

## War-Ravaged Timor Struggles Back From Abyss

By HENRY KAMM  
Special to The New York Times

DILI, East Timor — Slowly and painfully this former Portuguese colony, annexed by Indonesia after an invasion in 1975, is heading from war and famine toward the state of marginal survival that was its lot through four centuries of colonial rule.

The resettlement areas, in which 300,000 Timorese displaced by persistent civil war and struggle against the invaders are gathered, are crowded with malnourished and sick people surviving on

In case you missed it: Yesterday was Hal Duke's milestone birthday. Calcutta.—ADVT.

relief supplies provided mainly by the United States.

But in a four-day visit, including three days of crisscrossing in a helicopter this mountainous and nearly roadless island 350 miles north of Australia, a reporter saw no sign of the widespread starvation that was prevalent until food and medical relief began arriving last September.

Those people who had been surviving largely on edible roots, tree pulp and as much rice, corn and tapioca as they could cultivate in war and its immediate aftermath are being fed regularly.

Signs of long-term malnutrition abound, but one sees few of the skeleton women that relief workers found when

they began their efforts. There are still children with bloated bellies protruding over waists so thin that they must hold up their pants or lose them, but victims of marasmus, the murderous disease in which the body begins to consume itself for lack of other proteins, are no longer apparent.

The effects of the malnutrition, as well as endemic malaria, dysentery, intestinal parasites, tuberculosis and respiratory illnesses, continue to kill men, women and children, but at a rate far lower than before.

The International Committee of the

Continued on Page A12, Column 3

THE NEW YORK TIMES, MONDAY, JANUARY 28, 1980

## War-Torn Indonesian Isle Struggles Back From

Continued From Page A1

Red Cross estimates that 5 to 10 people a month die in each village where it works, compared with 30 to 40 before. An American organization, Catholic Relief Services, estimates that there are 1,400 deaths a month from all causes among the population of 300,000 in the 150 resettlement sites.

"There has been a remarkable improvement," said Francis Carlin, director for Indonesia for the Roman Catholic relief group, which is the only foreign organization besides the Red Cross that is authorized by Indonesia to work here.

### Minimal Foreign Presence

Catholic Relief Services is operating a program financed by the United States Government at a cost of \$11.2 million from September through next April. The Red Cross has received \$1.8 million from the United States. Australia is the other major foreign contributor.

The two organizations operate their programs with a minimal foreign pres

First article of a series.

ence: Mr. Carlin shuttles between here and Jakarta, and the Red Cross is represented by a Swiss physician. Indonesia has been reluctant to allow foreigners to visit East Timor, which had a population of 650,000 when the strife began, presumably because of the continued refusal of other nations to recognize the annexation and because the United Nations has voted annual calls for Indonesian withdrawal.

The United States, Indonesia's principal Western supporter and supplier of arms, has not formally endorsed East Timor's decolonization without popular self-determination of its status, but it acknowledges Indonesian occupation as an irreversible fact.

The Indonesian armed forces appear to have reduced Fretilin, a movement that resisted the invasion and occupation and controlled significant parts of the population at least until 1977, to small groups of guerrillas whose activity is limited to occasional ambushes in the interior of the island's eastern extreme.

### 'People Who Rob for Food'

"We are not saying these bands are Fretilin," said Col. Radjagukguk, territorial commander of what Indonesia now calls the Province of East Timor. "They are people who rob for food. The people only talk about development. They are against the guerrillas."



The Morning Herald, Sydney

Children photographed last year in Laga, East Timor. Starvation was prevalent until food and medicine began arriving last September.

### Surveillance Was Close

This reporter, who waited two years for permission to visit, was allowed only limited freedom in travel to the interior. Maj. Benny Mandalika of Indonesian military intelligence from Jakarta was always present, took notes during interviews not only with ordinary people but

also with Indonesian officials of Timorese origin and often peered openly at the notes the reporter was taking. Explaining his actions when challenged, he said: "I must stay with you so you get the right information. My boss told me to go with you wherever you go. If you interview the man in the street you may get the wrong information."

Fretilin — the name is an acronym of the Portuguese for Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor — as well as Timorese here and abroad who disagreed with the movement's increasingly leftist positions, charge that Indonesia subdued East Timor by brute force, using not only superior military might but also starvation.

The vast majority of Timorese are illiterate and isolated from the world by their location, the war and Indonesian restrictions, and they have been largely unheard from.

the Abyss

# KAMM, Henry, "War Ravaged Timor Struggles Back from Abyss," N.Y. Times, 1/28/80.

In the presence of Major Mandalika and other officials and speaking through interpreters in the various languages of the island, the people of the mountain tribes interviewed at resettlement sites appeared intimidated and blamed Fretilin for all the ravages they had visibly suffered. Conversations in Dili with educated Timorese and non-Timorese residents, as well as conversations out of Major Mandalika's earshot in the interior, provided other accounts. While the full truth of the Indonesian conquest is unlikely to be established in view of the highly partisan nature of most testimony, the following account represents a consensus:

By Dec. 7, 1975, the day of the Indonesian airborne and naval invasion, Fretilin governed the former colony, from which the Portuguese had withdrawn hastily in August. It was fighting a civil war against two other political groups supported by Indonesian troops along the border with West Timor, a Dutch colony that had become part of independent Indonesia. The invasion gave Indonesia rapid successes in Dili and other population centers along the coast, but many of the people withdrew to the interior.

