as possible to have him removed.

Mgr Costa Lopes's successor is a young Timorese, who had been obliged to acquire an Indonesian passport to return from Rome to East Timor.

Mgr Costa Lopes said: "There were a great many native Timorese priests with ability and good intellectual and apostolic preparation. They were not very pleased because they were not consulted about this replacement, and since they had

not been consulted they felt left out of the process... Mgr Ximenes was not well received."

Mgr Costa Lopes said that he had been greatly encouraged by the Pope's attitude to Timor when they met in Rome. He had been able to speak to the Pope in Portuguese. The Pope is due to visit Indonesia in 1984, but it is not known whether he will visit, or will be allowed to visit, Timor.

Mgr Costa Lopes accepts estimates that the guerrilla resistance is intensifying and quotes BBC estimates that the Fretilin forces number about 8,600.

The ex-Apostolic Administrator feels that the only legitimate way for the future of the people of Timor to be decided is by a referendum, free from all internal and external pressure.

Catholic Herald, London, 29 July 1983

## East Timor

### Justifiable concern

International concern about the intentions of the Indonesians in East Timor will remain justified, according to the Catholic Institute for International Relations in London, until the Indonesian authorities "permit independent and qualified people to visit East Timor for sufficient time to gain an objective picture of the situation". CIIR revealed last week that Indonesia has failed to confirm an invitation to CIIR to send a team of experts to East Timor. The team, which would have included a doctor with experience of developing countries, a lawyer with experience of South East Asia, an agricultural expert and a linguist familiar with two of the Timorese languages, would, CIIR believes, have been the first independent team capable of making an informed assessment of conditions in East Timor.

CIIR has also made available the text of an interview with Mgr Martinho da Costa Lopes, the former apostolic administrator of the diocese of Dili, East Timor, who resigned in May (*The Tablet*, 21 May). Mgr Lopes, who is now in Portugal, spoke of the "extreme brutality of the war which broke out almost eight years ago" and explained why "as far as possible" he had defended his people: "Timor is an abandoned nation, a nation which has suffered enormously. I could not remain silent in face of the violation of human rights. I had a mission to defend this poor nation which has been abandoned to its sufferings." He agreed that his outspokenness "certainly" cost him his position as apostolic administrator, and although he has no evidence, he feels it "would have been normal for [the Indonesians] to have done something to get [him] off their backs, to have pulled strings and used influence to get [him] out". For the people, he said, his departure was a great blow.

Asked whether "the Timorese Church would be happy to accept incorporation into the Indonesian Church", Mgr Lopes said the Church could not take the first step: "The Church, in my view, must follow the fate of its people. If the people want integration, the Church will accept. If the people of East Timor want independence the Church must accept that desire." He does not feel that, by accepting his

resignation, the Vatican has implicitly taken the first step towards incorporation. He resigned, he added, because he was tired, and he described the pressures of his apostolate: "It is mainly the result of the innumerable problems I had to get involved in because there was nobody. Everything came back to me. The people had unlimited confidence in me. And, of course, I lived in that state of nervous tension." He confirmed that the appointment of his successor had caused problems, since not only was he young and appointed over the head of the native Timorese clergy, who were not consulted, but he also had to apply for Indonesian nationality in order to get back into East Timor, something the people would not like.

Mgr Lopes went on to speak of the isolation of the Church of East Timor. They received little or no information about the Church and the world: "The *Osservatore Romano* in Portuguese and nothing else." At the political level, he said he did not think the Indonesians would find it so easy to eliminate FRETILIN, which, as "the only group fighting for the people", earns the sympathy of the people and symbolises their resistance. And although he would not confirm that the recent cease-fire was "connected with the decline in the morale of the Indonesian soldiers", he recalled that in 1981 "many Indonesian soldiers had handed over their weapons to FRETILIN and categorically refused to continue fighting". Asked whether or not FRETILIN's ideology is Marxist, Mgr Lopes replied: "I don't know if it is Marxist or not. What I do know is they want independence and the people don't think about Marxism. What they want is to be free and independent and govern themselves, like other little Pacific islands." The argument that Indonesia invaded East Timor to protect itself from Communism he does not find "very logical", and believes that "a referendum free from all pressure, internal or external", would be "the only legitimate way in which the people could indicate what they want".

Meanwhile, 170 members of the national Parliaments of Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Ireland, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom have signed a declaration calling on the governments of the member countries of the European Community to "work collectively for the self-determination of the people of East Timor, in accordance with the United Nations Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, and the Resolution of the General Assembly adopted on 1 November 1982".

