VILLAGE VOICE

VOICE MAY 15, 1978

PRESS CLIPS

By Alexander Cockburn

A Better Class of Thumbscrew

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April 26, 1978

29,000 Indonesians, Held as Reds, Are Being Freed After Testing

By HENRY KAMM
Special to The New York Times

JAKARTA, Indonesia — "We already knew that they all are Communists," said the major general who administered psychological tests to 29,000 political prisoners in 1976. "The tests were only to determine the degree of their Communist inclination?"

General Sumitro, who studied psychology at the universities of Leyden in the Netherlands and Freiburg in West Germany, declined to disclose the results of the tests. He referred the questioner to Admiral Sudomo, chief of internal security, who two days earlier had referred the questioner to General Sumitro.

Admiral Sudomo said he had ordered the tests to be given before the gradual release of the prisoners, the last of tens of thousands who were rounded up after a 1965 coup attempt. Ten thousand of them were freed last December, the admiral said, with the 19,000 others to be released by the end of next year.

He declared that all prisoners would be freed, regardless of their test scores, but that an inadequate score would subject the prisoner to greater supervision after his release. General Sumitro suggested, however, that performance on the test helped determine the order in which prisoners might be freed.

Asked whether those who fell into the "diehard" Communist category would have sufficiently reformed by the time of their release so that they would not constitute a risk, the general said:

"I cannot predict what they will be in 1979. 'I feel that there is some security risk, because Communism is a latent risk for our nation. I advise that control over them must be strict. The community must help control them. The community must control their attitude."

General Sumitro said community leaders would be told on a prisoner's return to his home that he was "a diehard Communist" and would have to be controlled "so he will not commit errors."

He declined to be specific on how the control would operate, but added: "We Indonesians have very deep feelings. It is easy to forgive others for their wrong deeds. From this basic feeling we hope the prisoners will also have good feelings."

Explaining the testing procedure that he devised, General Sumitro said five tests had been administered by a specially trained group of 200 assistants.

First came a basic intelligence test. Two others were tests not especially devised for Indonesia, including an American test, the Edwards Personal Preference Schedule. Its application to Indonesia's political prisoners, the general said, was to test the firmness of their convictions and motivation and their capacity to influence others.

"It shows us if they are good fighters," General Sumitro said. "If their score is high, that's bad for us."

The other test was on political attitudes designed by Hans Jurgen Eysenck, the British psychologist. The degree of intensity with which Communist sentiments were held was scored on a scale ranging from "tough-minded" to "tenderness."

The two final tests were "thematic differentiation" tests especially devised for Indonesian conditions. General Sumitro declined to disclose what questions were asked.

He said the test scores were fed into a computer and supplemented with interrogation files and observations recorded about prisoners during their detention. This determined a classification into one of four classes, ranging from "diehard" through "not so hard," an even lower degree and, finally, category "zero."

General Sumitro said testing of a control group had shown that the results were 80 percent accurate. Admiral Sudomo disclosed that he had ordered the psychological testing after he had inquired from the Central Intelligence Agency whether it had "some equipment" to detect Communists and was told it had none.

SUNDAY MAY 7, 1978
NEW YORK TIMES

Mondale Lauds Indonesia For Freeing Prisoners

JAKARTA, Indonesia, May 6 (AP)— Vice President Mondale met with President Suharto today and said recent Indonesian actions on human rights had received a "very favorable reaction" in the United States.

After the two-hour private meeting, Mr. Mondale told reporters his discussion with Mr. Suharto had focused on Indonesia's release of 10,000 political prisoners last December and its pledge to free 9,000 more by 1978. Most were seized after an abortive pro-Communist coup in 1965, but by official count about 200 were imprisoned this year.

None of the 19,000 detainees has been given a trial.

The subject of human rights had been considered the touchiest issue likely to come up during Mr. Mondale's 40-hour visit here, the third stop on his Southeast Asian tour. The Vice President said he and Mr. Suharto "reviewed the importance the American people attach to this issue."

Amnesty International, the London-based human rights group, has criticized the Indonesian Government for long-term mass detentions and has charged that it abuses its prisoners.

JAKARTA, Indonesia, May 6 (Reuters) —The United States and Indonesia today signed a $30 million loan agreement to help finance a rural electrification program.

Freed Indonesian Prisoner Goes Home To Find His Wife Remarried, No Job

By Barry Newman
Staff Reporter of The Wall Street Journal

JAKARTA—For 12 years, uncharged and untried, Tatang was a political prisoner of the Indonesian government. In December, he was given two shirts, two pairs of trousers, a pair of shoes, a small travel bag, and his freedom.

His release and that of 10,000 others registered positively on Washington's human-rights meter. During his recent visit here, Vice President Walter Mondale told Indonesian President Suharto of America's "favorable reaction."

But for Mr. Tatang, the homecoming was less than triumphant. The Indonesian government didn't give him any money. He doesn't have a job, and his chances of finding one are slim. His years in confinement left him with "bad lungs" and a painful case of rheumatism.

When he arrived at his tiny home in one of Jakarta's cramped villages, he discovered that his wife had long ago married someone else.

Today he sits with his friend Sukatma in an airless room at the Council of Churches, seeking a few cents for bus fare. Mr. Tatang is 46 years old; Mr. Sukatma is 60. Both are small and dark-skinned. They wear velvet Indonesian caps and dingy white shirts with ball-point pens in their breast pockets, befitting their former status as oil-company clerks.

Mr. Tatang and Mr. Sukatma have spent nine of the past 12 years on the prison island of Buru. There, Mr. Sukatma also developed "bad lungs." He clutches a handkerchief and turns away every few minutes to cough convulsively. When they were healthy, the two were able to work the fields on Buru and grow rice. If they were healthy again and could keep their freedom, neither would object at this point to going back.

"It is better," Mr. Sukatma says, "than being destitute in Jakarta."

Freedom and Tribulation

The release of political prisoners is the cornerstone of America's much-talked-of human rights campaign, but for Mr. Tatang and Mr. Sukatma, freedom has meant only another round of tribulations. Like many newly released prisoners here, they have been greeted not by rejoicing but by suspicion resulting from government rhetoric that for years sought to justify their detention. Old and ill, many have returned to find their homes broken and their pensions wiped out. In a poor society where welfare is unheard of, they now are among the poorest.

If Mr. Tatang and Mr. Sukatma harbor a trace of bitterness they keep it prudently concealed. They are simply men glad to be free.

"It came as a surprise," Mr. Sukatma says. "I thought I would die on Buru."

"It was just my luck," says Mr. Tatang of his long incarceration. "I'm not angry. I accept it."

Both were swept up with hundreds of thousands of others in the months after the unsuccessful Communist coup of late 1965. (In a sense they are indeed fortunate; at least as many were murdered.) More than a decade later, the government still held at least 30,000. But, possibly in response to outside prodding, it released a first batch in December and promises to release most of the remaining 20,000 by the end of next year.

Like all the others, Mr. Tatang and Mr. Sukatma were thought to have Communist connections. "We were members of a labor union," Mr. Tatang says. "It was supposed to be a front. I didn't know. To me it was just a union." They were fired, and shortly afterward they were arrested. "They told me I was 'implicated' in the coup," Mr. Tatang says. "They never told me what they thought I did."

For more than three years, they were kept in a Jakarta jail, and in 1969 they were shipped to Buru. That was the last either man saw of his family. Then for eight years, the two former clerks became subsistence farmers. "There was enough food," says Mr. Tatang, who is still a devout Moslem, "but it was spiritually hurtful. My thoughts were always in Java."

In December, Mr. Tatang and Mr. Sukatma returned. They were among the first 1,500 prisoners taken by ship to Java and then by train to their old home, Jakarta. "We were escorted," Mr. Tatang says, "not guarded. They took me to my village and turned me over to the village chief. He took me to my front door, and I was free.

"I cried and hugged everybody," he goes on. "Three hours later, my wife came. She told me she had married again and said, 'Forgive me.' I did."

Mr. Tatang and his wife had four children; now she has five more. With the four that are his, Mr. Tatang has moved next door, into the one-room shack occupied by his aged mother. Being so near his former wife is painful, but his 19-year-old son has a job, so at least there is rice.

A Better Homecoming

Mr. Sukatma's homecoming was better. He found his 50-year-old wife and 16-year-old daughter still waiting. His daughter is going to sewing school, and his wife has been supporting her by taking in laundry. In a good month, she can make the equivalent of $25. With another mouth to feed, of course, things are more difficult. "We eat simply," Mr. Sukatma says.

"It's hard for someone who was never a prisoner to find work," he says, "let alone someone like me." A relative tried to get him a position at a bus company, but Mr. Sukatma was rejected. He tried for a job in the Jakarta city government and was rejected again. He is too old, Mr. Sukatma says, and "people are afraid."

Mr. Tatang hasn't gathered the will to search for work. "I'm sick," he says. "My arms hurt." In 1976, a Jakarta flood washed away his primary-school certificate and all evidence of his former employment. "I have no letters, no degrees, no documents," he says. His aim is to open a cigaret stand—"the kind you wheel at the side of the road"—but that requires $250 in capital, and nobody is offering to supply it.

"There are men in my village who were never arrested," Tatang says. "They have homes. They have pots and pans. Some of them have pensions. My life could have been stable. I could have had a pension, too."

Mondale Trip: Reassurance for Asian Allies

He Tells Skeptical Leaders U.S. Will Play a Role in Post-Vietnam Era

By TERENCE SMITH
Special to The New York Times

CANBERRA, Australia, May 7—The irony was unintended, but Vice President Mondale's arrival in Manila last week on the first stop of his current five-nation tour of Southeast Asia and the Pacific coincided exactly with the third anniversary of the fall of Saigon.