## Pressure From Both Sides

Fretilin contends that the people followed its troops out of loyalty and abhorrence of Indonesian cruelty. According to the official Indonesian view, Fretilin forced the exodus to the interior. The least partisan sources believe that both sides brought pressure on the population and that the savagery with which they conducted the war incited many to flee.

An anti-Communist Timorese dignitary said that at the outset the people feared the Indonesian soldiers more than Fretilin because the front maintained discipline over its forces while the troops engaged in widespread looting, intimidation and rape. "They came as our brothers and they did this to us!" he exclaimed.

The dignitary charged, on the other hand, that Fretilin forced people to stay in the mountains even after Indonesian officers had imposed greater discipline on their troops and the largely nonpolitical population was ready to return to the villages and small clusters of houses that dot the lightly populated island of 13,000 square miles, an area somewhat larger than Maryland.

Other local sources said fear of Indonesian reprisals against people who stayed with the Fretilin forces, even against their will, deterred many from seeking the relatively greater security and better living conditions that the Indonesian side offered. The continuing warfare, forcing people to be permanently on the move, disrupted the cultivation of fields and made many people dependent on such roots, leaves and wild fruit as they could forage.

## Heavy Casualties Reported

An Indonesian offensive early in 1977 brought heavy casualties on both sides and drove the Fretilin forces farther into the interior, carrying with them many of the people, who were then unable to reach the fields they had planted.

Fretilin and its backers assert that Indonesia used artillery and aerial bombing as well as napalm and rockets to destroy the food base on which the front and the population with it depended. Colonel Radjagukguk contended that Indonesia never used its air force for anything but transport in Timor. "We do not have anything like the Americans in Vietnam to bomb everywhere," he remarked.

Witnesses reported that Indonesian planes indeed bombed and strafed Fretilin areas in the major offensive that began in the spring of 1978, but they did not believe that crop destruction was the purpose; rather, they said, the planes hit tactical targets.

The rugged hillsides, while bearing the marks of traditional slash-and-burn agriculture and the soil erosion that results, in no way recall the war-devastated countryside of Indochina. Though the major towns, Dili and Baucau, show no signs of heavy combat, villagers who recently returned to their areas in the interior said they found many houses burned to the ground. In the presence of Indonesian officials they preferred to say that they did not know who was responsible.

The 1978 offensive raised the food shortage in the interior disastrously and broke the Fretilin hold over the population. In ever-increasing numbers the starving and the ailing, wearing rags at best, drifted onto the coastal plain.

Although Indonesia, a major importer of food, was outstripped from the beginning in its capacity to feed the Timorese, it waited until a year ago to ask for inter-

national assistance. Negotiations with the Red Cross and Catholic Relief dragged until April. In May the organizations were invited to survey East Timor, but it took until September for the relief to begin.

How many lives were lost because of the time lost, how many died in the war and the attendant famine, are subjects of speculation. Estimates from anti-Indonesian sources reach as high as 300,000. Indonesian officials said that only a census, which they plan for this year, would tell. The Deputy Governor, a Timorese who until 1975 led a political party that favored gradual Portuguese withdrawal, said preliminary surveys showed 60,000 people unaccounted for. Roman Catholic clergymen, who continue to play an important role in a territory in which 40 percent of the people are counted as practicing Catholics, believe that 100,000 Timorese have perished in war, from hunger and from attendant illnesses. A relief official puts the present population at 550,000.

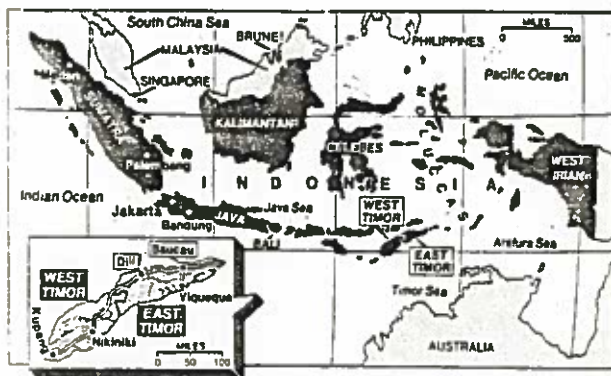
## Resettlement Program Invoked

The Jakarta Government has prepared a resettlement program under which people are to be installed in larger groups than was the Timorese tradition. Villages are to be situated along the roads, where the inhabitants will be accessible to public services such as education and health. A specialist in Timorese agriculture said that the plan had been drawn largely for strategic reasons, placing the population where the Indonesian Army can control it. Strongly anti-Communist, he approves of the political objective of keeping the people out of the reach of Fretilin remnants.

