

Philippine Vice President Is Reassured by Reagan

Laurel: President 'Swept Away the Cobwebs'

By Lou Cannon
and William Branigin
Washington Post Foreign Service

NUSA DUA, Indonesia, May 2

(EXCERPTS)

U.S. and Indonesian officials gave conflicting versions of the extent to which Reagan had gone in his indirect criticism of Suharto for alleged favoritism to family members and friends in business dealings. Members of the Australian media were barred from covering the ASEAN conference because of a newspaper article in a Sydney paper alleging corruption in the award of contracts and comparing the Indonesian president to Marcos.

Indonesian spokesman Sudharmono said Reagan did not raise the subject of the "high-cost economy," an Indonesian euphemism for payoffs and trade practices that require dealings with Suharto-favored companies.

But Shultz said that Reagan had pointed out that one of the problems for a potential investor in Indonesia is that he is "required to buy from local monopolies commodities that you can buy more cheaply on the world market." He said that Reagan had presented Suharto with "a little list of things" that would improve the climate for U.S. investment.

Another senior administration official said that Reagan "certainly did raise the high-cost economy issue, although in a polite and un confrontational manner."

But neither Indonesian nor U.S. officials were present during most of the talks. Reagan and Suharto met for an hour with only their interpreters before being joined for 15 minutes more of conversation with other officials.

Officials of both countries said there was U.S. support for the Indonesian request to have a communications satellite launched on the next space shuttle that would be used by Indonesia. And Sudharmono said Suharto told Reagan that Indonesia is adjusting its laws to protect U.S. intellectual property,

such as cassettes and video tapes, in response to persistent U.S. complaints.

But when the Indonesians raised concern about the negative impact of falling oil prices, they were told by Shultz that the United States is "leaving it to the market," Sudharmono said.

There were also differences between Reagan and the ASEAN ministers on the role of China, a supporter of Cambodia in the region. Reagan devoted a strong passage in his speech to the foreign ministers denouncing the Vietnamese occupation of Cambodia.

While the U.S. focus was on Vietnam and its Soviet sponsor, nations in the region expressed particular concern about Chinese intentions.

Malaysian Foreign Minister Ahmad Rithauddeen, leading the discussion on China by agreement with the other foreign ministers, said he "underlined the need for caution and our residual apprehension about China" to Reagan.

He said he reminded the president that "China continues to support remnants of terrorist communist parties in Southeast Asia, especially Malaysia."

The Malaysian foreign minister went on to say that the United States was forging a relationship with China "that does not take into consideration the sensitivities of the area. We mentioned that military hardware and technology given to China may unsettle us."

Rithauddeen said that Reagan responded positively and agreed that "we must watch this situation very closely." But Shultz said that Reagan "expressed our own view of the importance of working with China as it tries to undertake—does undertake—its modernization program."

Issues of human rights and press freedom were discussed in the Reagan-Suharto meeting, Shultz said. He declined to give details other than to say that Indonesia claimed improvement in the human rights situation in East Timor, a former Portuguese colony that it invaded and annexed in 1975.

The Boston Globe

FRIDAY, MAY 2, 1986

The Timor tragedy

Yesterday, President Reagan met with the Indonesian dictator, General Suharto, whose forces invaded East Timor in 1975 hours after another US president, Gerald Ford, and his secretary of state, Henry Kissinger, had left Jakarta. During the past decade, between 100,000 and 200,000 human beings have perished in East Timor, victims of a brutal colonization campaign carried out with American weapons.

On the eve of his visit to Indonesia, Reagan had said he was "bearing a message of freedom." If he wished to deliver a true message of freedom, he would have heeded a plea from 125 members of Congress "to add the plight of the people of East Timor to your agenda."

Reagan raised the issue of Vietnam's invasion and occupation of Cambodia in talks with Asian leaders in Bali. Yet White House spokesmen say the president did not discuss the "touchy" issue of Indonesia's invasion and occupation of East Timor.

The selective silence of the president suggests a shameful double standard. As the members of Congress said in their letter to Reagan, the Indonesian invaders have been guilty of "atrocities such as disappearances, summary executions, torture and forced birth control." The percentage of the East Timorese population killed by Suharto's army equals or surpasses the percentage of the Cambodian population killed during the reign of Pol Pot.

Are the lives of people in East Timor any less precious than the lives of Cambodians? Are the crimes of a US ally any less despicable than the crimes of a communist enemy?

American complicity with the genocidal assault on East Timor encompasses not only the steady stream of US armaments Jakarta has used in the conquest of Portugal's former colony, but also a disgraceful record of diplomatic

silence — or collaboration. Successive administrations have sided with Indonesia when the East Timor question has been raised at the United Nations. Year after year, the State Department has discovered improvement in the human rights situation, while nonpartisan organizations such as Amnesty International have found "a consistent pattern of violations of human rights in East Timor."

Pope John Paul II, in accepting the credentials of a new Indonesian ambassador to the Vatican in 1984, issued an impassioned plea for the protection of basic human rights in East Timor. Echoing that plea, the congressional letter asked that relief organizations be permitted to visit Timorese in "hidden" prisons and concentration camps; that Indonesia cease its "intimidation" of the Catholic Church in East Timor; and that the president "encourage efforts to bring about a fair and peaceful settlement of the East Timor conflict."

The Indonesian army is reportedly preparing a new offensive against East Timor. A president willing "to bring to bear on the Timor tragedy the prestige and moral influence of the United States," as the congressional letter requested, could have atoned for America's past complicity with crimes against humanity, and might also have prevented fresh crimes.

Reagan would then have delivered a true message of freedom, engaging the American nation on the side of human rights. He would have demonstrated to the peoples of Asia and the world that an American president need not value strategic convenience above human life. He would have proved that Americans cherish freedom of religion and freedom of expression not merely in Managua and Moscow, but everywhere.

The New York Times

TUESDAY, APRIL 29, 1986

PRESIDENT BEGINS TRIP TO INDONESIA

In Guam Speech, He Says U.S.
Must Be Willing to Defend
Values 'Unflinchingly'

By GERALD M. BOYD

Special to The New York Times

HONOLULU, April 28 — President Reagan declared today that the United States must be willing to defend its values and its citizens "unflinchingly" in the face of terrorism.