News Analysis

Mr. Mondale made no public mention of the anniversary, but nonetheless, it served to underline the central purpose of this 28,000-mile, 12-day journey.

In the talks in the Philippines, Thailand and Indonesia, which he left this morning enroute here for talks with Australian leaders, the Vice President has been stressing that the United States intends to remain actively involved in he major strategic, political and economic problems confronting this part of the world.

Despite the trauma of Vietnam, he has been saying, despite the low profile Washington has maintained in the region for the last three years, the United States still has a role to play. What is more, he has been telling the skeptical Asian leaders, Washington still has the will and wherewithal to play that role effectively.

From all appearances, the message has been welcomed in the three capitals he has visited so far. All three nations, but especially Thailand, are still trying to adjust to the consequences of the end of the war and the withdrawal of American forces from the region. All three have reopened diplomatic contacts with Peking and Hanoi since the war, but they remain nervous about the future.

Soviet Penetration Feared

Specifically, they are concerned that any wholesale American abandonment of the area could create a vacuum that would invite Soviet penetration and intensified Soviet-Chinese competition for influence among the Southeast Asian nations.

In addition, the Thais are genuinely concerned about the volatile situation in Indochina. They believe that the fighting between Vietnam and Cambodia and the tension between Vietnam and China both pose a long-term threat to Thailand.

In view of the bitter aftertaste in the United States stemming from the Vietnam experience, none of the Southeast Asian leaders entertains any illusions about American forces returning to the area. Nor has Mr. Mondale encouraged them to believe that this might happen.

Instead, the Asian leaders are looking for another kind of American role. They hope that the United States will maintain its military forces in the Western Pacific, which currently total some 140,000 soldiers, sailors and airmen, continue to be a reliable supplier of military equipment and help prop up the economy of the region by keeping American markets open to Asian products.

Given the Carter Administration's decisions to withdraw ground combat forces from South Korea and reduce foreign military sales, plus the tendency in Congress to provide more tariff protection for American industry, they had good reason to be concerned on all three counts. They are also aware that America's foreign policy focus is elsewhere these days, in Europe, the Middle East and Africa. Mr. Mondale was able to provide the leaders he met with some reassurance on all these issues, though it is doubtful that he relieved any of the fears entirely.

Commitment on Arms Sales

In Thailand and Indonesia, for example, he formally committed the United States to sell each country replacement aircraft: a squadron of F-5's for Thailand and a squadron of A-4's for Indonesia. In the Philippines, he offered some concessions in the continuing negotiations over the huge American bases there, negotiations that eventually will involve significant amounts of military assistance for the Philippine armed forces. The Vice President also said that American strategic strength in the Western Pacific will be maintained at its present level.

On trade issues, Mr. Mondale had specific improvements to offer in each country, all designed to encourage trade and foster American investment. This aspect was central in the talks in Indonesia, where the Government of President Suharto is convinced that the strategic security of Southeast Asia is tied more to its economic health than the size of its arsenal of tanks and planes.

At each of the stops so far, Mr. Mondale has dealt at length with the sensitive and diplomatically delicate issue of human rights. In his talks with President Ferdinand E. Marcos of the Philippines he read off a long list of alleged violations, including political arrests, torture and rigged elections. With Prime Minister Kriangsak Chamanand of Thailand, he urged more compassionate treatment of the thousands of Indochinese refugees who continue to flow into that country every month. With President Suharto, the issue was the continued detention of about 20,000 political prisoners. At all three stops, the Vice PPresident made a point of meeting with non-Government figures, many of them vocally opposed o the existing regimes.

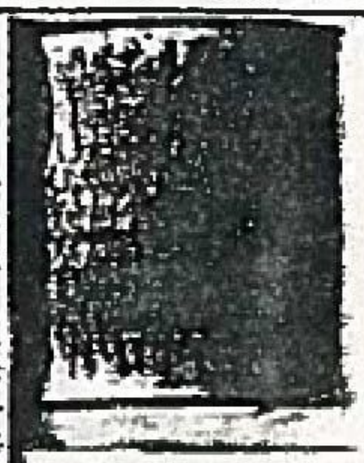
Human Rights Issue

Mr. Mondale and his aides feel strongly that they have proved that it is possible to raise the human rights question with foreign leaders in a constructive and non-threatening way.

"The opponents of the human rights policy argue that we jeopardize other larger interests when we raise the issue," one Vice Presidential aide observed. "In the Philippines, for instance, they argued that we would endanger the base negotiations. Instead, Marcos listened patiently to what we had to say. Obviously his perceptions are different from ours. But there were no explosions, no temper tantrums."

In fact, Mr. Marcos discussed the allegations publicly in a televised news conference with the foreign press accompanying Mr. Mondale. Then, the next day at a ceremony commemorating the fall of Corregidor, he turned to Mr. Mondale and said: "As you end this visit, I hope you will reach out and understand and sympathize with our weaknesses as a people."

Mondale Outlines a 'New Agenda' for U.S. in Pacific



By TERENCE SMITH
Special to The New York Times

HONOLULU, May 10—Vice President Mondale, en route home from a 12-day tour of Southeast Asia and the Pacific, today outlined a "new agenda" for American involvement in the Pacific in the post-Vietnam era.

Addressing some 600 people at the East-West Center of the University of Hawaii, the Vice President called for an active American diplomacy "less colored by past traumas" and based on the Carter Administration's "new foreign policy concerns—human rights and restraints on arms transfers."

The new agenda, he said, includes "assuring adequate food supplies for Asia's growing population, solving trade and commodity problems, developing alternative sources of energy, promoting patterns of regional cooperation and reconciliation and encouraging the wider observance of human rights."

U.S. to Be Host for Parley

All these goals should be pursued, the Vice President said, in addition to the traditional security alliances, which he promised the United States would maintain.

As a symbol of reviving American interest in the area, Mr. Mondale announced that the United States would play host this summer in Washington to a special ministerial meeting of the five-nation Association of Southeast Asian Nations.

He also confirmed plans for joint naval exercises with Australia off that nation's western coast in the near future. Although Mr. Mondale did not say so, his high-level announcement of the exercises seemed intended as a signal to the Soviet Union of American determination to remain active in the Indian Ocean area, despite the current talks with Moscow on limiting the overall size of naval forces there.

Mr. Mondale's 40-minute speech contained no new American initiatives; rather it constituted an attempt to define the Administration's policy toward the area and summarize his own tour, which included stops in the Philippines, Thailand, Indonesia, Australia and New Zealand.

Area Cited 'Relatively Tranquil'

The Vice President and his party flew here overnight from Wellington, New Zealand, with only a brief refuelling stop in Pago Pago, American Samoa. Fatigue brought on by the long flight and a gruelling schedule over the last two weeks was evident in Mr. Mondale's face as he spoke, but his report on his talks in Southeast Asia was distinctly hopeful.

Describing Southeast Asia today as "relatively tranquil" compared with the situation of the last decade, Mr. Mondale said: "Old ideological struggles have lost their force, nationalism has triumphed over competing ideologies and the most intense regional rivalries now pit Communist nations against each other."

Nonetheless, he said, "Vietnamese ambitions in the area remain unclair," and the current border fighting between Vietnam and Cambodia has raised "serious and legitimate security concerns" in Thailand and other allied nations of the area.

None of these countries is seeking direct American military involvement, Mr. Mondale said, "but they do want us to sustain a military presence to prove as a deterrent and a source of psychological reassurance."

The two dark notes in Mr. Mondale's report on the region dealt with the plight of Indochinese refugees and the situation in Cambodia under the harsh new regime there. He said his trip had convinced him "that we and others have underestimated the magnitude of the refugee problem" and that the flow of refugees from Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam was "rapidly increasing."

"We have little leverage with which to effect the harsh, brutal nature of the regime in Cambodia," Mr. Mondale said, "but we will try to focus the world's attention on the horror of what is happening there."

SUNDAY, APRIL 23, 1978

INDONESIA IS KEEPING A TIGHT REIN ON PRESS

Top Papers Allowed to Publish After Pledging Not to Print Reports on Regime's Foes

By HENRY KAMM
Special to The New York Times

JAKARTA, Indonesia—"I am not a defender of the free press," said the new Indonesian Minister.

"The Western press considers itself a free press," he continued. "The press of the developing countries is free but must also be responsible. Our society is not strong enough."

Gen. Ali Murtopo, who came to the Information Ministry last month after long periods in military intelligence and political troubleshooting for President Suharto, was explaining in an interview why seven of Indonesia's leading newspapers were closed by the Government in January and were allowed to reopen only after each editor signed a pledge to accept the Government's concept of "responsibility."

"When they closed the newspapers, I protested," said Vice President Adam Malik, a former journalist and co-founder of Antara, the Government press agency. "But they had already received a warning to stay within their limits. The limit is not to make the situation very excited.

"They dream we have a free press. The Government had no alternative but to close them. They made wrong news."

Student Protest Movement Reported

The "wrong news," as a number of top Government and military officials depicted it, was the reporting by the seven newspapers of the student protest movement, which demanded that Mr. Suharto refrain from asking re-election to a third five-year term. He was re-elected, without an opposition candidate, last month.

Specifically, the officials who were interviewed alleged only that the press had exaggerated the number of students who participated in demonstrations. Newspaper editors deny this.

To be allowed to resume publication, the editors had to sign individual pledges not to print accounts of student political activities and to refrain from reporting statements by a number of political opponents of the regime, civilian as well as military.