However, he said, Timor has never been more than barely able to feed its population. The people have produced their food by living in small groups and exploiting all the arable valleys of the rugged interior. The resettlement project, the specialist said, will make East Timor permanently dependent on food imports.

Although the international relief program is scheduled to end in April, most experts believe that further assistance will be required. But Indonesia appears less concerned than do relief organizations and experts such as Christian R. Holmes, deputy director of the United States Foreign Disaster Assistance Office. Testifying before a House subcommittee in December, Mr. Holmes, who had visited Timor, said, "My personal judgment is that additional food, medicines and seed will be needed once the rains end."

Colonel Radjagukguk, who as area commander is the principal power in the former colony, said, however, that if the weather favored the corn crop already planted and the rice crop whose planting was getting under way, the current aid program would suffice.



The New York Times / Jan. 28, 1980

Houses in Dili and Baucau, the two major towns of East Timor, were said to be burned by Indonesian troops after annexation of the island.

KAMM, Henry, "War Ravaged Timor Struggles Back from Abyss," N. Y. Times, 1/28/80.

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## Timor AT A GLANCE

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### History

Until recent years Timor was divided into a Portuguese colony in the eastern part of the island and a Dutch, later Indonesian, section in the west. The Portuguese began to trade with Timor about 1520, probably for sandalwood. The Dutch arrived in 1613, causing the Portuguese to move eastward. Except for a British interregnum in the early 1800's, the arrangement continued and the border was formally drawn in treaties effective in 1859 and 1914. In 1950 Indonesia, itself newly independent from the Netherlands, took over West Timor. The Portuguese, their overseas empire crumbling, left in August 1975 amid a civil war between a faction that favored independence and two groups given across-the-border support by the Indonesians, who invaded East Timor in full force in December 1975.

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### Geography

A narrow mountainous island about 300 miles long and 10 to 60 miles wide, Timor, the largest and easternmost of the Lesser Sundas, lies between the Savu and Banda Seas to the north and the Timor Sea to the south, 350 miles from Darwin, Australia. East Timor, including two offshore islands, occupies 7,380 square miles and West Timor 5,760.

There are coastal plains, savannas and high grazing lands, and the highest peak, Mount Ramelau, rises 9,680 feet. Vegetation includes sandalwood, coconut and eucalyptus trees.

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### Population

Timor's aboriginal people, of largely Melanesian stock, were pushed into the mountainous interior when newcomers of Malay and Papuan ancestry settled along the coast. The great majority are illiterate. There is also a Chinese community, and a few Portuguese remain stranded in East Timor. The main religions are animism and Roman Catholicism, and there are Protestants, Moslems and Buddhists among the population. In 1975 the population of Portuguese Timor was estimated at 650,000, but warfare and famine have reduced that number; current estimates vary, with relief officials putting the figure at 550,000.

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### Economy

While most Timorese subsist on slash-and-burn agriculture, the island has also produced livestock and rice. Its exports have consisted mainly of coffee, along with copra, tobacco, sandalwood, hides, cotton cloth, baskets and iron ornaments.



ASIAN CENTER  
198 BROADWAY ROOM 302  
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10038

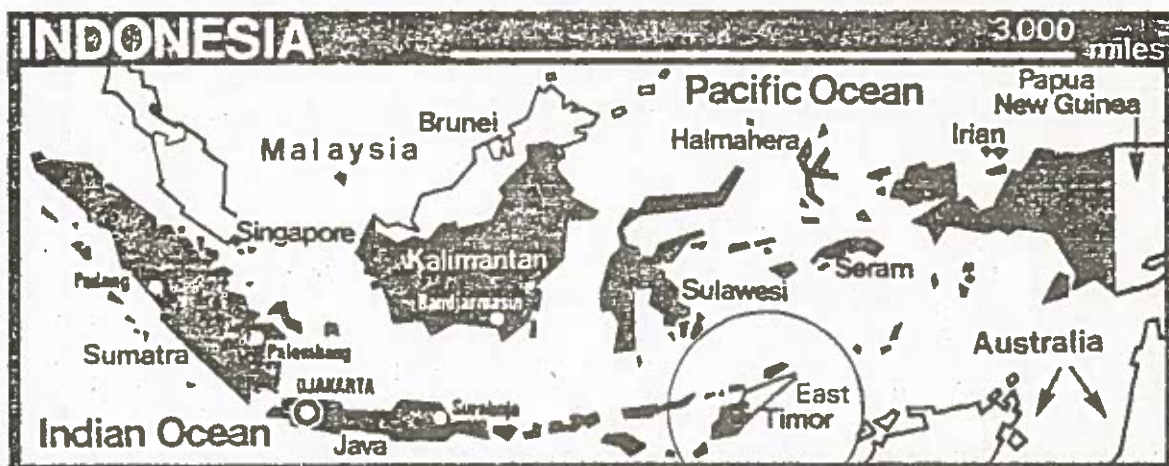
RECENT JOURNALISM ON THE SITUATION IN EAST TIMOR.