*The Tablet*  
6 Aug. 83

# EAST TIMOR HAS A VOICE

Monsignor Martinho da Costa Lopes, until last May the leader of the Catholic Church in East Timor, arrived in Melbourne on September 26 to begin a three week visit to Australia. Though of gentle disposition, he was firm in his message: his people want to determine their own future.

Mons. Lopes was invited here by

his friends in the Timorese community and by a Melbourne-based ecumenical group, Christians in Solidarity with East Timor.

During his stay he met Church leaders, Federal politicians, aid and development groups and spent time with old friends among Timorese refugees in Sydney, Melbourne, Darwin and Perth.



Mgr Lopes

Mgr Lopes, ordained in controversial figure in the Australia media in late-1981 when he replied to a request from Australian Catholic Relief for information on the humanitarian and food situation in East Timor.

In his confidential reply, later made public by ACR, Mgr Lopes said that unless extra stocks of food were brought from outside East Timor there would be widespread hunger and famine.

He said that because of the failure of the monsoonal rains and the use of all men of work age by the Indonesians for a military operation against Fretilin, prospects for the coming harvest in early 1982 were bleak.

Mgr Lopes earned harsh criticism for this statement from Indonesian authorities and from former Australian Prime Minister Gough Whitlam who visited East Timor in March last year.

After his visit Mr Whitlam said Mgr Lopes was deliberately seeking to misrepresent the real situation in his country, that he was a "liar" who was simply stirring up trouble.

Mgr Lopes' prediction of hardship unless extra food assistance was given appeared to be confirmed by the subsequent large importations of grain into East Timor throughout 1982 by Indonesian authorities and the extension of time for humanitarian aid projects begun there by the International Red Cross.

A quietly-spoken, slightly nervous man, his mood is that of

one who accepts public attention reluctantly. Yet he is known among Timorese refugees in Australia and his people at home as a forthright defender of their rights.

"For five years the Catholic Church in East Timor remained silent about the abuses brought by the Indonesian military, the torture, napalm bombing of civilians, the abuse and killing of women and children," Mgr Lopes said.

"People would come to me every day with their stories of violence and suffering. I thought the right approach was for me to take up these matters privately with the military authorities, which I did.

"But what was the use of it? Nothing ever changed. The abuses continued.

"So, in 1981, I made my first public statement about excesses, principally the so-called 'Fence of Legs' military operation when innocent civilians were killed and others used as buffers against the Fretilin resistance fighters.

"The civilians were poorly provided for or not fed at all by the military.

"That time, and once more in 1982, I spoke out and the whole world came to know what was happening in Timor."

Mgr Lopes believes forthright public criticism of Indonesia's record in East Timor by Christians and others outside Indonesia is necessary, not only morally but politically too. He disagrees with the view put by some individuals and groups in Australia that criticism will only

embarrass the Indonesians and make the situation worse for the East Timorese.

"Saying nothing achieves nothing," he said. "And in any case, not all Indonesians support their government's behaviour in East Timor. Many leading intellectuals, for example, are ashamed by what has happened."

Mgr Lopes was invited here by 1948, says the Catholic Church has grown fast in East Timor since 1975 with Catholics now numbering almost half of the nearly 600,000 population.

Since the invasion the church has become the rallying point for those harmed by the Indonesians, Mgr Lopes claims.

"Who else is there that the people can turn to?" he asks. "The people placed so much confidence in us to defend them against so many abuses."

Mgr Lopes resigned his leadership of the Church in East Timor last May.

He says he was "informally advised" in April that the Vatican would like him to resign.

He avoids answering whether there was anything political in his removal from office by saying simply, "I don't know."

But well-placed Vatican sources reported last year that pressure was being applied in Rome against Mgr Lopes in the visits of high-ranking Indonesian Government officials, including the country's Foreign Minister, Dr Mochar.

Reliable sources in the Indonesian Bishops Conference (MAWI) also have been quoted

as saying the Vatican diplomatic representative in Jakarta, Mgr Pablo Puente, was eager for Mgr Lopes' removal and a settling of the Church's relations with the Government of the world's largest Islamic nation.

But Mgr Lopes did not leave East Timor unsung. The clergy and religious of the territory united in writing to the Pope and bishops conferences throughout the world asking him to reverse the decision to accept Mgr Lopes' resignation.