In remarks prepared for delivery at a brief rest and refueling stop at Andersen Air Force Base in Guam, Mr. Reagan continued to focus on terrorism as he once again pledged resolve in combatting such attacks.

In his speech for American servicemen and their families at the Pacific base, Mr. Reagan said:

"Many of you are thousands of miles from your own homes, and as beautiful as Guam is, I know you must miss familiar sights and sounds, and above all, your families and friends."

'Willing to Sacrifice'

"Yet, you're willing to make that sacrifice, willing because you've understood all along what recent events have once again made clear.

"In the name of freedom, in the name of decency, we have no choice but to defend American values and the American people themselves, and to do so unflinchingly," he said.

Administration officials have said that the recent terrorist attacks on Americans and Western Europeans are expected to continue. On the flight to Hawaii, John M. Poindexter, the President's national security adviser, characterized the incidents as a "ram-page," which he said would be "short-lived."

Secretary of State George P. Shultz, speaking Sunday on the CBS News program "Face the Nation," said that the economic summit in Tokyo, where Mr. Reagan will go on Friday, presented a "juicy target for terrorists" because the leaders of the seven major industrialized democracies would be gathered there.

90-Minute Stopover

Mr. Reagan left Honolulu early today for Bali, Indonesia, with a 90-minute stopover in Guam during the 14-hour flight.

The President's Guam speech was similar to his appearance Saturday at Hickam Air Force Base, shortly after he arrived in Honolulu. In both cases, Mr. Reagan spoke in generalities and declined to accuse specific countries, individuals or groups of the terrorist attacks.

Also in his Guam speech, Mr. Reagan set the stage for his first Presidential visit to Indonesia, saying that in the days ahead, he will be bearing a "message of freedom."

So far on this trip, Administration officials have avoided direct criticism of President Suharto of Indonesia, whose 20-year authoritarian rule has been assailed over human rights abuses. The Administration has praised Mr. Suharto for bringing economic progress and growth to his country.

Rights Concerns Raised

Critics of the Suharto Government, including some American legislators, have expressed concern over its suppression of dissent and allegations of human rights abuses on a large scale in the East Timor and Irian Jaya regions, where independent movements have been under way.

Reagan aides have argued that while Indonesia has had serious human rights violations in the past, the situation has improved in the last year. The Administration has also tried to contrast the situation there with neighboring Communist countries, such as Vietnam, saying that they are some of the worst violators of human rights in the world.

The White House spokesman, Larry Speakes, would not say Sunday whether Mr. Reagan would discuss human rights when he meets with President Suharto. Mr. Reagan will also meet with the foreign ministers of the member countries of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations.

Speaking in general terms, the President minimized human rights concerns in his Guam remarks.

"The foreign ministers I will meet in Indonesia," he said, "represent nations that have each in large part embraced human liberty, both political and economic, and in recent years the people of these nations have produced a remarkable record of economic growth."

The member nations, the Philippines, Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, Brunei and Indonesia, have some of the world's fastest-growing economies.

Rights Group Requests Pressure on Indonesia

An international human rights monitoring group has asked President Reagan, in his meetings with President Suharto and other Indonesian officials, to address human rights issues that include what the group says are the executions without trial of several thousand people suspected of being criminals in recent years.

The group, Asia Watch, said the killings are widely believed to be an officially sanctioned method of discouraging crime.

In a letter, the group asked President Reagan, who is to arrive in Bali Tuesday, to address rights issues, adding: "Large segments of Indonesian society are alarmed at what they see as increased government intolerance of dissent."

In a 30-page report, the group said severe restrictions had been placed on an estimated one and one-half million former political prisoners, most of whom never have been tried or convicted.

Reagan, in a Phone Call, Rebuffs Marcos in His Claim to Presidency

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lowing a "nonviolent" transition of power.

Mr. Reagan and Mr. Marcos talked at the beginning and the end of the telephone hookup. Mr. Marcos has been in Hawaii since he fled the Philippines, and is now living in a leased house three miles from where the Reagans are staying.

In between, Mrs. Marcos talked with Mrs. Reagan, expressing sharp irritation with how the family had been portrayed by journalists, White House officials said.

Mrs. Marcos was apparently referring to unflattering accounts about the couple's wealth, such as accounts that 3,000 pairs of shoes belonging to Mrs. Marcos were found in Malacanang Palace after the two left the Philippines.

The White House spokesman Larry Speakes said the decision to keep the conversation confidential had been made by both men, who "agreed that the substance of the phone call would remain private."

Mr. Speakes reiterated the Administration's policy toward the Philippines, which a White House official said was essentially the reported contents of the President's comments to Mr. Marcos.

Mr. Speakes said: "We support President Aquino's Government and encourage its policies of economic, political and military reform. Our policy has been reinforced in this respect by our decision to increase economic and military assistance levels to the Philippines."

Mr. Speakes was referring to the announcement last week, on the eve of the Reagan group's departure from Washington, that the United States was increasing its aid package to the Philippines by \$150 million.

'Up to the Philippines People'

Suggesting that any attempt by Mr. Marcos to return would be ill-advised, Mr. Speakes said: "We support political stability in the Philippines, and our policy has been and remains, in the final analysis, it is up to the Philippines

people, themselves, to determine their future, and they have voiced their will in this regard."

The telephone call raised the possibility that Mr. Reagan could come under criticism when he meets Thursday in Bali, Indonesia, with the Philippine Vice President, Prime Minister and Foreign Minister, Salvador H. Laurel. Mr. Reagan will attend a meeting of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations.

Mr. Speakes said Mr. Reagan had called because Mr. Marcos was "an old friend and ally who exhibited statesmanship in the orderly and peaceful transition to power in the Philippines."

Mr. Speakes also said the White House had been "surprised" to learn that Mr. Marcos had permitted a television crew to watch the conversation.

Mr. Speakes said the Administration was pleased with the progress made by the Aquino Government.