# Le Monde

ENGLISH SECTION

## Remember the Timorese



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

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

From December 1975, the Indonesian army has intervened massively to assert its claims on the territory and driven the government set up by the Fretilin nationalists into the mountains. Cut off from the world outside and with no foreign assistance, except verbal promises, but supported by the population, they have been conducting

a fierce and hopeless resistance. Today, most of the "liberated zones" have been reduced to submission by force of arms and famine, and the main nationalist leaders either slain or have defected to the Indonesian side. At least 100,000 people are estimated to have perished as a result of famine, illness or war, and half the survivors are in danger of starving to death in spite of a limited amount of aid arranged by humanitarian organisations.

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

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

aligned countries have remained a dead letter.

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

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

(March 9/10)

## THE EASY CHAIR

# VOICES PROPHESYING WAR

The deadly game of nations

HARPER'S, APRIL 1980

by Lewis H. Lapham

**I**N NOVEMBER of last year, the Center for Defense Information in Washington circulated a memorandum listing the thirty-seven wars then in progress in the world. The memorandum estimated the probable casualties in the most violent of these wars (see table below) and went on to suggest that neither the United States nor the Soviet Union, no matter what

the range and capacity of their arsenal, could preserve so delicate a mechanism as a balance of power.

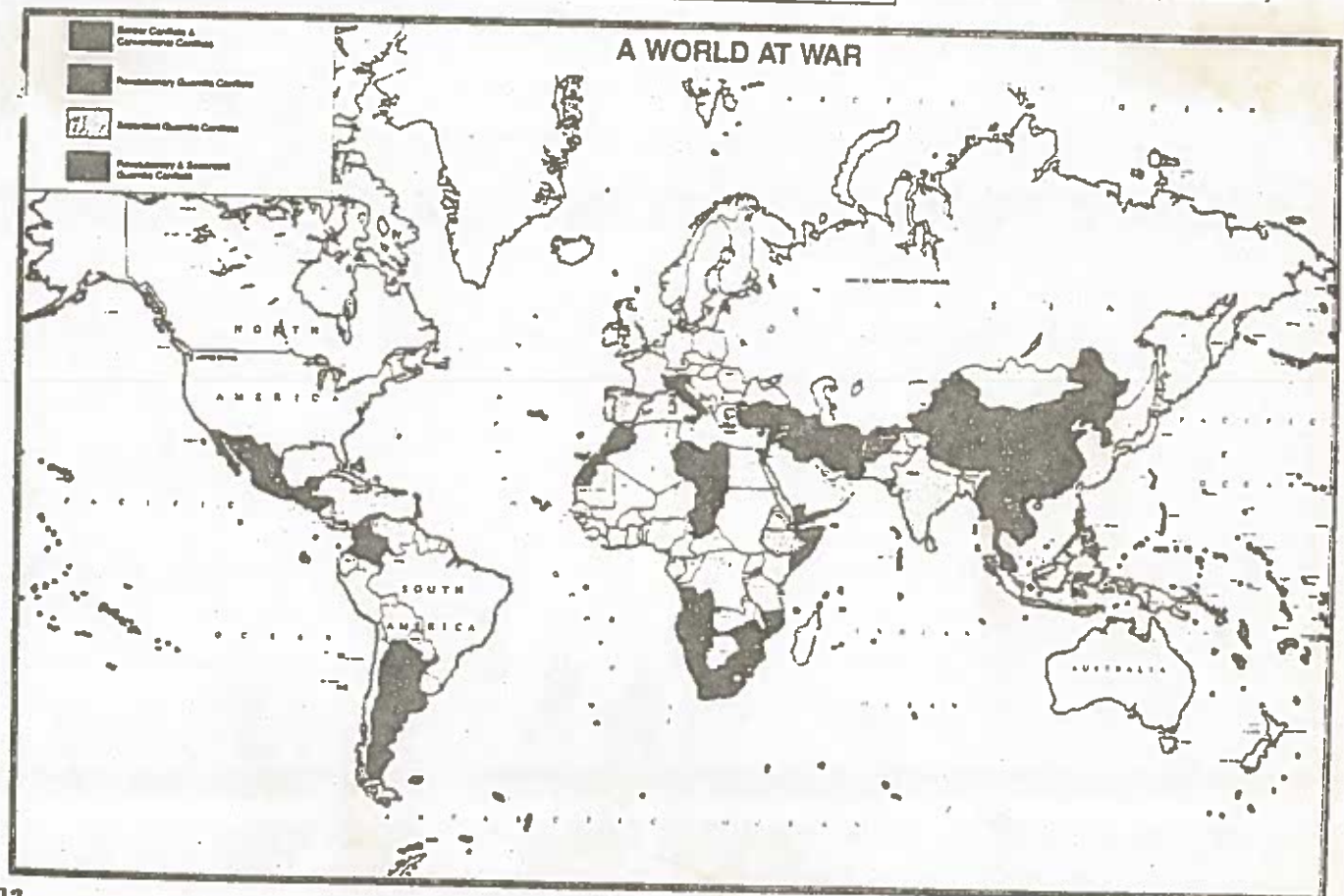
This is an ominous judgment, and it raises the possibility that much of the current talk about the revival of the Cold War (about Soviet troops in Afghanistan, about "vital interests" and "force levels" in the Persian Gulf, et cetera, et cetera) masks the fear of

