

Hawke wary about US recovery

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This had to be expected on his first Prime Ministerial visit.

He was required to tread gently in Indonesia where Australia's reputation was at a low ebb.

Even a more delicate task was to establish good relations with the conservative US Administration of Ronald Reagan.

Labor's legacy of relations with the US was not good due to the Whitlam Government's heavy anti-Vietnam war stance.

Mr Hawke believed he had to correct this, and went out of his way — possibly a bit far for some in the ALP — to reassure the US of the soundness of Australia's credentials as an ally under a Labor Government.

"Together forever" as Mr Hawke said last week is hardly a rerun of Harold Holt's "all the way with LBJ" but it is a quote which would more naturally have come from a Liberal Prime Minister than a Labor one.

On balance, Mr Hawke achieved his aim. He was received well by the Administration, and the stringent economic policies he proposed for Australia including the indefinite deferment of tax cuts was welcomed on Wall Street.

Yet having pursued his cause and achieved it, Mr Hawke in a moment of over-enthusiasm revealed an aspect of his political personality which has long-term domestic consequences.

It was his "banya tree" quote at the National Press Club in Washington last Wednesday.

Asked about the difference between the British Labour Party and the Australian Labor Party, he said: "There is one obvious difference between us and them — we win."

"I'm not about for some indefinite period to sit under the banyan tree and scratch myself and say what a jolly good bloke am I for developing a position of ideological purity, and in the process, divorcing myself and my

party from the opportunity of government," he said.

By placing the banyan tree in the Australian political lexicon Mr Hawke has given notice to party colleagues that as far as he is concerned, ideology, and, in effect party policy, has little relevance to his style of government.

If staying in power means overturning ALP policy on East Timor, the Sinai peace-keeping force, and aid to Vietnam, then so be it.

If it requires immersion while in the US in rhetoric at the need for the US to defend the democracies from communist influence and requires keeping quiet on US economic policy when it is considered economic madness, then so be it.

Obviously prompted by the success of his meetings with President Reagan and Administration officials, his comments to the press club were an exposition to the party that he is not about to pursue policies or take on attitudes which will lose votes

or sour important international relations.

There may be rumblings in the party about this presidential style but Mr Hawke is being advised that it is he, not the party, which has the support of the electorate.

According to this advice, he can afford to pursue pragmatic domestic and international policies even though they may put a few noses out of joint.

This willingness to adjust style and content depending on circumstance was epitomised in his trip.

In Papua New Guinea, he was the father figure, handing out aid, in Indonesia, the low key, serious statesman; in France the fellow socialist but one upset at nuclear testing.

In the US, he avoided sychophancy by pursuing the issues of trade, nuclear disarmament, and the CIA's involvement in the events of 1975 but was at pains to establish the personal relationship with the President and not to utter a word which would offend.

This approach was particularly apparent in regard to US economic policy.

Apart from the personal meeting with Mr Reagan the basis of the US leg of the trip was to determine the direction of US economic policy, the extent of the recovery, and to dampen any Wall Street fears over Australian foreign investment and domestic economic policies.

The latter part of the task, which kept Mr Hawke in New York for two days and the Treasurer, Mr Keating, there for three, was a relatively simple process.

The pre-eminence Mr Hawke has given to deficit figures since assuming office, the expenditure review process which culminated in the May economic statement, his announcement of an indefinite deferment of tax cuts, and the declaration that Labor would run a restrained monetary policy was that Wall Street would have liked to hear from its Administration.

Where the trip was more difficult was Washington where the Prime Minister, the Treasurer and assorted personal staff and Treasury officials were greeted with a plethora of often contradictory views of the US economy.

Unlike the previous Administration where economic policy remained broadly consistent throughout, under the Reagan system sharp differences occur on the fundamentals.

Take the key question regarding the duration of the recovery — the relationship between the high Budget deficit and interest rates.

Having found itself with a political program based on tax cuts and high defence expenditure the conclusion of which has been a growth in the deficit under Mr Reagan from \$US60 billion in his first year of office to an expected \$US210 billion this year, the Administration is now in the process of self-justification.

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Indeed, at the Williamsburg summit, the Secretary to the Treasury, Mr Donald Regan, who was appointed with the prime responsibility of bringing the Budget deficit down from presented the participants with graphs and figures indicating a relationship were unfounded.

His figures showed that as US Budget deficits grew, interest rates had fallen. Yet the question remains of what they would have been otherwise, and what the response of interest rates would be in a recovery when private investment has to compete with the hefty public sector financing imposed by the Budget.

Certainly, the President's chairman of the council of economic advisers Mr Martin Feldstein, does not support the Reagan line, nor does the director of the office of Budget.

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Hawke and Hayden confident in face of dissent over ALP policy

By TOM CONNORS

THE Foreign Affairs Minister, Mr Hayden, said yesterday that the Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, must get around the State councils of the Labor Party and explain the decisions he announced on his overseas trip concerning East Timor, uranium and aid to Vietnam.

Speaking on commercial television in Sydney, Mr Hayden agreed that Mr Hawke could "cop some flak" but a rational explanation of his actions could be received and accepted by the rank and file.

It was up to Mr Hawke to present his explanations to the party, Mr Hayden said, but as

far as he was concerned there were no problems.

Mr Hawke, who arrives back in Australia tonight from a tour of Europe and North America, may reject Mr Hayden's advice.

The Prime Minister told reporters travelling with him that he would not cave in to pressure from the party organisation when he believed the Government knew best.

He said that the leadership had detailed information not available to other and, traditionally, a Labor Government had to adjust when taking power.

Two weekend conferences of ALP branches added to open party criticism of his stance overseas on several contentious issues.

The Victorian branch, which held its annual conference at the weekend called on the Government to withdraw its recognition of the Indonesian annexation of East Timor and to end military aid

to the Indonesian Government.

The branch also wants the resumption of aid to Vietnam and the end of uranium shipments to France, which is testing nuclear devices in the Pacific.

The ACT branch of the party moved at the weekend the condemnation of the Hawke Government for failure to implement party policy on Timor.

While overseas, Mr Hawke announced a suspension of shipments of uranium to France rather than a ban on shipments and left the question of aid to Vietnam unresolved.

Mr Hayden said on television yesterday that you cannot fix up foreign policy overnight by sending other governments pages of the ALP platform.

He suspected that some people in the party were a bit impatient but foreign policy was too delicate for immediate implementation.

Mr Hayden said he had been placed in the position of defending continuing military

aid to Indonesia despite its incorporation of East Timor.

He said his views had been accepted by most rank and file members of the party and he saw no problems in the way Mr Hawke had handled the issues of Vietnam, Indonesia or the Sinai peace-keeping force.

Mr Hawke said overseas that there were no plans to recall the force despite Labor policy to the contrary.

The Foreign Minister said he thought Mr Hawke had a fairly robust friendship with a number of leading members of the US Administration "and I think perhaps there is an exuberance of expression that comes across at times, if not fulsomeness."

However, "he can explain things okay," Mr Hayden said.

Mr Hayden, with these remarks, seemed trying to off-

set comments that Mr Hawke appeared a little obsequious to the US leadership, a criticism that had been levelled at former Liberal prime ministers.

Mr Hayden used the example of the Whitlam Government's complaints about the secret bombing of Cambodia during the Vietnam conflict as an example of the fact that friendly governments would criticise the United States when necessary.

Mr Hayden said that the Prime Minister had been the victim of some excitable reporting about his visit to Indonesia.

The transcripts of Mr Hawke's statements, Mr Hayden said, were consistent with party policy.

The party believed there should be a properly conducted act of self determination for the people of East Timor.

PM denies breach of policy on Timor

SMH

From MIKE STEKETEE

LONDON, Tuesday. — The Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, has denied that he breached ALP policy on the issue of support for Indonesia over East Timor.

He argued at a press conference last night that any decision on the future of East Timor would depend on the findings of the Australian parliamentary delegation which is to visit Indonesia — including Timor — next month.

However, Mr Hawke conceded that it was doubtful the delegation would be able to find out all the facts on Timor, even though the visit would influence the Government's decision — still to be made — on how it would vote in the United Nations on the Timor question.

As Mr Hawke, in a confident and almost ebullient mood, brushed aside Caucus criticism of his support for Indonesia, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Hayden, moved in Canberra to defuse the row within the Labor Party.

He said he had read official transcripts of two press conferences given by the Prime Minister in Indonesia and believed that Mr Hawke was not in conflict with party policy.

In London, Mr Hawke acknowledged that Indonesia was unlikely to allow any internationally-supervised vote by the Timorese to determine their future — the first and most important item of the party's Timor platform.

As well Mr Hawke has said Australia's military aid program to Indonesia, running at about \$11.4 million a year, will continue, though ALP policy opposes all defence aid until there is a complete withdrawal of Indonesian forces from Timor.

This, too, was not in breach of the policy, Mr Hawke said, because it was all bound up in the decision still to be made on how Australia would vote in the United Nations.

Mr Hawke said it was "nonsense" to claim he had pre-empted the visit of the parliamentary delegation. The visit would enable an

Britain's Prime Minister, Mrs Thatcher, and Mr Hawke have agreed that the economic recovery in the United States is solidly based and likely to be durable.

Mr Hawke said this could be translated into better prices for Australian exports by the end of the year.

The Prime Minister, who had to cancel official meetings with Mrs Thatcher and Leader of the Opposition, Mr Foot, because of tomorrow's national election, spoke to both last night on the telephone.

In a 20-minute conversation, Mrs Thatcher reported on last week's Williamsburg summit, saying the attitude among world leaders had been one of optimism.

— Mike Stekete

informed debate in the Labor Party and the wider community.

Peter Kennedy writes from Canberra: Mr Hayden said he had read transcripts provided by his department of Mr Hawke's press conferences.

"I believe, as I read these transcripts, that Bob Hawke has been careful in what he said. And he has not said matters, or expressed himself in conflict with our policy."

Reports on Monday that Mr Hawke had rejected a large part of the ALP policy on East Timor and shelved the policy on aid to Vietnam caused dissension within Labor ranks, especially among the Left-wing.

Mr Hayden said: "I felt some concern myself when I saw the (media) reports — in fact very large concern because they were provocative."

"But when I consulted the transcripts I found that those rather strong reports were not justified on the basis of what Mr Hawke said."

The Foreign Minister said that the parliamentary delegation going to Indonesia would have a "very important input" to Australia's attitude should the East Timor issue be debated at the United Nations later this year.

But no decision on which way Australia would vote would be made until "closer to that point when we know what is going to come up."

Hayden stays cool on East Timor

By DAVID HUMPHRIES

The Foreign Minister, Mr Hayden, made it clear last night that the Government would not be pushed into speedy implementation of ALP policy on East Timor.

"You don't turn the world upside down overnight and you don't change a relationship with a dogmatic declaration," Mr Hayden said after meeting about 50 members of the party's Victorian branch. "This is a fairly sensitive area and I intend to handle it with the respect and, I hope, subtlety that is appropriate."

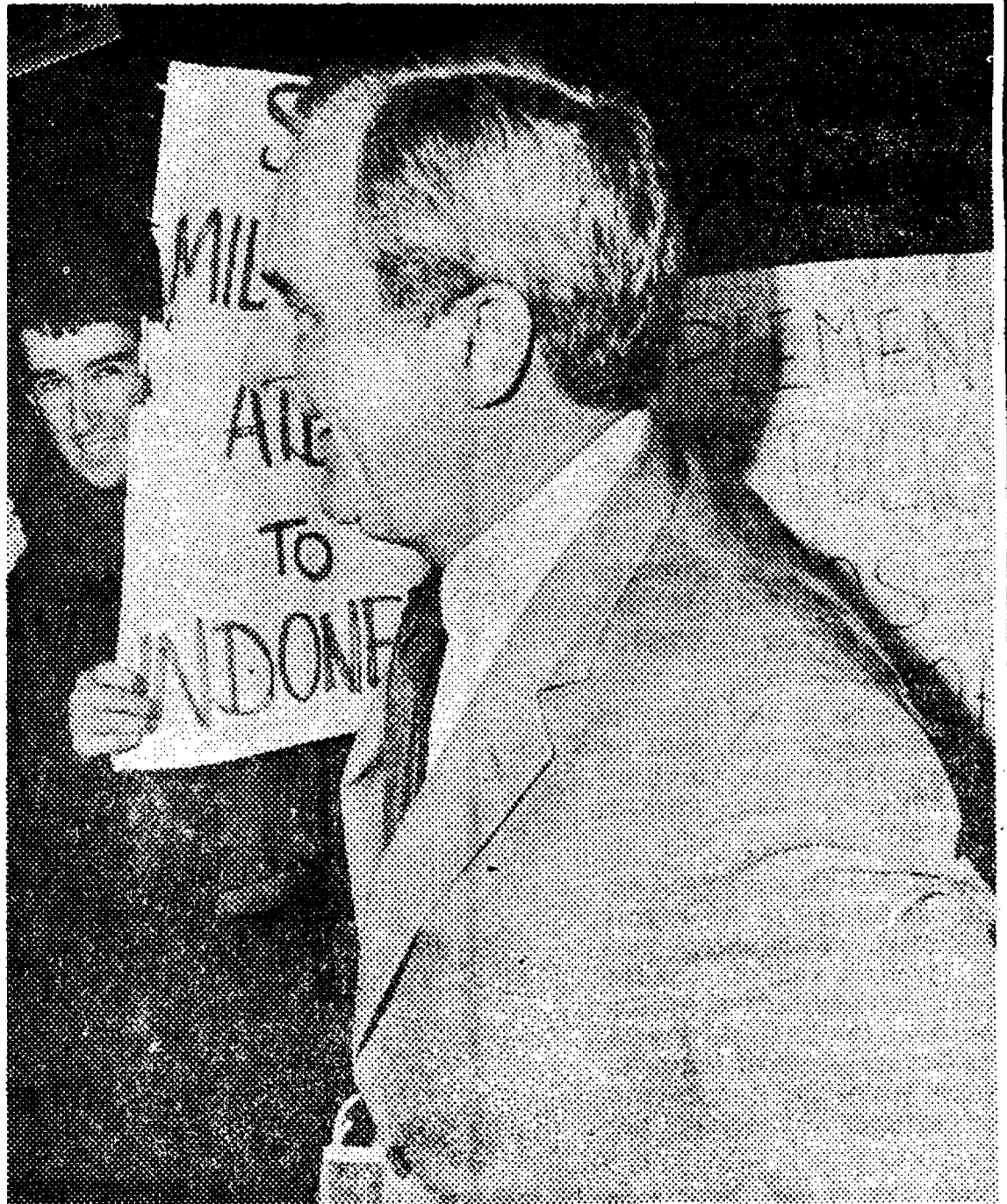
Mr Hayden met members of the party's foreign affairs and administrative committees for 90 minutes to discuss the East Timor issue.

Several committee members are critical of the Federal Government's handling of the issue. They point to a resolution, passed at the party's State conference in April, criticising the Government for delays in the implementation of the ALP's East Timor policy.

That policy calls on a Labor Government to support United Nations resolutions promoting the rights of the East Timorese, to end defence aid to Indonesia until Indonesian troops are withdrawn from East Timor and to allow free entry to Australia of representatives of the East Timor independence movement, Fretilin.

Mr Hayden said the United Nations would discuss its resolution in October. "No one knows what is going to come forward in that time," he said. "We'll look at it as that date gets closer."

He said the Government had not made a declaration as to who controlled East Timor and added that Australia's bilateral relation-



Picture: SEBASTIAN COSTANZO

Mr Hayden outside ALP headquarters last night.

ships were under review.

"I don't have a closed mind on this issue, he said. "And I'm neither dogmatic nor provocative on this issue. I have a task and I'm discharging it as capably as I can."

He said the Government acknowledged ALP East Timor policy, but it required a process of consultation and evolution of relationships. "We've been in Government two-and-a-half months, not two-and-a-half years like some of these people who

want to see more done seem to think at times," Mr Hayden said.

When Mr Hayden arrived at the ALP headquarters in Carlton to begin the meeting, he was jeered by about 50 protesters, many of them Timorese.

Chanting "Implement the policy" and holding placards condemning the Federal Government's handling of the issue, the protesters tried unsuccessfully to quiz Mr Hayden as he made his way into the party's offices.

Hawke backs ANZUS treaty before leaving for overseas

From MICHELLE GRATTAN,
chief political correspondent

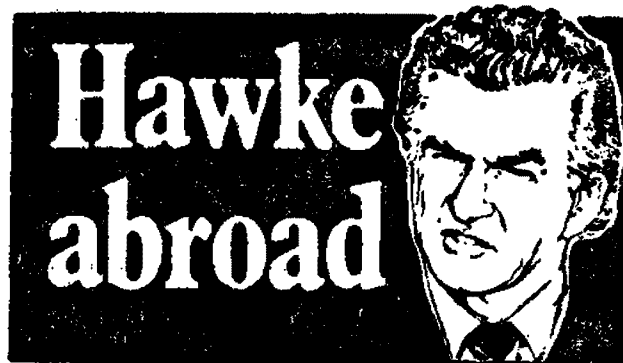
CANBERRA. — On the eve of his first overseas trip as Prime Minister, Mr Hawke yesterday reaffirmed that his Government is anxious to strengthen the ANZUS treaty.

At a Press conference about the trip, Mr Hawke said that in the United States he would discuss possible changes to make the treaty more appropriate to 1983. He would not be specific on the changes, but said that when Ministers and officials considered the matter, the fuzziness about the geographical scope of the obligations under ANZUS would be discussed.

Mr Hawke leaves this morning to visit seven countries during a 19-day tour beginning in Papua New Guinea.

In Port Moresby, he will announce a better aid deal following representations from the PNG Government, and provide further reassurances that Australia is not spying on communications in that country.

At the Press conference Mr Hawke again avoided questions about what he would say to the Indonesians regarding Australia's stand should a United Nations



vote on East Timor come up later this year. "I'll be having discussions with them about that. I don't know that they would be wanting of me an answer at this time," he said. "We will make known our position on that in good time. I've said before there is no certainty that the question will even arise for a vote."

Mr Hawke said his talks in Indonesia would build on progress already made by the Foreign Minister, Mr Hayden, on his recent visit. He said of the delicate East Timor issue: "I don't see any problem about the issue at all. We understand the concerns of the Indonesians. I believe they understand the context within which we have got to operate here."

After PNG and Indonesia, Mr Hawke will fly to London, Paris and Geneva, before going to the United States.

He reaffirmed that he would

protest to the French Government about its nuclear tests in the Pacific, but said he would not link this protest to the question of future uranium sales to France. However, he would tell the French that the Government was reviewing the whole issue of uranium safeguards agreements. The Labor Party's policy on uranium says France's future purchase of Australian uranium should be conditional on it ceasing Pacific tests.

Mr Hawke will be met in Geneva by the Treasurer, Mr Keating, who will accompany him throughout the American leg of the trip. Mr Hayden will not be with him at any point. Asked how important his appraisal of the United States economy would be in preparing the August Budget, Mr Hawke said it would be a "factor" although he would not want to raise it too high.

Asked yesterday about the visits of American nuclear vessels, Mr Hawke said such visits were "appropriate".

"If you have a relationship with the United States and you say that that relationship is fundamental, as we do, then you can't at one and the same time say you are going to deny access of the vessels to Australia."

ACE 2/6/83

Foreign affairs role narrower, PM says

Australia would take a narrower role in international affairs than it had in the recent past, the Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, said yesterday.

Speaking at a news conference before his departure today on a 20-day world trip, Mr Hawke said that the Government believed it had the capacity to influence "in our more immediate area than we do on the world stage as a whole".

"And that in part explains why I believe under this Government there will be . . . greater priority given to the affairs of our region," he said.

Mr Hawke said that Australia, because of its good relations with the ASEAN countries, China, the United States and "its capacity to talk with Vietnam", could "help the processes in that area toward a peaceful resolution of the Kampuchean problem, and we will seek to do that".

Mr Hawke said that he did not want to be unduly critical of the previous Prime Minister, Mr Fraser, and his view of Australia's role in world affairs.