Both the information minister and Adm. Sudomo, chief of internal security, said that now that the Government was back in place, the press was again free to report student activities. With perhaps as many as 150 of about 800 students who were arrested still being held in prison without charges, student politics have been reduced to a whisper.

Case of High Military Officer Cited

Asked whether the editors were also now freed from their pledges not to report statements by opposition figures, Admiral Sudomo said, citing the case of Gen. Abdul Haris Nasution, the former defense minister, who recently voiced criticism: "I don't think he would dare make statements again. He is still a member of the armed forces, but without a job, and is still under military discipline."

As for civilians, Admiral Sudomo said that they were free to speak and the newspapers free to print what they said. Responsible journalists who were asked about this laughed incredulously and said they had not been informed.

For his part, the information minister professed not to know that pledges had been exacted from the seven editors. This, too, caused journalists to laugh, but without joy.

"That's a lie, of course," a publisher said.

Journalists and those no longer free to work in the profession depicted a system of Government restraints on freedom of publishing that combined elements of enforced self-censorship with more direct pressures.

"In the early days, Sudomo called editors himself many times to say this or that has happened and to warn against publishing it," said a journalist who has had the experience. "It started with Sudomo—it ended up with any other military authority doing the same thing. Too many authorities think they are entitled to regulate the press."

Effort for Better Harmony Pledged

General Murtopo said that as information minister he would make the Press Council, a group consisting of himself, publishers, editors and other journalists, into a functioning body that would strive to create harmony between the Government and the press.

An editor suggested bitterly that the council should legally have been consulted before the seven newspapers were closed. At that moment, he said, the Government did not find it necessary to undertake such consultations.

Many journalists expressed disappointment not only at the ease with which the Government had succeeded in taking all political sting out of a press that had gradually become Southeast Asia's liveliest, but also by the silence with which the press of the world reacted.

Even if foreign newspapers had criticized the action, it would not have come to the attention of Indonesian readers. Distributors of foreign publications voluntarily black out any articles that they fear might cause them trouble with the Government.

Foreign reporting of this year's political unrest was limited by the fact that the Government held up visa requests by correspondents until President Suharto had been reinstalled in office.

A general now occupying a leading economic post opened an interview by asking the correspondent what he thought of the Indonesian press today. He cut short the reply by answering his own question. "Boring," he said. "Very boring."

INDONESIA'S LEADER NAMES NEW CABINET

Crisis Seems Ended, but Situation That Provoked Protests May Pose Problem for Suharto

April 1, 1978

By HENRY KAMM
Special to The New York Times

JAKARTA, Indonesia, March 30—President Suharto, unanimously re-elected to a third five-year term last week, installed a new Cabinet Wednesday, apparently ending the political crisis that has gripped Southeast Asia's largest nation for several months.

But Indonesian and diplomatic observers, while acknowledging the victory of Mr. Suharto, a 56-year-old former general, assert that the problems that provoked the crisis continue unabated, and indicate that he will have a difficult term.

The new Cabinet's makeup underscores the fact that the President's power base is still the military. The Cabinet contains 11 generals, up from 5 in the last one. And the two parties that held one seat each in the last Cabinet were eliminated in the new body, which consists of the military, the President's own Golkar group and technical experts in key economic posts.

The losers were the two elements that had criticized the Government most strongly in the months since Indonesia's last parliamentary election in May 1977. These were the activist university and high school students, who demanded that the President step down, and the Moslem Development Unity Party. This group opposed Mr. Suharto's insistence on giving formal recognition in this chiefly Moslem country to widespread mystical practices that take place principally in Java and Bali.

Student opposition was based on what was seen as Mr. Suharto's failure to combat corruption, the questionable business activities of his family, the slow pace of development, particularly in the rural sector, and the failure to narrow the vast gap between rich and poor in this nation of about 130 million.

Although it was chiefly the students who brought these issues into the open, their feelings are assumed to be shared by most educated citizens, including many public servants. Student protests began last October, and after several warnings from the army, degenerated into clashes in Java's cities earlier this year. Several hundred activists were arrested, of whom about 400, according to a source close to the Government, remain in prison.

Seven newspapers, including those considered most responsible, were shut down for two weeks for reporting student activities and were allowed to reopen only after their editors promised to exercise self-censorship, a concession that has left Southeast Asia's most outspoken press blandly unpolitical.

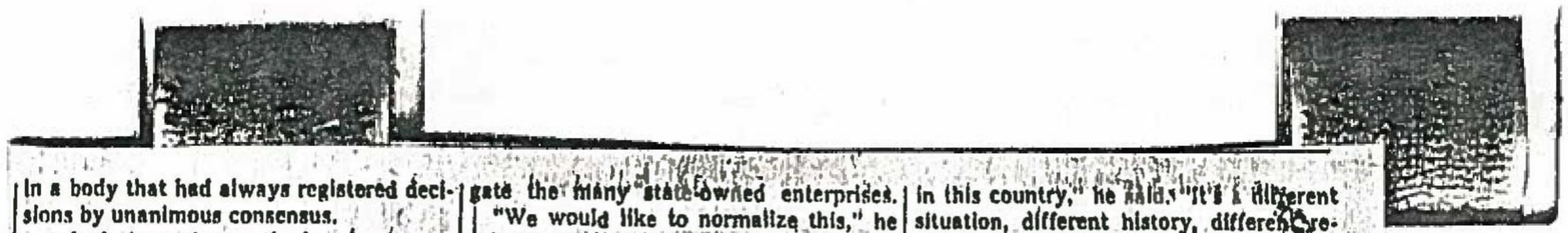
The People's Consultative Assembly, a largely appointed body, met last week to elect Indonesia's President and Vice President. At this session the Development Unity Party, the Moslem grouping, for the first time broke with the tradition of making all decisions by consensus, and forced votes on the issue of recognizing the mystical sects. But with only 130 members in a 920-member body, it could hope only to publicize its point of view.

Moslem groups cover a wide political spectrum, and have in common only the desire to introduce more Islamic laws on such matters as marriage, divorce, education and inheritance. President Suharto's religious beliefs, like those of many Javanese, include mystic elements alien to the Moslems.

After their opposition on the religious issue the Moslems returned to consensus by supporting the President's re-election, but Mr. Suharto nevertheless dropped their party from his Cabinet. A source in Parliament said, however, that the Moslems were to be given the body's speakership.

One event during the Assembly session may presage a third potent source of opposition to Mr. Suharto. The Vice President, the highly respected Sultan Hamengku Buwono IX of Jogjakarta, announced that he would not accept re-election, declaring that not only poor health but also "my own sense of responsibility" had prompted his decision.

His statement is widely interpreted as indicating sympathy with at least part of the students' criticism. His post was subsequently filled by Adam Malik, the former Foreign Minister.



in a body that had always registered decisions by unanimous consensus.

Asked about the continuing dominance of the military in government and administration, Mr. Malik recalled the important role played by the army in the long struggle against Dutch colonial rule and the putting down of the 1965 pro-Communist coup but added:

"What shall we do? It depends on the situation. If the situation is normal, then they must retire. Maybe not 100 percent; 50 percent. The people would like more civilians."

Corruption Considered Widespread

On the subject of corruption among officials, considered widespread here even by prevailing regional standards, the Vice President said that he would be in charge of the inspectors general of the various ministries and would also investigate the many state-owned enterprises.

"We would like to normalize this," he said. "It's the biggest problem in the country."

Turning to the question of human rights, particularly the continued detention of political opponents without charges, Mr. Malik declared:

"It is difficult because the law still exists. You can call him a subversive and he could go to jail, maybe for 10 years. We must stipulate how long you can keep him without trial."

The Vice President said Parliament would be asked to change the law. He said President Suharto, whose control over Parliament is strong, would endorse such a change and had asked him to raise the issue with the Justice Minister.

Mr. Malik said he had no objection to the raising of the human-rights issue by the United States. "But don't interfere in this country," he said. "It's a different situation, different history, different requirements."

The Vice President said he did not know how many students had been arrested during the protest movement against President Suharto's re-election. He guessed there were about 800, of whom he thought 80 percent had been released.

He said he favored freeing those who had not committed acts of violence. "If they only made speeches on campus, release them," he said. He commented that he received student delegations every day.

"I support them, of course," he continued, "but I tell them: 'Don't violate the law. Don't create chaos in the street.' But the most important thing is to have political ideas."

Mr. Malik did not specify which ideas.

Key Indonesian Sees Peril From Islam Extremists

By HENRY KAMM
Special to The New York Times

JAKARTA, Indonesia, April 15—To Adam Malik, now Indonesia's Vice President after 12 years as Foreign Minister and a short spell as President of Parliament, the principal task facing President Suharto in his third five-year term is to strengthen national unity against "very strong pressure on this society to get a more Islamic state."

"Of course we must prevent this," Mr. Malik declared in an interview in his opulent new office in Merdeka Palace. "It would be the end of the republic."

Although Mr. Malik, who began political life as a Trotskyist, has largely ceased to be the hope of Indonesian liberals within the military-based Government of President Suharto, a former general, his strong concern over right-wing Moslem strength continues to link him to his former political friends. In a nation that is, at least nominally, 90 percent Moslem, it creates a bond between followers and detractors of the regime.

Fear of Moslem Power Voiced

Fear of Islamic extremism, which threatened this nation of 135 million with open rebellions in its formative years, serves as a cement between men like President Suharto, whose Moslem faith is profoundly tinged with pre-Islamic Javanese mysticism, modernist intellectuals like Mr. Malik and outspoken critics of the regime that they head.