Questions on Corruption

The stop in Bali, which the Indonesian Government had wanted in an attempt to spotlight economic progress under President Suharto, threatened to become overshadowed by reports of official corruption and human rights violations during the 20-year Suharto rule.

Mr. Speakes said concerns about corruption were "an internal matter to handle." He said Mr. Reagan feels strongly about human rights, but added, "It is a matter that he believes is most effectively handled through private exchanges."

The President, who took a walk on the beach today with Mrs. Reagan but spent most of his time resting, indicated that he would try to steer a middle course on political questions at the Bali meeting. In an interview with Asian journalists, he said the United States "supported the evolution of political processes that bolster popular participation and representative government."

Mr. Reagan added, "We believe that Asian nations are the masters of their own fate."

The Miami Herald

Eye on Indonesia

A **MERICANS** who haven't thought about Indonesia in years — if ever — suddenly are outraged by that nation's dismal human-rights record and its arrogant expulsion of several Western journalists. Such is the power of the American Presidency to command the world's spotlight — a light whose intensity Indonesian President Suharto cannot bear.

President Reagan's meeting this week with six Asian foreign ministers on the Indonesian island of Bali was intended to further his theme of "winds of freedom" in the Pacific. Certainly the relative stability and prosperity of heavily Moslem Indonesia have been impressive for the troubled South Pacific region since Mr. Suharto, then a general, seized power in 1968 after smashing a strong Communist takeover attempt. Mr. Suharto's predecessor, President-for-life Sukarno, was widely believed to have encouraged that Maoist uprising. Indonesia's economy, fueled by oil-export earnings, has been one of the world's fastest-growing in the past decade.

However, President Suharto's brutal invasion in 1975 of the independent community in the eastern portion of the island of Timor shattered any illusions about his regime. Under Indonesian annexation, the predominantly Catholic former Portuguese colony 400 miles off the coast of Australia has lost some 100,000 inhabitants, nearly one-sixth of its population. The Catholic Church has been subjected to pressure, famine temporarily was widespread, international relief agencies and human-rights investigators have been denied access, and reports persist of torture, executions, and disappearances.

Let World Note Widespread Abuses

Pope John Paul II has voiced concern over conditions in East Timor, Secretary of State George Shultz raised the occupation issue during his 1984 visit, and other nations have protested. A bipartisan group of 125 House members and 23 senators has asked the President to raise the human-rights issue on Timor with President Suharto. The United Nations has not recognized Indonesia's claim to East Timor.

Some Americans conclude that President Reagan should not have visited Indonesia at all, not even to attend the meeting of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations. A stronger case exists for his attending and thereby raising the issues at last in the world's consciousness.

If President Suharto persists in his repression and in thwarting the further development of civilian political leadership, then Washington should respond with a gradual hardening of its public posture toward Jakarta. Clearly the periodic national elections that reaffirm Mr. Suharto's control and his party's hold on the parliament are not sufficient. The military's grip on every facet of Indonesian life must be loosened in order to permit a flourishing of genuine democracy.

First, however, it was necessary to command the attention both of President Suharto and of the broad base of world opinion. That step now is accomplished.

Thursday, May 1, 1986



Los Angeles Times

Brutishness in Bali

Indonesia's expulsion of three Australian and American correspondents confirms the censorship through which that nation has sought to conceal its abuses of human rights and basic freedoms.

The journalists were seeking to report President Reagan's meeting in Bali with leaders of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations. Two from the Australian Broadcasting Corp. were banned, it seems, in retaliation for reports published in Australia of extraordinary accumulations of wealth by President Suharto and his family, raising the specter of the depredations of the Philippines by the Marcos family and their cronies during the rule of Ferdinand Marcos. A New York Times corre-

spondent was deported without explanation, although there were indications that the government objected to a report she had written referring to the Australian press stories.

There is no way to judge the accuracy of the Suharto reports. Free inquiry, like the free press, is banned in Indonesia. Informed diplomats have given credit to Suharto for reform and slow progress in overcoming some of the more blatant repressions of the past, but his family also appears to have prospered enormously.

Corruption and political abuse inevitably flourish where there is not the balance of a press free to investigate issues in the public interest.

Problems face Reagan in Asia visit

By David Hess
Inquirer Washington Bureau

HONOLULU — On his way to the Tokyo economic summit, President Reagan left Hawaii yesterday for what the White House had hoped would be a pleasant four-day visit to Indonesia that is to include talks with the foreign ministers of six Southeast Asian countries.

Even before his plane left Honolulu, though, there were a few political storm warnings, indications that the stopover on the Indonesian island of Bali might be a bit less pleasant than the White House had expected.

Reagan could get caught up in such matters as claims of Indonesian repression in East Timor, the barring of Australian journalists from Indonesia, and a wide range of trade disputes with almost all the U.S. trading partners in the Association of Southeast Asian Nations.

In 1976, Indonesia forcibly annexed East Timor, a former Portuguese colony, and has since suppressed a rebellious independence movement there. By some estimates, 100,000 to 200,000 East Timorese are missing or have been killed.

Reagan leaves Hawaii for talks with officials in Southeast Asia

REAGAN, from 1-A

Reagan is under pressure from American human rights groups and more than 100 members of Congress to convey to President Suharto the U.S. displeasure with suppression in East Timor.

White House aides insist, though, that the human rights complaint "will not be a major item" in Reagan's talks with Suharto, as deputy press secretary Edward Djerejian put it.

For his part, White House press spokesman Larry Speakes said Indonesia's domestic policies were "an internal matter," adding, "The President has strong feelings on human rights, but it is a matter that he believes is most effectively handled through private exchanges."

Because the Australian press has extensively reported the East Timor issue and purported government corruption among Suharto's family and political allies, Suharto has refused to allow Australian journalists to cover the Bali conference this week of foreign ministers from the Association of Southeast Asian Nations.

The United States has made efforts at the ambassadorial level to reverse the ban, but so far without success.

Two Australian Broadcasting Corp.

journalists traveling with the White House press corps were notified Sunday by Indonesia's ministry of information that they could not enter the country with Reagan.