Alas, it was too late.

The die was cast and Mgr Lopes left East Timor for Portugal on May 17.

Despite his physical absence Mgr Lopes' energies are still invested in the cause of his people.

What is the message?

"All the people have the basic human right to determine their future, to say what they want to become of themselves. The East Timorese are people. They are entitled to the right of self-determination.

"If the East Timorese really wanted the Indonesians to take over, why did the Indonesians not allow a proper act of self-determination?

"They don't because they know the East Timorese want independence."

Mgr Lopes believes the majority of East Timorese now support Fretilin as the defenders of their national independence.

"The majority of East Timorese see Fretilin as representing the struggle for

independence because it is the only part that has offered resistance to the Indonesians," he said.

"Fretilin are nationalists. Some of its members were communists in the period before the war started. They were the young students who returned from university studies in Lisbon in 1974-75, after the revolution in Portugal. But once the fighting started, they soon disappeared.

"The Catholics in East Timor would not accept Fretilin if they were a communist party. But they do accept Fretilin because they represent their aspiration for freedom.

But how realistic is it to propose self-determination and independence for East Timor against the might of Indonesia?

"The word 'realistic' is a very relative term," Mgr Lopes said. "For Indonesia it is unrealistic for the East Timorese to fight for independence, but for the East Timorese integration into Indonesia is unacceptable.

"There are some things more important than material welfare and one of them is the right to determine your own future.

"The East Timorese convinced of this believe the only 'realistic' policy is resistance.

"East Timorese opposed the Portuguese empire for three centuries. Do the Indonesians really think they can extinguish the longing for freedom in eight years?"

For Mgr Lopes the principle is clear. He sees his duty as putting the principle into practice.

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## The malign neglect of East Timor

On Dec. 7, 1975 Indonesia invaded the former Portuguese colony of East Timor. The invasion was launched just hours after then-President Gerald Ford and his Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger, had left the Indonesian capital of Jakarta. Ford later acknowledged that he was informed about the invasion before it began, but said the Indonesians told him nothing about the details.

What Ford knew and when he knew it remains important because for several years, while the Indonesians engaged in a genocidal slaughter of the Timorese, US officials followed a policy of hearing and seeing no evil.

The evil done in East Timor is commensurate with the horrors of Biafra, Bangladesh and Cambodia. American governments have pursued policies which condone and support Indonesia's "final solution" for East Timor.

The US supplied 90 percent of the arms used in the Indonesian invasion. This use of American weapons to annex East Timor was, and is, a flagrant violation of the US-Indonesian Mutual Defense Agreement of 1958 which states that US arms are to be used "solely for legitimate national defense," and it is self-evident that the Government of Indonesia interprets the term "legitimate self-defense" as excluding an act of aggression against any other state.

Among the US weapons provided to the Indonesians, the most notorious has been Rockwell International's OV-10 Bronco aircraft. In 1977 and 1978 the Indonesians used the Bronco for incendiary bombing that caused the wholesale murder of civilians, simultaneously destroying crops and engendering mass starvation.

Whole villages were wiped out; their inhabitants were massacred or herded into concen-

tration camps. Of a Timorese population of 650,000 to 700,000 before the 1975 invasion, between 150,000 and 200,000 have been killed. The rough equivalent for the United States would be a foreign invasion that caused the deaths of 50 million people.

If the US government wanted to stop the slaughter, it would be stopped. The arms supply could be cut off and Washington could apply diplomatic pressure. The record shows that American leaders have done just the opposite. They have helped draw a curtain of silence around the island of East Timor.

State Department spokesmen have repeatedly certified improvements in the human rights situation on East Timor even as more victims were dying. US representatives have opposed efforts at the United Nations to safeguard Timorese independence. For the sake of an overblown "strategic" cooperation with the military regime that rules Indonesia, America continues to send new murder weapons to East Timor.

This September, the Indonesians mounted another brutal offensive against East Timor. The Indonesian armed forces commander, Benny Murdani, promised that there would be "no mercy" for the Timorese people, whose only crime is their desire for independence.

In an effort to curtail American complicity in this slaughter, a bipartisan group of 37 congressmen has signed a letter urging President Reagan to engage in "constructive diplomacy" to "prevent further bloodshed and misery in East Timor."

After eight years of unimaginable Timorese suffering, it is time for the American people and their representatives to demand an end to the hidden holocaust that has been carried out with their government's assent.