By *LIN ENRIGHT*

Labor wishes met: Mochtar

JAKARTA, Wednesday (AAP-*Reuter*). — Indonesia had met all the Hawke Government's wishes regarding East Timor, the Foreign Minister, Mr Mochtar, said yesterday.

Speaking two days before Mr Hawke begins his three-day visit to Indonesia, he said he hoped that the trip would further improve relations.

PORT MORESBY, Wednesday (AAP). — Mr Hawke will be welcomed by a Defence Force guard of honour when he arrives in Port Moresby tomorrow on the first stop of his overseas trip.

"I think it's true to say that we would take the view that at times he overemphasised the significance of Australia in world councils," he said.

Other areas in which he saw

Australia having an influence, were United States-China relations, the Commonwealth and in relation to French nuclear testing in the Pacific.

Mr Hawke said the Government would be looking to strengthening, not "watering down" the ANZUS treaty when it came up for review.

Mr Hawke has been urged to tell Mr Reagan that US bases in Australia should be removed.

Participants at this week's Canberra symposium on the consequences of nuclear war told Mr Hawke yesterday in a letter that delegates from Australia, Britain, the US, USSR and West Germany considered that the nuclear-arms race and the threat of nuclear war "are the greatest problems that the world has to face".

The letter asked Mr Hawke, in his talks with Mr Reagan, to urge a nuclear freeze and rapid action toward nuclear disarmament.

Similar messages were sent to the Soviet, British, French, Chinese and West German leaders.

Colin Brammall comments —

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PM's round-the-world-trip already fated to be less than an outstanding success

By COLIN BRAMMALL

THE 20-DAY round-the-world trip by the Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, beginning today, will be less than an outstanding success, both internationally and at home.

● can be sure of that, even before he leaves.

Internationally, he will come up against a solid Indonesian attitude that East Timor is now an Australian domestic political issue, not a bilateral one, an equally solid French attitude that nuclear testing in the Pacific is a necessity for France, and a Papua New Guinea upset with allegations about "bugging" by Australian intelligence agencies. Also, the point of visiting London has been largely lost because of the British elections, making his two days in London virtually a social visit.

Domestically, people are expressing surprise that he is going overseas at all, what with the image the Government has given of the pressing economic situation at home and the fact that the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Hayden, has been spending ● of his time overseas and says he intends to continue to do so. If Mr Hawke comes back with little to show for his foray, the surprise may turn to indignation.

Elsewhere on the tour, however, which also takes in the International Labor Organisation meeting in Geneva, a few hours in Canada, extensive talks in Washington and New York, half a day in Newport, Rhode Island, for a social call on the Australian crews preparing for the America's Cup elimination series, and a day off in Honolulu, there are likely to be successes.

The United States Administration, for example, has put itself into a "listening mode" for Mr Hawke's visit, and is interested in particular in his proposals for "updating" the ANZUS treaty.

In France, Mr Hawke will find that President Mitterrand and the Prime Minister, Mr Mauroy, are

seeking to reach a position of "agreeing to disagree" on nuclear testing while avoiding jeopardising the total bilateral relationship. They are expected to tell Mr Hawke that Pacific nuclear testing is necessary because France has no uninhabited sites, let alone any with the appropriate geological conditions, for such testing.

They will say that France is not happy about having to test, but with Soviet missiles little more than 400 kilometres from the border and the extreme slowness that would be part of any arms-reduction deal, France must protect itself.

It will be said that perhaps Mr Hayden's public annoyance about the most recent test may have been because he misunderstood information given to him in Paris about the nature and size of future test explosions.

In spite of the test and Mr Hayden calling in the French Charge d'Affaires, Mr Herve Ladsous, to protest, France believes relations with Australia are on an upswing rather than a downswing.

Mr Hayden's visit a few weeks ago, Mr Hawke's visit next week, and a proposed visit to Australia before the end of the year by a senior French representative are evidence of at least most cordial relations.

In Indonesia, Mr Hawke will see President Suharto and the Foreign Minister, Dr Mochtar. Apart from East Timor, the issues likely to be raised are the Indo-China situation and the attitude of the Association of South-East Asian Nations to the ALP policy of providing aid to Vietnam (France is currently giving a small amount of humanitarian aid and may suggest that Australia does so too), the proposed Pacific Basin Economic Community and North-South dialogue.

Detailed arrangements for a visit by an Australian parliamentary delegation which is to visit there shortly may be finalised.

In Papua New Guinea, the allegations of "bugging" by Australia, first in *The National Times* a few weeks ago and this week in *The Age*, Mel-

bourne, are certain to be high on the agenda. PNG delivered a diplomatic Note after the original allegations. Australian assistance to PNG for next year's \$2 million Commonwealth Heads of Government Regional Meeting will be discussed in the context of the whole future of CHOGRMs. The PNG attitude, apparently shared by some other CHOGRM members, is that if a major member, Australia, does not think CHOGRM very important, there is little point in it.

PNG, which has observer status in ASEAN, will be interested in Australia's current approach to that grouping and in its approach to PNG-Indonesia relations. The South Pacific Forum, of which Australia and PNG are members, has been active in discussions about a nuclear-free Pacific and in New Caledonia's future, and these subjects are likely to be brought up in the light of Australia being host to the next forum meeting in August.

It has been widely reported that Mr Hawke will announce details of a new aid package to PNG.

Because the British elections have interfered with Mr Hawke's plans for talks, there are now none scheduled with either the Prime Minister, Mrs Thatcher, or the Labor Party Leader, Mr Foot, although it is expected that Mr Hawke will make a few telephone calls.

A spokesman for Mr Foot said this week that his man had not been informed that he would not now be meeting Mr Hawke and that he "would make a great effort" to attend a meeting if Mr Hawke wanted one. Before the election was called, it had been "more or less agreed that they would meet", although a time had never been entered in Mr Foot's schedule.

Mr Hawke is to call on the Queen, and will dine with Prince Charles and Princess Diana.

In France, as well as putting Australia's view on French nuclear testing in the Pacific and being brought up to date on France's plans for New Caledonia's future, Mr Hawke will

get his first opportunity for a briefing on the Williamsburg, USA, economic summit meeting during the past weekend. French Government sources have indicated that Mr Hawke has requested a briefing and that President Mitterrand is keen to give it, along with explaining in some detail France's proposal for a review of international monetary arrangements, for which France wants Australian and other OECD support, along with American and Third World support.

The sources said France was "facilitating gradual evolution towards self-determination" for New Caledonia and wanted "a bit of time" from the international community, which should be confident that France would not run away from its responsibilities. France was a member of the Pacific region, and wanted to remain so.

Another discussion subject will be a possible new agreement between Australia and France on air services to New Caledonia. A new airline has been formed in New Caledonia, Air Cal, which wants landing rights in Australia to share in the booming tourist traffic between the two places.

President Mitterrand and Mr Hawke will almost certainly discuss China-US relations, since Mr Hawke has recently been lobbied by the Chinese Premier, Mr Zhao Ziyang, in Canberra, and since President Mitterrand was in Peking less than two weeks ago.

The Middle East and southern Africa also are likely to be on the agenda, along with East-West relations and the arms race. In fact, there will be quite a few subjects on the table when the two leaders sit down to a working lunch.

The importance that President Mitterrand has placed on the meeting can be gauged by the fact that although he is host for a meeting of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation at the time Mr Hawke is visiting, he has set aside 1½ hours to talk to Mr Hawke.



We have met all of Aussie wishes over Timor'

A.S.T
2/6/83

JAKARTA, Wed. — Foreign Minister Mochtar Kusumaatmaja (above) said today Indonesia had met all the wishes of Australia's new Labour Government over East Timor.

Dr Mochtar told Reuters two days before Australian Prime Minister Bob Hawke begins a three-day visit that he hoped the trip would further improve bilateral relations.

Relations have been soured by Labour Party resolutions condemning Indonesia for taking over the former Portuguese possession of Timor in 1976.

"We have met all the wishes on the Australian part and I hope this will help the present (Australian) Government solve the problem it is facing, because we see it as essentially their problem," Dr Mochtar said.

"I think given the personalities involved and a good personal relationship between Mr Hawke and President Suharto, the visit will do quite a lot to improve things further," he said.

Australian Foreign Minister Bill Hayden, who visited Indonesia in April, has said Jakarta should accelerate departures of Timorese emigrants to Australia and invite an Australian Parliamentary delegation to visit Timor. — Reuter.

Hawke takes his show on a foreign tour

By MICHELLE GRATTAN, who will travel with the Prime Minister

AS ACTU president, Bob Hawke showed a strong, continued and often passionate interest in international affairs.

His advocacy of Israel's cause, his abortive attempt to aid Soviet Jews, his stands against South African racism and French nuclear testing, his successful efforts to have Namibia admitted to the International Labor Organisation were all examples of a foreign policy concern which was quite idealistic.

Mostly, his breadth of outlook enhanced his reputation but Mr Hawke was also inclined in those days to go for broke on issues.

Sometimes, as with the Soviet Jews, he paid a heavy price for bravado and a failure to realise that the techniques of industrial relations conciliation do not necessarily translate into the international sphere.

Thus, the Prime Minister steps on to the international stage with some amateur experience. But it will be his first international trip, which starts in Port Moresby today, that will establish his foreign profile as Australian leader, a role which gives immensely greater opportunities abroad but also imposes much stricter restraints than he has been used to when thinking about foreign issues.

In statements running up to this trip, Mr Hawke has trodden very cautiously, anxious to reassure that his Government will be "responsible" abroad as at home.

The 19-day, seven-nation, round-the-world trip has two themes. The first four days will be about regionalism. During more than a week in America, the primary concern will be the perennial one of Australian Governments: managing the relationship with our greatest and most powerful friend.

In between, Mr Hawke will indulge himself with a performance at his old stamping ground, the International Labor Organisation in Geneva, where the first of the trip's keynote speeches will emphasise the consequences of high unemployment and concern itself with issues of freedom of association.

Unlike Mr Fraser in his latter days, Mr Hawke does not set off with a clear sales pitch: he carries no equivalent to the Fraser plan to save the world from higher protectionism.

It is a trip to introduce himself, to reaffirm old verities (the importance of the American alliance), to state new emphases (greater stress on the region), and to renew, under new circumstances, friendships and associations (with the US Secretary of State, Mr Shultz, and President Suharto of Indonesia).

It contains all the normal hazards of first trips, and indeed of any trip — the danger of errors, rebuffs, embarrassments, and "tourist Prime Minister spends money like water" stories at home.

It also has a few distinctive landmarks of its own: Papua New Guinea's unhappiness about the reported activities in Port Moresby of Australia's Defence Signals Directorate, and Australian-Indonesian sensitivities about East Timor.

For a Government that is swinging foreign policy back to the region, Mr Hawke is not spending much time there on this trip. But the region is being well-covered by the Foreign Minister, Mr Hayden, who will soon make his third Ministerial visit there.

Nevertheless, it is important to PNG that it is the new Prime Minister's first step on foreign soil — and the difficulty of the Timor issue has forced the Labor Government to give high priority to establishing its relationship with Indonesia.

Mr Hawke will announce more generous aid arrangements in response to PNG requests. He and the Prime Minister, Mr Somare, will discuss the Defence Signals Directorate's activities, which journalist Laurie Oakes this week claimed had still been monitoring communications in Port Moresby until the operation was cancelled a few weeks ago.

The Indonesian leg of the trip has serious domestic implications for Mr Hawke. He must pick his way between international realities, which make it impossible to implement Labor's hard-line policy of withdrawing recognition from the incorporation of East Timor, and feeling in the ALP, where the East Timor lobby still has some sway.

Mr Hayden has done much of the groundwork for Mr Hawke in Jakarta. But it remains a delicate operation.

Mr Hawke continues to dodge the issue of how Australia will vote on East Timor in the United Nations. He confines himself on the one hand to hoping the matter might not come to a vote this year, and on the other to hoping to "create the relations between our countries which will enable us to cast a vote in a way which would meet the requirements of good relations between us".

Apart from East Timor, the Indonesian talks will concentrate particularly on regional relations, including Australia's concern to promote in any way it can the cause of peace in Kampuchea.

The trip's European leg begins with a couple of days in London which have been downgraded by the British election. Mr Hawke plans to speak by telephone with Mrs Thatcher and Mr Foot, but diplomatic niceties and the demands of a campaign prevent formal meetings.

The substance will be in a meeting with the Commonwealth Secretary-General, Mr Ramphal.

In Malcolm Fraser, the secretary-general had a Prime Minister who used the Commonwealth as his major international forum. Mr Ramphal will be keen to assess the extent to which Australia's interest in the Commonwealth will diminish.

One specific discussed will be the future of the regional Commonwealth meetings, which were largely a Fraser initiative.

In France, the socialist fraternalism of Mr Hawke and President Mitterrand will be somewhat disturbed by the Pacific tests issue. Mr Hawke will renew Mr Hayden's firm protest. The French will state their case.

The French Charge d'Affaires, Mr Ladsous, said yesterday that "we would not wish to see nuclear testing become the focal point of

the visit, to which we attach great importance".

Related to this, however, is the future of Australian uranium sales to France. Mr Hawke told a Press conference yesterday he would not "link" his protest about nuclear tests with the uranium export question. But ALP policy requires a Labor Government to make cessation of Pacific nuclear tests a condition of uranium sales to France.

The question is whether the Australian Government will back away from the formal policy. Mr Hayden has said that the European community warned him during his recent talks of possible trade retaliation if uranium sales to France were banned.

After the big-hit speech among his former peers at the ILO, Mr Hawke is off to the US for a program which at first blink looks a typical Malcolm Fraser one: a busy round of meetings with political leaders in Washington, to New York to see business and financial leaders, and a quick stop at Newport to cheer on Australia's team for the America's Cup.

The centrepiece, of course, is the meeting and working lunch with President Reagan. As usual in these meetings, the talks will cover the range of international issues, including East-West, the Middle East, Indo-China, the world economic outlook and the results of the Williamsburg summit.

He will also discuss the future operation of the ANZUS Treaty. But he was emphatic yesterday: "Our concern is to strengthen it, not to water it down."

Mr Hawke won't be intoning Malcolm Fraser's "all strength to your arm, Mr President", but Mr Reagan, despite his conservatism, should not have cause to feel much alarm about Labor being in power in Canberra.

Apart from the President, Mr Hawke's Washington program includes meetings with Mr Shultz, the Defence Secretary, Mr Weinberger, the Treasury Secretary, Mr Regan, the chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, Mr Feldstein, the trade union chief, Mr Kirkland, the chairman of the Federal Reserve, Mr Volcker, the president of the World Bank, Mr Clausen, and the managing director of the International Monetary Fund, Mr de Larosiere.

In New York, Mr Hawke will stay at the Waldorf and meet the business world, whom he will assure that his Government welcomes foreign investment.

The Treasurer, Mr Keating, will be with Mr Hawke in both Washington and New York. Between them, they will get the best and most up-to-date briefing available on the US and world economic trends. Mr Fraser last year found the experts could be far from unanimous or accurate but perhaps Mr Hawke is arriving at a more auspicious economic time.

After a brief meeting with the Canadian Prime Minister, Mr Trudeau, in Toronto, the working part of the Hawke trip will be over, and it will be back home to prepare the Budget.

The matters represented by the Budget, not foreign policy, will finally be the bottom line when it comes to the electorate's assessment of the Hawke Government. The PM knows that as well as anyone.

But he is still as anxious as his predecessors to establish the international presence of his new Government.

It will be fascinating to watch whether the Hawke charisma, so very Australian, can be equally compelling internationally.

Timor priests call for basic rights

A statement by a group of priests in East Timor calling for international support for the basic rights of the people of the territory was released in Melbourne on 20 May.

The statement, sent to Catholic bishops' conferences throughout the world, affirms the solidarity of the priests with "those denied their fundamental rights (in East Timor)."

They claim basic rights have been violated through "moral and physical violence, arbitrary imprisonment, execution without trial or after summary judgment of those who surrender or are captured, disappearances and destruction of families."

The statement of the priests, who asked that their names be withheld for their protection, was prepared in Dili in April. But its release was embargoed for a month to ensure that the message reached the Pope first.

It was received in Australia by members of Christians in Solidarity with East Timor (CISSET), a Melbourne-based interdenominational group of religious laity and clergy. It was established in 1982 in response to appeals for solidarity by the Catholic Church in East Timor.

The priests appeal to the world's bishops' conferences to recognise "the various forms of agony caused by a war which, for seven years, has tormented (East Timor's) people."

The priests add that they know "in our own flesh the suffering and anxieties of our people and witness helplessly

the whole process of annihilation presented under the disguise of truth."

The statement also supports the record of leadership given by Mgr Martinho da Costa Lopes, who according to reliable sources in Australian aid agencies, resigned his post as Apostolic Administrator of the territory on 10 May.

The priests commend Mgr da Costa Lopes for often being during his six year term "the only voice raised in defence of the people on whom silence and fear are imposed and for whom the exercise of freedom of expression will only result in imprisonment or disappearance."

The statement also expresses "disappointment" and "profound hurt" at the "campaign of defamation" brought against Mgr da Costa Lopes.

The new Apostolic Administrator in East Timor is Salesian, Mgr Carlos Philippe Belo, 35, until now his order's novice master in East Timor and administrator of an orphanage in Fatumaca, in the territory's east.

Mgr Belo faces a formidable task this year when there will be another decisive debate on East Timor's right to self-determination in the United Nations, said Ms Eve Scarfel, a spokeswoman for CISSET.

WORLD NEWS

Indons 'force birth drug on Timorese'

From JILL JOLLIFFE

LISBON, 2 June.—Indonesian health authorities in East Timor are injecting Timorese women with the controversial birth control drug Depo-Provera without their informed consent, according to a Portuguese journalist.

The television reporter Rui Araujo visited Timor in February to gather material for a documentary program shown here in April, but has since published in a magazine article material not shown in the film. In this month's 'ABC' magazine, he described the use of Depo-Provera:

"Another important aspect we uncovered in Timor was the program to reduce the birth-rate.

"In a society in ruins, in which the children represent some form of security, the Indonesians are claiming they want to reduce births to counter poverty and excess population, through use of an injectable contraceptive prohibited in the United States: Depo-Provera.

"One thing is certain: The whole community reacts badly to such initiatives. Family planning is considered a threat. It is against the values and beliefs of the Timorese. . . families with less than 10 children are an exception to the rule. But nothing suggests there is an excess of population."

Depo-Provera 150, which is the form of the drug being used, has been withdrawn from use in the US because of its dangerous side-effects, such as uncontrollable bleeding and sterility, and has recently been the subject of controversy in Australia and Britain.

Mr Araujo said he spoke with the director of the Indonesian Civil Health Care Program in Dili who described the use of the drug to him. The journalist said he believed many of the Timorese who were administered the drug, including illiterate mountain villagers, did not know what it was. His account is supported by a Timorese who arrived as a refugee in Lisbon recently and who had worked as a nurse for the past few years in Dili and other parts of the territory.

Many Timorese are Roman Catholics who oppose artificial

forms of birth-control, but others have expressed their fear that the program is part of a deliberate Indonesian policy to reduce the Timorese population and counter-balance it with Indonesian immigrants.

More refugees are continuing to arrive in Lisbon under a new program offered by the Indonesian Government and supervised by the International Red Cross. Since East Timorese refugees began arriving in Lisbon in 1976, none have been so deeply frightened as the latest arrivals.

The reason becomes clear after questioning them. Before they catch the Red Cross flight to Lisbon — whether from Dili or Jakarta — each approved refugee is called to the local security police office and intimidated against talking about what is happening in Timor.

They are told that if they do there will be reprisals against families who remain behind. One refugee was warned that the Indonesian Government had intelligence police working in Lisbon and Madrid who would capture him in Lisbon and return him to Jakarta for execution if he spoke to journalists.

Suharto, Hawke likely to discuss thorny issues

NSI 3/16/83

JAKARTA, Thurs. — Australian Prime Minister Bob Hawke arrives here tomorrow for a three-day official visit and talks with President Suharto expected to centre on the thorny issues of East Timor and possible Australian aid to Vietnam.

It will be his first overseas trip since his Labour Government came to power in March armed with controversial party resolutions condemning Indonesia for its 1976 takeover of the former Portuguese colony and pledging to resume Australian economic aid to Hanoi.