"Only the military can keep peace without discrimination," a well-known political opponent said. As a member of an ethnic minority and a Christian, he said he feared Moslem power under a party government. "The military regime is not compatible with democracy," he declared. "On the other hand, we have to support them in our own interest. It is egotistical."

Mr. Suharto provoked a showdown with the principal Moslem party at the People's Representative Assembly that reelected him, running without opposition, last month, by forcing adoption of a resolution extending a measure of recognition to the traditional mystic beliefs. It led for the first time to the taking of a vote

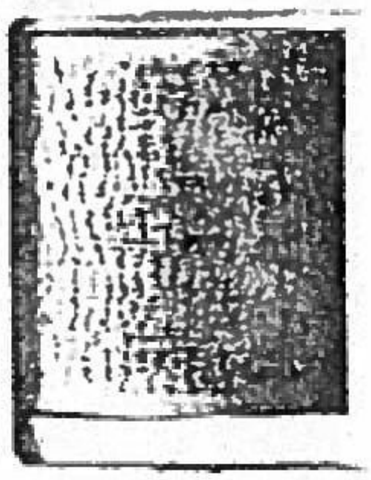
Suharto Does It His Way, Again

However transparent the charade, strongmen like to play the role of "elected" leaders. Last week, it was the turn of Indonesian President Suharto, who was elected, unanimously, to his third five-year term by the specially convened Peoples Congress, packed with pro-Suharto legislators and military officers. The election—like the release earlier this year of several thousand political prisoners locked up, without trial, after a Communist coup misfired in 1965 — had the earmarks of a ritual staged for the benefit of the country's democratic-minded investors and customers abroad.

Adam Malik, a former Foreign Minister, was elected Vice President, also without opposition. He replaces Sultan Hamengku Buwono, whose health is not good and who has been at odds with Mr. Suharto from time to time.

There were a few traces of disagreement in the Congress's proceedings. A Moslem opposition party, unhappy over Government cultural and religious policies, stalked out three times, without effect. And there were complaints from others about the inequity of economic policies followed by the Suharto regime, which is determined to attract foreign capital and to peddle Indonesian wares abroad. But more significantly, on the streets of Jakarta there was definite unease. Helicopters patrolled the city, and heavily armed security officers made 39 arrests after a bomb exploded in a Congress building washroom.

Barbara Slavin,
Michael Wright and
Thomas Butson



Indonesia Trying to Restore Its Relations With China

BY HENRY KAMM
Special to The New York Times

JAKARTA, Indonesia—The nonaligned and insular Indonesians' main concern in foreign policy is to normalize their frozen relations with China while insuring that Peking will not attempt to utilize the overseas Chinese minority to subvert President Suharto's Government.

"This is the hub of the difficulties," said Foreign Minister Mochtar Kusumaatmadja in an interview. "This is the crux. We must talk to them to clarify this."

"If you ask me," said Vice President Adam Malik, who for 12 years was Foreign Minister, "it is psychological. It is a question of security. The overseas Chinese, are they really loyal to you or not? Nobody knows that."

The number of Chinese or Indonesians of Chinese origin is thought to be 3 million in a nation of 135 million. Nearly a million are citizens of mainland China, about 800,000 are stateless and the rest, except for a small number holding Chinese Nationalist passports, are Indonesian citizens.

Great Role in Economic Life

The Foreign Minister said that while the Chinese community did not make up a large proportion of the population, its role in commerce and economic life was great. A diplomat said it was generally estimated that Chinese controlled 80 percent of private capital here. Chinese businessmen are thought to have close financial links in the power structure, which is in the grip of the military.

In the general atmosphere of normalization of relations between Communist and non-Communist countries in Asia since the American withdrawal from Indochina, Jakarta evidently feels that it cannot indefinitely continue the freeze in relations with Peking that set in after the attempted coup in 1965, for which, military men believe, China bore heavy responsibility.

With three of Indonesia's four partners in the Association of Southeast Asian Nations enjoying full diplomatic relations with China and with Indonesia also concerned with reinforcing its image as a founding member of the nonaligned bloc, some improvement in relations between the two countries appears certain. Foreign Minister Mochtar noted that for the first time Indonesia had participated in the last Canton trade fair, and sports officials have attended meetings in China as observers. "This is just a start," he added. Alluding to the fact that at present trade is routed through Hong Kong, he said: "We are exploring the possibility of direct trade links."

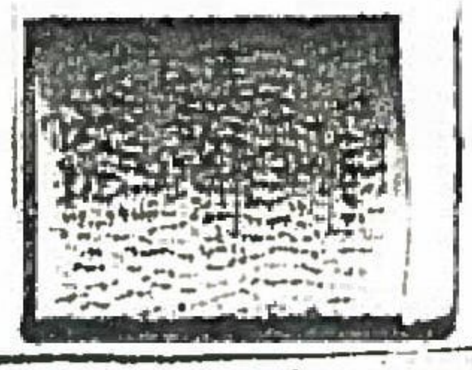
The view high officials present to questioners is that no haste is necessary because, as one said, "China needs relations more than we need them." China, it is said, is anxious to forestall what it sees as Soviet attempts to encircle it. Soviet-Indonesian relations are coolly formal, although the Soviet Embassy is heavily staffed.

Indonesian concern has been stimulated by Chinese statements to the effect that although overseas Chinese should be good citizens of the countries in which they live, Peking considers all Chinese abroad as "kinsmen" with whom it wishes to nurture good relations.

While China is the principal focus of Indonesian thinking on foreign policy, officials, particularly those concerned with military and security matters, are studying with care the growing strength of Vietnam and the aftermath of the Communist victories in Indochina. Jakarta appears reassured by what is considered here a pragmatic attitude in Hanoi, with which the Indonesians maintained a "correct" diplomatic relationship without substance throughout the war. A ranking security official, while stating that he did not see Vietnam as a threat to Indonesian security at present, expressed a hope that the United States would resist Vietnamese demands for large-scale economic aid.

"The United States should proceed gradually toward Vietnam," a senior civilian official said.

The high officials questioned expressed concern over the security situation of Thailand, which is also a member of the Southeast Asian association; the others are Malaysia, the Philippines and Singapore, the last of which also has no diplomatic ties with China. Thailand's problems with Communist insurgents and Cambodian incursions are viewed as indicative of a continuing threat in the region.



had seen many foreign consultants' reports that proposed a greater role for foreign experts than seemed necessary to him.

Some older Indonesian intellectuals believe that the continued presence of foreign experts and technicians is creating attitudes toward Westerners among young Indonesians, who have never been exposed to colonialism, that they recall from their days in the anticolonial struggle.

A faculty dean at the university in Ujung Pandang, the principal city on the island of Sulawesi, told of two large economic teams, one Canadian and one Japanese, that are preparing development programs for the island. He felt that at his university alone there were enough experts who could do the same job with equal skill, deeper knowledge of the land and people and a greater commitment.

'You Don't Have Troubles With Machines'

And a prominent intellectual in Jakarta said, "Foreign aid enfeebles our own will and determination to put order in our own house. We think when we're in trouble our friends abroad will jump in and bail us out."

Discussing development here in general, the intellectual, a noted writer, said: "What has been built serves mainly the needs of the foreign investor and the Government, not the people of Indonesia. With a million every year coming on the labor market, most of the foreign investment in capital is intensive, using machines and not labor. Of course, you don't have the troubles with machines that you might have with workers."

The intellectual, one of Indonesia's most eloquent, spoke bitterly of the technocrats, people he said he, like many otrers, had trusted. But after 12 years in ministerial seats of power, he said, they have become part of the structuro of Mr. Suharto's power.

"They are not really committed to any ideal," he said. "They are not really interested in the well-being of the people. They are indifferent to human rights and the rule of law. They will work for anybody who puts them there."

Ethnic Diversity Poses Challenge for Old Indonesi

City

By HENRY KAMM
Special to The New York Times

UJUNG PANDANG, Indonesia, April 9 — "I am the master of the town, so I can change it," said the mayor of this city when asked why, since 1971, it no longer bears its time-honored name of Macassar.

The Talk of Ujung Pandang

But Col. Muhammad Patompo, the mayor, added that a movement was afoot to restore the name that this capital of the island of Sulawesi, once known as Celebes, bore through its long history and which became fixed in English dictionaries since the days of Queen Victoria in the form of "antimacassar." The embroidered doilies that draped the backs of upholstered seats of many a drawing room and first-class railroad compartment were put there to protect the headrests against the palm oil shipped from this port, which was used to anoint gentlemen's hair.

Major Patompo said he was giving serious consideration to the demands that Ujung Pandang be called Macassar once more because "I have to follow the people's will." Asked to clarify the apparent contradiction over whether he or the town's 700,000 inhabitants were in charge, the colonel did not hesitate.

He stuck athick indexfinger on the part of his stomach that protruded between his bright red shirt and his half-zipped white-trousers and declared, "I am the boss."