The two broadcasters, Richard Palfreyman and James Middleton, were instructed yesterday by their employer not to make an international incident of it by flying into Bali anyway.

By early yesterday, the Indonesian government was reported to be reconsidering the ban after Australian and Indonesian diplomats had talked. Palfreyman and Middleton were scheduled to stay aboard the chartered plane carrying the White House press corps at least as far as a refueling stop in Guam in hopes that the matter could be settled by then.

Earlier, New York Times reporter Barbara Crossette, based in Bangkok, Thailand, was barred from entering Indonesia for unexplained reasons.

Reagan will stay in Bali until Friday, when he goes to Tokyo for the seven-nation economic summit of industrialized nations. After a rest day tomorrow, he will meet Thursday with Suharto and separately with Vice President Salvador Laurel of the Philippines.

In addition, Reagan will also meet collectively with foreign ministers of the six nations that make up the Association of Southeast Asian Nations — the Philippines, Indonesia, Brunei, Malaysia, Singapore and

Thailand.

Apart from those sore points, Reagan is certain to hear a litany of complaints about U.S. trade actions at the foreign ministers' conference.

Thailand is upset about U.S. export subsidies for rice, which the Thais maintain has undercut the world price of rice.

Malaysia, Indonesia and Singapore are upset about U.S. textile quotas that have cut into their exports. The Malay government also is angry about a U.S. decision last year to sell surplus tin from its stockpile at a time when world prices were plummeting.

For its part, the United States is concerned about import barriers erected by members of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations. U.S. officials are also still perturbed about Thailand's vote in the U.N. Security Council to rebuke the United States for bombing Libya two weeks ago.

That itself is another cause for frayed feelings at the conference, where Indonesian and Malaysian leaders have been strongly pressed by the large Muslim groups in their countries to cancel Reagan's visit.

Bali Dancing

First Lady Steps Out With Mrs. Suharto

By Donnie Radcliffe
Washington Post Staff Writer

NUSA DUA, Indonesia, May 1—Nancy Reagan kicked up her heels Balinese-style today, using some of the same fancy footwork that grabbed headlines for her when she traveled to Spain while President Reagan was at last year's Economic Summit.

"Am I supposed to do that?" the first lady asked two young Balinese girls who were fluttering their fingers and arching their feet in the graceful motions of Balinese folk dancing.

She complained good-naturedly that they were going too fast for her to imitate them, but didn't let that

stop her from trying. Behind her, hands aflutter too, was her hostess, Indonesian first lady Siti Hartinah Suharto.

"I'll never be as good as you," Mrs. Reagan told one of the children, who has been training for several years as a dancer but spent the past month rehearsing today's number, one of two created especially for the Reagan visit. The dancers were dressed in gold, one group representing a flock of wild ducks, with their arms wrapped in purple cloth wings, the other playing deer and wearing tiny gold antlers.

The performance came during Mrs. Reagan's first cultural outing away from the beach-front hotel

See FIRST LADY, D9, Col. 1

The Visit to Bali

FIRST LADY, From D1

where she and the president have been resting after their 11,432-mile flight from Washington en route to the Economic Summit in Japan.

The outing began and ended in a compound of structures outfitted to represent a Balinese village. A 15-car motorcade brought Mrs. Reagan the half-mile from the hotel under tight security. The day was hot and steamy, and Mrs. Reagan met it head-on with a new hairdo. It, too, was created for the visit, but by her personal hairdresser, Julius Bengtsson, who always goes abroad with her for just such emergencies.

"It was the only way," said Bengtsson of his antihumidity handiwork. He pulled Mrs. Reagan's hair away from her face and anchored it with a green band that contrasted with her light green silk dress.

Mrs. Reagan seemed particularly interested in an explanation about the tooth-filing ceremony performed on girls when they reach puberty. Six front teeth are filed down to rid the girl of bad characteristics that are believed to come with the teeth: anger, confusion, arrogance, greed, desire and jealousy.

"Have you had it done?" Mrs. Reagan asked a woman escorting her. When the woman told her she had, Mrs. Reagan looked surprised. "Really? It doesn't look like it. When you say 'filed' I think of something very short."

Among the craftsmen brought in to display their work for her was Iwan Tirta, one of Indonesia's foremost batik designers. A graduate of Yale's law school, Tirta turned to batik after teaching international law in Jakarta and also in the United States, at Cornell University and the University of California at Berkeley.

Tirta also designed the batik dress worn tonight by Mrs. Reagan at the dinner given for President Reagan and representatives attending the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) by Indonesia's President Suharto.

The dress, a butterfly design in red with long sleeves and a boat neckline, was Mrs. Suharto's gift to Mrs. Reagan, and a batik shirt, also by Tirta, was Suharto's gift to President Reagan. The shirt was brown and black and featured a repeated Presidential Seal pattern.

Secretary of State George Shultz and White House chief of staff Donald Regan also wore their new gift batik shirts, as did others in the Reagan party.

Gaston Sigur, assistant secretary of state for East Asian and Pacific affairs, failed to make the party because he slipped while coming out of the shower and suffered a cut on the forehead that required 10 stitches.

At the head table with Reagan and Shultz was Philippine Vice President Salvador Laurel. Among the 140 other guests was Indonesia's second most powerful man, Gen. Benny Moerdani, who sat next to Regan.

Besides heading the army, Moerdani also controls the media through the military intelligence community. The final decision to bar entry to two Australian journalists would have been made by him, American sources said.

In the afternoon, Mrs. Suharto entertained Mrs. Reagan at tea. This time the bandeau was gone and her hair was back to normal. She had also changed into a white dress with red dots.

Mrs. Suharto had another gift for Mrs. Reagan, a new variety of deep purple hybrid orchid named *Dendrobium Nancy Reagan*.

The New York Times

THURSDAY, MAY 1, 1986

Indonesia vs. Press: Twain Can't Meet

By MAUREEN DOWD

Special to The New York Times

DENPASAR, Indonesia, April 30 — When Joop Ave was the Indonesian Consul in New York 20 years ago, the most common question he got asked was, "Where in Bali is Indonesia?"