# East Timor: An Examination of Conscience

by Mary Jo Leddy

Imagine you are a socially conscious writer working with a newspaper oriented towards a socially concerned readership. Sometimes you give yourself a little pat on the back because you have written rather eloquently about human rights issues.

And then one day a statistic you had known for several years becomes a stabbing realization. Fact: Since the Indonesian invasion of 1975, almost 200,000 people have been murdered in East Timor, the largely Roman Catholic island territory not too far from Australia.

You know the suffering behind these statistics is beyond calculation. Still, you take account of

what you can. If the population of East Timor was 650,000 in 1975, then almost one third of its population has been killed. You think about other situations you are familiar with — Lebanon, Cambodia, Central America, Argentina. Statistically, not one of these situations adds up to the tragedy that is East Timor.

You suspect there has been a conspiracy of silence about East Timor and you have been part of it. Is it because you don't know enough about it? Don't feel enough about it?

Your questions take you to libraries and finally to a small noon hour meeting at the Ecumenical Forum in Toronto with the former Apostolic Administrator of East Timor, Msgr. da

Costa Lopez. Slowly you start to piece a picture together — it is a picture of East Timor, of yourself, of human rights advocates.

East Timor experienced one brief moment of self-government when the socialist movement FRETILIN declared the independence of the country as Portugal vacated its former colony in 1975. However, the effort was aborted when Indonesia invaded in Dec. 1975.

A curtain of silence fell over East Timor for almost four years. Journalists and international relief workers were discouraged from entering the territory. However, news of widespread famine, torture and atrocities did reach the outside world — often through Catholic organizations.

## The Facts

### Were All There

The facts were there for all to see, but many, seeing, did not see. The struggle against this collective blindness was carried on in the United States by a handful of people — the most eloquent being philosophy professor Noam Chomsky.

Every year the United Nations has entertained a motion condemning the Indonesian invasion of East Timor. After an initial moment of outrage, international support for East Timor has dropped off. In 1982, the motion to censure Indonesia was defeated. This year the issue of East Timor is not even on the agenda of the U.N.

Yet, when you talk with Msgr. da Costa Lopez, you realize that the situation inside East Timor is getting worse, not better. He presents the evidence that Indonesia has mounted a large-scale effort this fall to rid the country of the FRETILIN resistance fighters.

Msgr. Lopez, who has been the apostolic administrator of East Timor since 1977, is worried. "I'm not worried about the guerrillas, they can handle themselves," he said. "I'm worried about the children and old women, about the ordinary people."

For a long time Msgr. Lopez did not speak about the political

sale of arms to Indonesia, and the communist countries have made relatively little effort to criticize what could be called America's Cambodia.

And you wonder where you were in all of this? Where Church activists were? You ask yourself whether your concern for human rights has been more shaped by



situation in East Timor. Then in Nov. 1981 he broke a six year silence to condemn the famine and genocide.

Death threats followed. Finally, in 1983, Msgr. Lopez was asked by the Vatican to consider resigning. There is some speculation that he had been eased out of the country by the pro-nuncio in Jakarta who is said to be strongly pro-Indonesian. However, Lopez has been replaced by another Timorese who is said to be close to the people.

You realize the cries for help from East Timor have been muted and you wonder why.

You discover that the United States has written off the lives of 200,000 people as small loss compared to the economic and political gain of an alliance with Indonesia. You suspect that the Soviet Union will sympathize with East Timor only to score propaganda points.

For all that, the United States has spent little energy justifying its

the politics of the superpowers than you would care to admit. The nations have singled out certain places in this world as centres of the east-west struggle and you have followed the concern they have flagged. Where your government becomes concerned about political advantage, you, as a Christian, become concerned about human rights. When a country is not in the centre of global geopolitical interests, the human rights issues in that country move to the periphery of your commitment.

Slowly you confess to yourself that the focus of your finest concerns have been more defined by the politics of this world than by the precepts of the kingdom. You want to redefine your universe of care in terms of the ultimate value of each human person, of each human community. You must trust that, in the meantime, the centre of God's universe of concern is everywhere.



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*Catholic  
New  
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Dec 5, 1984*

# 100 in Congress Bid Reagan Take Up Rights Issue in Timor

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Dec. 10— More than 100 members of Congress, led by Representative Tony P. Hall, Democrat of Ohio, have signed a letter to President Reagan urging him "to add the suffering of the people of East Timor to America's foreign policy agenda."