He sent his Foreign Minister, Mr Bill Hayden, to Jakarta in April with the delicate task of explaining Canberra's new policies and placating the leaders of Australia's big neighbour.

Publicly Mr Hayden issued a statement expressing "deep concern" that the Timorese had not been able to vote on their annexation into Indonesia but adding that Canberra had postponed a decision on changing its previously pro-Indonesian position at an annual UN vote on the issue, expected next October.

Assurance

Privately, according to authoritative sources, he told his hosts that various concessions by Indonesia would help Mr Hawke to placate hostile leftwingers in his party and continue to back Jakarta at the United Nations.

Such concessions would include speeding up the departure of Timorese wishing to join relatives in Australia, inviting an Australian parliamentary delegation to visit the territory and al-

lowing Australian journalists to work in Indonesia.

Indonesian Foreign Minister Mochtar Kusumaatmadja said yesterday his Government had met all Australia's wishes over Timor. "I hope this will help the present (Australian) Government solve the problem it is facing, because we see it as essentially their problem," he said.

Official sources said Jakarta hoped and expected that Mr Hawke would give at least private assurances that his Government had no intention of "derecognising" Indonesia's annexation of Timor.

Indonesian officials have joined colleagues of the other four members of Asean — Thailand, Singapore, Malaysia and the Philippines — in criticising the Labour Government's stated intention of resuming aid to Hanoi. — **Reuter.**

MIKE STEKETEE, who is travelling with the PM, looks at the impact and

constraints of Labor's world view

Yogi Hawke's foreign policy

BOB HAWKE is not visiting ruins or taking Alaskan fishing trips during his first overseas visit as Prime Minister.

But there are a few indulgences. His three days in London have remained on the schedule despite the cancellation of talks with Margaret Thatcher and Michael Foot, who will be preoccupied with domestic issues such as getting elected.

That leaves two hours of substantive talks — with Len Murray of the TUC, Dr Robert O'Neill of the International Institute for Strategic Studies and Sonny Ramphal, the Commonwealth Secretary-General — sandwiched in between a meeting with Prince Charles and his good lady, lunch with the Queen, listening to the Queen Mother give a speech, and watching some cricket at The Oval.

His visits to Paris and his old ILO turf in Geneva also have the look of luxury about them. In fact, there are a few murmurings in the ALP in Canberra that the whole trip is an indulgence at such a crucial stage in the life of the new Government.

The contortions required of Hawke on foreign policy during the next three weeks would test the skills of the most accomplished yogi.



MIKE STEKETEE

Certainly, the trip is heavily weighted towards the big powers, with a third of his time spent in the US alone. This seems hard to reconcile with what will have to serve for the time being (in the absence of a full exposition) as the Hawke foreign policy.

Repeated on Wednesday, the day before he left, he said Malcolm Fraser at times had over-emphasised the significance of Australia in world councils. Australia had more capacity to wield influence in its immediate area than on the world stage. "That in part explains why I believe under this Government there will be greater priority given to the affairs of our region," he said.

Yet that priority is not reflected in the Prime Minister's first overseas visit. Only the first four days are being spent in the region — in Papua New Guinea and Indonesia.

Other than Europe, however, it is hard to criticise the trip as being unnecessary. Overseas, Hawke seems to be best known as a trade union boss and former prodigious beer drinker.

The Americans, in particular, are in need of reassurance, as the traditional diplomats see it. Washington breeds its own kind of paranoia: Administrations, Republican or Democrat, have a blinkered view which sees conservative governments always being better than liberal/progressive ones, whatever the quality of their administration. This is because they are more predictable in their support for the US.

Australia is important to the US — not on its own merits, but because of the defence bases which serve as an essential link in America's worldwide chain of communication and surveillance. There is little doubt Bob Hawke will satisfy the Americans: He has been bending over backwards to stress, even if in Hawkespeak, the "foundational" importance of the Australian-US alliance.

No American could take exception to his attitude on visits by nuclear ships to Australian ports, the issue that caused so much heartburn in the Labor Party after John Cain banned their entry. Saying such visits were appropriate and now accepted as coming within Federal jurisdiction, he added on Wednesday that Australia could not have it both ways — talking of a fundamental relationship with the US and at the same time denying access to their vessels.

What became clear even before Hawke left Canberra yesterday morning was that the contortions required of him on foreign policy during the next three weeks would test the skills of the most accomplished yogi.

Sooner or later, the Labor Party will have to face up to the fact that it often is far too democratic for its own good. The rank and file of the ALP, through last year's national conference, has saddled Hawke, and for that matter Bill Hayden, with a foreign policy which, while it might be full of fine sentiments, is in large part unworkable in practice and which, in any case, Hawke's personal inclinations would not lead him to even contemplate implementing.

But one day Hawke might need his party again, so that he cannot blithely ignore what its supreme policy-making body has determined. This is, to quote the platform, that "Labor is committed to an independent stance in foreign affairs . . . less militarily oriented."

In case Ronald Reagan — who has been stressing the need for more solidarity among the allies, as well as a greater defence contribution from them — asks, Hawke will have to be ready to say that the platform does not mean at all that Australia will distance itself from its slavish endorsement over the past 40 years of all things good and American.

For home consumption, he will make the odd reference but, oh, so carefully, to an updating of the ANZUS treaty (only small changes and only if the Americans completely agree); a nuclear-free zone in the Pacific (but this will take a "very long time" and will not impede the movement of US defence forces); and the appointment of a bases officer in Washington (though stressing he is relaxed about the operation of the bases in Australia).

In Jakarta, where the Indonesians often have difficulty understanding the subtleties of Australian politics, particularly Labor politics, Hawke will have to offer an unequivocal expression of support to his hosts

and at least a tacit acknowledgement of the reality now in Timor. This is despite the ALP policy which "recognises the inalienable right of the East Timorese to self-determination and independence," and opposes all defence aid to Indonesia (it was \$10.2 million in 1982-83) until there is a complete withdrawal of Indonesian forces from East Timor.

In short, during his overseas trip, and especially in the US, Hawke will be making himself look as much like Malcolm Fraser as humanly possible. At home, and particularly within the Labor Party, he will be portraying himself as charting a new and progressive course in foreign policy.

contortions

(Cont'd) . . .

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"Hawke's foreign policy intention"

Though he has expressed a more modest view of Australia's role in the world than Fraser, Hawke is hardly a modest man. Far from the madding crowd of Labor backbenchers, trade unions and other special interest groups, he is unlikely to be able to resist dipping his toe into the occasional world issue.

Indeed, he showed that propensity as ACTU leader when he was merely destined to become Prime Minister. His emotional involvement with Israel developed into a very personal relationship with that nation's political leaders, which led in turn to his missions to the Soviet Union to try to negotiate the release of Soviet Jews.

That culminated in possibly the

most searing experience of his life, when he left the Soviet Union in 1979 believing he had negotiated the freedom of Jews, while it appears the Soviets were misleading him and using the issue for their own purposes. Hawke is quoted by his biographer, Blanche d'Alpuget, as saying he contemplated suicide at the time.

There is no doubt Hawke retains a deep distrust and animosity towards the Soviets. But since he became leader, his emotions have been hidden behind a steely discipline and a strong touch of realpolitik.

Those who thought that Hawke merely was acting out his prejudices by expelling a Soviet diplomat early in the life of the Government, have over-interpreted the situation. This week's announcement that the Government is to drop its ban on a range of scientific, cultural and sporting contacts with the Soviets is a significant step towards normalisation of relations.

If there was ever any value in Malcolm Fraser's idea of sending a signal to the Russians over the invasion of Afghanistan by imposing tougher sanctions than any other Western country, then the message had long since disappeared, particularly at a time when trade between the two countries was flourishing. Since the bans do not seem to have dislodged the Soviets from Kabul, and the scientists, in particular, were complaining that they harmed Australians more than Russians, the Government saw reality and lifted them.

Bob Hawke, at least so far, is not showing the presumption of a Malcolm Fraser assailing the world with his latest package of free trade measures (while Australia keeps its protection levels among the highest in the world). The theme he has touched on more than any in recent days is his hope that he can pass on to the Reagan Administration the concern expressed to him by the Chinese Premier, Zhao Ziyang, about the deterioration in Sino-US relations.

China believes it deserves the status in the US not of an ally but of a friendly nation. It regards as unfriendly America's refusal to give it access to high technology, not to mention US arms sales to Taiwan.

Hawke is venturing from Australia not as an innocent abroad, despite his inexperience as a Federal parliamentarian. As ACTU leader, he led campaigns in Australia and overseas on French nuclear testing. In the International Labour Organisation, based in Geneva, he has fought on issues such as trade union rights in Poland.

Like his previews of the summit, Bob Hawke has already proclaimed his trip a success . . . or at least the contentious parts of it.

Hawke counts himself as good friends with Michael Somare, whom he represented in a Public Service salary case in 1966; the US Secretary of State, George Shultz; the leader of the American trade union movement, Lane Kirkland; and the director-general of the ILO, Francis Blanchard. He has a long-standing fascination with foreign affairs.

The question is whether political caution will overwhelm him into dealing in the same platitudes which are grist for the mill of international diplomacy. The US has long taken Australia for granted precisely because, as a State Department official once put it, "you don't give us any trouble."

Australian leaders traditionally have been loath to use the presence of bases as a bargaining lever with the Americans. But whether the linkage is made overtly or not, Australia should be able to reap some benefits by stating its case more assertively in American forums, and asking for increased consultation, particularly in defence strategic matters, in return.

Like his previews of the summit, Bob Hawke already has proclaimed his trip a success or, at least, the contentious parts of it. On East Timor, he said on Wednesday, "I don't see any problem about the issue at all." He said he felt confident of his capacity to handle the tricky questions raised by the reported Australian bugging of PNG's domestic communications.

Particularly since, on Hawke's own admission, Australia's capacity to influence events is limited, the concrete achievements outside PNG and Indonesia are likely to be hard to come by. Talks with world leaders such as Reagan or Mitterrand invariably become tours d'horizon with specific discussions delegated down the line.

Alan Renouf, head of the Foreign Affairs Department under the Whitlam Government and a diplomat for some 40 years, including several postings in Washington, is scathing about the value of such visits. In his book *The Frightened Country*, he writes: "Having been associated with many such visits, I can vouch that almost always nothing happens. No information not otherwise available is obtained. No agreements are negotiated."

Sydney Morning Herald - 7/15/88

Jakarta waits and wonders

By PETER HASTINGS,
Foreign Editor

Mr Hawke, who arrives in Jakarta today, will find his Indonesian hosts polite, friendly but anxious to know how Australia will vote on the Timor issue in the UN in October.

Australia's vote is crucial to Indonesia.

The resolution calling on Indonesia to withdraw its troops from East Timor and allow an act of self-determination for the Timorese now hangs in the UN Fourth committee agenda by only two votes.

The crucial test of Australia's intentions will come after the 10-day visit of the Australian parliamentary delegation to Indonesia beginning on July 18.

An Australian vote against Indonesia in the UN, even an abstention, might easily cause other countries to change their votes at a time when the resolution has all but been dropped by the General Assembly.

Indonesia would regard an Australian vote against it in the UN as a betrayal of the original agreement to "look to the future."

While President Soeharto and his Government have no doubt as to where Mr Hawke and Foreign Affairs Minister, Mr Hayden, stand on the Timor issue, they are worried that the ALP Left could force a change in Australian policy.

37/10/83 309 4/6/83

Way out cleared for Timorese refugees

From COLIN BRAMMALL, in Port Moresby

Australia has been applying financial as well as diplomatic pressures on Indonesia to obtain concessions for East Timor refugees, and a blockage in the processing of applications by Timorese wanting to go to Australia for family reunions appears to have removed.

Since the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Hayden, visited Jakarta in April about 25 people had left East Timor for Australia, and a further 24 would leave this weekend, Australian officials said yesterday. This left about 50 cases to be processed to complete the program involving about 600.

The Indonesian Government said the blockage had been administrative, not political.

The Indonesian Ambassador to Australia, Mr Erman Harirustaman, had been summoned by the Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, last week and told that agreements made with Mr Hayden — including the family-reunions issue — could not be watered down. Australia would insist, for example, that the Australian Associated Press office to be opened in Jakarta was a full bureau and not, as Indonesia was now suggesting,

a limited operation on what amounted to a trial period.

This will be among the matters Mr Hawke, who flew to Jakarta yesterday on the next leg of his six-nation tour, will discuss today with President Suharto of Indonesia and his Foreign Minister, Dr Mochtar.

Indonesia wants an increase in aid, or at least present levels maintained, through Australian support at the World Bank.

The Australian Government sources said yesterday that Mr Hawke would be "fairly reassuring" to Indonesia on the aid question, because of the positive response from Jakarta on current negotiating points.

JILL JOLLIFFE reports from Lisbon: The Fretilin representative in Lisbon, Mr Araujo, has appealed to Mr Hawke to be true to Labor Party policy on Timor. He said in a cable that the independence organisation "has noted your personal commitment and your party's commitment to safeguarding the human rights of the East Timorese people".

Hawke faces most delicate issue

4/6/83
"the Age"

From MICHELLE GRATTAN

JAKARTA. — The Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, last week protested to the Indonesian Government about delays and hitches in fulfilling promises given to the Foreign Minister, Mr Hayden, in April.

Mr Hawke raised with the Indonesian Ambassador, Mr Hari-rustaman, in Canberra, delays in the processing of Timorese family reunion applications and the difficulties over the terms under which Australian Associated Press can open a Jakarta office.

The family reunion program has now been speeded up with about 20 to 24 applications dealt with in the past few days — presumably as a result of Mr Hawke's intervention.

Mr Hawke arrived in Jakarta yesterday on the second stop of his seven-nation round-the-world trip, with East Timor the most delicate issue on the agenda for his talks.

Mr Hawke arrived to a military guard of honor and band. He

was met by President Suharto and then went to the Presidential palace for a brief meeting.

Australian officials said Mr Hawke will tell President Suharto that Australia will make up its mind how to vote in the United Nations on East Timor close to the time when the vote is due.

The Prime Minister is also expected to assure the Indonesians that the existing defence program will not be disturbed, despite Labor's formal policy, which opposes defence aid to Indonesia until it withdraws from East Timor. The defence aid program cost Australia about \$10 million this financial year.

The Labor Government is interpreting the resolution passed by the 1982 national conference as prohibiting new defence aid, rather than requiring existing programs to be stopped.

Mr Hawke expressed concern about hitches, especially in the refugee program, when the Indonesian Ambassador made a courtesy call last week as a preliminary to the Prime Minister's trip.

Mr Hawke will have two hours of talks with President Suharto today. He will also have a meeting with the Foreign Minister, Dr Mochtar and the Economic Co-ordinating Minister, Professor Wardhana, during his weekend stay.

The Prime Minister will carry further the indication that Mr Hayden gave the Indonesians in April that the new Australian Government would not implement the ALP hard line policy to withdraw recognition of the incorporation of East Timor. But he will express the Labor Government's concern that an act of self determination did not take place in East Timor and note the strength of feeling on the issue within Australia, especially within the ALP.



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Australia's Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, arrives in Jakarta yesterday on his seven-nation tour. With him at Jakarta's Indonesia's President Suharto.

Hawke concerned over Timor deal

From MIKE STEKETEE

PORT MORESBY, Friday. — The Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, has expressed concern to Indonesia over hitches in implementing concessions on East Timor agreed to in April.

In talks in Canberra earlier this week with the Indonesian Ambassador, Mr Harirustaman, Mr Hawke complained about delays in processing applications from East Timorese who want to join relatives in Australia, and an attempt to limit the terms under which the first Australian news correspondent

is to be readmitted to Indonesia.

These concessions were negotiated by the Foreign Minister, Mr Hayden, in Jakarta in April.

Mr and Mrs Hawke arrived in Jakarta last night. Mr Hawke will have talks today with President Soeharto, the Foreign Minister, Dr Mochtar, and the Finance Minister, Professor Wardhana.

Officials said Mr Hawke would raise with President Soeharto and Dr Mochtar Australia's concern that East Timor did not have free elections under international supervision.

However, he is not expected to press the issue since it is obvious Indonesia will not allow them.

Hawke adviser censured, Senate told

A senior adviser accompanying the Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, on his trip to Indonesia, was censured by an Australian security agency in 1980 for leaking information to an East Timor activist, the Senate was told yesterday.

Senator Austin Lewis (Lib, Vic) asked the Leader of the Government in the Senate, Senator Button, if the adviser, Mr John Bowen,

was disciplined by the head of the Office of National Assessments for leaking information to Mr Jim Dunn, of the Parliamentary Library staff.

Senator Button replied that Mr Dunn had taken a "consistent and courageous" stand in his opposition to the Indonesian takeover of East Timor.

The concessions won by Mr Hayden in Jakarta in April were that:

- The family reunion program from East Timor to Australia be accelerated.

- The newsagency Australian Associated Press, be allowed a correspondent in Jakarta and no Indonesian discrimination against the Australian media.

- An Australian parliamentary delegation visit to Indonesia and East Timor.

Officials said yesterday that only the arrangements for the parliamentary visit had gone smoothly.

Before leaving here for Jakarta, Mr Hawke said his talks this week with the Indonesian Ambassador had resolved the family reunion issue.

The Government was concerned over the slow processing of 75 applications by East Timorese to

join relatives living in Australia. But officials said 24 people were due to leave for Australia this weekend.

Indonesia told the Government the hold-up was an administrative rather than a policy problem.

Officials said Indonesia only wanted to admit AAP temporarily. It appears the Indonesians wanted a trial period, with the correspondent's stay being extended if he "behaved."

Mr Hawke is also expected to mention relief operations in Timor. Australia is considering a request from the international committee of the Red Cross for additional assistance.

N.S.T. 4/6/83

Hawke in Jakarta to boost strained ties with Indonesia

JAKARTA, Fri. — Australian Prime Minister Bob Hawke arrived here today for a three-day fence-mending visit to improve strained relations with Indonesia.

Mr Hawke was met on arrival at the Jakarta Halim Airport by President Suharto and his wife Tien.

Mr Suharto and Mr Hawke will hold official talks tomorrow, when Mr Hawke is expected to

take up the issue of East Timor, officials said yesterday.

Relations between the two nations have been strained since Mr Hawke's Labour Party gained power earlier this year. The party in the past had criticised Indonesia's 1976 takeover of East Timor, a former Portuguese colony.

Last July, before gaining power, the Labour Party adopted a resolution condemning the "Indonesian occupation of

East Timor" and calling for the suspension of military aid to Indonesia until Jakarta withdraws its troops from the area.

Differences

Last month Australian Foreign Minister Bill Hayden came to Jakarta in a visit he said would try to bridge the differences between the two countries, but after talks with Indonesian leaders, including Mr Suharto, Mr Hayden expressed concern that an internationally supervised act of self-determination has not taken place in East Timor.

He said, however, that existing programmes, including defence aid, will be maintained pending a review of Australia's bilateral relations with Indonesia.

Australia has provided defence co-operation assistance to Indonesia since 1972, including the provision of 16 Sabre aircraft used by the Australian air force. — AP

Hawke turns foreign policy on its head

BOB HAWKE has already given the Labor Party one firm message on his first overseas trip. He, his Cabinet and political realism, not the ALP's ideologues, will determine the Labor Government's foreign policy.

As his entourage proceeds, the Prime Minister sheds inappropriate policies like the old clothes they are: colorful items that might be worn in Opposition but which look decidedly garish in Government.

Withdrawal of the Australian contingent to the Sinai, de-recognition of the incorporation of East Timor, resumption of aid to Vietnam, banning uranium sales to France until it stops nuclear tests: each policy has been declared irrelevant or delayed by the Labor Government in its first three months.

In the process, Mr Hawke is turning the old rules of the ALP on their head. Just as he got the ALP leadership on his terms — essentially by winning the electorate first and the party later — so he will run foreign policy his way and trust that he can persuade the party to catch up.

It has always been the prerogative of an ALP Government to decide the timing of the implementation of national conference policy.

With the Timor policy, Mr Hawke has taken it much further: his Government will determine whether the policy should be implemented. He's stretching matters on Vietnam aid by procrastination. The visit to France in a few days should give some indication of whether he plans to defy the uranium policy.