"Now, Americans understand that Bali is the small one," Mr. Ave said of the Indonesian island on which this town is situated.

Mr. Ave, Indonesia's Director General of Tourism, was acting as host of a party by the pool of the Bali Sol hotel for local dignitaries and the international press. The party had the usual complement of undulating dancers, gong and reong players and sweet pink drinks.

Mr. Ave, a towering 6 feet 4 inches tall, has been eagerly planning for this week for months, hoping that President Reagan's visit would showcase Indonesia's charms.

'May Be a Fly in the Soup'

It has not worked out that way. "There perhaps may very well be a fly in the soup," he said grimly.

Administration officials, who took great pains to make a success of Mr. Reagan's Indonesian prelude to the Tokyo summit meeting, say the Bali stop has soured into "a black mark" against the Indonesians because of the expulsion of three journalists.

If this had occurred in Washington, it would be flatly labeled a "public relations disaster." Played out here in Bali, it has become a lesson in colliding attitudes about the relationship between the press and government.

Officially, the White House says there is "no problem." But the theme of the trip, the "winds of freedom," has taken on a mocking tone as the focus has shifted from Mr. Reagan to the Indonesian strictures on freedom of the press.

Advisers to Mr. Reagan said some Indonesian officials might feel a touch of personal embarrassment at the way their country is being depicted as the result of the expulsions Tuesday of two Australian journalists who had come in on the Reagan press plane and a correspondent for The New York Times.

But that embarrassment is not deep, nor does it change the basic Indonesian indifference to government public relations as it is practiced and understood in Washington. "They're on a different

wavelength," a Reagan aide commented today.

Nor do Reagan aides expect the Government of President Suharto to appreciate a central paradox in its handling of the Western press this week. The crackdown began when General and Mrs. Suharto were piqued by an article in an Australian newspaper comparing them to Ferdinand and Imelda Marcos. Now, their restrictions against reporters, censorship of incoming newspapers and the lurking presence of batik-clad security men in the hotel gardens have cemented the Marcos comparison.

"The article started the ball rolling, and then it got out of hand," said an American diplomat stationed here. "It has mushroomed in ways that the Indonesians could not have expected and certainly could not have wanted."

Even so, the Indonesians seem wedded to their approach, and today Indonesian officials went on the defensive, chiding the Western press for not understanding that Indonesia values internal security over good publicity in the world press.

As Mr. Ave put it, Indonesia should not be painted as "the bad boy when it is trying to be the good host."

Fears of Ugly Incident

The scene at the airport Tuesday night, when the Australian journalists were seized and shepherded aboard a commercial flight to Tokyo, ended quickly, after the deputy White House press secretary, Edward P. Djerejian, intervened. But the Indonesians were braced for a confrontation, and there were fears among Administration officials that it could have turned "ugly."

American officials pointed out that the irony here is that Indonesia is a country where politeness is so much a national trait that drivers never even honk their horns. But Indonesians are also a proud, nationalistic people with a bias against overt criticism.

"We are not against press freedom," said Mochtar Kusumaatmadja, the Foreign Minister. "But on the other hand, we don't have to like it. I mean, when a hurricane hits you, you don't have to like it."

He said President Suharto had been "very hurt" by the "unnecessarily personal" Australian article.

At a news conference today, Mr. Mochtar was questioned by reporters

about an article on the internal political situation in Indonesia in The International Herald Tribune that was censored, covered over in every copy with pieces of mimeograph paper. Government guidelines call for striking out anything negative about Indonesia and the Suhartos.

'Yes, It's Puzzling'

When asked about the censoring, Mr. Mochtar, an engaging man who holds a master's degree in international law from Yale, said, "It is done."

Later, privately, he said the problem is that "the notion" of press freedom is so different here that it is hard for Westerners to understand.

"In developing countries we can not have a freewheeling press," he said. "It might be too deceptive and people would get too excited. People here have not yet developed the critical sense to judge stories without being unduly influenced or distracted."

Indonesians, he said, should instead concentrate on "the basics — life and development."

The official Indonesian handbook describes the role of the press as "disseminating objective information, exerting constructive social control, channeling people's aspirations, bridging communication between the Government and the public at large and mobilizing the community's participation in the process of nation building."

Other Issues Stressed

Mr. Ave, who said tourism from the United States had doubled in the last five years to 60,000 a year, said he hoped the talk of press freedom would not overshadow other issues.

"We are not going to be bothered by what happens to one or two journalists," he said. "Big deal. We're talking about big country relations here."

"Americans should give us a chance," he went on. "They should not try to impress upon us the need for changing according to the rules of another country. It's impossible."

If the image of Indonesia has been hurt in the West, it has at least been polished internally and in other third world countries. The pictures of Mr. Reagan and General Suharto smiling together will be a boon to the general, White House officials said.

"It's sexy, political chic," a Reagan aide said. "It helps Suharto in his own country."

The New York Times

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 30, 1986

Indonesia Bars Two Journalists In Reagan Party

By GERALD BOYD

Special to The New York Times

DENPASAR, Bali, April 29 — President Reagan arrived today on this Indonesian island on the first major stop of his trip to the Far East, but the occasion was marred. White House officials said, when the Indonesian Government detained two Australian journalists in the party accompanying the President and barred them from the country.

In a separate incident, Indonesian authorities detained and expelled Barbara Crossette, a correspondent for The New York Times who was seeking to report on the Reagan visit. [Page A6].

Moments before Mr. Reagan was greeted at the island's airport by President Suharto and colorfully clad Balinese dancers, Indonesian authorities removed the two Australians from the White House press plane.

The journalists, from the Australian Broadcasting Corporation, were ordered to leave the country in a move that White House officials said highlighted sharp differences between the United States and Indonesia over press and political freedoms.

The two correspondents, Jim Middleton and Richard D. Palfreyman, are based in Washington and had been told that they would not be allowed to enter, despite the protests of American officials, following unfavorable reports in the Australian press about the wealth

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Indonesians Bar 2 Covering Reagan

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security officials took the Australians into custody over the protests of Edward P. Djerejian, a deputy White House press secretary.