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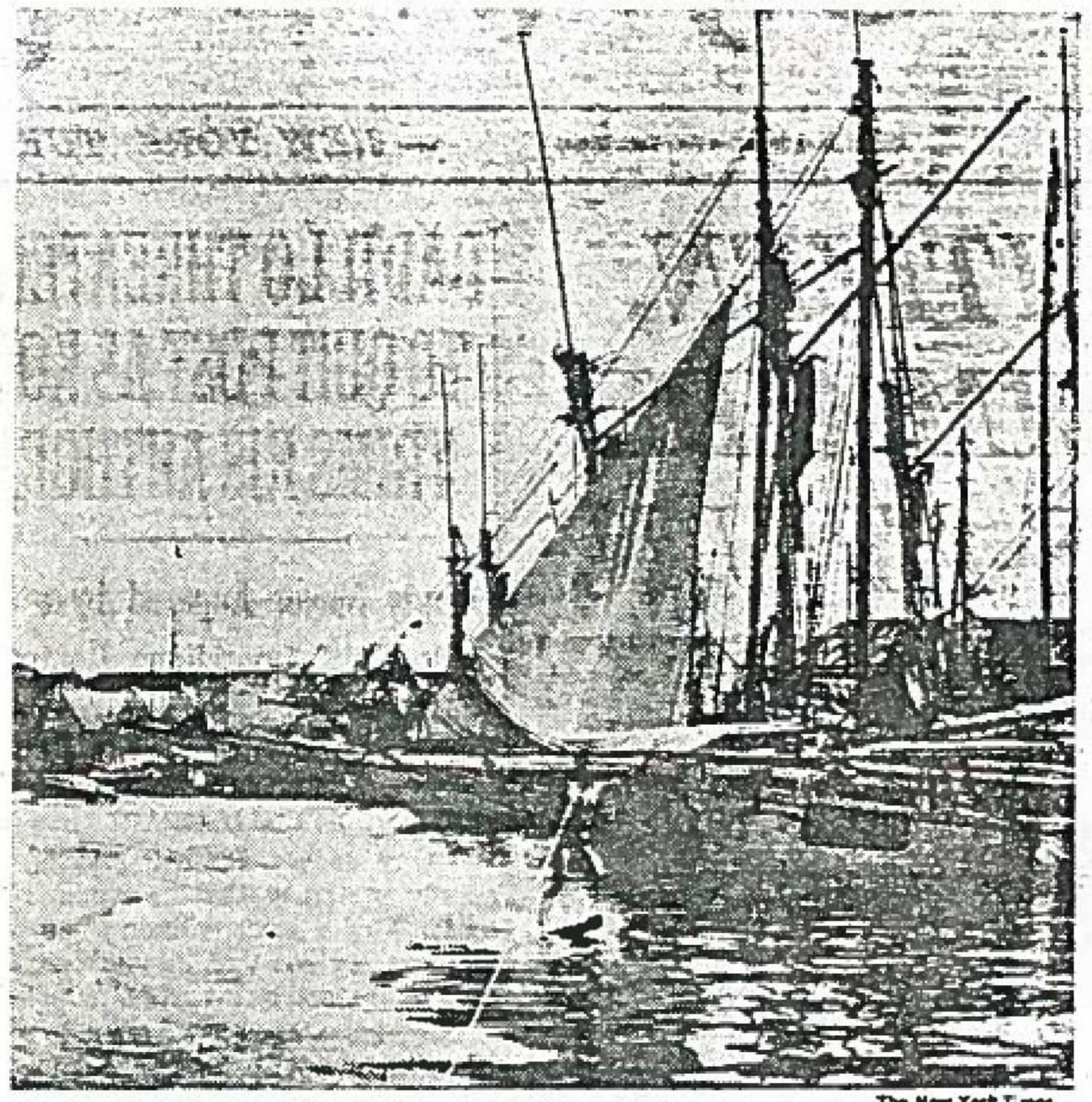
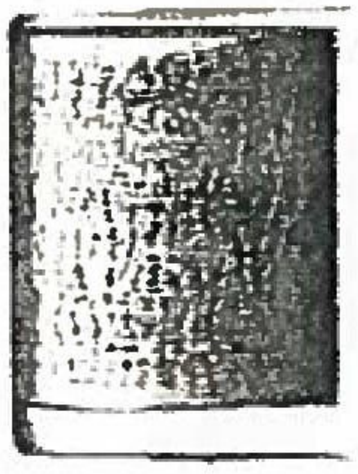
Ujung Pandang is a quiet and orderly city by the standards of the overpopulated and hectic cities of Indonesia. Its main streets are broad and lined with Dutch-style, tiler-oofed houses, huge shade trees and Dutchstyle bicycle paths now used by betjaks, the pedicabs that are the principal means of public transport.

The houses dating to the colonial period, when Macassar was the capital of all the eastern islands of the Dutch East Indies, are well-maintained and whitewashed and serve as residences for the affluent or as government offices. None is more well-maintained than the old Dutch governor's palace, now officially the residence of the governor of South Sulawesi.

Only one of the Indonesian governors has lived in it. In a country where a belief in supernatural forces reaches through to the top of the intellectual, political and economic eitels, the other governors have not been able to put aside the legend that the ghost of a man hanged in colonial days has been haunting the governor's residence in quest of revenge.



The New York Times
A water-skier enjoying himself off the coast of Sulawesi, in Indonesia



Despite Ujung Pandang's comparatively tranquil ambiance, two of the unsetting problems of Indonesia are clearly in evidence. They are ethnic diversity and modernization.

Conversations with a wide range of inhabitants invariably are filled with references to ethnic origins and differences. Whatever the ethnic antecedents of people here, they tend to share nega-e tive feelings toward the Chinese, whose strong economic position and general drive and hustle are suspect.

"All the successful shops and all the big business here belong to the Chinese," a student said. "Unless they be long to a military officer," he added in an afterthought.

"Sure, the Chinese here control business," said a Singapore Chinese businessman. "But they all have to use an Ali' to do it for them. And to do business here means that the Ali' spends 10 to 20 percent of the money to pay his friends in the government. And a lot of what they pay to the Indonesians and a lot of what the Chinese make doesn't come to Indonesia. It goes into accounts in Singapore, Hong Kong and maybe Switzerland."

An 'Ali,' in this largely Moslem nation, is an Indonesian front man who arranges matters that Chinese are barred by law from participating in. Some of the earnings of the Chinese also go to educate their children abroad, because Indonesia closed schools in the Chinese language in the 1960's.

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The dean of one of the schools of Hasanuddin University here, eastern Indonesia's largest, explained carefully why the university limits the number of Chinese students to about one-tenth of the student body of about 8,000, even if those rejected have done better in their entrance examinations than others who are accepted.

"It's not only that too many Chinese would enter," the dean said. "Remember that 9 out of 10 of the Chinese who start their university education get degrees. Maybe not even half of the Indonesians here graduate."

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When Buginese and Macassarese, the two principal ethnic groups of the city, are not joining in condemning the Chinese, they often make critical remarks about each other. Each calls the other more hot-blooded and quick to seek a fight. Buginese say that all Macassarese carry knives; Macassarese proclaim the reverse to be true.

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"We're not really accepted," said a Javanese woman of the upper class. "We're still the outsiders." Javanese—about 80 million out of the 135 million Indonesians—tend to be resented by people of the outer islands when they are sent by the Government and the head offices of major businesses in Jakarta to take leading positions.

But the woman had kind words for the men of Sulawesi. "The men here are more manly," she said. "Java is a matriarchal society, and the men tend to leave decisions to the women.

"But maybe these people go a little too far. A Buginese boy told my son in school that his father should be ashamed of himself letting me take a job. 'Can't your father provide for his family?' he said to my son."

The men here may be becoming too manly, a Canadian woman working in Ujung Pandang remarked. Despite the general safety in town—doors of parked cars are left unlocked—she is afraid to leave her house alone at night.

"They have seen so many foreign movies, the men here seem to think that Western women think only of THAT," she said. "And they get very physical about it."

This aspect of modernism, exemplified in the minds of many persons of middle age here by motorcycles and rock music, brings on much melancholy discussion of old values lost. "Sons don't come to visit their parents every evening, just to talk for a while, as I used to," an economist said. "Now everyone is too busy."

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A longtime foreign resident said that the great variety of ethnic cultures centering on Macassar was disappearing, as traditional costumes are exchanged for Western clothes and traditional rites and festivals withdraw to the villages. "Young people here are in a period of uncertainty and try to be modern in what they think is the international way," he said.

The abandoning of traditions in favor of a faceless international style that people hope is modern is evident in much that is new. Pompous but banal public buildings have risen that clash with the Indonesian, Dutch or Dutch-Indonesian houses that adjoin.

In a country of flowers in profusion, the flowers that adorn every room and dining table at the leading hotel are of plastic, complete with plastic butterflies sipping at the blooms. In an area of beautiful hardwoods, plastic furnishings and formica tables and chairs furnish the restaurants.

The rich musical tradition of Indonesia is absent from the two loudspeaker systems that function from early morning to late at night on every floor of the hotel's two buildings, providing two continuous programs of the loudest rock music. The sounds from the two systems clash in the calm interior courtyard, where they are joined by the noise of the lobby television set.

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Another pervasive characteristic of Indonesia is fully visible in Ujung Pandang, more so than in Jakarta, where pedicabs have been forced off the streets by the major's order and by an enormous increase in automobile traffic.

Young men continue to flock into the city from the countryside, lured by the cash economy, and consider themselves fortunate to rent a betjak at 75 cents a day to gross, on a good day, about $2.40 in the 12-hour rental period. Their country origin is betrayed by their unfamiliarity with the city and their shyness about revealing it.

In their embarrassment, they often continue to pedal straight ahead until told to turn by their passenger. This has caused many visitors equally unfamiliar with the city but trusting in the driver's knowledge to go a long way in the wrong direction until both confess their ignorance.

Indonesia's Student Protesters Emphasize Their Loyalty

By HENRY KAMM
Special to The New York Times

BANDUNG, Indonesia, April 2—With its 24 institutions of higher learning, this city 110 miles east of Jakarta is Indonesia's principal academic center. To hear the Government of President Suharto and its supporters tell it, Bandung is also the principal center of radical opposition and a cause of nationwide unrest.