Sinai is another matter: Caucus, not the conference determined the withdrawal policy. But, as yet, Mr Hawke has not taken the future of the Australian contingent back to Caucus.

There are some fascinating parallels between Bob Hawke's weekend visit to Indonesia and that made by Malcolm Fraser in October 1976.

Both, in different ways, were committed to backtracking on a hard-line Timor policy.

In Mr Fraser's case, the visit was made within a year of the incorporation of East Timor, and emotion still ran high within Australia. The Government's formal policy, like Labor's formal policy, then called for the withdrawal of

Indonesian troops and an act of self-determination.

It was to be some time after that Fraser trip before Australia would give de facto, and then de jure, recognition to the incorporation.

But it was the Fraser visit which clearly signalled the Australian retreat to pragmatism. "The important thing is to look to the future," Mr Fraser said.

At the weekend, Mr Hawke had exactly the same message, only he was not delivering it so much to the Australian public: Mr Fraser had taken care of that task.



Comment
MICHELLE GRATTAN

Mr Hawke, in his speech at Saturday night's glittering banquet at the Presidential Palace — an exact replica of the banquet given seven years ago for Malcolm Fraser — was talking to his own party as well as to the Indonesians.

"My Government believes it is duty bound to give expression and practical effect to (the) consensus among the Australian people that we must work towards a sounder and better relationship with Indonesia in the future," he said.

"We need not hide what is a matter of public and historical record, that the unfolding of events in late 1975 and 1976 marked a setback in our relations. I am, however, confident in our ability to resolve those differences and put them behind us so they will present no obstacle in the future development of our important relationships."

A key to Bob Hawke's foreign policy is the concept of "regionalism". During this trip, he is scaling down the grand world view Mr Fraser tried to take — an ambition that often left the former Prime Minister vulnerable to charges of being the unclothed emperor.

The message from the new Government is that since Australia has only a small voice internationally, it is likely to be best heard if it is directed primarily to those close by.

In playing, a significant regional role, one requisite is to establish good relations with neighbors, of which the most critical is undoubtedly (leaving aside the special case of Papua New Guinea) Indonesia.

Mr Hawke's desire to build his Government's rapport with the Indonesians goes considerably beyond just dumping the East Timor policy.

His praise for President Suharto, was not just warm, but extravagant. The President received the ultimate accolade: "You, sir, set your hand to the tremendous task of national reconciliation, national recovery and national reconstruction," Mr Hawke enthused.

The President was commended for improving "the conditions of life for the people of East Timor after centuries of colonial misrule", and assured that \$1.5 million extra was on its way to the Red Cross and UNICEF to help with the task.

The ALP and its Indonesia policy has come a long way since 1978 when Bill Hayden declared: "It is inconceivable that the Australian people, who have built their nation on a firm belief in the rights and freedom of people, would in the circumstances endorse the Government's action in recognising Indonesia's seizure of East Timor".

And it has taken a giant step from the national conference less than a year ago which declared "the inalienable right of the East Timorese to self-determination and independence" and rejected "the Australian Government's recognition of the Indonesian annexation of East Timor".

It has, to be precise, bounded from the political wilderness into Government.

It is ironic that while Mr Fraser led his party to the Left on issues like Southern Africa, and was condemned by his Right-wing, Mr Hawke is leading his party to the centre on Timor, Sinai and the rest at the risk of attack from the Left.

The outcome is that in critical areas, such as the attitude to Indonesia, Australian policy is — as Mr Hawke told a reception at the weekend — "essentially bipartisan".

The important question is: can Mr Hawke get away with ignoring the formal foreign policy of the party? For the moment anyway, there is every chance he can, although he will have to put up with some annoying yapping around the ankles.

Mr Hawke's explanation for modifying ALP policy where he considers that necessary is a simple one. "Conferences deal with certain issues... at a point of time. The responsibility of Government is, within the general framework of Labor Party policies, to make decisions in respect of the interests of Australia — decisions which are relevant to the circumstances of the times."

Thus Mr Hawke has argued in the past four days that circumstances have changed so as to require adjustment of the policies on East Timor and Vietnam aid. He made the same point about Caucus's Sinai policy.

On Sinai: There have been fresh tensions in the Middle East, including a more aggressive stance by Syria, encouraged by the Soviet Union.

On Vietnam: There has emerged a chance for Australia to play a mediating role in seeking a peaceful Kampuchean settlement — and who would prejudice that by resuming aid to Vietnam now and upsetting ASEAN?

As for what has changed on East Timor: Bill Hayden has been to Indonesia and got the family reunion program speeded, negotiations started for an Australian Associated Press office in Jakarta, and permission has been given for a parliamentary delegation to visit East Timor.

"Each of those things is significant," Mr Hawke said, although it is hard to say they affect the "inalienable rights" of the Timorese.

In being the arbiter of policy, Mr Hawke is relying on several factors to deflect critics.

First, the party has no easy way to make the ALP Government stick to the letter of policy on, for example, Timor. The next national conference is not until 1984.

Mr Hawke, realising how delicate the Timor matter is in the party, yesterday refused to rule out a special conference to ratify any change — but would try to avoid one at all costs.

Second, the electorate, and probably a majority of ALP members, would agree with Mr Hawke's pragmatism, although that will not stop some embarrassing debates and even (probably from Victoria) some embarrassing resolutions when the NSW, Victorian and South Australian State councils meet over the next few weekends.

The Timor lobby has been working to try to get resolutions through any available party forum.

Third, Mr Hawke is making an active attempt to turn party thinking around to bring it into line with his own.

At the weekend, he was able to cite a Queensland State council resolution which, while supporting the National Conference Timor policy, said the timing and extent of implementation was a matter for the Government "in light of prevailing conditions".

Even more significant, Mr Hawke is looking to the parliamentary delegation to East Timor, led by a former Defence Minister, Mr Morrison, as a way of legitimising the switch in policy.

"It may well be that the views and the report of that delegation may of itself introduce a new factor into the assessment that will be made within the Australian Parliament of what is the appropriate course of action to be undertaken by Australia," Mr Hawke told journalists travelling with him.

As he left Indonesia, Mr Hawke was adamant that his Government had not yet "made a decision as to our vote" if and when Timor came up in the United Nations later this year.

Again the parallel with Malcolm Fraser in 1976 is uncanny. Mr Fraser insisted when he reached home that Australia was not giving de facto recognition to the incorporation of East Timor at that stage: what happened in the future "will be revealed in the future".

Clearly, Mr Hawke is aiming to keep Australia voting on Indonesia's side in the United Nations. An abstention on the Timor issue would be regarded by the Indonesians as an unfriendly act. A vote for Indonesia on East Timor would consummate Mr Hawke's turnaround of party policy.

It is essential for the Hawke strategy that the July parliamentary delegation should come up with a favorable report. The delegation provides an excellent opportunity for Mr Hawke to get documentary evidence that "things have changed" although the Indonesians are not keen on the delegation being regarded as a fact-finding mission.

It would be very inconvenient if the delegation, or any members of it (and it includes Senator MacIntosh, who has been vocal on Timor), found the wrong facts.

That is one of the risks that Mr Hawke and the Indonesians take in their common pursuit of the objective of putting East Timor into the past tense in the Australia-Indonesia relationship. But the Prime Minister seems to have little doubt that the fact-finding mission will get him and his Government off the hook of the purity that belongs to impotent days in Opposition.

Tak Ada yang Baru dari Hawke tentang Timtim

Kompas 6/6/83

Jakarta, Kompas

Hampir tidak ada yang baru dalam pernyataan PM Bob Hawke mengenai masalah Timor Timur yang selama ini menjadi titik rawan hubungan bilateral Indonesia - Australia. Hanya saja Hawke secara hati-hati mengemukakan pentingnya arti kunjungan suatu kelompok anggota parlemen Australia ke Timtim untuk melihat apa yang terjadi di daerah itu, serta membuat penilaian yang didasarkan kenyataan. Yaitu sebagai bagian perdebatan mengenai politik terhadap masalah Timtim menjelang pembicaraan soal itu di forum PBB nanti.

Dalam jumpa pers Minggu petang di Wisma Negara Hawke tidak beranjak dari pernyataan terdahulu Menlu Bill Hayden dalam soal Timtim. "Kami mengakui kenyataan yang terjadi, tetapi tetap menyesalkan bahwa tidak terjadi suatu penentuan nasib

— Kecuali Anggap Penting Kunjungan Parlemen Australia

sendiri rakyat Timtim menurut cara yang secara internasional diakui," demikian Hawke.

"Tetapi, antara saat kunjungan Menlu Hayden dan sekarang terjadi perkembangan penting, yaitu percepatan program penyatuan keluarga penduduk asal Timtim, akan ditempatkan kembali koresponden *Australian Associated Press* di sini, dan persiapan kunjungan misi parlementer Australia ke Indonesia," kata Hawke. PM Australia itu juga mengulangi bahwa perumusan politiknya tentang Timtim akan dibuat kalau sudah saatnya tiba kelak, terutama dalam kaitan dengan perdebatan di PBB.

Tetapi pada kesempatan itu, Hawke menekankan suatu dasar utama untuk isu Timtim itu,

yaitu kepentingan penduduk Timtim sendiri. "Kepada Presiden Soeharto, saya menegaskan niat dan tujuan pemerintah kami untuk memajukan kepentingan penduduk Timtim. Dalam rangka itu, kami akan memberikan bantuan 1,5 juta dollar yang akan disalurkan melalui Palang Merah Internasional dan UNICEF," kata Hawke.

Misi parlementer

Hawke sendiri secara pribadi menolak menamakan misi parlementer yang akan berkunjung ke Indonesia dan Timtim tentunya bulan Juli nanti adalah suatu misi pencari fakta. "Terserah pada masing-masing orang untuk menamakan misi itu," katanya. Tetapi Hawke sendiri secara tak sadar kemudian mengatakan misi itu akan mencari fakta tentang apa yang sebenarnya terjadi di sana sekarang.

"Misi ini akan terdiri dari anggota parlemen fraksi pemerintah maupun oposisi, yang akan melihat fakta dan membuat penilaian, serta memberikan keterangan dalam suatu perdebatan nanti," katanya.

Hawke dengan luwes mengelak untuk menjawab pasti, apa sebenarnya arti penting kesimpulan hasil kunjungan misi parlementer itu terhadap sikap politik pemerintah Australia di bawah Partai Buruh Australia dalam isu Timtim. "Penilaian mereka akan menjadi bahan informasi penting dalam diskusi antara pemerintah dan oposisi mengenai persoalan amat

penting bagi hubungan Indonesia-Australia," katanya.

Dasar politik luar negeri

Jumpa pers itu digunakan Hawke untuk mengemukakan dasar dan tujuan politik luar negeri Australia. Ia menegaskan, politik luar negeri Australia mempunyai dua tujuan. Pertama melindungi dan memajukan kepentingan nasional bangsa Australia. Kedua, memastikan tempat yang layak bagi Australia dalam percaturan politik dunia sesuai dengan kemampuannya, dan berdasarkan kemampuannya itu memberikan sumbangan bagi perdamaian dunia serta membantu bangsa lain yang "kurang beruntung dari kami sendiri".

"Namun masih atas dasar itu, pemerintahan saya akan memberikan penekanan penting terhadap kawasan di mana kami berada," katanya. Karena itu, katanya lagi, kunjungan pertama Menlu Australia Bill Hayden adalah ke Indonesia, lalu ke ASEAN, dan kunjungannya sendiri setelah menjadi PM adalah ke Papua Niugini dan Indonesia.

"Salah satu karakteristik dari politik luar negeri pemerintah saya adalah tidak melebih-lebihkan tentang kemampuan dan pentingnya Australia, apa lagi kemampuan untuk mempengaruhi kawasan ini," ujarnya.

"Tidak seperti pemerintah yang lampau, kami tidak berpandangan simplisistik tentang dunia, tetapi kami mempunyai pandangan jelas tentang kekuatan politik dan ekonomi apa saja yang berperan penting di dunia ini," tambahnya.

(Bersambung ke hal. XII kol. 4-5)

6/6/83

Tak Ada

(Sambungan dari halaman I)

Tentang Vietnam

PM Hawke menjelaskan latar belakang politik Australia terhadap Vietnam dalam kaitan dengan masalah Kamboja sekarang.

Dijelaskannya, politiknya terhadap Vietnam bertujuan membantu memudahkan negara itu kembali masuk dalam masyarakat dunia yang wajar dan melepaskan dari keharusan tergantung kepada Uni Soviet saja. Karena

memang harus diakui harus berdasarkan fakta yang nyata dilihat misi.

Misi parlementer itu memang akan memusatkan perhatian kepada keadaan di Timtim. Namun kiranya perlu dihamparkan pihak Indonesia nanti, bahwa Indonesia bukan hanya Timtim saja, dan bahwa kenyataan politik, ekonomi, budaya dan kesejahteraan serta persoalannya yang ada di

CHARTING DISKUSI

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"Australia mempunyai kemungkinan untuk berperan sebagai penengah dalam memberikan jasa baiknya, karena mempunyai hubungan baik dengan ASEAN, Amerika Serikat serta RRC, serta berkemampuan bicara dengan Vietnam sendiri," kata Hawke.

"Saya yakin, tujuan kami itu tidak berbeda dengan tujuan pemerintah Indonesia sendiri mengenai Indocina," kata Hawke.

Tinjauan

Dari pernyataan Hawke tadi, ada dua hal yang penting, yaitu soal misi parlementer dan orientasi politik luar negeri Australia.

Mengenai Timtim, jelas Hawke tidak bisa beranjak dari posisi yang telah dinyatakan Menlu Hayden tempo hari, setidaknya sebelum adanya misi parlementer Australia ke Indonesia.

Kesimpulan dari misi parlementer itu sendiri mungkin tidak terlalu berpengaruh terhadap itikad pemerintahan Partai Buruh Australia (ALP) kelak. Tetapi hasil kunjungan misi itu akan besar pengaruhnya terhadap penciptaan kondisi politik domestik yang diperlukan untuk melaksanakan itikad baik itu. Dan melihat situasi di Australia sekarang, kondisi domestik itu mau tak mau dipengaruhi kesan umum kunjungan misi parlementer Australia ke Indonesia kelak. Dan kesan itu

memang harus diakui harus berdasarkan fakta yang nyata dilihat misi.

Misi parlementer itu memang akan memusatkan perhatian kepada keadaan di Timtim. Namun kiranya perlu dihindarkan pihak Indonesia nanti, bahwa Indonesia bukan hanya Timtim saja, dan bahwa kenyataan politik, ekonomi, budaya dan kesejahteraan serta persoalannya yang ada di Timtim itu juga terjadi di daerah Nusatenggara sekitarnya.

Isyu Timtim dalam hubungan bilateral RI—Australia kini menjadi lebih menonjol segi domestiknya di masing-masing negara, yang kalau tidak segera diatasi bisa merambat ke aspek internasional di forum internasional.

Kedua, Hawke menegaskan orientasi politik luar negerinya antara lain yang ingin aktif di kawasan Asia Tenggara, tidak hanya sekedar "mengikuti ASEAN" saja. Konsekuensinya, kalau Australia mau aktif, harus terlihat kredibilitasnya dan juga kebebasannya dalam menentukan apa yang akan diperbuat atau tidak diperbuatnya. Termasuk dalam soal memberikan bantuan tertentu kepada Vietnam.

(Rumhardjono)

Pusat Bahasa Australia

Jakarta, Kompas

Sabtu sore PM Bob Hawke meresmikan Pusat Bahasa Australia yang terletak di Jalan Rasuna Said (Kuningan). PM Hawke mengharapkan pusat bahasa ini akan mendorong minat Indonesia terhadap Australia. "Pembukaan Pusat Bahasa Australia ini merupakan langkah penting ke arah saling pengertian yang lebih baik serta hubungan yang lebih erat antara Indonesia dan Australia," ujarnya. (sel)

Australia to provide \$1.5m E Timor aid

From MICHELLE GRATTAN

JAKARTA. — Australia acknowledged and wanted to encourage the Indonesian Government's "major efforts" to improve the lot of the East Timorese — and would give \$1.5 million new aid to international agencies to assist East Timor, the Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, said at the weekend.

Mr Hawke, speaking at a State banquet in his honor, said that the Timor events of 1975-76 had marked a setback in Australian-Indonesian relations. But he was confident that these differences could be resolved and "put behind us," he said.

Mr Hawke said his Government was firmly committed to a strong, constructive relationship with Indonesia.

"This is not only the determination of the Government, but, beyond doubt the wish of the overwhelming majority of the Australian people.

"The importance of Indonesia to Australia is something on which, within the Australian community as a whole there is a high degree of continuity, consistency and consensus," he said.

He said there was a need for Governments in both countries to actively promote understanding of the other.

"More than ever there is a need for a focussed and deliberate attempt for each country to explain itself to the media and to public opinion," Mr Hawke said.

The Prime Minister said his Government believed it was "duty bound" to give expression and practical effect to the consensus in the Australian community that there should be a sounder and better relationship with Indonesia in the future.

In his speech, President Suharto also stressed the Timor issue.

In a forthright statement of the Indonesian position he said: "The people of East Timor have exercised their legitimate rights to determine their own future by integrating with their other fellow Indonesian brothers and sisters".

He said the problems faced by "our youngest province" were not different from those of other Indonesian provinces.

President Suharto said that the East Timorese had achieved "impressive progress in the political, economic, social and cultural fields — far surpassing than what was given by colonialism during several centuries".

Both Mr Hawke and President Suharto referred in their banquet speeches to the support Australia, then under a Labor Government, had given Indonesia during its struggle for independence in the 1940s.

After the banquet Mr and Mrs Hawke were entertained by a cultural display.

Today they inspected an Australian agricultural aid project out of Jakarta, before lunching at the picturesque Bogor Palace in the country. On Saturday Mr Hawke opened an Australian language centre in Jakarta.

Hawke abroad



Indons press for more trade access

JAKARTA. — The Indonesian Government pressed Australia for greater trade access during talks at the weekend.

However, the Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, pointed out economic difficulties which prevented lowering protection.

He said after the talks that he would ask the Australian Embassy in Jakarta and the relevant Ministers in Canberra to examine whether there were ways in which trade between the countries could be increased.

The request for more access for goods such as clothing, footwear and textiles, was made when the Economic Co-ordinating Minister, Professor Wardhana, met Mr Hawke and outlined serious problems in the Indonesian economy.

The trade relationship is significantly in Indonesia's favor — but the Indonesians argued that oil should be excluded from an examination of the trade balance.

Mr Hawke and Australian officials argued that there was scope for Indonesia to get a bigger share of ASEAN imports to Australia.

Mr Hawke agreed that the Government would favorably consider the Indonesian request for an extra 100,000 tonnes of wheat to meet problems caused by a loss of external revenue because of falling oil prices, and by the drought.

Labor anger flares over policy stance

The apparent reversal of ALP policy on East Timor by the Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, seems certain to be severely criticised at the Victorian Labor Party conference later this month.

A member of the State branch's foreign affairs committee, Dr Joe Camilleri, said yesterday Mr Hawke's stance had to be condemned in the strongest possible terms.

Mr Hawke effectively abandoned Labor policy — to withdraw recognition of the incorporation of East Timor into Indonesia — in his comments after a round of weekend talks with President Suharto and other Indonesian leaders.

Mr Hawke told President Suharto Australian defence aid worth \$10 million would continue. Labor policy is to defer the aid until Indonesian troops leave East Timor.

"There is enormous feeling on this issue within the ALP and outside the ALP," Dr Camilleri said. "Mr Hawke has really just abandoned the party's policy on East Timor."

The secretary of the branch, Mr Peter Batchelor, said he would be anxious to have Mr Hawke explain his position on East Timor. He said Mr Hawke's statements did not seem to concur with ALP policy.

The Federal Government also appears headed for a rebuke on its handling of the policy on uranium. The administrative committee of the Victorian branch last Friday passed a strongly worded resolution criticising the Government's decision to allow two uranium mining companies to negotiate new export contracts.