The letter asks the President to help in getting officials of the International Committee of the Red Cross into East Timor, a former Portuguese colony that was invaded by Indonesian forces in 1975.

The East Timorese, the majority of whom are Roman Catholic, have resisted Indonesian rule. From occa-

sional press reports, information reaching church officials and diplomatic sources have come indications that more than 100,000 East Timorese have died since then.

The letter, which is scheduled to be sent to the President next week, asserts that "like Afghanistan, East Timor is the scene of massive violations of human rights and widespread human suffering."

"In August of this year," the letter said, "Indonesian armed forces commander Gen. Benny Murdani stated that there would be 'no mercy' for those in East Timor who continue to actively resist Indonesian rule."

The letter said that a report from church sources recently "described a massacre of 200 East Timorese villagers by Indonesia troops." Amnesty International has reported that "the Indonesia military has systematically tortured and summarily executed many prisoners in East Timor since 1975."

The "latest offensive," the letter said, "comes at a time when the International Committee of the Red Cross has been denied unrestricted access to East Timor." The signers asked the President to assist the Red Cross to gain entry for its officials.

Both Portugal, the former colonial

power, and Australia, a neighbor of Indonesia, have shown concern over East Timor, the letter said. "We hope you will work with Portugal and Australia to develop creative policies to address the underlying causes of the ongoing human suffering in East Timor," it said.

Attempts to reach Indonesian Embassy spokesmen for comment by telephone today were unsuccessful. In the past, the Indonesian Government has repeatedly denied reports of human rights abuses on the island.

**DO NOT FORGET THE NEEDIEST**

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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

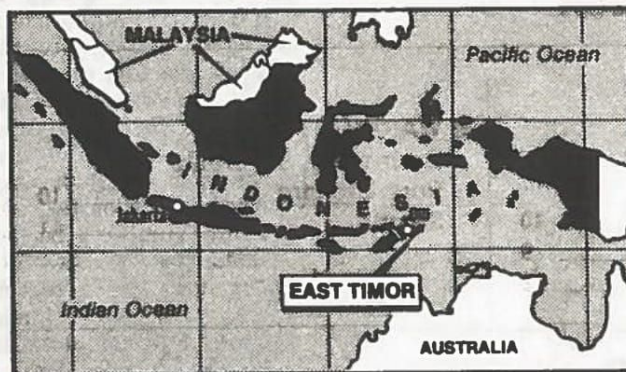
last week expressing concern over reports of a new, large-scale Indonesian military offensive. The House members urged the President to add East Timor to America's foreign policy agenda and use constructive diplomacy to prevent further bloodshed and misery there.

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-

Please see TIMOR next page



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.

## TIMOR

from preceding page

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

# TLS

## The Times Literary Supplement

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### **The tragedy of East Timor**

cynical parallel between East Timor and the totally different case of Goa) and Japan rallied to the Indonesian side in the UN debates. The USSR, usually so critical of the actions of US client states like Indonesia, did not pursue the issue with any vigour. Timor was too distant to be a bone of contention between the super-powers, and Moscow, which had just opened a new embassy in Jakarta, was concerned to preserve its links with the generals. So, although a series of votes have been passed since 1976 in the UN General Assembly condemning Indonesia's action, Jakarta has not been unduly inconvenienced by them. For reasons of *Realpolitik*, the countries which matter to her (with the temporary exception of Australia) have never aired their opposition in public.

Though the international community has largely turned its back on the issue, the calvary of the people of East Timor goes on. More than half the population are dead, the rest herded into South Vietnam style "strategic hamlets". The old pattern of scattered, swidden farming settlements has been destroyed. Famine and hunger are a constant threat. Despite the crying needs of the local population, the Indonesian military authorities have lately refused to allow the International Red Cross to operate freely in the territory, probably so as to hide its new scorched-earth campaigns against the thousand or so FRETILIN fighters still holding out.