something worse. The people who insist so loudly on the weakness of the United States might be trying to persuade themselves that they live in an orderly world, or at least in a world in which orderliness remains within their grasp. Rather than risk the prospect of giving to their fear too dreadful a shape or name, and being in need of a familiar enemy, they take refuge in the traditional abstractions and make the Soviet Union the cause of all their uneasiness. Perhaps they wish to offer a lesser fear in place of a greater one. It is almost as if they were saying that they would

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

The 8 Most Violent Conflicts in the World Today

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





Refugees say renewed clashes have brought deprivation to the island

LONDON - MANCHESTER Guardian, Tuesday 8 April 1980

# Reorganised rebels fight back in E. Timor

From Jill Jolliffe in Lisbon

New fighting has reportedly erupted in Portugal's former South-east Asian colony of East Timor according to refugees arriving here.

Fighting between Indonesian occupation forces and Fretilin nationalists reached a peak early this year, causing the Indonesian Government to declare a state of emergency.

The refugees claim that, despite cosmetic improvements by the Indonesian Government, such as freer access for foreign journalists and the admission of the International Red Cross, the plight of the civilian population is deteriorating. Their statements, however, contrast reports by Red Cross officials and journalists who have visited the territory.

The refugee claims are based on letters from East Timor and on recent interviews with East Timorese in Portugal, who asked that their names be withheld to protect relatives still in Timor.

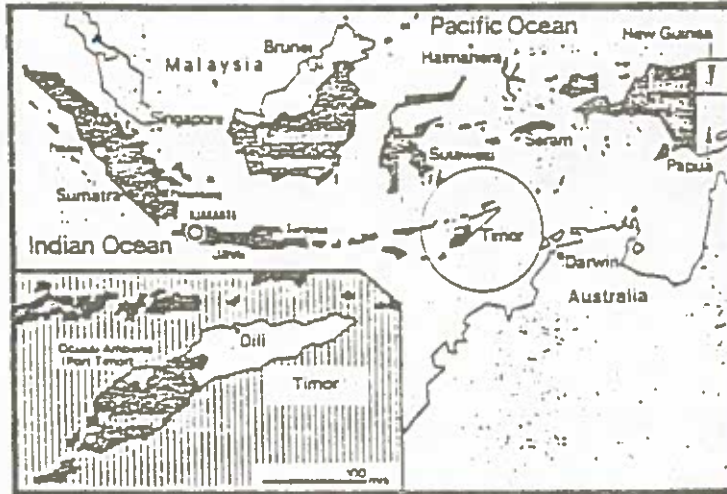
Those interviewed spoke of fierce fighting in the east of the island after a period early last year when resistance reached its lowest ebb since the Indonesian invasion of December, 1975. Then, key Fretilin leaders were killed or captured.

The renewed conflict appears to stem from a reorganisation of Fretilin forces who later fled to the east where food sources are richer than in their former south coast base.

Some refugees say that the fighting began in August or September, last year, while others speak of heightened clashes last December, and of a coup by the resistance, during which guerrillas temporarily took control of Indonesian posts near the eastern towns of Venilale and Baucau, carrying off supplies of Indonesian weapons.

A letter dated December 19, 1979, says: "This half-island, covered in blood, has been the scene, for some months, of a fierce and bloody struggle, in all of the eastern zone — amazing, after four years," and another of January 6 this year: "The situation in the interior of the island is very stormy... during the New Year season, Dili was placed under a state of military alert against all eventualities."

There were unconfirmed re-



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

ports from Jakarta that the Indonesian Government had sent reinforcements to Timor, in defiance of UN resolutions. Although this claim has not been substantiated, army officials admitted at the end of February that mopping up campaigns were underway in

the east of the island.

"The Indonesians had many deaths in December," one refugee claimed. "I know because I lived near Dili cemetery, and it was regularly cordoned off for military funerals." She said Timorese were forbidden to go near the cemetery during bur-

ials, but East Timorese serving with the Indonesian Army had told her only the heads of Indonesian soldiers — decapitated by pro-Fretilin mountain tribesmen — were being brought from the mountains for burial.