"The decision has been made. There is no change," an Indonesian official told Mr. Djerejian, in an exchange that capped a day of tense communications between American and Indonesian officials.

Atmosphere of Growing Concern

Senior aides to Mr. Reagan spent most of the time operating in an atmosphere of increasing concern as the President's party flew toward Indonesia. At one point, aboard the Presidential jet, Air Force One, Larry Speakes, the White House press secretary, said,

"We do not know what will happen when we get there."

Other Reagan aides said that the development ran directly contrary to the "winds of freedom" theme that Mr. Reagan has adopted for the trip. The theme is intended to assert that democracy and economic growth in an environment of freedom are on the rise throughout the world.

Administration officials have avoided direct criticism of the Suharto Government, which has been criticized for human-rights abuses, including the handling of dissent and the independence movements in East Timor and West Irian.

Instead, they have said while Indonesia has had serious human-rights violations in the past, there have been improvements in the situation in this

country and that abuses were worse in nearby Communist-ruled nations. In addition, some officials have sought to portray the development today in the context of longstanding Indonesian-Australian strains over issues such as East Timor's status.

In his first visit to this Asian country, Mr. Reagan had hoped to keep the spotlight off criticism of the lack of freedom under the 30-year authoritarian rule of Mr. Suharto, while highlighting the country's steady economic growth and its role in regional stability.

"This unnecessarily detracts from the main purpose of the trip," a senior Reagan adviser said in expressing concern over the press incident.

Another Reagan aide lamented: "The winds of freedom have hit a wind shear. The Indonesians have hurt themselves."

Mr. Reagan had accepted an invitation to visit Indonesia after canceling a planned trip to the Far East in 1983 following the assassination of Benigno S. Aquino Jr., the Philippine opposition leader.

Themes for Tokyo Meeting

Administration officials had explained the acceptance as an attempt by the President to salve bruised Indonesian feelings caused by the cancellation and as a way that Mr. Reagan could promote the themes of economic and political freedom that he will take to the annual meeting of seven leading industrialized democracies that will begin Sunday in Tokyo.

He will also hold talks Thursday with the members of the Association of South East Asian Nations, which include the Philippines, Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, Brunei and Indo-

nesia.

Mr. Reagan, who arrived in Indonesia from Honolulu after a brief rest and refueling stop in Guam, made no remarks at Ngurah Rai Airport, where he was greeted by President Suharto.

However, several top officials aboard Air Force One, including Secretary of State George P. Shultz, Donald T. Regan, the White House chief of staff, and Vice Adm. John M. Poindexter, the national security adviser, spent much of the afternoon conferring with American officials in Indonesia.

Effort to Overturn Order

The American Ambassador to Indonesia, Paul D. Wolfowitz, met with Indonesian officials while Mr. Reagan was en route in a last-minute attempt to overturn the order on the Australians. It was the second such meeting in the last week on the matter.

White House officials had hoped to resolve the question before Mr. Reagan's arrival. They said, however, that the final decision on whether the journalists should come to Bali had to be made by the journalists when the chartered plane left Guam.

Mr. Palfreyman said that the decision to accompany Mr. Reagan had been made after Australian officials notified the Australian Broadcasting Corporation before Mr. Reagan left Honolulu that a possibility existed that they would be allowed to enter. Earlier, Mr. Palfreyman and Mr. Middleton had announced that they would be dropping out on the Bali portion of the trip.

The reporters were to leave Indonesia tonight on a commercial airliner for Tokyo.



President Reagan and his wife, Nancy, being greeted by Indonesian dancers yesterday as they arrived at the airport in Bali. Flanking them were President Suharto and his wife, Tien.

Newsday

EDITORIALS

THE LONG ISLAND NEWSPAPER • FRIDAY, MAY 2, 1986

Unwelcome Parallels in Indonesian Circles

"Winds of freedom" is the phrase President Ronald Reagan has seized upon as the theme of his current trip to the Far East. But barely a breeze of freedom was stirring when he arrived in Indonesia. In fact, his hosts' treatment of some reporters assigned to cover his visit suggests that freedom there approaches a state of dead calm.

It was an insult for the Indonesian government to whisk two Australian journalists off the White House press plane and expel them from the country. It was a blunder to hustle a New York Times reporter onto an outbound flight hours before the president stepped off his plane. And the regime's shameless censorship of articles in the International Herald Tribune and the Asian Wall Street Journal should not be passed over in silence.

Polite expressions of concern — the kind the

Reagan administration has already delivered — are not enough. Indonesia's President Suharto should be made to realize that the United States views these incidents, along with his regime's much graver brutalities toward its own people, as serious obstacles to closer relations between Jakarta and Washington.

Suharto is understandably unhappy with the Australian and American press, since he can't control them as he does the Indonesian media. The expelled journalists have written stories about Indonesian corruption and human rights abuses. What may have rankled most were some comparisons between the financial dealings of Suharto's circle and those of deposed Philippine President Ferdinand Marcos and his cronies.

The comparisons are apt. Favoritism, influence-peddling, rake-offs and kickbacks are

prominent features of Indonesia's economic landscape. Over the years, Suharto's family and associates have amassed extensive business holdings, thanks to government connections that bring easy credit, lucrative contracts, trading monopolies, exclusive licensing and all manner of official favors.

Indonesia's human rights situation is even worse. A recent State Department report raises concerns about unexplained deaths and disappearances, torture of prisoners and restrictions on freedom of speech, movement and the activities of political parties and labor organizations. By some estimates, Indonesia holds 1.5 million political prisoners.

At least Marcos didn't make a habit of kicking foreign reporters out of his country. But then maybe he had less to hide.

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 30, 1986

Indonesians Oust 3 Journalists

White House Plea Spurned; 2 Australians, American Forced to Go

By Lou Cannon
Washington Post Staff Writer

NUSA DUA, Indonesia, April 30 (Wednesday)—Two Australian broadcast correspondents traveling on the White House press plane were refused entry here last night moments before President Reagan arrived for a visit on which he is celebrating the supposed spread of political and economic freedom in Southeast Asia.