There are no winners in this tragedy, only losers. Far from achieving the political security they desired, the Indonesians have reaped insecurity. Australian-Indonesian relations have suffered a serious setback. The Suharto régime, which had striven so hard to project a moderate and stable image of Indonesia, has reawakened all the old spectres of mass murder, torture and genocide which shocked informed international opinion at the time of the communist massacres in 1965-67. A nation which had fought with such tenacity against the Dutch colonialist oppressors has now proved itself even more adept than they at techniques of violence and barbarism: the use of home-made napalm, electric-shock treatment and cluster-bombs has brought the old-style "punitive expeditions" of the colonial (and pre-colonial) eras into the modern age. Just thirty years after independence, the Indonesian army, "mother" of the nation's independence, has been tested in battle and found wanting. De-

# From decolonization to destruction

**Patricia Burnett**

**JAMES DUNN**

**Timor: A People Betrayed**

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The war continues with the same fury as it had started. The (Indonesian) invaders have intensified their attacks in three classic ways – from the land, sea and air. . . . The bombers did not stop all day. Hundreds of human beings died every day. The bodies of the victims become food for carnivorous birds (if we don't die of the war, we die of plague), villages have been completely destroyed, some tribes (*sucos*) decimated. . . . The barbarities (understandable in the Middle Ages, and justifiable in the Stone Age), the cruelties, the pillaging, the unqualified destruction of Timor, the executions without reason, in a word all the 'organized' evil, have spread deep roots in Timor. There is complete insecurity and the terror of arbitrary imprisonment is our daily bread. Genocide will come soon . . . .

(letter from Timor, November 1977)

The luck of Timor is to be born in tears, to live in tears and to die in tears . . . .

(letter from Timor, January 1978)

It was the late General de Gaulle, himself no stranger to the exigencies of *Realpolitik*, who remarked that modern states are "cold monsters". In the history of the past decade, de Gaulle's dictum has been proved sickeningly correct on many occasions, but never more so than in the situation which developed in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor after the illegal invasion of that territory by the Indonesian army in December 1975. According to an estimate supplied by the Indonesian Department of Defence and Security (*Hankam*) in 1979, the civilian population of East Timor then stood at 329,271 persons, rather less than half the total figure estimated by the Catholic diocese of East Timor in 1974. Some of this catastrophic population decline may have been due to the outflow of refugees from East Timor

fighting in East Timor and the famine conditions which followed in its wake. Atrocities were committed on both sides, but it is clear from local sources that the principal blame for the disaster lies with the Indonesian army, which acted with unparalleled savagery and ruthlessness, wiping out whole communities and sparing neither women nor children. In fact, church sources estimate that in the first two years of the fighting alone (1975–77) upwards of 100,000 people were killed by the invading troops.

How did such an abomination occur? James Dunn's detailed and well-researched book provides some of the answers. Written by an erstwhile Australian Department of Foreign Affairs officer who served as Australian consul in Timor (1962–64) and later returned there twice on a fact-finding mission for the same department and as the leader of the Australian Council for Overseas Aid (ACFOA) team, it shows a good understanding of the historical development of the former Portuguese colony and the tragic events which overtook it in the aftermath of the officers' coup in Lisbon on April 25, 1974. The bulk of the work is concerned with the period after April 1974, and much space is devoted to the international aspects of the problem, especially to the duplicitous role of the Whitlam Government in the unfolding crisis.

The book has been written primarily with an Australian audience in mind, and non-Australian readers should be warned that it sometimes assumes a background knowledge of Australian politics which most will not possess. In places it is slightly repetitive (tougher editing would not have come amiss) and there are a few small mistakes in names, dates and Indonesian terms. The author's style is also marred by the ugly misuse of jargon words such as "ongoing" and "perceived". But the subject of the book is so important and so little known to the international community that such minor drawbacks can easily be ignored.

Dunn's main thesis is that the former Portu-

guese still retained sovereignty as the colonial power), and since it was in flagrant breach of Indonesia's own constitution, which renounced any claims to territories outside those previously controlled by the pre-1942 Netherlands-Indies Government (a point frequently reiterated by Indonesian spokesmen in the 1950s and 1960s when the Republic was pursuing its claim against the Dutch for Western New Guinea), the Suharto regime tried to justify the action on the grounds of "common brotherhood". Quite apart from the fact that such an argument is not recognized in international law, it is crystal clear from Dunn's evidence that the people of East Timor felt (and still feel) no burning desire to be reunited with their so-called "brothers" on the Indonesian side of the frontier. Quite the opposite: they consider that their special historical development and the years of cultural "latinization" under Portuguese rule have set them apart from their neighbours. Besides, they cannot see the benefits of trading one set of colonial masters for another. As students of international relations well know, arguments for unification on the grounds of "common brotherhood" are usually a cloak for naked aggression: Hitler used the same rationale when he annexed parts of Czechoslovakia in 1938 and came to the "rescue" of the Sudeten Germans.