All the refugees interviewed

claimed that suffering is increasing among the civilian population. They showed letters which arrived in the early months of this year, listing family members who had died, either from starvation — in mountain areas inaccessible to the aid teams working in Timor — in Indonesian prisons, or who had been executed after surrendering to Indonesian authorities.

They listed many cases of family members who had come down from the mountains to present themselves at Indonesian command posts and had then been shot or taken away by Indonesian security police and never seen again.

The refugees also allege that, in April, 1979, the international Red Cross invited applications in Dili from East Timorese who wished to leave the island. Some of those interviewed were present when the population surged into the street for two and a half days, until, when the list closed, 17,000 people had applied.

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

This was repeated in December, when Indonesian Defence Minister Mr Jusuf visited Dili and addressed the public at the city sportsground.

"In international law," the East Timorese say, "Portuguese citizens and Portugal is bound to accept them. Portuguese Government officials deny that they are unwilling to accept the Timorese."

Reprisals were later reportedly taken against those who had signed to leave. All were allegedly deprived of the right to work and their property seized. As a result the population of Dili may be experiencing increasing hardship: letters to families in Portugal beg for money to buy food and clothing.

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

## REGIONAL

## FRETILIN BACK ON THE GUERRILLA TRAIL

Jakarta: A TV relay station in the hills behind Dili, the capital of East Timor, was a target of the first raid on the town in more than four years by remnants of the leftwing Fretilin independence movement. Armed with sub-machine guns and apparently carrying explosives, they killed two Indonesian guards at the station and captured a number of weapons in a firefight said to have lasted from 10 p.m. on June 10 to the early hours of the following morning.

As the battle raged, two other guerilla units slipped into the outskirts of the town. They launched attacks near the former Roman Catholic seminary and near the road leading out of town to Baucau, killing another two Indonesian soldiers. One guerilla was killed in the raid. The attack on the capital has rattled Indonesian officials who had believed that Fretilin units in the area had long since been crushed.

— DAVID JENKINS

## AFGHANISTAN TALKS ARE ARRANGED

Islamabad: The three-man committee on Afghanistan set up by the recent Islamic Conference foreign ministers' meeting here was hoping to meet representatives of Afghanistan's Soviet-backed Babrak Karmal government and Afghan resistance leaders at a meeting in Geneva likely to take place on June 20-21. The committee consists of the foreign ministers of Afghanistan's neighbours — Pakistan's Agha Shahi and Iran's Sadegh Qotbzadeh — plus the secretary-general of the Islamic Conference, Habib Chatti, see page 32.

— DELLA DENMAN

## TRAIN AMBUSH REVEALS A SECURITY PROBLEM

Bangkok: The bloody ambush of a train from Battambang to Phnom Penh last week underlines a serious deterioration in security in Vietnamese-held Kampuchea, according to recent travellers. At least 150 people are said to have died when guerillas attacked the packed 70-coach train with rocket grenades and machineguns.

The raiders, believed to be

Khmer Rouge, then loaded waiting carts with goods and disappeared into the jungle. Travellers from Kampuchea reported heavy concentrations of Vietnamese troops lining highways in the area and said there is extensive fighting around Kompong Thom.

— JOHN McBETH

## UMNO'S HARUN TRIES FOR A COMEBACK

Kuala Lumpur: A vicious struggle for power is shaping up in Malaysia involving the former chief minister of Selangor, Datuk Harun Idris, now serving the third year of a six-year jail sentence for massive corruption. He has been nominated for his former post of president of the youth wing of the United Malays National Organisation (Umno) against his nephew, Suhaimi Kamaruddin, the incumbent president. Harun, who built up Suhaimi's political career, is said to



Harun: battling a protégé.

be disillusioned with his nephew.

Harun's backing in several states made nomination easy — there is no Umno rule against a convicted person contending for a party post — but the powers that be are clearly backing Suhaimi. If Suhaimi wins — against his uncle he will lose the backing of several electoral divisions, which may put paid to his political future. Win or lose, observers say, Suhaimi's political days are numbered.

— K. DAS

## PHNOM PENH ATTACKS REFUGEE REPATRIATION

Bangkok: Thailand and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) have begun a voluntary repatriation of Kampuchean refugees in Thailand. The Heng Samrin authorities in Phnom

Penh have denounced the move as a plot by Peking and Washington to aid Khmer Rouge forces and cabled UN High Commissioner Poul Hartling demanding that he withdraw UN cooperation from "the grave act of hostility against Kampuchea."

The UNHCR has restricted its role to ensuring that those who return to Kampuchea do so voluntarily and not under coercion by Thai authorities or by political groups. On the first day of the repatriation only about 500 chose to return to Kampuchea.