Dr Camilleri, who is also a member of the anti-uranium committee, said it was quite nonsensical to allow the new negotiations when the party was committed to phasing out the industry.

"It may be that at every stop-over Mr Hawke makes, we see another departure from ALP policy," Dr Camilleri said.

A Federal Labor MP, Mr Fry, said it was possible some Labor MPs would move to endorse an Australian abstention later this year in the United Nations vote on self-determination for the East Timorese.

He said this would go against ALP policy and he would fight to have Australia vote for self-determination.

The chairman of the Australian Council for Overseas Aid, Mr Richard Alston, said the Government would be acting without the support of the majority of Australians if it backed Indonesia in the United Nations on the East Timor question.

Mr Alston, a former Victorian Liberal Party president, expressed concern at the "strong indication" given by Mr Hawke to President Suharto at the weekend that Australia would continue to support Indonesia in the UN.

A former senior Federal MP, Mr Gordon Bryant, said Mr Hawke and his Cabinet were badly misreading the attitude of Australians towards East Timor and Indonesia by backing the Suharto Government.

The chairman of the Australian-East Timor Association, Dr George Preston, said: "The Australian people have no interest in supporting Indonesian aggression, particularly in view of Indonesia's threatening behavior towards Papua New Guinea."

Labor anger flares over PM's stance on Timor

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A member of the State branch's foreign affairs committee, Dr Joe Camilleri, said yesterday Mr Hawke's stance had to be condemned in the strongest possible terms.

In a two-hour meeting with Indonesia's President Suharto at the weekend, Mr Hawke told him that Australian defence aid worth \$10 million would continue.

Labor Party policy, decided at last year's national conference, directed a Labor Government to defer defence aid until Indonesian troops leave East Timor.

Only two months ago, the Victorian branch backed a resolution calling on the Federal Government to carry out Labor policy in support of East Timor's right to self-determination.

"There is enormous feeling on this issue within the ALP and outside the ALP," Dr Camilleri said. "Mr Hawke has really just abandoned the party's policy on East Timor."

Dr Camilleri said he expected the Victorian branch would ask members of the Federal parliamentary Labor Party to "at the earliest opportunity have a major debate on implementing the policy."

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The secretary of the branch, Mr Peter Batchelor, said he would be anxious to have Mr Hawke

explain his position on East Timor. He said Mr Hawke's statements did not seem to concur with ALP policy.

"Perhaps on his return he will be able to acquaint us more fully with the situation," he said.

The Federal Government also appears headed for a rebuke on its handling of the policy on uranium. The administrative committee of the Victorian branch last Friday passed a strongly worded resolution criticising the Government's decision to allow two uranium mining companies to negotiate new export contracts.

The administrative committee called for the decision to be overturned, and for no more Australian uranium to be shipped to France. The committee's resolution is timely, with Mr Hawke due to arrive in France on Wednesday to have talks with President Mitterand.

Mr Batchelor said he expected the Government's handling of uranium policy to be debated at conference, but that most of the debate would reflect the branch's firm opposition to the uranium industry.

He said granting the rights in new negotiations of export contracts appeared to conflict directly with national policy.

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He said this would go against ALP policy and he would fight to have Australia vote for self-determination.

Mr Fry said it was unnecessary for Mr Hawke to have re-neged on Labor principles over East Timor. "We don't acknowledge the Russian position of Afghanistan but we still have relations with the Soviet Union," he said.

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A former senior Federal MP, Mr Gordon Bryant, said Mr Hawke and his Cabinet were badly misreading the attitude of Australians towards East Timor and Indonesia by backing the Suharto Government.

The former Aboriginal Affairs and Capital Territory Minister said Australian foreign policy would lose all credibility if the Government backed down on ALP policy on East Timor.

Switch will spark row in Labor Party

By MICHELLE GRATTAN in Jakarta and RUSSELL BARTON in Canberra



The Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, effectively dumped Labor policy on East Timor yesterday — and has begun to pave the way for Australia to vote with Indonesia on the issue at the United Nations.

Mr Hawke said yesterday that next month's visit to East Timor by a parliamentary delegation would increase understanding and informed debate in Australia, "which will lead to a decision by the Government as to how it should cast its relevant vote in the United Nations".

Mr Hawke effectively abandoned the ALP's national conference policy — to withdraw recognition of the incorporation of East Timor — in his comments after a round of weekend talks with President Suharto and other Indonesian leaders.

Mr Hawke's policy reversal is certain to open divisions in the party over Timor. A Federal Labor MP, Mr Fry, yesterday strongly criticised the Prime Minister's moves.

Mr Hawke made it clear that he believed the party's official policy was irrelevant and not in Australia's interests—although he said the Government would decide on its UN vote closer to the time when it was to be cast.

Mr Hawke wants to use the parliamentary delegation, to be led by a former Defence Minister, Mr Morrison, to allow the final stage of the policy switch — a pro-Indonesian vote in the UN — to be made as nearly as possible on a consensus basis.

Mr Hawke also said at the weekend that his Government would not implement party policy to resume aid to Vietnam while Australia was trying to play a mediating role between ASEAN countries and Vietnam to promote a peaceful Kampuchean settlement. ASEAN countries are firmly opposed to the resumption of aid.

Mr Hawke's unloading of the Timor policy could produce some embarrassing debates at State ALP council meetings in Victoria, New South Wales and South Australia over the next few weekends.

The ALP policy, endorsed last year, says that the party "will continue to support United Nations resolutions which promote the rights of East Timorese" and opposes Australian military aid to Indonesia while it occupies East Timor.

But Mr Hawke said the military aid program is "continuing and will continue".

The former Government voted with Indonesia last year against a motion supporting self-determination for East Timor.

Mr Hawke is expected to seek ALP national executive backing for scrapping party policy on East Timor. He is facing attack from Labor MPs for jettisoning the policy.

Mr Hawke can use the 29 June national executive meeting to head off a row at the scheduled Caucus meeting in July.

The executive has the power to "interpret" Labor policy between meetings the party's supreme policy-making body—the national conference, held every two years. But there could be difficulties with this tactic because policy on Timor is precise.

Mr Fry said last night Mr Hawke had sacrificed principles for ex-

COMMENT

Michelle Grattan

Bob Hawke has already given the Labor Party one firm message on his first overseas trip. He, his Cabinet, and political realism will determine the Labor Government's foreign policy, not the ALP's ideologues. As his entourage proceeds, the Prime Minister sheds inappropriate policies like the old clothes they are: colorful items that might be worn in Opposition but which look decidedly garish in Government.

Withdrawal of the Australian contingent to the Sinai, derecognition of the incorporation of East Timor, resumption of aid to Vietnam, banning of uranium sales to France until it stops nuclear tests: each policy has been declared irrelevant or delayed by the Labor Government in its first three months.

— PAGE 13

pedlency in his Indonesian talks. He said Australia would not have lost anything by retaining strong opposition to the Indonesian take-over of East Timor.

Mr Fry said there was a lot of Caucus support for his pro-Timor position and there would inevitably be a debate at the Caucus meeting next month.

Continued: PAGE 4.

PAGE 4: Australia to provide \$1.5 million East Timor aid; Indons press for more trade access; Labor anger.

PAGE 13: Editorial. Nicholson's view.

UK links 'diminished'

JAKARTA.—On the eve of his visit to Britain, Mr Hawke has reaffirmed his view that Australia will eventually become a republic. He said the relationship with Britain had diminished over time.

Mr Hawke told a questioner at a Press conference in Jakarta yesterday that he thought Australians would "some time down the track" decide that they would be best served by being a republic within the Commonwealth. But he again stressed that republicanism was "not an item of urgency on my agenda".

Mr Hawke will meet the Queen in London. One item to be raised is the future of State Governments' links with Britain and the Crown. The Federal Government wants to end the situation under which State Governments approach the Crown, through the British Government.

PM switches in Jakarta talks

"Mr Hawke can fiddle with words and say there has been no firm decision but all indications are that he is moving away from ALP policy on East Timor," Mr Fry said.

He accused Mr Hawke of not honoring an assurance he had given to Caucus that the policy would not be altered without Caucus approval.

Senator Gordon MacIntosh, the chairman of the Senate Standing Committee on Defence and Foreign Affairs — which is inquiring into the invasion of East Timor — said last night he supported present Labor policy and could not do otherwise.

"Just because Mr Hawke makes some comments is no reason to change my mind. The policy is clear and unequivocal," he said.

Senator MacIntosh said Australia would lose credibility if it recognised Indonesia's take-over of East Timor.

"Why do Indonesians get up-tight when we drop de jure recognition on this issue? We don't recognise Pol Pot and they do," he said.

"How can we criticise violations of human rights anywhere in the world if we legitimise an illegal act like the invasion of East Timor?," he said.

At the weekend Mr Hawke said the Government had a responsibility to make decisions "relevant to the circumstances of the time". He said it would be "quite irresponsible" if the Government ignored changed circumstances.

"There are circumstances that have developed this year since we've come to Government which are relevant to how we'll cast our vote," Mr Hawke said. These included the acceleration of the Timorese family reunion program, the progress made with In-

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onesia to allow an Australian Associated Press office to open in Jakarta — and "very particularly" the agreement for an Australian parliamentary delegation to visit East Timor.

"That visit will be extremely important because people who have framed attitudes and opinions across the spectrum of opinion in Australia will have the opportunity of now seeing in Indonesia and in East Timor the developments that have taken place since the events of 1975-76," he said.

Mr Hawke said he did not want to prejudice the delegation's conclusions. But its members would certainly have the opportunity of "testing at first hand" the claims of the Indonesian authorities about what they had been able to do "to uplift the opportunities of the people in East Timor".

Other members of the parliamentary delegation are Senator MacIntosh (ALP, WA) a Left-winger and an activist on Timor Mr Cross (ALP, Qld.), Senator Hamer (Lib. Viv.) and Mr Dobie (Lib., NSW).

The Prime Minister used Saturday night's State banquet in his honor to stress that the tensions between Australia and Indonesia over Timor should be consigned to the past.

Mr Hawke spent nearly two hours with President Suharto, followed by meetings with the Foreign Minister, Dr Mochtar, and the Minister Co-ordinating the Economy, Finance and Industry, Professor Wardhana.

He said Dr Mochtar had indicated that the Foreign Minister, Mr Hayden, could take a mediating message from the ASEAN

Foreign Ministers' meeting later this month to Hanoi. Mr Hayden will attend the briefing that follows the ASEAN Ministers' meeting and then go straight on to Hanoi.

Mr Hawke said he had told Dr Mochtar that the Australian Government was willing to do whatever it could to promote a Kampuchean settlement and would be "more than pleased" for Mr Hayden to act as an emissary or conduit.

Australia first made known its interest in trying to play a mediating role on Kampuchea some weeks ago. Mr Hawke said the situation on Kampuchea appeared to be "loosening up somewhat", with ASEAN countries and Vietnam showing signs of some flexibility.

If Australia was to be able to best act in this emissary role, it would be best not to resume aid immediately.

As with the Timor issue, Mr Hawke went out of his way — mindful of party sensitivities — to say that the Government had not made any decision against resuming aid.

"The point I want to emphasise — and again it is a similar sort of consideration to that which I have conveyed in respect to the vote on East Timor — is that the Government wishes to put itself in a position of making decisions which are going to be most beneficial into the future for Australia," he said.

He said that Australia's objective was not the resumption of aid as an end in itself, but the wider objective of bringing Vietnam back into the international community.

Mr Hawke said the Government's objective was to end the isolation of Vietnam.

Illness 'killed 202 jailed Timorese'

By **OLGA FERNLEY**

A confidential Foreign Affairs Department report says that 202 people died in 15 months on East Timor's Atauro prison island because of poor health conditions.

Most of the deaths were from gastroenteritis, and numerous prisoners were also suffering from TB.

The report said prisoners were "crammed" into small, hot barracks, sometimes 75 people in a 14 by 10 metre area, with very little privacy, except that afforded by black plastic sheeting.

It said lack of water for bathing added to the health problems, "which are apparently similar to those found elsewhere in East Timor".

The report, prepared by Mr Dennis Richardson of the Australian Embassy in Jakarta, has been widely circulated in the department. One copy was given to the Senate standing committee on foreign affairs and defence, investigating conditions in East Timor.

Mr Richardson visited East Timor for five days in September 1982. Between June 1981 and September 1982 there were 86 births, and 202 deaths from gastroenteritis, in the camp, he was told by Indonesian officials.

Mr Richardson's observations appear to confirm some reports that Indonesian authorities waged a campaign to crush resistance by punishing relatives of suspected Fretilin. "Any family thought to have a relative 'in the mountains' is sent to Atauro. They are sent in 'family groups'," he reported.

At the time of his visit, 1537 children and 1353 women were imprisoned on Atauro. Mr Richardson reported that many children were not in school, and said "it is doubtful whether many of the children brought to the island attend school".

He said detainees were dependent on Red Cross aid for their food, as the few who had gardens "in no way could support anywhere near 4077 persons".

Red Cross food distributions to virtually all the people in Atauro and to many areas of East Timor were essential to prevent starvation, but the food distributed, essentially corn, did not prevent malnutrition, according to Mr Richardson.

He said the food situation on the island as a whole was being adequately managed, and that despite obvious difficulties, the Indonesian authorities generally had the situation in hand on Atauro although he would "feel a lot less confident if Red Cross activities were terminated".

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Mr Hawke treads on dangerous ground

DURING the past week the Federal Government has taken a stand in direct contradiction to Australian Labor Party policy on four major issues.

One matter, the question of uranium exports, is probably more capable of arousing the passions of Labor activists than any other current controversy. Until now it had seemed their differences of policy on the export of uranium constituted one of the most obvious distinctions between Labor and the coalition.

The three other issues are more directly related to foreign policy. They concern Australian participation in the multi-national Sinai peace-keeping force, economic aid to Vietnam and the Indonesian invasion of East Timor.

Mr Hawke's announcement that his Government has no intention of withdrawing Australia's contribution to the Sinai peace-keeping force in the foreseeable future will be welcomed by our allies and by most Australians. If this country wishes to play an influential part in international relations, there is no way we can avoid the often onerous burdens that necessarily accompany such a role.

The one glimmer of hope seen in decades for a peaceful and rational Middle East is the Camp David treaty. The peace-keeping force is a corner stone of the treaty. Unless countries such as Australia are prepared to back the historic compromise between Israel and Egypt, we shall forfeit all right to preach to others about the superiority of negotiation over violence.

The ALP policy of providing aid to Vietnam while its troops are still in occupation in Kampuchea has been condemned by our allies and by our neighbors in the Association of South-East Asian Nations.

Mr Bowen and Mr Hayden have argued that our giving aid without pre-

conditions would cause Hanoi to loosen its ties with Moscow and to reconsider its colonialism towards the other Indo-Chinese nations.

Mr Hawke is obviously unimpressed by this somewhat innocent approach. Indeed, if Australia is to succeed in its efforts to persuade the Vietnamese to withdraw its occupying army, it is necessary that we should not agree in advance to subsidise Hanoi's military expenses.

Mr Hawke's decision on East Timor may not be so widely welcomed as his other departures from Labor policy. Feelings of concern at the Indonesian seizure of a foreign territory and its denial of the rights of self-determination to the territory's people are not confined to Labor's left wing. And some Australians may see an inconsistency in refusing even civil aid to Vietnam because of its invasion of Kampuchea while continuing military aid to Indonesia after its invasion of East Timor.

Following the Prime Minister's earlier repudiation of the ALP's socialist objective and some of its other traditional programs, the latest decisions are further evidence that Australia has a Hawke government rather than a Labor government. This may suit a majority of the electorate but is likely to cause tension among the Labor Party's active members.

At the moment most members of the Labor Party are so delighted at being back in government that they would not be willing to jeopardise their good fortune by an over-zealous adherence to old party principles. But if the passage of time does not bring an evident improvement in the economy, Mr Hawke may find, too late, that no Labor government, however popular its prime minister, can last for long without taking serious account of the wishes of its rank and file.

Mr Hawke on East Timor:

6 The ALP has expressed concern . . . but that in no way diminishes the enduring feelings of friendship which the Australian people have always held towards Indonesia ,

Hawke faces ALP clash on Timor

From RUSSELL SCHNEIDER in Jakarta, who is travelling with the Prime Minister

THE Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, has set the Federal Government on a collision course with the ALP Left after repudiating official Labor policy on East Timor and moving away from aid to Vietnam at the weekend.

Mr Hawke now faces the prospect of the Government's — as distinct from the party's — official foreign policy coming under heated attack at party State conferences due to be held over the next few weeks.

Mr Hawke's call to put East Timor "behind us" has already surprised the Queensland ALP and angered the Australian Democrats — and pleased the Indonesians. (See adjacent stories).

He will now have to use his personal authority as Prime Minister and the argument that Labor in office cannot always be bound by party dogma.

After first indicating the departure from official policy on Saturday, Mr Hawke went on

the offensive yesterday, saying circumstances had changed since the ALP laid down its Timor policy last year.

"These are relevant to our consideration of what we will do," he said.

Mr Hawke also argued that a forthcoming visit by an Australian parliamentary delegation could see a changed view of the Timor situation.

the delegation, but he added that he and the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Hayden, would be "putting a point of view which is properly put within the councils of the party".

He said it was important that both sides of the Parliament had an opportunity to consider the East Timor situation

Nations members to open a dialogue with Vietnam.

"It seems to us, and I have discussed this with Indonesia and Papua New Guinea, and they have confirmed this, that it is more likely we will be able to accelerate the process by not precipitately resuming aid to Vietnam."

The Prime Minister said he believed there was some loosening of Vietnam's position.

After talks with Indonesian leaders, including President Suharto, on Saturday, Mr Hawke:

CONFIRMED to the Indonesian authorities that Australian defence aid would continue.

INSISTED the East Timor issue should not hamper Australian-Indonesian relations.

REVEALED Australia had agreed there would be no resumption of aid to Vietnam pending further consideration by the ASEAN members of ways of encouraging Vietnam to move out of Kampuchea.

INDICATED Mr Hayden would play a key role in helping ASEAN negotiate with the Vietnamese over the Kampuchean question.

ARGUED strongly that Labor, when in power, had the right to make decisions in the light of circumstances which might run contrary to official party policy.

AGREED to consider Indonesian requests that Australia supply an extra 100,000 tonnes of wheat in its food aid program this year.

PREDICTED the parliamentary delegation to visit East Timor was likely to support the Government's actions.

Mr Hawke's change of course on ALP official policy was backed in part by the Queensland ALP State Council which has passed a resolution to support existing national conference decisions on Timor, but recognises the timing and implementation of the policy is a matter for the Government to determine.

This was more a victory for the efforts of Mr Hayden in his own State than outright support for Mr Hawke's statements.

"Australia has a Hawke government rather than a Labor government. This may suit a majority of the electorate but is likely to cause tension among the Labor Party's active members . . . no Labor government, however popular its prime minister, can last for long without taking serious account of the wishes of its rank and file."

From today's editorial, Page 8

"Without prejudicing what they will see, they will have an opportunity of testing what Indonesia claims to have done in Timor," he said.

Asked if he would campaign for a reversal of the ALP's decision on East Timor, Mr Hawke said he would be waiting for the report from

before a vote in the United Nations was held.

Mr Hawke also insisted his Vietnam statements were not inconsistent with the Government's previous position.

He said it was important that Australia be in a position where it could assist the Association of South-East Asian

While Mr Hawke is overseas, the NSW, South Australian and Victorian branches will hold their State conferences, which are likely to see heated debates on Mr Hawke's foreign policy endeavors.

The official ALP policy on East Timor "opposes all defence aid to Indonesia until there is a complete withdrawal of Indonesian occupation forces from East Timor".

Policy on Vietnam requires the Government to "resume

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CHART Editorial — Page 8

THE AUSTRALIAN Monday - 6/6/83
FRONT PAGE

Hawke faces party clash

From Page 1

its commitment" to aid for that country.

Mr Hawke, after talks with the Indonesian leaders, concluded that international relations had to take priority over official policy.

During his discussions with President Suharto he gave the Indonesians a guarantee that Australia's defence aid program would not be affected by the Timor situation.

The program includes handing a refitted Attack-class patrol boat to Indonesia later this year.