It was here last January that students publicly demanded that President Suharto not seek re-election. The call led to weeks of protests, arrests of several hundred students, the brief occupation of some campuses by the military and the continued occupation of the campus of the Bandung Technological Institute, Indonesia's leading technical school.

For reporting the student actions, seven Jakarta newspapers, including Indonesia's most serious dailies, were closed for two weeks and were allowed to resume publication only after their editors had signed a pledge that has emasculated their political coverage.

But now that Mr. Suharto has been re-elected, this city of more than 1.5 million has resumed its normal life. Whatever politics there is in Bandung, on or off campus, is largely below the staid surface.

The technological institute's students and faculty are proud of their school's tradition as Indonesia's leading center of student activism, going back to the student days of the late President Sukarno. But with 10 to 15 fellow students still under arrest in the military police barracks, although not charged, an activist student said today:

United Press International

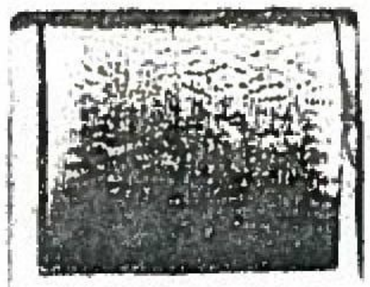
Soldiers entering the University of Indonesia last month to remove posters put up by dissident students

"We accept the fact that the President is elected and accept that he will be our President for five more years. We hope he will hear our voices and make some changes."

There was agreement from the others in a group of about a dozen gathered at random in a room just off campus. One said:

"Although we criticize our Government, we still see them as our Government, and we are still proud of them."

The students and a number of faculty members interviewed separately are aware of the difference between student protesters here and their counterparts not only in the West but also elsewhere in Southeast Asia. They explain the contrast by underlining Indonesia's, and especially Java's, soft ways and reluctance to bring on harsh confrontation.



dar Alisyahbana, was dismissed by the Government on Feb. 16. A few days later, at about 3 A.M., a mysterious burst of automatic rifle fire struck the rector's house, including his children's room, but caused no injuries.

Students Refuse to Register

With 200 troops remaining on the campus, the students almost unanimously refused to register for the semester starting tomorrow. But yesterday, on the last day of late registration, troops were reduced to 100, and the bulk of the student body, following the appeal of their leadership to withhold registration until the last day, rushed to sign up.

The few who did not sign up yesterday are expected to tomorow, and university authorities, according to the new rector, Soedjana Sapiie, will wink at the missed deadline.

One student said today that he would enter the campus tomorow but would not attend lectures until April 16, when the last troops are to be withdrawn.

The campus was an idyllic scene today, with soldiers staying discreetly out of sight and the town's children enjoying pony rides on the tree-lined streets. In dormitories, students were drawing the balance sheet of their political action.

Pooling their knowledge of English and choosing their words carefully, the group said that now that President Suharto had been re-elected, they had a threefold plan. They said they would constructively criticize policies with which they disagreed, they would try to influence the people of Indonesia by doing constructive work among them, particularly as agricultural volunteers, and third and most typically Indonesian, they would "correct our personal performance in student activity."

Similarly, the military commanders who occupied the campuses apologized to the school authorities for anything that may have been wrong with their troops' actions.

The institute students said they planned soon to follow their "white book" with a "blue book" that would propose alternative policies for Indonesia.

"Some, only a few, still want the President to resign," one of the group said.

"But the Government wants to arrest them, so you can't contact them."

Agreement on Overreaction

In view of the student attitudes, there is agreement among political observers and faculty and university administration members, including Government appointees in top posts, that the Government overreacted badly in sending the army onto the campuses here and in Jakarta and Jogjakarta.

Because the Government would not let foreign correspondents visit Indonesia when the student agitation began, events had to be reconstructed in interviews.

In January, students at the technological institute published a mimeographed "white book" that summed up familiar, long-standing complaints against the Suharto regime. They centered on the spread of official corruption, abuse of power and the slow pace and uneven spread of development in this nation of 130 million, the world's fifth most populous.

The white book concluded that President Suharto should not seek a third term. The students displayed the high points of the white book on large posters on the campus.

Five days later, after the news of the rare public political protest had spread around the country, the Government declared the white book an illegal document and arrested three student leaders. A student protest strike, almost universally followed by the technological institute's 7,400 students, began on Jan. 28.

Early on Feb. 1, the army occupied the institute's campus and a number of others in Bandung. They arrested an unspecified number of students but met no resistance as they tore down political posters. The soldiers left the next day.

Feeling that they had won, the institute's students heightened the pace of their political meetings on campus until the army returned on Feb. 9. Students who counted the trucks that brought the soldiers estimate that 2,500 troops, bayonets on their rifles, invaded the campus. Eight or nine students were hurt, one seriously, in scuffling, but there was no real resistance.

The rector of the institute, Prof. Iskan-

Indonesia's Oil Fails to Wash Away the Blight of Poverty

By HENRY KAMM
Special to The New York Times

JAKARTA, Indonesia, April 15—Concrete office towers and imposing Government buildings have sprung up in this boom-town capital and in other cities of Indonesia. Mercedes-Benz automobiles are commonplace, and the initials of Pierre Cardin are worn like a badge of new riches by sleek men and women in public places.

But Indonesia is again expected to fall short, this year by 2.7 million tons, in production of rice, the country's staff of life. This means it will have to spend about a quarter of its foreign earnings from petroleum, the principal export, to buy rice abroad. Indonesia is the world's leading rice importer.

A recent study by a group of health and population experts, an Indonesian and two Americans, estimated that infant mortality on the island of Java, where more than 80 million of Indonesia's 135 million people live, was between 130 and 144 per 1,000, which is 30 to 40 times higher than in the West. The scientists estimated that one-fifth of the children born in Java do not reach 5 years of age.

Dr. Sjachroel Malasan, nutrition director at the Health Ministry, has estimated that 60 percent of Indonesia's population is malnourished. The daily per-capita protein intake is estimated at less than the minimum 40 grams set by the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization. Average daily protein consumption in the United States is about 100 grams.

Low Meat and Milk Intake

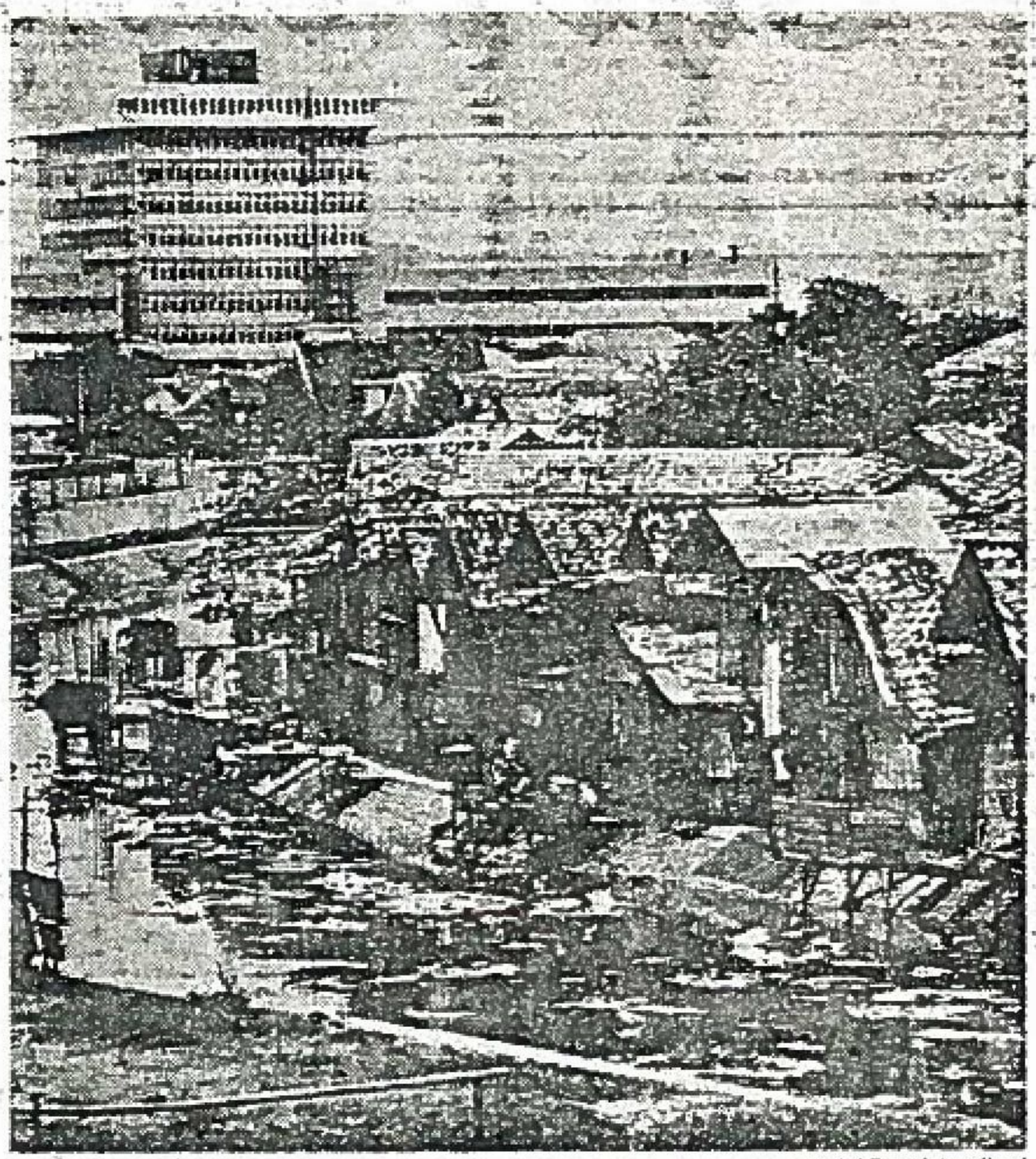
The average yearly meat consumption is 8.4 pounds, compared with 176 in the United States. An average Indonesian drinks about a pint of milk a year, roughly what an American drinks in a day, and eats only 11 eggs a year.