— RICHARD NATIONS

## BUSINESS

## THAIS MOVE TO STOP RICE RESELLING

Bangkok: A proposal to prevent other countries reselling Thai rice has been submitted by the director-general of the foreign trade department, Baji Issarasena, to Commerce Minister Tamchai Kambhat. The suggestion is that Thailand should stop selling 5% and 100% white rice on a government-to-government basis and instead sell these high grades on a commercial basis at higher prices.

Baji's proposals follow the reselling to Iran of 100% rice which the Thai Government had sold to the Singapore Government. A protest telex by the Thai Commerce Ministry to Intraco, the Singaporean state agency, elicited the reply that the rice had not been sold directly to Iran but to Iran's importers.

— KAMOLWAN SONSOMSOOK

## INSURANCE DOUBTS AFTER NUGAN VERDICT

Canberra: The suicide verdict on Frank Nugan (Review, May 9) could have jeopardised creditors' claims on A\$3.5 million (US\$3.9 million) insurance policies on the Nugan Hand Bank chairman's life. Insurance companies are contesting the claims because the policies are said to have lapsed temporarily during the year before Nugan's death, and they claim immunity if a suicide occurs before the policy has been in force for a year. The Nugan Hand companies are in provisional liquidation in Australia and the liquidators suggested the insurance payout as a means of meeting the company's debts.

— HELEN ESTER

## SOUTH KOREA'S FIRST POST-KWANGJU LOAN

Hongkong: South Korea has signed its first syndicated international loan since the troubles in Kwangju, a US\$63.75 million Eurodollar facility through the Korean Economic Planning Board for expansion of the telephone network. Terms of the eight-year loan, arranged before the riots but signed here on June 12, are slightly better than for the Korea Exchange Bank's US\$500 million loan (Review, Mar. 28): 0.75% over the London interbank offered rate (Libor) for four years and 0.875% over Libor for the remainder of the term. Management fees are lower than the 1% paid on the jumbo loan, sources said.

The management group, consisting of Bankamerica International, Bank of Nova Scotia, Amsterdam-Rotterdam Bank, National Bank of Canada and the Royal Bank of Canada, said the better terms reflected the fact that the loan was direct to the South Korean Government.

Assistant Minister for Economic Cooperation Tchah Hwa June forecast three more South Korean borrowings before the end of the year — US\$500-700 million by the Korea Development Bank, US\$200 million by Korea Electric and US\$100-200 million by the Export and Import Bank of Korea.

— RODNEY HOBSON

## MORGAN GRENFELL URGES UIC REJECTION

Singapore: In view of the "enormous upheaval" in office space values, merchant banker Morgan Grenfell says it has reassessed the value of United Industrial Corporation (UIC) shares to about S\$6.95 (US\$3.28) each after tax, and has recommended shareholders to reject the third and latest cash offer by Tang Eng of S\$5.50 (Review, May 23). Earlier, Morgan Grenfell had assessed UIC shares at between S\$5.88 and S\$7.15 each depending on tax liability, and even before the merchant-banker's latest announcement the market price of UIC shares had overtaken the S\$5.50 mark. The market tends to expect another offer, which would further highlight the current shortage of — and boom in — centrally located office space.

— SUSUMU AWANOHARA



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

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

Richard Holbrooke, assistant secretary of state for Asian affairs, told a congressional investigating committee that there had been a dramatic improvement there and many areas were returning to normal.

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

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

## Reports of Executions

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

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

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

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

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

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

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THE NEW YORK TIMES, FRIDAY, JULY 25, 1980

## The New York Times

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## Tears for Timor

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

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

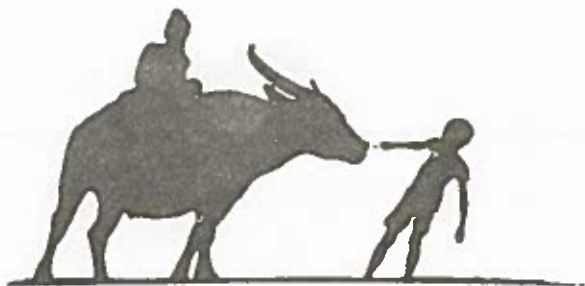
Amnesty International has asked President Suharto of Indonesia to account for some 20 vanished Timorese political prisoners, most of them supporters of the leftist Fretilin Party. Refugee priests charge that much of the food intended for the starving — including nearly \$13 million worth of American aid — has

been embezzled by Indonesian officials. Despite claims that the territory has been "pacified," Fretilin leaders credibly assert that guerrillas have resumed their fight and have been able to strike at Dili, Timor's capital.

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

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

The New York Times made a mistake! "East Timor was plunged into civil war, which became the pretext for Indonesia's invasion, only hours after President Ford (not President Nixon!) visited Jakarta."