Mr Hawke is understood to have explained his own political difficulties to President Suharto, emphasising this made it impossible for Australia to announce its attitude to a likely UN resolution authorising Indonesia's takeover of East Timor.

But Mr Hawke's subsequent statements indicate that when the vote is taken Australia will recognise the takeover, provided the Indonesians continue to allow family reunions of Timorese refugees and take no further action in the former Portuguese colony. That would cause serious reactions within the ALP in Australia.

The decision to postpone any aid decision to Vietnam until after Mr Hayden visits Hanoi came after discussions with the Indonesian Foreign Minister, Dr Mochtar, who is understood to have pressed Australia to hold off any aid decisions.

● Mr Hawke was last night non-committal when asked if he would endorse a special conference of the party to resolve the conflict in East Timor policy.

Nor would he say if he thought the party's National Executive - supreme ALP body between conferences - should be asked to endorse the turnaround.

"I have not given any consideration to that matter" Mr Hawke said.

"The Foreign Minister, Mr Hayden, and I have had some discussions on this issue. Following the return of the parliamentary fact-finding party we will

have discussions with the ALP members of the delegation and we will make a decision as a government as to what is the proper course of action."

Asked if he ruled out a conference, Mr Hawke said: "As this year goes on we will as a government be considering what Australia should do in the UN if the vote comes up. What may or may not be necessary in the processes of the Labor Party depends on the way in which that decision works itself out.

"I will not commit myself now to any course of action, the necessity for which cannot be determined at this point."

Dr Mochtar told Mr Hawke that ASEAN would meet shortly before Mr Hayden goes to Hanoi at the end of this month. He said Mr Hayden would be briefed on the situation and then possibly be asked to take the ASEAN decisions to Hanoi.

As a result, Mr Hawke agreed there would be no question of aid resumption before the visit.

After the talks, Mr Hawke said it would be unwise for Australia to endanger its sensitive position with ASEAN if it resumed aid before Mr Hayden's visit.

In a speech on Saturday night at a dinner in his honor, Mr Hawke took pains to publicly confirm Australia's new stand on Timor to President Suharto.

Referring to East Timor, Mr Hawke said the issue had marked a setback in Australian-Indonesian relations.

"I am, however, confident in our ability to resolve those

differences and put them behind us so that they present no obstacle in the future development of our important relationship," he said.

"Australia acknowledges and wishes to encourage the major efforts the Indonesian Government has been making to improve the situation.

"In this context, we will be making new Australian contributions totalling \$1.5 million to the International Red Cross relief program and UNICEF assistance program in East Timor.

"But let me place this matter in the perspective of Australian history.

"The ALP has in its councils expressed its concern over these events.

"But let me say emphatically that that expressed concern in no way diminishes the enduring feelings of friendship which the Australian people have always held towards Indonesia.

"But it is important to repeat that even where differences exist, they need form no insurmountable barrier in the way of developing and deepening the basic friendship between our countries."

Mr Hawke said the two countries could not build a good relationship on either the basis of "false expectations" nor could they afford to have "mutual suspicion, prejudice or recrimination".

Asked if ALP policies were still binding on the Government after its turnaround on Timor and Vietnam, Mr Hawke said: "I make the point that conference deals with areas of policy at a point in time.

"It would be irresponsible on the part of an Australian government if it gains information which puts a different complexion on situations; if it said we don't take account of changed circumstances."

Mr Hawke said he believed he had created a "more certain" relationship with Indonesia than that which may have been the case on the day Labor took office.

Mixed reaction to PM's statement on East Timor

From Page 1

during Indonesia's independence struggle her territorial claims were based on the 14th-century empire of Majapahit, which included East Timor and Papua New Guinea. The Indonesians claimed the empire also included parts of Northern Australia.

Dr Preston said in Melbourne that nothing had changed in East Timor and ALP policies were still relevant.

Support

"The only circumstance that has changed is that Mr Hawke is now Prime Minister."

"Labor policy is still relevant in every respect. The circumstances in East Timor remain unchanged. The war continues, and the people continue to bitterly reject the Indonesian presence," he said.

The Queensland ALP State Council, when voting to support the national labor conference policy on East Timor, said it recognised "the timing, rate and extent of its implementation was a matter for the Government in the light of prevailing conditions".

The council discussed the policy before it was aware of Mr Hawke's statement that the occupation of East Timor was "in the past" and that Australia should not vacillate or be devious on the issue.

The State secretary, Mr Peter Beattie, said Mr Hawke's statement had come as a surprise. But the branch did not want to come into open conflict with Mr Hawke over it.

"It is at odds with the decision we made yesterday. But not greatly, he is looking at prevailing conditions," he said.

At home the Left warns of a revolt in the party . . .

Comment by
Russell Schneider

A game in which fingers could be burned

ALL sections of the ALP would be "angered" by any change to the party's attitude on East Timor, a prominent member of Labor's left wing, Mr Ken Fry, said yesterday.

Mr Fry said the Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, had "sacrificed principle for expediency."

● The Deputy Leader of the Australian Democrats, Senator Colin Mason, said Mr Hawke would live to regret bitterly his approval of Indonesia's occupation of East Timor which, he said, must increase Indonesian pressure on Papua New Guinea.

● A Foreign Affairs spokesman conceded that Mr Hawke had softened Australia's stand over East Timor.

● The Queensland branch of the ALP will seek a briefing from Mr Hawke when he returns. The State council on Saturday voted to support the National Labor Conference policy on East Timor and an official said later he was "surprised" at Mr Hawke's statement.

● The President of the Australia-East Timor Association, Dr George Preston, accused the Government of "betraying" the people of East Timor.

Mr Fry, in an interview on Capital Seven Canberra, said Mr Hawke had broken an undertaking to Caucus.

He had asked Mr Hawke in Caucus not to make any major foreign affairs announce-

ments without consulting the Caucus.

"It will not only anger the left wing of the party but also the grass roots of the party," he said. He knew of no ALP branches which supported Mr Hawke's stand.

A Foreign Affairs spokesman, while saying Australia's stand on East Timor had been softened, said Mr Hawke had moved only "by a centimetre" from the views expressed by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Hayden.

The spokesman told *The Australian*: "Mr Hayden has stuck to the line that Australia expressed deep regret that an internationally recognised act of self determination did not take place in East Timor; he's never gone further than that. Mr Hawke has gone a centimetre further."

He claimed reports that Mr Hawke's statements were a significant shift away from ALP policy were "exaggerations".

But Senator Mason said: "Indonesia has no cultural, historic or ethnic claim on East Timor, and the takeover has been an act of conquest in which more than 100,000 Timorese people have died.

"Indonesian interest in Papua New Guinea can now be expected to increase."

Senator Mason said that

Continued - Page 2

. . . but the PM's diplomacy wins favor in Jakarta

JAKARTA: A leading Indonesian official said yesterday that the Australian Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, was leaning towards supporting Indonesia's disputed claim to East Timor.

Previously, the Labor Party had announced its intention to change Australia's United Nations vote on East Timor, the former Portuguese colony Jakarta annexed as its 27th province in a 1976 war.

The former Australian Government under Mr Malcolm Fraser voted in the UN to support Indonesia's claim to the territory.

Indonesia's Minister of State and State Secretary, Mr Sudharmono, said the East Timor issue dominated two hours of talks between President Suharto and Mr Hawke.

"The Australian vote on East Timor was not directly mentioned in the talks, but Prime Minister Hawke implied that Australia will not reverse its vote on the issue to maintain good relations," Mr Sudharmono said.

Before coming to power in March, the ALP supported in-

Should the Labor Government shift its policy on East Timor, it would be a major political victory for Jakarta. And the question of Australia withdrawing military assistance was not mentioned on Saturday, Mr Sudharmono said.

According to Mr Sudharmono, Mr Hawke also said that he would consider the position of the Association of South East-Asian Nations - Indonesia, Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore and the Philippines - regarding Australia's proposal to resume some economic aid to Vietnam.

Indonesia made two goodwill gestures to answer Mr Hawke's diplomatic effort. An Australian parliamentary delegation will be allowed to visit East Timor in late July, and the Australian Associated Press news agency will be allowed to open a Jakarta bureau soon.

Australian news correspondents were expelled in 1980 and 1981 for what was considered unfriendly reporting.

United Press International

BOB Hawke is playing with fire - and he knows it.

The Prime Minister's repudiation of official ALP policy was inevitable once he followed the footsteps of the Foreign Minister, Bill Hayden, into Indonesia.

The Indonesian Government was already suspicious of Labor's attitudes after last year's national ALP conference which ruled out defence aid unless Indonesia withdrew from East Timor.

Indonesia needed reassurance - and it got it.

That was to be expected. No Prime Minister would be likely to endanger relations with his nearest neighbor - a nation of 150 million people - if he could avoid it.

But Mr Hawke has broken a fundamental rule of the Labor Party that says that conference decisions are binding on governments.

This rule was clearly evident when the conference deliberated last year.

At that time, Labor's shadow ministers took pains to ensure that the conference resolutions left them with maximum flexibility to put policy into effect.

But on the East Timor question, the party was resolute.

Mr Hawke's problem is two-fold: On one hand, he is (as he himself stresses) in a position in which he must take account of changed and changing circumstances. That is the responsible approach of any head of government.

But he is also head of the Labor Party, a party which stresses the supremacy of the rank and file via the conference system.

The party expects its elected representatives to carry out policy platforms. To ignore conference decisions is to put the Government in conflict with the party.

What Mr Hawke has done in Indonesia will probably be ratified in the end, but grudgingly.

By the time the conference next meets in 1984, it will be too late for anything much to be done about the Timor question.

But opponents of the new directions of Mr Hawke are more than likely to work even harder to put new hard-line policies into effect, and demand that the Labor Government implement them.

Otherwise there is little point in having a conference.

As one cynic put it at the weekend, the only thing that has really changed is that now Labor is in government, not opposition.

The Australian Morning 8/4/83
Times Price

dependence for East Timor. There was also discussion of cutting Australian military assistance to Jakarta until Indonesian troops quit East Timor.

Up to 100,000 Timorese, about a sixth of East Timor's population, died in clashes or of starvation in the events leading up to the annexation.

CHART Digital

Hawke puts Hayden in hot seat over backdown

By DAVID TROUNCE

THE Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Hayden, will bear the brunt of criticism over the Prime Minister, Mr Hawke's change of policy on East Timor, at a meeting in Canberra on Wednesday. Representatives from five pro-Timorese groups will use the meeting to attack the Government for backing down on ALP policy of supporting self-determination for East Timor. Mr Hayden agreed to the meeting last Friday - 24 hours before Mr Hawke announced a softening of Australia's attitude to Indonesia's invasion of East Timor, during his visit to Jakarta.

The Timorese groups originally sought the meeting in March in fear that the new Government might not honor the official ALP policy.

The groups represent the spectrum of political campaign groups and refugee organisations opposed to Indonesia's invasion of East Timor.

They are the Australia-East Timor Association, the East Timor support group within the ALP, the Indonesian Action Group, Christians in

Solidarity with East Timor, and RAFT, the campaign to reunite in Australia families from Timor.

A spokesman, Ms Christine Carolan, said last night the groups would ask Mr Hayden to support listing 1000 East Timor self-determination resolutions on an agenda to go before the United Nations.

"Indonesia has been lobbying for the issue not to be included on the agenda," she said.

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Govt asked to reaffirm overseas commitments

THE Australian Council for Overseas Aid yesterday called on the Federal Government to reaffirm its pre-election commitment to achieve a foreign aid target of 0.5 per cent of gross national product by 1985.

The council chairman, Mr Richard Alston, said in the light of the Prime Minister, Mr Hawke's repudiation of ALP policy on East Timor and indications of aid cuts to Africa and Latin America to accommodate the recent increase to Papua New Guinea, a question mark must hang over the Government's aid commitments.

Mr Alston said that at a time when Africa was experiencing its worst famine in a decade, it would be the height of humanitarian and diplomatic folly to forsake areas of the greatest need purely for pragmatic regional considerations.

In recent years, Australian aid to Egypt, East Africa and Zimbabwe had steadily risen and bilateral assistance to Africa and the Middle East stands at \$36 million.

If Australia cut aid to Africa, it would be turning its back on a potential human tragedy of immeasurable proportions.

Already, almost two million people in the north-east African countries of Ethiopia and Eritrea needed food and shelter urgently while another 1.5 million were seriously at risk in the face of the drought sweeping Africa from the Red Sea across Ethiopia, the Sudan, Chad, Niger, Mali and Mauritania on the Atlantic seaboard.

Mr Alston said that unless a substantial increase in aid was announced in the coming Budget, the Government's ability to meet its self-proclaimed target of 0.5 per cent of the GNP would become increasingly difficult.

He also expressed concern at the strong indication given by Mr Hawke to President Suharto over the weekend that Australia would continue to support Indonesia in the United Nations.

PM'S MOVE

TRIGGERS

ALP ROW



● MR HAWKE



● MR SOEHARTO

THE Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, seems certain to face conflict within the ALP following weekend decisions on Timor and Vietnam.

Mr Hawke has abandoned, for the time being at least, the Labor platform which commits his Government to resume aid to Vietnam.

And he has angered some ALP officials by his move to scrap the party's East Timor policy.

Mr Hawke faces heated debate at state Labor Party conferences in the next few weeks over his weekend announcement in Jakarta that Australia will continue to supply military aid to Indonesia.

The Labor Party has had a strong policy against this since 1977, opposing all defence aid to Indonesia until Indonesian occupation forces are withdrawn from East Timor.

But Mr Hawke expects an Australian parliamentary delegation to visit Indonesia next month to pave the way towards switching the Labor policy.

After meeting Indonesia's President Soeharto, Mr Hawke said Labor's East Timor policy was no longer appropriate.

And he said the resumption of aid to Vietnam "did not make sense."

Mr Hawke said his stance on Vietnam aid flowed from the role of the Foreign Minister, Mr Hayden, in trying to find a peaceful solution to the Kampuchean problem.

He said it had been suggested that Mr Hayden act as an intermediary for ASEAN nations when he visits Hanoi later this month.

But ALP backbencher Mr Ken Fry said yesterday Mr Hawke's decisions had breached a commitment not to make major policy changes without consulting the party caucus.

Mr Fry said the decisions were clearly against party policy and would cause "dissension."

"I think it's clearly a case of sacrificing principle for expediency," he said.

Mr Fry said Australia could have had a policy of not recognising the annexation of Timor and still had a relationship with Indonesia.

He said the decision to drop aid to Vietnam would damage the Government's standing with Vietnam.

ALP foreign affairs committee president Ms Jean McLean said yesterday Mr Hawke had let down the East Timorese people.

"It's very disappointing that our Prime Minister has chosen to accept the annexation of East Timor," she said.

Ms McLean said a policy believed in the right of the Timorese people to self-determination.

Hawke sparks ALP row

what has been done for the people of East Timor.

He said the delegation's findings would produce a "new factor into Australia's assessment of the East Timor situation."

The Australian Embassy in Jakarta has told Mr Hawke that any examination of East Timor would give backing to these claims, particularly when developments in East Timor were compared with West Timor or parts of Java.

But the Government could face a major crisis if caucus calls for a vote against Indonesia at the crucial United Nations vote on Timor later this year.

Mr Hawke was told in Jakarta

that Australia's vote at the UN would be critical to future relations with Indonesia.

If Labor was to follow its platform it would have to vote against Indonesia, or at least abstain.

But Mr Hawke said yesterday his Government had a responsibility to make decisions in the light of present and future circumstances.

"Decisions taken in the light of what are perceived to be relevant circumstances at the time can't necessarily be operative for ever more into the future," he said.

Mr Hawke is now en route on England.

● Jeff's view — Page 8.

● From Page 1

Australia-East Timor Association chairman Mr George Preston said the East Timorese had been "betrayed" by Australian Government.

The five-man parliamentary delegation is expected to begin its visit on July 19.

It will consist of Labor's Bill Morrison (NSW), Manfred Cross (Qld) and Senator Gordon Macintosh (WA) and Liberals Don Dobie (NSW) and Senator David Hamer (Vic).

Mr Hawke said the delegation would be able to "test at first-hand Indonesia's claims — which I think are substantial — about

MEMORANDUM
Monday 6/6/83
Sun

NEWS Sun - 6/6/83

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ALP · anger on Timor switch

'It's just not on'

From BRUCE O'NEILL in Canberra
and GEOFF EASDOWN

The policy shift by the Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, over East Timor has ensured a major howdown with the Left wing of the ALP over the issue.

Left-wing leaders said today they would try to raise the issue at a special Budget-Caucus meeting planned for next month.

CHART Digital
- Cost -

Newspaper Article

6/1/83

Government backbenchers said Mr Hawke's effective dumping of the A L P's official policy on East Timor was designed to provoke a confrontation.

Mr Hawke said in Jakarta that circumstances had developed since Labor came to office which were relevant to its consideration as to how it should vote in the United Nations on East Timor.

"For heaven's sake, it's just not on," influential Labor Senator Gordon McIntosh said today.

He said Australia's credibility on human rights issues would be dead if the Federal Government reneged on its policy on East Timor.

caucus

But the leading Left-wing backbench spokesman on the issue, Mr Ken Fry, conceded that Mr Hawke would probably win any caucus battle over a shift in policy.

It is Labor Party policy for a Labor Government to change the existing Australian UN vote recognising Indonesia's takeover of East Timor, pending an internationally supervised act of self-determination by the Timorese.

Mr Fry said Mr Hawke would go into any caucus meeting with a majority of Cabinet and the ministry firmly supporting him.

"It is very difficult in practical terms to override them when you are confronted by the whole of the Ministry supporting an issue."

But Mr Fry made it clear there would be a party room fight before the issue was resolved.

He said Mr Hawke and his supporters were pragmatic politicians who accepted what he called the "Real Politik argument."

"That goes something like, 'Well this is the situation and there is nothing we can do about it so we should accept it,'" he said.

"Well, I don't accept that for one minute, and there are several others also who don't accept it," he said.

Mr Fry said the proposal that the joint committee be sent to East Timor to review conditions there was "window dressing."

Because of its make up it would come up with the sort of recommendations acceptable to Mr Hawke, he said.

ALP anger over Timor

From Page 1

"Well, I don't accept that for one minute, and there are several others also who don't accept it," he said.

Senator McIntosh said if Australia rejected the right for the people of East Timor to have self-determination, then Australia could never again open its mouth on human rights issues anywhere in the world.

Senator McIntosh, a prominent member of the Left-wing of the A L P, holds the influential post of chairman of the Senate select committee on foreign affairs and defence.

His committee now has a brief to investigate East Timor, and Australia's relations with Indonesia.

He vowed today to use all "of my powers and all of my energies to see that it (the Government) does not renege on its East Timor policy."

Senator McIntosh confirmed that Mr Hawke last November signed a petition to the UN committee on decolonisation, calling for that body to support the East Timor-

ese people's right to a genuine act of self-determination.

The petition said in part:

"The views set out above are clearly expressed in the platform of the Australian Labor Party, and were passed by 48 votes to one at the national conference of the party in 1977, and reaffirmed at the national conferences in 1979 and 1982."

Senator McIntosh said today: "I don't know what has happened since last November to say that human rights have not been violated in East Timor."

"I don't know what has happened since last November to say that it wasn't a brutal act of annexation of East Timor."

Referring to the Indonesians, Senator McIntosh said: "I don't see why we have to continually appease them."

"What do they want us to do after this?"

"To be in line with other ASEAN nations — to give due recognition, in other words, to legitimate and recognise Portugal."

"For heaven's sake, it is just not on."

Continued Page 3

It's a mini-coup for PM — Page 4

It's a mini-coup for PM

BEFORE the March 5 general election, some of the best brains and smartest strategists in the Australian Labor Party were convinced that defeat would shatter Labor and destroy the party as we know it.