Acceptance of such a justification by Indonesia would also create a baneful example for the future. If Timor is to be incorporated on this basis, why not the whole of the island of Borneo, the Malay peninsula and the eastern part of New Guinea? All these areas contain populations which share an ethnic and even linguistic identity with their neighbours in Indonesia. In fact, the Sumatran politician Muhammad Yamin (1903–64) advanced precisely such irredentist claims for a "Greater" Indonesia comprising the whole archipelago in 1945, and these arguments played a part in Indonesia's *Konfrontasi* (Confrontation) with the new Federation of Malaysia in 1963–66. No one doubts the ability of Malaysia to face down

witness accounts, and the available secondary literature on the tragedy. For those who wish to gain an insight into the brutal realities of the military régime in Indonesia, the way the new colonial masters in Jakarta treat their subject peoples, and the cynical protection afforded the Javanese generals by their "friends" in the world at large, this book is essential reading. In his historical introduction, Dunn makes several important points which clarify some of the misconceptions that have been assiduously fostered by the Indonesians and their Australian stooges. First, he clearly shows that the historical development of the colony has set it apart from the rest of Indonesia. Unlike other, neighbouring islands, it never experienced Hindu-Javanese or Indonesian-Islamic influences. The main *lingua franca* is Tetum, a local East Timorese language, or Portuguese, and not *Bahasa Indonesia* as in the rest of Indonesia. In terms of religion, there are hardly any Muslims, the majority of the inhabitants being either animists, who respect the spiritual forces immanent in certain sacred objects (*lulik*) and the universe at large, or baptized Catholics, of which there were upwards of 200,000 by the early 1970s. In fact, for most of the latter, the two belief systems subsist easily side by side. Along the borders with the Indonesian-controlled parts of West Timor, there were some contacts between *sucos* (tribes) on both sides of the frontier, principally through blood relationships and marketing activities. But, in the main, these contacts were limited. Portuguese rule had effectively insulated the territory of East Timor from its huge neighbour, protecting it from the political convulsions of the Indonesian nationalist struggle, the flamboyant rhetoric of Sukarno's last years, and the murderous events of 1965–66, when the bloodletting which followed the so-called "communist" coup spilled over into West Timor. Life as a part of Indonesia, with all its violence and political instability, thus held few attractions for the people of East Timor. "There would be no point in our joining with Indonesia after

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West Irian. Even outright military intervention by the Indonesian army to destroy the guerrilla bases of the Free Papua Movement (*Organisasi Papua Merdeka*) is not beyond the bounds of possibility.

What would Australia do then? It has already ducked a confrontation with Jakarta over East Timor, thereby sacrificing the lives of hundreds of thousands of people and incurring the scarcely disguised contempt of the Indonesian military régime. Will it do the same over New Guinea? One wonders if the honey-tongued academics of the Australian National University in Canberra, who were so ready to advise Whitlam over the East Timor issue, ever considered the implications of their arguments? A sinister process of "appeasement" now seems to be the order of the day in the incestuous world of the Australian Foreign Affairs Department and among the frightened politicians who preside over Australia's future. As Dunn's book shows all too clearly, Gough Whitlam's initial connivance in what he knew all along to be a sustained campaign of destabilization and aggression by the Indonesians has meant that successive Australian Governments have been unable to summon the courage to face the hard men in Jakarta. Neville Chamberlain's spiritual descendants are alive and well and living in Canberra.

On the whole, Dunn's strictures about the Australian response to the crisis seem to be justified, but there is one point on which the present reviewer cannot agree. This concerns Dunn's treatment of Australia's involvement in Timor in 1942-43, when a small group of Australian commandos pinned down a 20,000-strong Japanese force at a time when it seemed that northern Australia was open to attack by the imperial armies. There is no denying that this was a heroic episode, and one for which the local inhabitants of East Timor paid dearly: Dunn reckons that some 60,000 people, or eighteen per cent of the population, suc-

cumbed to famine, disease or execution during this period, when, given Portugal's neutral status during the war, the territory might well have escaped occupation altogether. But to go on from there to argue, as Dunn does, that the episode somehow involved Australia in a "debt of honour" to the Timorese people which it should have repaid by unstinting support for their independence struggle in 1974-75 seems a trifle romantic. Maybe this is how the Timorese people see the situation, but foreign policy priorities cannot be based around such events, however heroic or self-sacrificing. The South-east Asian region alone is full of examples of ethnic minorities who were used by outside powers, given extravagant promises about their political future and then cynically abandoned to their fate: the cases of the British and the highland peoples of Burma, the French and the Montagnards of Vietnam, and the CIA and the Meo people of the Thai/Laos border are perhaps the best known.