The refusal to admit the Australians and the expulsion of New York Times correspondent Barbara Crossette dominated the opening briefings here, where President Reagan will meet with Indonesian President Suharto and foreign ministers of the six-member Association of Southeast Asian Nations.

Indonesian Foreign Minister Mochtar Kusumaatmadja, asked how these actions reflected on Reagan's theme that "the winds of freedom" are blowing in Southeast Asia, said: "The winds are still blowing, but there are some people who didn't like the wind. We are not against press freedom, but we don't necessarily like it. When a hurricane hits you, you don't have to like the wind."

Mochtar said he hoped that the incidents did not "cast a pall" over Reagan's visit and he praised the president as "a champion of free trade."

An article by Crossette in the Asian edition of yesterday's International Herald Tribune, headlined "Remote Suharto Rules With Sultan's Air," was blacked out by censors here. A sheet of white paper was pasted over the article on page 5 of each newspaper.

[In New York, A. M. Rosenthal, executive editor of the Times, called the detention and expulsion of Crossette "a clear violation not only of freedom of the press but of any accepted standard of conduct."

"Coming at a time when the president of the United States is arriving in that country, the action also shows disdain for American institutions," he said.]

The two correspondents for the Australian Broadcasting Commission were taken into custody by Indonesian security officials and put on a plane for Tokyo. The Indonesians rejected the request of U.S. officials that the Australians be allowed to cover the visit here of Reagan.

When the press plane arrived here, the Indonesians refused to allow anyone to depart until the two Australians, Richard Palfreyman



BY JAMES THRELKEL—THE WASHINGTON POST
Presidents Reagan and Suharto, with wives, watch display of native dancing.

and James Middleton, had come forward and identified themselves.

In a holding room inside the terminal, White House deputy press secretary Edward P. Djerejian made a final plea that the Australians be allowed to stay, saying that the U.S. position was that all correspondents accompanying the president should be allowed into the countries he visits.

According to Djerejian, an Indonesian security official replied: "The decision has been made. There is no change."

Indonesia refused entry to the Australians because of an April 10 article in the Sydney Morning Herald alleging corruption in the Indonesian government. It said Suharto's relatives and business associates had enriched themselves because of government favoritism.

The sensitivity of Indonesia, which has a government-controlled press, to any criticism has proved a visible political embarrassment to

the Reagan administration. In a speech last week in Washington, the president proclaimed that the "winds of freedom" were blowing throughout the world.

White House spokesman Larry Speakes said that "winds of freedom," a phrase Reagan used eight times in a speech to the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, would be the principal theme of the president's 13-day Pacific trip, which will conclude with participation in the economic summit meeting in Tokyo.

"We'd have to acknowledge that the Indonesians haven't helped the 'winds of freedom' theme very much," said a senior White House official who spoke on condition that he not be identified.

Reagan has continued to insist in his speeches that political freedom is tightly linked to economic growth, even though many countries in the region that have performed well economically have limited political liberty.

B10 Friday, May 2, 1986

The Hartford Courant

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THE OLDEST CONTINUOUSLY PUBLISHED
NEWSPAPER IN AMERICA

Reaching a Low in Bali

President Reagan probably planned to use Indonesia, a stopping place on his way to the Tokyo economic summit meeting, to illustrate his contention that "winds of freedom" are producing wholesome political and economic effects around the world.

If so, the plan was wrecked by the Indonesian government's detention and expulsion of three journalists who sought to cover Mr. Reagan's visit to the island of Bali. "The winds of freedom," quipped one of his aides, "have hit a wind shear."

The victims were two Australians and a New York Times correspondent. The Australians were taken off the White House press plane when it landed in Bali. The Times writer, who already had been admitted to Indonesia, was ordered to leave.

The Australians were being punished for an article published April 10 in an Australian newspaper. The story said Indonesia's government is corrupt and likened Indonesia's President Suharto and his wife to deposed Philippine President Ferdinand E. Marcos and Mrs. Marcos. The reason for ejecting the Times reporter was less clear, but apparently it was because she had written about corruption charges and the Suharto family.

By holding and expelling journalists without justification, the authoritarian Suharto regime darkened its already soiled human rights record. The action also embarrassed President Reagan, who was vis-

iting as a friend and whose administration had claimed that respect for human rights was growing in Indonesia.

To their credit, American officials worked hard to prevent the Australians from being turned away. But President Reagan could have sent an unmistakable message by publicly denouncing the expulsions instead of expressing regret through a spokesman.

... but Reagan is remaining silent

MARY McGRORY

WASHINGTON — President Reagan has at hand a peerless opportunity to prove that he meant it when he said in a March 14 message to Congress, "The American people believe in human rights and oppose tyranny in whatever form, whether of the left or the right."

His host in Indonesia, Gen. Suharto, is a world-class fascist. He seized power in a coup in 1965, and killed half a million of his countrymen to consolidate it.

He is as corrupt as Ferdinand Marcos, as repressive as Gen. Augusto Pinochet of Chile, and if he has not matched the record of Pol Pot, the butcher of Cambodia who murdered 2 million Cambodians, he is, in the small island of East Timor, which lies about 1,100 miles off Indonesia, trying to wipe out what remains of the shrinking population.

East Timor offers an ideal chance for Reagan to show that he was not kidding when he said, in his 1985 State of the Union message, "Freedom is not the sole prerogative of a chosen few, it is the universal right of all God's children."

East Timor, a Portuguese colony for four centuries, expected independence when Portugal withdrew. Instead, in 1975, it was invaded by Suharto, who instituted a reign of terror that continues

to this day. The most conservative estimates put the East Timor casualties at 100,000. The 550,000 who survived are subject to intimidation, relocation, crop destruction, arrest, torture and disappearance. Ten thousand have fled.

Rep. Tony P. Hall (D-Ohio), one of the few voices raised on the issue, calls what is happening "the hidden holocaust." He wrote to the president on the eve of the trip, calling on him to urge Suharto to permit international organizations some access to the suffering island. No reporters are allowed in; official visitors are subject to total control.