# The Sun Keeps Trying To Set on a Colonial Past

By BERNARD D. NOSSITER

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

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

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

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

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

The most critical case is South-West Africa; its independence is a war cry for Africans. The United Nations has been conducting a tortuous negotiation with South Africa through five Western mediators, including Washington. Meantime, guerrillas of the Southwest Africa People's Organization raid South-West Africa and, in turn, endure South African air strikes usually at base camps in Angola. Agreement has been all but reached on a demilitarized zone strad-

dling the South-West African border that would clear the way for United Nations-supervised elections. Pretoria, however, fearing that the United Nations would tilt the electoral balance to the guerrillas, has delayed signing the agreement. Africans worry that South Africa will cede power to a local council dominated by whites. (Last week, South Africa announced formation of a new territorial defense force to be under the local council's control.) However, the belief persists that South-West Africa — as Namibia — will inevitably follow Zimbabwe as a new African nation.

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

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

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

Argentina wants the 200 Falkland Islands near the eastern tip of South America, but Britain won't give them up without the consent of 1,857 inhabitants. The possibility of offshore oil is the real concern. In Guam, the United States naval base accounts for nearly one-fifth of the 110,000 inhabitants. The United Nations committee regularly reproaches Washington for failing to inform them of their "inalienable right to self-determination and independence."

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

# East Timor paying the price

Cont'd from preceding page

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

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

Since last June, after the Indonesian government permitted aid to be brought in, the US government has spent about

\$8.8 million on food and medical supplies for East Timor, mostly routed through Catholic Relief Services (CRS). Australia has kicked in about \$4 million, and \$6.7 million has come from the rest of the international community.

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

Catholic Relief Services has been the prime agency involved in the aid plan. It has been criticized for being too close to the Indonesian government. For instance, contrary to usual procedure for an inter-

national relief agency, CRS has used military trucks and convoys to aid in distribution of food.

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

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

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

Armando Sonagerre, CRS regional di-

rector for Asia and the Pacific said last week that CRS had distributed 8000 tons of food in the last six months and planned to distribute 5000 more.

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

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





Sick and hungry children in the East Timor village of Laga last November.

Best Globe 1-20-80 (UPI photo)  
P. A39

# Power play cripples E. Timor

By Robert Levey  
Globe Staff

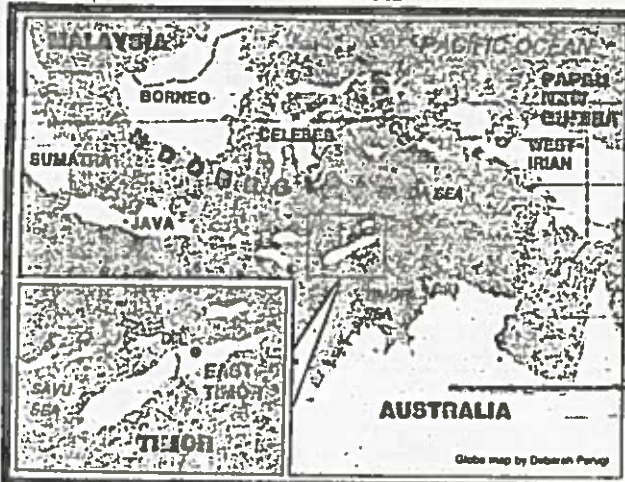
WASHINGTON — For more than four years, the suffering, starvation and killing in East Timor has been going on out of world view.

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

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

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

Although the invasion and the use of the arms for aggressive purposes are blatant violations of international law and



Globe map by Deborah Parry

US-Indonesia agreements, the US government has never publicly condemned the events. Privately, an authoritative government source called Indonesia's action "a pure power grab."

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

United States voted against the resolution.

— Recently, a conscience-stricken US official confided anonymously that the State Department even ignored internal recommendations that the United States at least abstain on the self-determination vote. He said this government's motives

for voting against the resolution were simple: "We didn't want to upset Indonesia."

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

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

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

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

TIMOR, Page 40



# Indonesia's deadly power play

## ★ TIMOR

Continued from Page 39

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

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

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

The western half of the island, West Timor, was already part of Indonesia. But East Timor had been a Portuguese territory for 40 years. The Portuguese withdrew in 1975 as part of an overall decolonization policy. Under colonial rule, the island had remained primitive. There are only 15 miles of paved road in the territory — all in the capital, Dili.

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

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

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

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

"The second phase of the bombing was late 1977 to early 1979, with modern aircraft. This was the firebombing phase of the bombing. Even up to this time, people

could still live. The genocide and starvation was the result of the full scale incendiary bombing. We saw the end coming. People could not plant. I personally witnessed — while running to protected areas, going from tribe to tribe — the great massacre from bombardment and people dying from starvation."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

However, at the second subcommittee hearing just six weeks ago, Bruce Cameron, foreign affairs lobbyist for the Americans for Democratic Action, testified: "The magnitude of suffering in East Timor is shocking. On Nov. 2, the Indonesian foreign minister stated that condi-

tions in East Timor may be worse than Bialtra or Kampuchea (Cambodia)."

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

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

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

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

Continued on next page