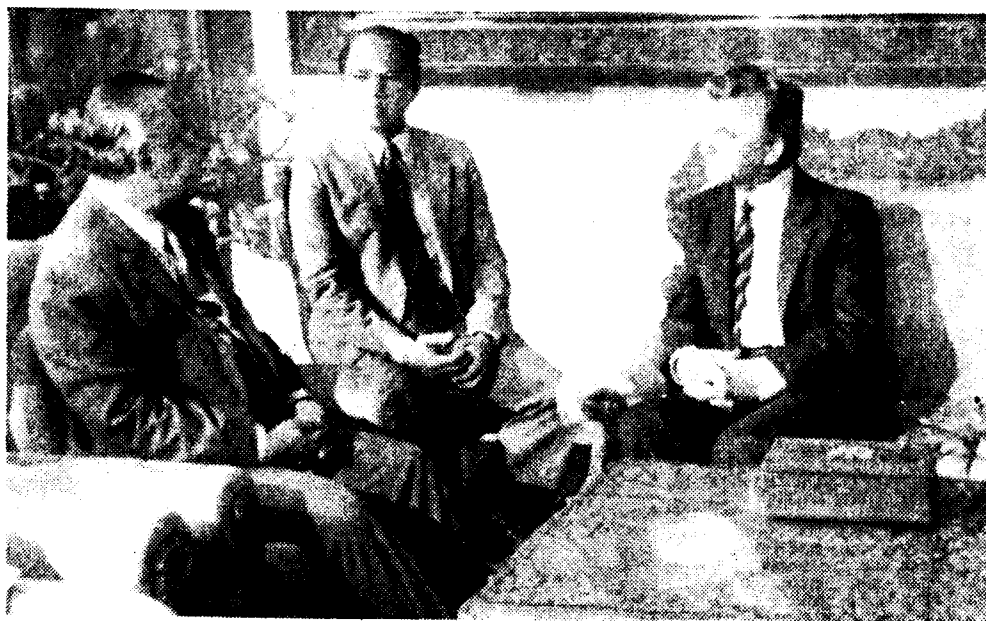
It was the main motive behind the crucial decision of Labor's Senate Leader John Button to persuade Bill Hayden to relinquish the leadership in Bob Hawke's favor.

Throughout the party organisation there was hardly a strategist or organiser who had not come to the conclusion that only Hawke could lead the party to power and that without victory in 1983 Labor would collapse into a rabble of factionalism and recrimination from which it might never recover.

During the campaign, one of the intellectuals who had guided Labor for two decades and whose speechwriting has graced the words of all its leading lights, Graham Freudenberg, was passionate on the subject one night in Townsville.

He had no doubt Hawke would win, and indeed no reason to doubt it. But he told a group of friends and observers, more interested

From PETER COSTIGAN, who is travelling with the Prime Minister



Mr Hawke with President Soeharto (left) and an interpreter during his weekend conference in Jakarta, a weekend where he has virtually revolutionised ALP policy making procedures.

Melb Herald

Mon 10/10/83

Cont

than most voters in the philosophies of Australian politics, that defeat would shatter and disillusion the thousands of idealists who put up with the murky manoeuvrings of Labor Party branches, committees and conferences to contribute their ideals to the development of Australian society. With defeat a generation of Australian idealism would be lost.

Victory

There is no way of being certain that the Buttons and Freudenbergs and others were right or wrong. Bob Hawke won and won well. The Labor Party itself remains united, as much as it ever was, by the firm glue of victory.

But by his acts and performance on his first overseas trip as Prime Minister, Bob Hawke may already have changed the Labor Party and revolutionised its structure and system of decision making more than he would ever have done by defeat.

Since leaving Canberra on Thursday morning, he has virtually locked the Labor Party into three new policies, two of them direct contradictions of the resolutions of the party's most recent policy-making body — last year's national conference in Canberra.

As he headed off to Papua New Guinea, he announced that Foreign Minister Bill Hayden and he had decided the Australian contingent of 120 military personnel attached to the multinational forces organisation in the Sinai desert was staying there.

The timing of the announcement, while it was in answer to a question, was undoubtedly deliberate but

was aimed more at the administration in Washington who will see him in the second half of the trip than anybody he is seeing on the way.

It was certainly not aimed at anybody in the Middle East, for his first and fascinating Prime Ministerial visit there is still several months away.

It was designed to give President Reagan and his government a warm glow about Bob Hawke, for the Americans were justifiably nervous that a move by Australia to withdraw from the Sinai could trigger other withdrawals and at the very least would weaken one of the admittedly flimsy pillars on which the tentative peace in the Middle East rests.

The Sinai force is one of the few questions of Australian foreign policy on which the July ALP conference did not formulate a direction to the next Labor Government. However, there was massive opposition to it 18 months ago in Caucus when the Fraser Government decided to contribute the troops to the force and Labor, as an Opposition, voted against it.

There is no doubt the opposition remains in Caucus to the Sinai force and Hawke can expect considerable curry from the backbench — especially from the Left, with its curious hostility towards Israel, when the Prime Minister returns from his world travels.

But there is equally no chance of the Hawke decision being overturned. Not even the most wild-eyed Caucus critics of Australia's involvement in the Sinai force would be willing to have a final confrontation with this Prime Minister, given his passionate interest in the Middle East and support for Israel, when he plans to visit the area later

this year and when he has shrewdly, in any case, left open the ultimate possibility that Australia will some day bring the troops home.

The other two decisions were much more sensitive in terms of Hawke's relations with Caucus and the party and much more dramatic in altering, perhaps forever, the way in which the Labor Party and Labor governments in the future will make policy.

The party's policy on the resumption of aid to Vietnam and its direction on how Australia should conduct relations with Indonesia over East Timor are quite specific and blunt.

A Labor Government is supposed to be committed to resuming humanitarian aid to Vietnam, has been directed to stop military aid to Indonesia while its troops are in East Timor and is under a party obligation to refuse recognition of Timor's integration into Indonesia unless an internationally supervised act of self-determination is conducted in East Timor.

Rationale

In one swashbuckling weekend in Jakarta, Bob Hawke virtually wiped out all those policies. And he was not slow to spell out his rationale for doing so.

For this Labor Prime Minister, the making of party policy is a matter of what was appropriate given the circumstances and known facts of the time. What was true in July 1982 is not necessarily true in June 1983 — and in these cases certainly was not true. The circumstances have changed, in some ways rather marginally and, anyway, now that he leads a government much more information is available to the Labor Party leader.

As far as Vietnam is concerned, Hawke says that Australia's potential role as a mediator, or honest broker with good links with all the parties involved, could be diminished should he go ahead now with resumption of aid — cut off four years ago by Malcolm Fraser — to one of the parties, Vietnam.

Given the history of Labor's passionate involvement in Indo-Chinese politics and the Vietnam War, that decision will rock the party and have large sections of the Federal Caucus screaming blue murder at their leader.

Equally, the continuation of military aid to Indonesia — and there is not the faintest prospect of the Indonesian military leaving East Timor in the foreseeable future — will cause Hawke trouble back on his home ground. So too will the increasingly likely decision of the Hawke Government not to change Australia's vote on the East Timor question in the United Nations. A failure to change the vote, should one be called for, would continue Australia's de facto recognition of East Timor having become part of Indonesia.

As things stand at the moment, Bob Hawke has rewritten Labor Party policy and ignored large slabs of Labor Party sentiment in three areas of foreign policy the party is most passionate about.

Moreover, by doing so he has adopted and confirmed policies established or emphasised by the hated Malcolm Fraser.

And if the ideologues of the Labor Party are already reeling, there could be more to come.

In France, later this week, Bob Hawke is talking to President Mitterrand and other French officials.

One of the touchiest questions between the two countries is whether or not Australia will proceed with the Fraserian promises to supply the French nuclear power industry with Australian uranium. If Vietnam and East Timor are the heartburns of the Labor Party, uranium and everything nuclear is its conscience.

And there is a very clear Labor Party policy which is supposed to ban a Labor Government from exporting uranium to France as long as it continues to test nuclear weapons in the Pacific Ocean, a program the French show not the slightest inclination to abandon.

There is every chance that Bob Hawke will abandon that policy, too, if only for the practical reasons that the European Common Market will not allow Australia to discriminate in uranium sales against one of its members (and we are selling uranium to most of the other members) and that Australia needs the export income.

Bases

In Washington next week, Bob Hawke wants to focus most of Australia's attention on matters economic. But he does have to talk to President Reagan and his officials about such matters as our intelligence links, his dream of strengthening ANZUS and about the American bases in Australia much of the Labor Left finds so offensive.

It is too much to imagine that Bob Hawke on his extraordinary policy making swing around the world is going to offer part of the Tasmanian wilderness for a new Pine Gap. But the Left-Wing ideologues in his party had better be prepared for strong middle of the road agreements and declarations by this Labor Prime Minister in Washington.

For that is what Bob Hawke is almost certainly doing — taking the middle ground in Australian Foreign Policy, exactly as Malcolm Fraser did, the only difference in terms of party politics is that Fraser offended his Right-wing in doing so, and Hawke is exercising the Left.

There is little doubt of the effect out in the electorate. Accepting the position as it is in East Timor, one Australia cannot possibly alter, acting as an honest broker in Indo-China and not as a pro-Vietnam partisan and sticking firmly to the American alliance is what the swinging middle class Australian voters want.

Caucus and the Labor Party would ignore them and overthrow their leader — for that is all they could do to stop Bob Hawke — at their own peril and the certainty of losing power at the next election.

Hawke faces the facts

P RIME Minister Bob Hawke, confidently taking on also the mantle of de facto Foreign Affairs Minister for his visit to Indonesia, has ignored the official ALP line on East Timor and Vietnam, for the better.

Policies that were impractical and visionary on the real stage of affairs, have been replaced with common sense.

No doubt the Prime Minister has created a lot of turbulence in the ALP, to be faced when he returns from his 18-day six-nation tour. He has outraged the Left by defiance of conference decisions, and is already being accused of having "betrayed" the East Timorese people.

Australians generally, however, will be more impressed by Mr Hawke's case.

What he has done, in fact, is simply to accept the realities of the great South-East Asian politico-economic theatre, and put the best interests of Australia ahead of party conference attitudes, or attachment to outmoded and dead-end ideas.

One aspect of the truth that Bob Hawke has faced is that, however much we may deplore the way that Indonesia has moved into East Timor, this is a fait accompli, backed by both the U.S. and ASEAN, and now impossible to change.

The over-riding fact of life, of course, is that Indonesia, with 150 million people, is our nearest strong neighbor, and good relations for all kinds of reasons, must be given high priority.

In regard to Vietnam, the situation is that, no matter how much we may pity, and wish to help, suffering people in that country, through civilian aid, such aid would still offend the ASEAN countries, including Indonesia, and also bother China.

So long as Vietnamese forces are in Kampuchea and Laos, any aid whatever to Vietnam, even the most humane and best-intentioned, must take on a quasi-military significance.

Summary *McIntosh (Hawke)*
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Timor, Viet aid: Hawke goes alone

From MIKE STEKETEE

JAKARTA, Sunday. — Having disowned Labor's Timor policy in talks with President Soeharto, and shelved the policy on aid to Vietnam, the Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, has now begun the groundwork for carrying his party with him on these contentious issues.

Following a weekend of talks with the Indonesian president and other senior ministers, Mr Hawke appears to have allayed many Indonesian fears about the Labor Government and put relations between the two countries on a firm footing.

But he did so at the cost of disowning the hard line on East Timor and therefore storing up likely problems at home.

In fact, he has put a new interpretation on how party policy, which under Labor Party rules, is binding on all sections of the party — can be regarded.

Mr Hawke said the platform and resolutions of the party reflected the situation at the time they were adopted, and did not take into account changed circumstances.

In effect, he is applying this formula to all the areas where Labor policy is causing difficulties for the Government.

In recent days, he has: Rejected a large part of the ALP policy on East Timor; Shelved the policy on aid to Vietnam and the withdrawal of Australian troops from the Sinai; Rejected ALP policy to ban uranium exports to France while nuclear testing continue and claimed that the signing of new contracts for uranium production is not in breach of the platform.

He hoped an Australian parliamentary delegation to visit Indonesia, including Timor, next month would help swing the arguments in the ALP favour of Indonesia's takeover of Timor.

He justified the delay in the resumption of aid to Vietnam by saying Indonesia had asked Australia to play a role in bring-

ing Vietnam to the conference table on Kampuchea.

Any unilateral decision by Australia to give aid — a move opposed by Indonesia and other South-East Asian countries — would limit the role Australia could play.

The resolution on East Timor passed by last year's national conference rejects the Fraser Government's recognition of the Indonesian annexation of Timor and recognises the "inalienable right of the East Timorese to self-determination and independence."

The resolution also opposes all defence aid to Indonesia until Indonesian forces are withdrawn.

But Mr Hawke has made clear that defence aid, currently running at \$10 million a year, will continue.

This weekend Mr Hawke has talked of East Timor as being part of Indonesia. He expressed regret to President Soeharto that there had not been an internationally supervised act of self expression.

But he added yesterday: "That is in the past." The interests of Indonesia and Australia require that they looked to the future.

He said Indonesia had made three concessions on Timor: an acceleration of the emigration of people from East Timor to join relatives in Australia; the opening of an Australian Associated Press news bureau in Jakarta, and permission for an Australian parliamentary delegation to visit Indonesia including Timor.

At a dinner hosted by President Soeharto, he was effusive in his praise of Mr Soeharto.

"Australia acknowledges and wishes to encourage the major effort the Indonesian Government has been making to improve the conditions of life for the people of East Timor after centuries of colonial misrule and the collapse of a colonial regime," he said.

Australia would make a new contribution of \$1.5 million for the Red Cross and UNICEF relief programs.

He said the Government had not yet made a decision on how it would cast its vote if the ques-

tion of East Timor came up in the United Nations later this year. The Fraser Government supported Indonesia in past votes.

CANBERRA. — Anger was growing in sections of the Labor Party yesterday over the policy switch on the East Timor issue by the Prime Minister, Mr Hawke.

The ALP member for the Canberra seat of Fraser, Mr Ken Fry, said last night that Mr Hawke had broken a promise he gave to Caucus during the last session of Parliament that there would be no change without full consultation.

"Even the most generous interpretation of what he said yesterday is in conflict with our policy. I think it is a clear case of sacrificing principle for expediency," Mr Fry said.

Senator Gordon McIntosh, who heads the Senate Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and Defence, said yesterday: "The party policy is still applicable as far as I am concerned."

The Senate committee has a special reference on the East Timor issue, and it is expected to report in August with recommendations along the lines of ALP policy.

Senator McIntosh said "If we want to look to the future and build a friendship, why don't we build it on honesty? We can't keep appeasing them."

Moves within the ALP to change the party's policy on both the Timor and uranium issues are putting increasing strains on the unity which has characterised the party since the election win.

Pressure at State conferences in the coming weeks to convene a special national conference on the uranium issue are expected to fail on factional grounds.

But the questions are expected to be the subject of heated debate at coming conferences in NSW, Victoria and South Australia, and resolutions supporting the party policy could succeed.

PAGE 2: Hawke rewrites the rules.

Hawke rewrites ALP's rules

From MIKE STEKETEE

JAKARTA, Sunday. — The Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, this weekend reinterpreted the structure of the Labor Party to suit his purposes.

This created a dilemma for sections of the party who know what Mr Hawke is saying should be challenged, but are reluctant to act so early in the life of the Government.

Yesterday Mr Hawke was asked whether the principle that decisions made by Labor Party conferences were binding on all sections of the party still held.

His answer, in so many words, was: "No."

The words he used were: "I make the point, and I think that Bill Hayden has made the point, that conferences deal with certain issues by way of policy and by

way of resolution at a point of time.

"The responsibility of Government, within the general framework of Labor Party policies, is to make decisions in respect of the interests of Australia, which decisions are relevant to the circumstances of the time.

"I believe that it would be irresponsible on the part of an Australian Government, if it is in possession of information at a point considerably subsequent to the time at which decisions are taken and which put a different complexion upon the circumstances, if you said: 'Well, we don't take any account of changed circumstances.'

"That's not the way in which a government can properly operate."

Mr Hawke's comments overturn the democratic structure of the ALP and appear to supplant it with a presidential style.

Under the Labor Party rules, the

national conference, which meets every two years and currently comprises about 100 delegates, is the supreme policy-making body of the party.

The parliamentary leaders, are delegates to conference but their votes count equally with those of other delegates.

The national executive, one step lower in the party hierarchy and with many fewer delegates, makes decisions between conferences.

These generally concern administrative questions, with its role on policy confined to interpreting conference decisions.

Conference decisions, which are binding on all sections of the party, can only be overturned by another conference.

This is the theory. The practice has always been different, particularly in Government.

Hayden tips uranium ban reprisal by Left

By PETER HASTINGS, Foreign Editor

The Foreign Affairs Minister, Mr Hayden, and politicians of the ALP's right wing predict that the Left will mobilise support to ban uranium sales in reprisal for Mr Hawke's uncompromising rejection in Jakarta of two major policy resolutions passed at the 1982 ALP conference, one on East Timor, the other calling for renewed aid to Vietnam.

Mr Hayden told the Herald that at the Queensland Labor Party conference on Friday a resolution calling on Australia to reverse its recognition of East Timor as an Indonesian

province was defeated by 22 votes, but a resolution seeking a ban on uranium exports was only narrowly defeated — by six votes — and then only after a division.

In Jakarta Mr Hawke said Labor Party policies calling on Australia to withdraw recognition of Indonesia's incorporation of East Timor and to resume aid in Vietnam, which the ASEAN states oppose, were no longer "appropriate."

Last Thursday Mr Hayden, who opposes the two ALP resolutions, came under heavy pressure from members of the Victorian Labor Party over East Timor and resumed aid to Vietnam. He said that Party members have been anything but "insulting or offensive" but had brought heavy pressure to bear.

On Wednesday morning he will see representatives of Labor and other activist groups involved in the East Timor issue who maintain that the Labor Government is evading its policy responsibilities by failing to carry out the 1982 conference resolutions because of a desire to appease Indonesia.

Observers fear that Mr Hawke underestimates the strength of left wing feeling over Timor in particular and has gone too far, too fast, especially as Cabinet has not yet reached a formal decision on either the Vietnam or East Timor issues.

They also point out that in attempting to reassure Indonesia over Australia's position on East Timor, Mr Hawke pre-empted the findings of the 10-day visit of the Australian parliamentary delegation to Indonesia starting on July 18.

Mr Hayden and other Labor politicians are known to worry that the unresolved uranium question will, unless carefully handled, provide an issue on which the Left can mobilise to ignite smouldering ALP left wing resentment over the Government's failure to carry into effect last year's policy resolution.

MONDAY, JUNE 6, 1983

EAST TIMOR, VIETNAM

Fry says PM's statements have no authority

Statements in Jakarta by the Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, about dropping the issue of self-determination for East Timor were a departure from party policy, the Member for Fraser, Mr Fry (Lab), said yesterday.

No authority had been given from the Parliamentary Labor Party to do this, he said.

Mr Hawke had given caucus an assurance during the autumn session that no important foreign-policy decisions would be made without full consultation.

The Sunday edition of *The Canberra Times* reported yesterday that Mr Hawke had effectively abandoned two major Labor Party policies after talks with Indonesian Government leaders on Saturday; these were the right of the East Timorese to an act of self-determination and the supply of aid to Vietnam.

Mr Fry said yesterday that "a lot of people will feel as I do; that it is in conflict with the party's policy, that there was not appropriate consultation" and that it would cause an unnecessary division within the party. Support for self-determination for East Timor cut across factional party lines.

He said that once individuals or Cabinet made decisions such as these the Government became locked into them and it prevented caucus from being an effective part of the decision-making process.

He believed that the Government could have retained its policy on East Timor and still had a good working relationship with Indonesia. This could have been achieved in a similar way to the Government's handling of Soviet-Australian relations, where sanctions were lifted but Australia's policy on Afghanistan was retained.

Mr Fry said, "Indonesia would have respected us more if we had stuck to our policy . . . business would go on as usual irrespective of our attitude on East Timor."

By JANE BUTTON

Mr Fry said he did not agree with Mr Hawke's statement that Australia would not consider resuming aid to Vietnam because it would detract from the ability of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Hayden, to help solve the Kampuchean problem in the forthcoming negotiations in Hanoi.

This would be like holding a gun at Vietnam's head. Australia had helped to destroy Vietnam and had a moral obligation to help reconstruct it.