Even if this part of the Second World War had never occurred, Australia's duty under the terms of the United Nations Charter was quite clear: namely to use its good offices with both Portugal and Indonesia to see that the legitimate wishes of the East Timorese people were respected. Since this involved helping the latter towards independence, the wish of the vast majority of the local inhabitants both before and after the Indonesian invasion, the Australians should not have flinched from this course even if it drew them into a temporary conflict with Jakarta. One can only conclude that Dunn has dwelt on this episode in order to enhance the impact of his book on the Australian public, especially the right-wing critics of Canberra's "appeasement" policy and the influential members of the Australian Returned Services League, who have so far hovered between their fear of communism in East Timor and their feelings of loyalty to the people who helped them so selflessly in the last war.

Turning to the situation in East Timor itself prior to the Lisbon coup of April 1974, Dunn makes some valuable points about the social and economic conditions in the territory. It has

by the Jakarta Government). Dili boasted perhaps the best equipped hospital in the whole region (whose specialized equipment has since been dismantled and shipped to Java by the invaders), and district medical centres and health posts had been established throughout the province. In the sphere of education, although literacy rates as a whole were slightly lower than in Indonesia, the Portuguese had greatly expanded facilities at the primary-school level. Secondary education was more limited (in 1974 there were only about one thousand high school students), but standards were acceptable and one institution, the Jesuit College at Dare, had a very good academic reputation. Employment opportunities for high-school graduates in all sectors of the Portuguese administration were good and by 1974 some 60 per cent of the subdistrict officers (*administrador do posto*) were full-blooded Timorese. In the ranks of the Portuguese-officered Timor Military Command, there was an even larger percentage of native sons: 3,000 of the front-line troops (including most of the NCOs) and a further 7,000 of the second-line troops were Timorese by 1974. Indeed, the well-known martial skills of the East Timorese made them excellent soldiers, especially in guerrilla warfare, and when the main Portuguese Nato-style armoury at Taibesse fell into their hands in August 1975, they became a formidable fighting force which proved more than a match for all but the best trained Indonesian troops in the early stages of the invasion. Moreover, many of the leaders of the main political parties founded in East Timor in May 1974 had also enjoyed some administrative or military experience under the Portuguese.

Dunn's discussion thus gives the lie to the dismissive attitudes of Whitlam and his advisers, who could not conceive that the Timorese could take charge of their political destiny. True, the educated élite, both full-blooded and *mestiço*, was tiny compared to the size of the population at large, 80 per cent of whom were swidden farmers living in scattered hamlets. They had also had no experience of political

Indonesian generals charged with the task of incorporating East Timor into the Republic, found that it was useless for their purposes and soon relied entirely on covert operations. In the early stages, according to Dunn, these were largely taken up with a sustained campaign to swing opinion behind Indonesia's stand on East Timor.

Dunn argues that the concerted Indonesian campaign of destabilization, which culminated in their involvement in the coup launched against FRETILIN by the UDT party, the civil war of August 1975 in East Timor and the subsequent cross-border military operations, made the task of the Portuguese administration impossible. It has been usual to place much of the blame for what happened on the Portuguese. Certainly, there is an abject quality to their eventual departure from Dili in August 1975, and their impotence at the time of the invasion in December of that year. It was a pitiful finale to an empire won by the ruthless daring of Portuguese sailors and conquistadors in the sixteenth century. Yet, as Dunn demonstrates, the Portuguese Governor and his team of Armed Forces' Movement officers did their best to ensure an orderly process of decolonization at a time when they could count on little material support from Lisbon (then in the throes of a succession of political crises) and when the number of Portuguese combat troops at their disposal numbered just seventy-five men. According to Dunn, they gained the confidence of the Timorese leaders and strove to act even-handedly towards the main parties. In retrospect, even if they had enjoyed the full endorsement of the metropolitan government, and the cooperation of Indonesia and Australia, their task would still have been daunting. As it was, faced with Indonesian skulduggery and Australian indifference, they never had a chance.

So the Indonesian operation went on its bloody and nefarious course. From September 1975, parties of Indonesian troops were already operating across the East Timor border, and a major incursion began the following month, with 2,000 soldiers from crack units