These statistics are known to few Indonesians. But in a nation where most people live at or below the poverty line, the gap between rich and poor is leading to increased questioning among intellectuals about the course of development. Many, perhaps the majority, have become disillusioned, and direct this feeling principally at the Government of President Suharto, who has been in power since 1966.

It goes beyond Mr. Suharto, a former general, however, to all of the military, who have held the keys to power during his tenure, and to the businessmen who have reaped the profits from the extraction of Indonesia's natural resources—minerals, timber, rubber and coffee, in addition to oil.

Attitude Shared by Intellectuals

The disenchantment also extends to the technocrats who devised the country's development policy and executed it in close cooperation with the military-dominated Government. And it has spread to include the great number of foreigners connected with this development—orivate businessmen, officials of international organizations and other experts and Government aid representatives.



United Press International

Modern high-rise buildings tower over a slum district in Jakarta. Many Indonesians are beginning to question the course of the nation's development.

The critical attitude comes across particularly strongly in the students, who began late last year to defy political repression and stage public protests against the re-election of President Suharto. But it appears to be shared by many intellectuals, including those in public service. The students have subsided since a Government crackdown preceding the elections last month, but still express skepticism in conversations.

Their immediate targets are the most visible ones: the authoritarian Government, corruption and the inequality of distribution of wealth. They say that since the regime has been installed for another five years, they accept it. But they add that they now expect it to redirect the allocation of resources to let development reach the majority.

The students' ideas tend to be idealistic in a conservative nation that remains traumatized from the vast bloodletting that followed the 1965 Communist coup attempt. Many students interviewed in the course of a 19-day visit advocated a Gandhian village-based development approach, with small-scale or cottage industries to create jobs. About one million young Indonesians come into the labor market each year.

Foreigners Are Suspect

The Government's emphasis, however, is on development, based on the extraction of Indonesia's vast resources, in the expectation that each extraction operation will serve as a center of local development as well as of foreign exchange. The critics do not consider this program socially oriented enough. They regard it as more conducive to profiteering than to increasing the well-being of the people in the area.

The students tend to suspect foreigners involved in development projects of serving their own national goals or those of multinational corporations rather than Indonesia. They suspect international development experts of protecting their own interests and fulfilling functions that, if useful at all, should be carried out by Indonesians. This feeling goes far beyond the students to officials and intellectuals; a Cabinet minister said that he

Carter Turns to Asia

SUNDAY APRIL 30, 1978

By James Reston

WASHINGTON, April 29—The Carter Administration is now making a conscious effort to emphasize and improve its relations with the countries of Asia. In the next few weeks, Prime Minister Fukuda of Japan will be in Washington, Vice President Mondale will be touring Southeast Asia, and Zbigniew Brzezinski, the President's National Security Adviser, will confer with the new Chinese leaders in Peking.

These missions are more symbolic than substantive. The President and Prime Minister Fukuda do have practical trade and monetary questions to discuss, but the Mondale and Brzezinski missions are designed to remove the feeling that Washington has been neglecting Asia in its preoccupation with the Middle East, Africa and the Soviet Union.

The Brzezinski entry into China is being compared to Henry Kissinger's secret journey to that country during the Nixon Administration. It has even been suggested here that, against the advice of Secretary of State Vance, Brzezinski has chosen this moment to remind Moscow that Washington can always move closer to China if it cannot get more cooperation with the Soviet Union in Africa and on arms control.

There is some truth in this, but not much. The Brzezinski mission was planned months ago and is not a reaction to Vance's recent visit to Moscow or Washington's differences with the Soviet Union over the use of Cuban troops in Africa.

Carter has enough trouble now with the opponents of his Panama policy, his arms shipments to the Middle East, and his efforts to negotiate a strategic arms treaty with the Soviet Union to provoke a new fight with them by establishing formal diplomatic relations with Peking at the expense of Taiwan. This he will undoubtedly want to do, perhaps next year, but not now.

There are other reasons for this new turn to the East. Carter has some serious problems in Asia. Japan's spectacular trade surplus with the United States has put him under increasing pressure from Big Labor and some powerful factions in Big Business for protectionist policies the Administration opposes. He has to retain the United States military bases in the Philippines, which are critical to the defense of the Pacific, even if the authoritarian Marcos regime in Manila defies his policy on human rights. And Mr. Carter cannot ignore the post-Vietnam developments in South Asia and Southeast Asia.

In the last 11 years, the countries of Southeast Asia outside the Vietnam war zone have formed a regional Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN)—Indonesia, Thailand, Singapore, the Philippines and Malaysia — who have been working together on their common problems with Australia and New Zealand.

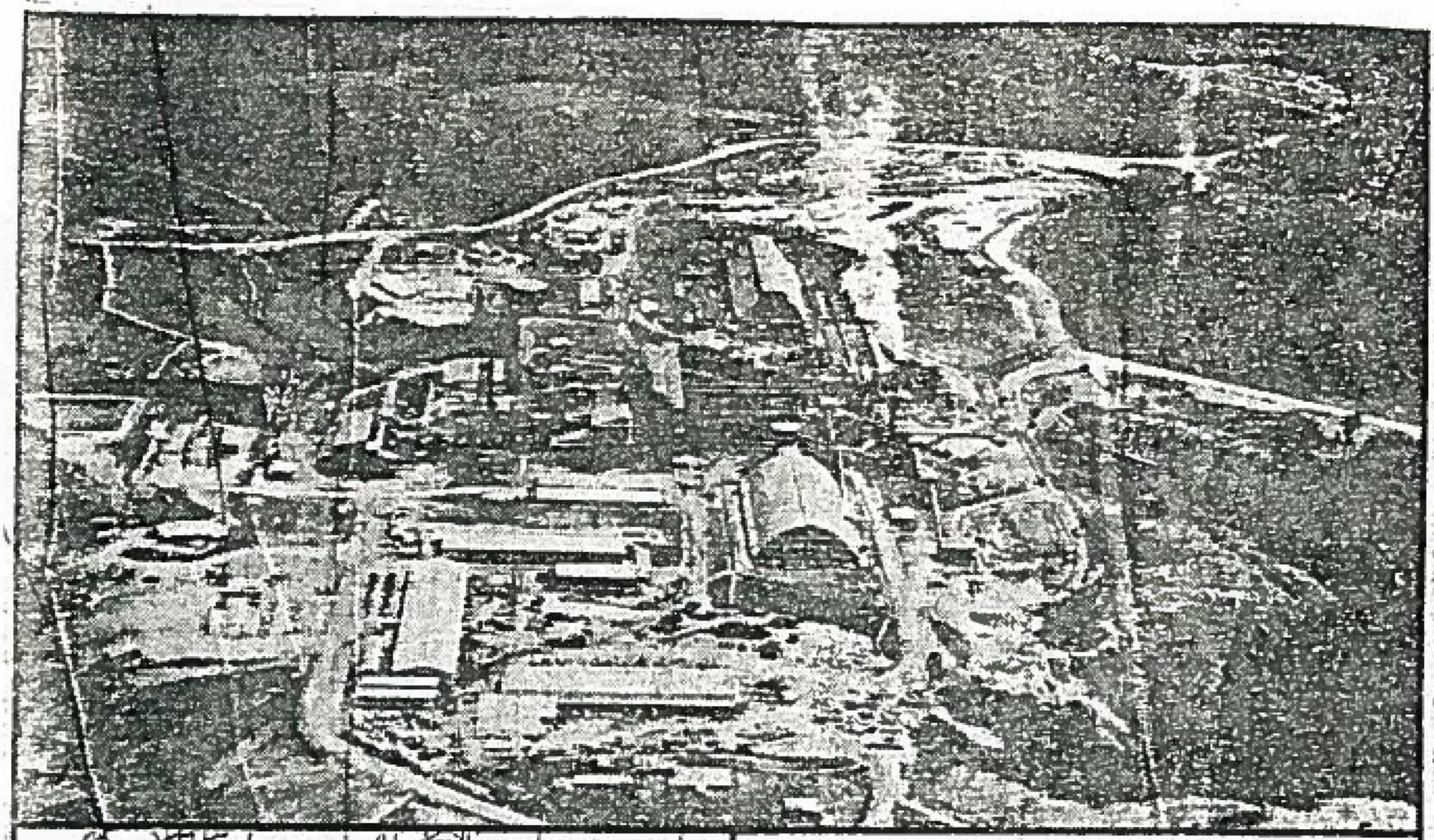
With Thailand's fertile rice bowl and Indonesia's developing oil resources (not to mention the unexploited off-shore petroleum fields in the area) Tokyo has long realized, and Moscow, Peking and Washington are beginning to realize, that the ASEAN countries now provide perhaps the greatest new potential for profitable partnership with the industrial nations.