The number of political prisoners cannot be exactly ascertained. After a clamor was raised by Amnesty International — which Suharto, incidentally, calls "a communist organization" — several thousand were released. Now, according to Hall, detainees have been moved to secret prisons and detention camps, where there is no chance of any international human rights group poking its nose.

The resistance, however, soldiers on. Suharto's government calls the guerrillas "bandits," and sets their number at 500. Their friends say they are 2,000 strong — enough to tie down 10,000 of Suharto's crack troops.

Despite their courage and their cause, they are not called freedom fighters by

the Reagan White House. They have not qualified under the so-called "Reagan Doctrine" for arms money. Instead of lending them a hand, Reagan seeks \$5 million in military aid for Suharto, who will use it to put them down.

What have they done wrong? They are being persecuted by a dictator who is not a communist. The rationale of Suharto's slaughter was to foil a communist insurrection. In addition to its great wealth in oil and other natural resources, Indonesia has control of the strategic passes that Reagan cited when he was defending Marcos.

The State Department maintains that "a basic change for the better is taking place."

With Suharto, State has been seeking light at the end of the tunnel for the last 10 years.

According to a White House press spokesman, the president is not planning to raise the almost forgotten question of East Timor while he is in Bali — it is "an internal matter." Perhaps he feels it would spoil the visit — or divert attention from his prime topic, terrorism.

So much for his promise of evenhandedness with dictators and a helpful hand for liberty lovers everywhere. He was just making it up as he went along.

Mary McGrory is a syndicated columnist.

Chill Falls on Warming Relations Between Australia and Indonesia

By BARBARA CROSSETTE

Special to The New York Times

SYDNEY, Australia, April 25 — Relations between Australia and Indonesia, only recently improved after years of mistrust, have been set back unexpectedly in the last two weeks, according to officials in both countries. The cause is a series of sharp responses by Jakarta to an Australian newspaper article about President Suharto of Indonesia and his reported wealth.

Australian journalists have been barred from working in Indonesia, the Australian Government has been lectured by Jakarta on its failure to control this country's free press, Canberra's military planes have been denied refueling stops en route to other Southeast Asian nations, and Australian tourists, suddenly and unexpectedly told they needed visas, have been turned back from the island of Bali.

Australia's Prime Minister, Bob Hawke, who has overridden objections within his Labor Party to build better relations with Jakarta, called Indonesia's recent actions capricious. The Australian Embassy in Jakarta lodged a protest.

Reporters traveling with Mr. Hawke in Europe this week said he appears to be unwilling to let the matter rest, although Jakarta reversed itself on the new tourist-visa rule after 24 hours, after an outcry from hoteliers.

Australians' Old Fears

Whether or not the immediate crisis recedes quickly, Australians say, it has already resurrected old fears here about the stability and political maturity of Indonesia. The same questions are being raised in Indonesia itself, most recently by an editorial in the influential newspaper Kompas.

The crisis has also exposed continuing divisions within Indonesia on how to deal with the foreign press, and foreign opinion in general.

Reports from Jakarta say the heated reaction to the article on President Suharto — which appeared in The Sydney Morning Herald and was written by David Jenkins, the paper's foreign editor and a leading scholar on Indonesia — occurred when the Indonesian Foreign Minister, Mochtar Kusumaatmadja, was out of the country, attending a meeting of third-world leaders in New Delhi. Mr. Mochtar met with Australian journalists last December on a visit to Sydney and was well received. On April 14 this reporter's Indonesian visa was revoked by the Jakarta Government. No reasons were given for the action and no responses have been received to further inquiries.

The Foreign Minister, who has been instrumental in generally opening Indonesia to the world as well as specifically improving relations with Australia, returned to Jakarta early this week and tried to control if not reverse the damage done over the barring of the Australians. The moves against Australians were reportedly made by President Suharto on advice of Justice Ministry and military officials.

The crisis demonstrates, according to Paul Kelly, a columnist for the newspaper The Australian, that despite recent improvements, "the wider basis for an effective relationship has not been established" between the two nations.

Relations between Australia, a nation of about 15 million people, and Indonesia, with more than 160 million, have always been wary. Australians have seen Indonesia go through the upheaval of the Sukarno years, when neighboring Malaysia was attacked, and an attempted leftist-inspired coup in 1965.

Ties suffered particular strains a decade ago when Jakarta annexed the former Portuguese territory of East Timor. A powerful pro-Timorese lobby, especially strong in Mr. Hawke's Labor Party, has only lately reduced the pitch of its criticism of Indonesia.

Last summer Mr. Hawke said publicly that Australia recognized Indonesian sovereignty in East Timor. Canberra and Jakarta have begun discussions on developing offshore oil and gas resources in the waters between the two nations.

Exchanges of ministers had become more frequent. Australian journalists began to gain access to Indonesia. Australians had begun developing a defense strategy that no longer assumed a potential threat from Indonesia.

Suharto's Possible Worth

Then, in advance of the meeting between President Suharto and President Reagan, The Sydney Morning Herald began to print a series of articles on Indonesia under President Suharto, as did other major newspapers in the region. Indonesia, despite its size, has been a relatively unknown country, partly out of President Suharto's preference for a low-keyed personal image.

One article in The Sydney Morning Herald summarized the available information, much of it already known in Indonesia, about the business activities and possible worth — \$2 billion to \$3 billion, according to some estimates — of President Suharto and his family. Its publication brought what even Indonesians have described as an overreaction from military and some Government officials in Jakarta.

Indonesian newspapers took up the cry of "defamation," but apparently made no attempt at detailed rebuttals. Australia was chided in editorials and comments from Indonesian officials for a failure to understand the country or take its culture into account.

According to reports reaching Australia, the Indonesian Army newspaper, Angkatan Bersejata, openly accused the Australians of racism.

It wrote, "As a nation descended from the white race, Australians have a certain social attitude toward Southeast Asian people which we take as arrogance, conceit and a delusion of their ability to lead."

THE NEW YORK TIMES, MONDAY, APRIL 28, 1986