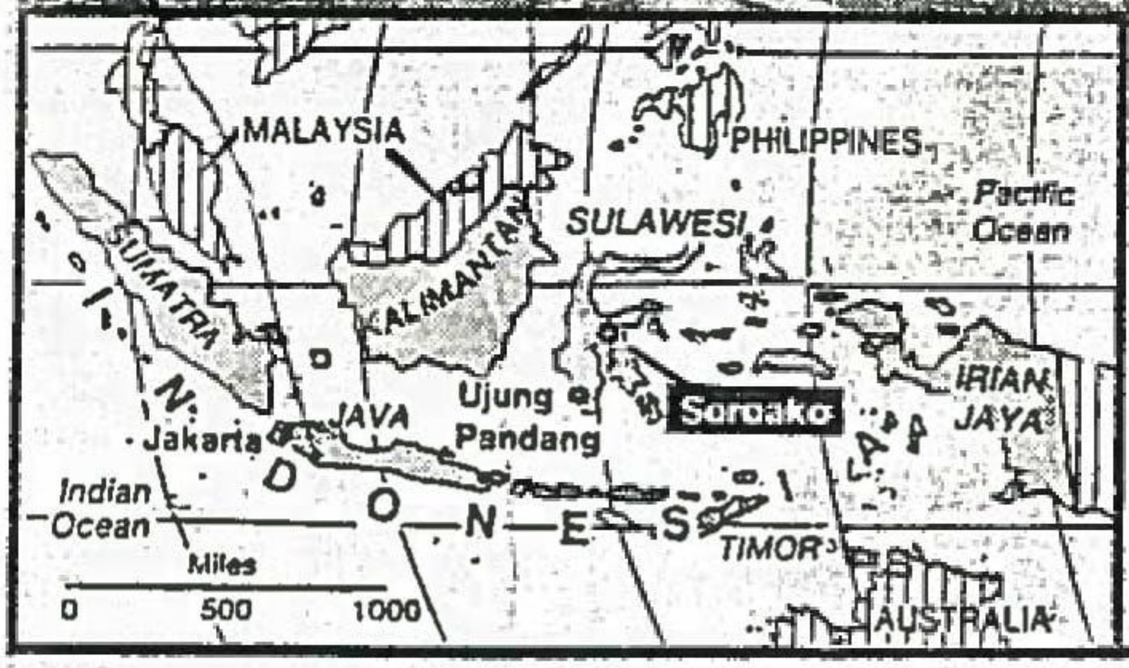
At the same time, these ASEAN nations also represent not only an economic opportunity but a social and political problem. At the end of the last world war in 1945-46, the total population of the ASEAN countries was about 112 million. Today it is about 230 million! In another 10 years, at present birth rates, it will total about 300 million, and at the end of the century, unless there are significant programs of birth control, it will be about 500 million, requiring these countries to provide 10 million new jobs every year just to keep even with population growth.

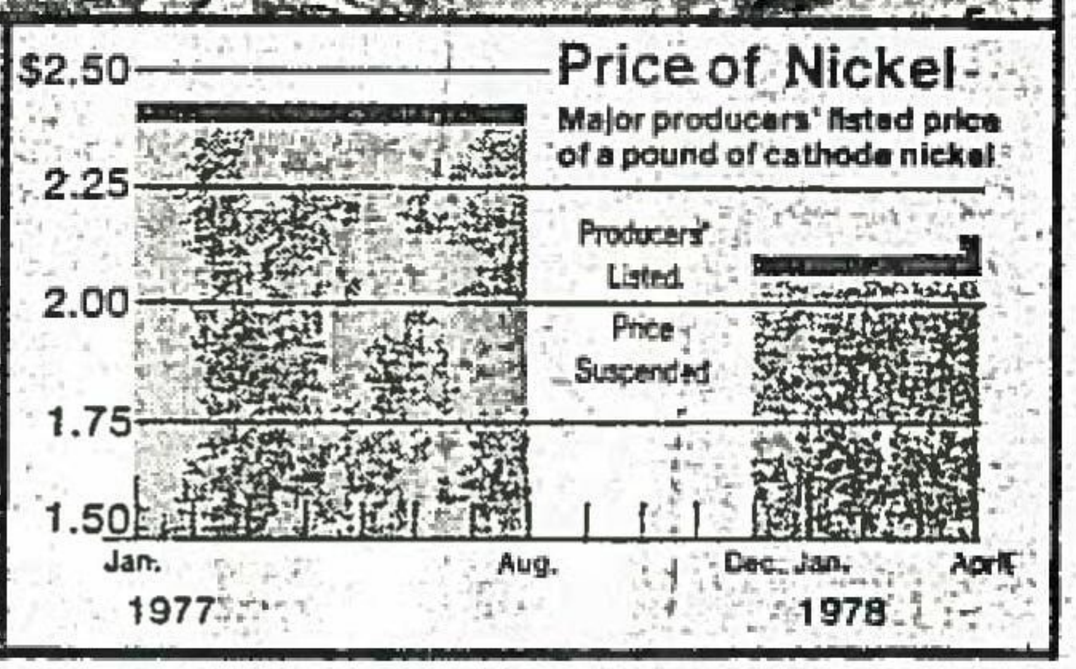
So in Southeast Asia, on these projections, it is going to have to be either economic development and jobs or disaster, and officials in Washington, including the criticized "bureaucrats," have been urging a wider and longer perspective on Washington's national interests, priorities and world responsibilities.

The Carter Administration has been so preoccupied for so long with Panama, Angola, Rhodesia, South Africa, and recently with a few dozen fighter airplanes to Saudi Arabia, that it has scarcely had sufficient time to concentrate on the critical immediate problems of Japan and Europe, let alone the coming problems of China and India, Southeast Asia and Latin America, where almost a majority of the human race is living in poverty while the nations of the world spend almost $300 billion a year on military arms.

The main thing is that Asia is clearly critical to the establishment of a world order, and after a period of neglect Washington is beginning to give it a proper place in planning for the last quarter of the century.







The New York Times/April 14, 1978

At top, an aerial view of International Nickel Company's $850 million project at Soroako, Indonesia.

April 14, 1978

Indonesia Nickel Project Reflects 2 Worlds

By HENRY KAMM
Special to The New York Times

SOROAKO, Indonesia—It takes two hours by jet from Jakarta to reach Ujung Pandang, the capital of South Sulawesi, on the island once known as Celebes. An hour and a half later, flying in a propeller-driven plane over mountain jungles, the Gulf of Bone and more mountain jungles, a modern industrial complex surges suddenly into view out of the nearly roadless wilderness.

Alongside it lies a sort of Levittown by a lake and, beyond it, to the north, west and east, three Indonesian villages. Wooded mountains fully enclose the remote enclave.

The International Nickel Company's $850 million Indonesian project is slowly coming into production, at a time when a serious price slump is besetting the nickel industry. Philip C. Jessup Jr., president of the wholly owned subsidiary of Inco Ltd., the Canadian-based company, said that the start-up schedule had been stretched out as a result of a general production cutback.

One of the three process lines producing nickel in a 75 percent nickel matte, a black grainy substance, is operative. In full production, the plant will have the capacity to produce 100 million pounds a year from the ore deposits that abound here.

April 14, 1978

Indonesia Nickel Project Reflects Gaps Between Different Worlds

Continued From Page D1

water systems for the villages in which the workers live.

Inco, said C. J. Dagg, the community development manager, has been mindful of avoiding the building of company towns or pre-empting the rights of the host government. But some Indonesian employees would like the company to go further than it has in providing modern services to its workers because, they say, the Indonesian Government appears to assign a low priority to providing them.

The contrasts of Soroako are a microcosm of the gap between the developed and the struggling worlds. To attract skilled expatriates and Indonesian senior employees to this desolate region, Inco has had to build a typical Western suburb in the most favored location on the lake.

Indionesians and expatriates complain that there is little mixing. The Indonesians consider most of the foreigners standoffish; the expatriates think Indonesians are shy.

More pointed Indonesian criticisms concern the number of expatriates and glaring salary differentials. Many Indonesians believe that the foreign experts are too slow to pass on their skills and jobs. Aware of this, Inco has sent a senior personnel executive from Canada and a training consultant to speed the process up. But Mr. Jessup asserted that the number of expatriates was not excessive.

No one denies that there is a lopsided wage structure. Expatriates are hired at the market rate of their countries and draw in addition a 35 percent hardship allowance. An Indonesian mining engineer thus earns less than half of an Australian senior mechanic's pay.

Contract Was Signed in 1968

Construction began in 1973, after an exploration and development contract was signed with the Indonesian Government in 1968 and a period of exploration. The project has been financed with loans from government export credit agencies of Canada, the United States, Western Europe, Australia and Japan, commercial banks and Japanese concerns that will buy most of the production for the first 15 years of Inco's 30-year contract.

For Indonesia, the project will be an important source of foreign revenues. But despite the huge investment, the facility has only a limited developmental impact in this nation of 135 million people with a per capita yearly income of well below $300. Highly capital intensive, it will provide only 4,000 jobs at full production.

At the peak of the construction period, 11,000 people, including 900 expatriates, mainly from Canada, the United States, Australia and Britain, were employed. But most of the Indonesians and 600 of the foreigners and their families have left, and the old village of Soroako, on the shore of the lake, is contracting again after years of being bloated by men who came from the subsistence farms of Sulawesi and Indonesia's other islands.

This region, badly deprived of a modern infrastructure, has gained principally a 38-mile road linking Soroako to the wharf at Balantang, a 165-megawatt hydroelectric dam, a 30-bed hospital and outlying clinics, schools and

Continued on Page D14