He believed that if Australia agreed to resume aid to Vietnam it would put it in a much stronger position for positive negotiations over Vietnam's withdrawal from Kampuchea.

The statements were part of "a typical elitest approach to foreign affairs" — a belief that foreign policy was too important to be decided by the rank and file of the party. This kind of approach had led Australia into the Vietnam War. Mr Fry had never heard of any of the branches of the ALP supporting the policy put forward by Mr Hawke.

The Government should stick by its policy on East Timor because not to do so would reduce its credibility in international diplomacy. Other countries would think Australia made a lot of noise about human-rights issues which were far from its shores, such as in the Soviet Union and South Africa, but were not concerned when they were on its own door step. It was hypocritical.

Mr Fry said he would be fighting hard in caucus for the retention of ALP policy supporting self-determination for the East Timor.

The difficult decision would come about October when Australia would have to vote on the United Nations resolution on East Timor. It would be the Labour Government's first opportunity to support the resolution and to put the ALP policy into effect.

In Sydney, the Australian Democrats' spokesman on foreign affairs,

Senator Mason, said yesterday that Indonesian interest in Papua New Guinea would increase because of Mr Hawke's appeasement of Indonesia over East Timor.

Mr Hawke's appeasement increased the threat to Papua New Guinea and was an action the Prime Minister would live to regret.

"Australia should join the majority of other nations in supporting self-determination for East Timor," Senator Mason said.

"Indonesia has no cultural, historic or ethnic claim on East Timor and her takeover has been an act of conquest in which more than 100,000 Timorese have died.

"These are people to whom Australia owes a debt of honour for the way in which they saved the lives of our soldiers in World War II, often at the cost of their own."

In Melbourne, the chairman of the Australian Council for Overseas Aid, Mr Richard Alston, said Mr Hawke would be acting without the support of the majority of Australians.

He said in a statement, "It is significant that a recent Gallup poll showed 41 per cent of Australians support independence for East Timor whilst only 16 per cent approve the annexation of East Timor by Indonesia."

In these circumstances it was clear the bulk of Australians supported the ALP's policy of self-determination "rather than the position expressed by Mr Hawke in Indonesia," he said.

The chairman of the Australian-East Timor Association, Dr George Preston, echoed the comments. He said: "The Australian people have no interest in supporting Indonesian aggression, particularly in view of Indonesia's threatening behaviour towards Papua New Guinea."

Nothing had changed to make the ALP platform supporting East Timorese self-determination irrelevant.

Hawke expects delegation to assist abandonment of policy

JAKARTA, Sunday (AAP). — The Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, expects an Australian parliamentary delegation visit to Indonesia next month to pave the way towards abandonment of the Australian Labor Party policy on East Timor.

It has been made clear to Mr Hawke during talks with Indonesia's President Suharto that how Australia votes in the United Nations on East Timor is crucial to future good relations.

Despite the smiles, ceremonial welcome and pomp accorded Mr Hawke by his hosts, that is the simple inescapable truth, put into words by State intelligence chief, Mr Yoga Sugama.

"Indonesia has yet to see proof of Australia's goodwill at the United Nations," Mr Sugama told the official Indonesian news agency, Antara, cutting through all the talk and protestations of friendship.

Mr Hawke said today there was some evidence of a "loosening up" of attitude by the ASEAN countries — Indonesia, Singapore, Malaysia Thailand and the Philippines — in relation to Vietnam.

Evidence of this included recent statements by the Thai Foreign Minister, Mr Siddhi, who has been canvassing support for a Thai approach to Kampuchea with ASEAN backing.

Mr Hawke said, "It is quite clear to me that by the time the ASEAN foreign ministers meet later this month that there will have been a move to a position where discussions between the ASEAN countries, at least through Thailand, are more likely.

"If that is so, and it has been indicated that Australia may be able to play some role . . . then clearly we have a responsibility not to act precipitately in respect of aid to Vietnam, but to pursue what is the major objective.

"That is, to end the isolation of Vietnam to bring it back into the general community of nations. The decisions we make as a government will be made in respect of that objective."

On East Timor, Mr Hawke said circumstances had developed since Labor came to office which were relevant to its consideration as to how it should vote in the United Nations.

These included the acceleration of the family-reunion program for East Timorese and processes underway for the opening up of an Australian Associated Press facility in Jakarta.

"Very particularly, I also mention the promises that have now been finalised for a visit to Indonesia including East Timor by an Australian parliamentary delegation," he said.

Mr Hawke said he believed the visit

would be extremely important because it would enable people with already framed attitudes and opinions to see developments in East Timor since its incorporation by Indonesia in 1976.

Mr Hawke said he would be awaiting the delegation's report before he and Mr Hayden put their point of view within ALP councils.

The delegation was one of the concessions won by Mr Hayden when he visited Jakarta last April. But Mr Hayden said then that the Indonesian Government had made it clear that could not accept a commission of inquiry from Australia or any other country.

Mr Hawke appeared to diverge from that today when he said the delegation would be given "every opportunity" to examine the situation and to discuss the situation with a wide range of people.

The parliamentary delegation is expected to begin its visit on July 19. It will be led by a Minister for Defence in the Whitlam Government, Mr Morrison (Lab, NSW). It other members are Mr Cross (Lab, Q'ld), Senator McIntosh (Lab, WA), Mr Dobie (Lib, NSW) and Senator Hamer (Lib, Vic).

'Bugs' used in Papua New Guinea tripped by pre-determined words. —

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MONDAY, JUNE 6, 1983

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HAWKE'S CRASH-THROUGH TACTICS ON INDONESIA, VIETNAM

*From GREGORY
HYWOOD
in JAKARTA*

A FORMER senior Canberra political correspondent advised that the essential item to pack when travelling overseas with a Labor Prime Minister was the party platform.

The reason is that the always uneasy relationship between Labor Governments and the ALP's stated policy tends to emerge under the intense light of specific foreign policy discussions.

Only days into his three-week, seven-nation around-the-world trip, Mr Hawke has proved how sound that advice was.

Following talks with the Indonesian leader, President Soeharto, and other ministers over the weekend, the Prime Minister has effectively discarded two key and supposedly binding resolutions of last year's national ALP conference and come up with a new definition of the relevance of party policy to Labor government.

By claiming that circumstances had changed since last year's conference, Mr Hawke has rejected the ALP's condemnation of Indonesia's annexation of East Timor with its accompanying retaliatory propos-

als, and deferred the resumption of aid to Vietnam.

He justified these stances by maintaining at a press conference on Saturday afternoon that ALP conferences make policies "at a certain point of time."

It was the responsibility of Labor governments to make decisions "within the general framework of party policy" according to Mr Hawke.

This is a far cry from the general view in the ALP that policy resolutions are binding on all sections of the party.

"I believe it would be

irresponsible of a government which is in possession of information which places a different complexion on an issue not to take account of the changed circumstances," he said.

Mr Hawke might well have logic on his side but the Prime Minister cannot call on any section of the ALP constitution or platform to justify this view.

The platform quite clearly states under the heading, Basic Principles: "Policy within the Australian Labor Party is not made by directives from the leadership, but by resolutions originating from the

branches, affiliated unions and individual party members."

One such resolution in the 1982 platform states: "The ALP recognises the inalienable right of the East Timorese to self determination and independence . . ."

Another states: "The Government should resume its commitment to the two aid projects in Vietnam suspended in January, 1979."

Mr Hawke has backed away from both, and while he has left himself room to manoeuvre, he is so far



MR HAWKE

Continued page 4

Hawke's crash-through tactics

From page 1

down the path that party reaction is almost assured.

The first test will come this weekend with the Victorian, South Australian and NSW State Conferences. The Victorian conference at least is expected to reiterate the party line on East Timor thereby placing the Prime Minister at odds with a key power base.

Certainly Mr Bob Hogg, a senior adviser to Mr Hawke and former Victorian ALP secretary, whose job it is to keep the State branches on side, will have a difficult time this week.

Yet it is a battle Mr Hawke is quite prepared to take on.

A political pragmatist to the core Mr Hawke well understands the sometimes unbearable restrictions specific party policy can place on a government.

An early victory over East Timor and aid to Vietnam under the guise of "changed circumstances"

would provide him with precedent to adjust just about every aspect of the platform if need be.

This would greatly enhance the Government's power and leave it as flexible as its Liberal-National Party predecessors.

But if such a coup is to be achieved it must be done early.

Mr Hawke's advisers are well aware of this. As a Labor minister said recently: "Both the Caucus and the party generally may resent aspects of the Hawke leadership, but they are still grateful to him for getting government and will not yet move to seriously embarrass him.

"But it could be different in six months."

If Mr Hawke is to adjust set ALP policy to his Government's foreign policy — which gives a greater priority to regionalism — and to establish the precedent of "changed circumstances," he must move fast.

The technique he is using to distance his Government from the party is in the traditional Hawke style. It is the same way he achieved the leadership.

The Prime Minister is ap-

pealing not to the party but to the electorate.

Thus his strong indication on the weekend that the responsibility of a Labor Government to "the interests of Australia" transcended those of the party.

It was against such a background that Mr Hawke held his talks in Indonesia.

Mr Hawke expressed to President Soeharto his Government's regret that the people of East Timor had not been given the chance for internationally supervised self-determination but went on to argue that it was time Australia looked to the future.

"That was in the past . . . but we must look to the future" he said.

"That's what the interests of Australia and Indonesia require.

"This is a country of 150 million people and there is no country as important to us — certainly in an immediate sense — strategically, economically and in other ways.

"It would be grossly irresponsible for my Government if we did not address ourselves constructively to those questions."

In effect what Mr Hawke was saying was that while it

may be an issue in sections of the ALP, East Timor is a non issue as far as his Government is concerned.

The Prime Minister is taking the utterly pragmatic view that the interests of Australia necessitate that East Timor not be allowed to become a stumbling block to improved relations with Indonesia.

But how to marry this with ALP policy?

Mr Hawke argued that the renewed family reunion program for East Timorese refugees, the announced opening of an Australian Associated Press office in Jakarta, and the acceptance of an Australian parliamentary delegation to visit Indonesia, including East Timor, has substantially changed the circumstances under which the ALP's 1982 conference resolution had been passed.

The strictures of the party policy meant that Mr Hawke could not take the next logical step and commit his Government not to vote against Indonesia in any United Nations vote on East Timor.

That would be far too provocative.

But he foreshadowed the method by which he expect-

ed his Government to be able to achieve that position.

"It may well be that the views and the report of that relegation (parliamentary) may of itself introduce a new factor into the assessment that will be made within the Australian Parliament of what is the appropriate course of action to be undertaken by Australia."

Mr Hawke has thus placed considerable pressure on that delegation led by former ALP Defence Minister, Mr Bill Morrison, to come up with a report supportive of his view.

But while Mr Hawke might argue that the three concessions Indonesia has provided change the nature of the Timor debate, the resolution's basic requirement that Indonesian troops withdraw has yet to be met.

The Prime Minister's unwillingness to pursue this matter in Jakarta therefore places him at odds with the policy.

He is biting a difficult political bullet but on an issue in which success is highly likely.

East Timor is primarily an issue within the ALP rank and file. Only a handful of left-wing Caucus members are vitally concerned with it and they have little clout.

Mr Hawke's strategy is to press home to the electorate at large the importance of the Indonesian connection to national security, so that the party rank and file have little option but to accept the issue of East Timorese self-determination is dead.

The Prime Minister's position on aid to Vietnam is somewhat less sensitive as he has been able to base the deferral on the visit to Hanoi next month of Foreign Minister, Mr Hayden.

The circumstances of the Kampuchea problem had changed according to Mr Hawke with there being an apparent willingness of the Vietnamese to restrict the agenda on any discussions to Kampuchea alone and not take in the questions of US bases in the region.

Also the Indonesian Foreign Minister, Dr Mochtar, has indicated that, following discussions within ASEAN later this month, Mr Hayden might be in a position to take a message from them to Hanoi.

Given these circumstances Mr Hawke argued that resumption of aid to Vietnam was out of the question for the moment.

Precedent holds a lot of sway in politics.

If, as seems likely, Mr Hawke manages to wir through on the East Timor and Vietnam aid issues, the consequences for the relevance of ALP party policy are enormous.

The Prime Minister might well have begun the process of rewriting the platform in his own image.

East Timor ALP troubles for Hawke

Prime Minister Mr Bob Hawke is facing the prospect of a backlash from his own party on attempts to soft pedal the East Timorese independence question and aid to Vietnam.

State ALP conferences due to be held in South Australia, New South Wales and Victoria in the next fortnight are expected strongly to reaffirm resolutions passed on these issues at last year's national policy-making conference in Canberra.

The resolutions stressed the need for an ALP Government to oppose Indonesia's 1975 annexation of East Timor and promptly to restore aid to Vietnam.

Indonesia has made it plain

to Australia that it will brook no compromise on East Timor, and the ASEAN nations are resisting restoration of aid to Vietnam until Vietnam pulls out of Kampuchea.

Since taking office Mr Hayden has tried to buy time on both issues, stressing the need for consultation with regional neighbours before making decisions.

Mr Hawke's statements from Jakarta have underlined the embarrassment ministers feel on the official party line.

A foretaste of the problems ahead came last Tuesday when Mr Hayden met the Victorian State ALP Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee, chaired by prominent left-winger Ms Jean McLean.

The Left in particular feels deeply on the East Timor issue, although commitment to restore aid to Vietnam and "make amends" for the Vietnam war cuts across all factions of the party.

Left members of the Victorian committee came away unsatisfied with the answers Mr Hayden gave them last week. This is likely to toughen the foreign policy recommendations the committee will put to State conference in a fortnight's time.

South Australia's State party conference this weekend will also see stiff debate on Timor and Vietnam.

Up to a dozen resolutions have already been received on East Timor, signalling a high

profile for the issue at the conference.

The New South Wales Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee, chaired by Senator Kerry Sibraa, is preparing a separate report for the State ALP conference on Timor, Vietnam and the Middle East.

The committee's final recommendations will not, however, be determined until after a meeting with Mr Hayden, probably on Thursday night.

Mr Hayden has managed to hose down both issues in recent weeks but the task is becoming more difficult after Mr Hawke's overseas pronouncements, which have trained the spotlight on them.

—Deborah Snow

PM's comments raise eyebrows in Jakarta

Indonesian authorities are concerned over the Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, indicating that the report of the Australian Parliamentary Delegation to Indonesia next month would be an important determinant in the Government's vote in the United Nations over the East Timor question.

The delegations visit was first agreed to when the Foreign Minister, Mr Hayden, visited Jakarta last month, with the Indonesians expecting a low-key visit.

However, Mr Hawke's comments over the weekend have lifted the delegation to the status of a fact-finding mission.

At a press conference in Jakarta yesterday before he left for London, Mr Hawke was asked by an Indonesian journalist whether the delegation was indeed a fact-finding mission.

Mr Hawke replied that he did not care what tag was placed on it.

It was only logical, he

added, that parliamentarians would want to ascertain fact when they made the trip which is to include a visit to East Timor.

The Prime Minister was careful to say that he saw the delegation's role as "enhancing the debate" on the issue in Australia.

But even this may be too strong for the Indonesians.

Led by Mr ^{MORRISON} Hayden, a former Defence Minister, the delegation will also contain two other ALP members, Senator Gordon McIntosh, a well known opponent of Indonesian policy towards East Timor, and Mr Manfred Cross.

Mr Don Dobie and Senator David Hamer will represent the Opposition.

In an effort to dampen ALP opposition to his adjustment of Party policy towards East Timor, Mr Hawke has placed great store in having the delegation clear the way for widespread acceptance of his position.

Rank and file to look at Hawke in action

THE Prime Minister, Mr Hawke's handling of controversial sections of the ALP's platform is to come under the critical gaze of rank and file members at State Labor Party conferences organised for this weekend.

The State conferences, which are to be held in NSW and South Australia are expected to consider a range of policy issues including uranium, East Timor and the resumption of aid to Vietnam.

Northern Territory ALP will also hold its annual conference this week.

The State council of the Queensland ALP met on Saturday and passed a series of motions confirming existing Labor Party policy on East Timor and uranium.

However, the Queensland party decided not to call for a special conference on uranium, following the watering down of the Labor Party's stance on uranium at the party's national conference last July.

Instead the Queensland party believes that the issue will inevitably rise at the party's national conference which is to be held next year.

The Queensland State conference is not scheduled to be held until next year as well.

But South Australia will consider a motion calling for a special conference on uranium mining.

There has been a substantial shift in power in the South Australian branch of the party over the last few years, with the ruling Right-wing faction and broad Left faction much more evenly matched.

Not only does this give rise to the possibility of the uranium special conference motion

being passed by the conference, but it also means that motions which are critical of the Government's approach to East Timor and aid to Vietnam could also be passed by the conference.

Mr Chris Schacht's position as state secretary of the South Australian Labor Party is also threatened with centre-Left of the party currently fielding five candidates against him.

The front runner from the centre-Left is Mr John Lewin of the Australian Workers Union.

This week's state conference will be the first for Mr Bannon since he was elected Premier last November and several motions are likely to be considered by the conference which are critical of his Government's implementation of ALP policy at the State level.

South Australian State conference organisers are expecting either the Leader of the Government in the Senate, Senator John Button or the Deputy Leader of the Government in the Senate, Senator Don Grimes to open the conference.

Senator Button is already scheduled to address the Northern Territory conference over the weekend.



MR KEATING

Mr Hawke is on an overseas trip and the Deputy Prime

Minister, Mr Bowen, is to address the NSW State conference on Monday.

The president of the Australian Labor Party, Mr Wran, will open the NSW State conference on Saturday morning.

The NSW Labor Party's agenda committee is to meet on Thursday night to draw up an agenda for the conference.

However, one of the most contentious issues at this year's conference is likely to be the move by the head office of the party to centralise the processing of party membership.

This move is being hotly contested by the NSW party's Left-wing faction.

★ ★ ★

6/6/83

MONDAY, JUNE 6, 1983

Reality on East Timor

Mr Hawke has made a good start to his first foreign sortie as Prime Minister by forthrightly grasping the nettle of East Timor.

He was right to make clear in his discussions with President Soeharto that the Australian people greatly regret Jakarta's continuing refusal to grant the people of East Timor the right of self-determination. That concern will continue, and hopefully will encourage the Indonesians to discharge their responsibilities towards the East Timorese with regard to the likely impact of that conduct on their country's international image and reputation.

But it is one thing to take moral objection to Indonesia's actions in East Timor and quite another to believe that Australia can reverse that wrong by a policy of confrontation with the Soeharto regime.

Australia's regional self-interest lies overwhelmingly in the maintenance and strengthening of our diplomatic, trading and strategic ties with the giant to our immediate north. And in acknowledging that the two nations must now look to the future Mr Hawke has done no more than recognise that reality.

As Gregory Hywood points out on Page 4 today the Prime Minister is taking a considerable gamble that his party's ideological Left can be kept in control, in the face of what will inevitably be described as a sell out of the ALP platform.

The Left will have three very public

forums at which to vent its anger, with the NSW, Victorian and South Australian State ALP conferences scheduled for next weekend.

In Victoria in particular it is hard to see the Socialist Left acknowledging the undoubted force of Mr Hawke's contention that sufficient genuine change already has occurred in Indonesia's East Timor stance to justify the effective jettisoning of the platform.

But this reflects disproportionate rank and file preoccupation with the issue, and Mr Hawke probably has the numbers where it matters. While criticism can be expected from within the Parliamentary Labor Party it is likely to focus more on the manner in which Mr Hawke announced the switch than on its substance.

The Prime Minister has shown that he has an awareness of his own political strength, in the immediate aftermath of an overwhelming electoral victory and with the euphoria of the national summit still not entirely eroded by a series of ministerial gaffes and gaffes. If he can utilise this personal support to impose reality on his party on Australia's dealings with Indonesia he will have gone a long way towards nullifying, or at least minimising, one of the burdens which have bedevilled previous Labor leaders.

Party platform as Holy Writ is a luxury in today's turbulent times. And parties which continue to deny the need for reactive change as circumstances dictate are parties with a

penchant for Opposition not government. Foreign policy is thus emerging as a key indicator to the prospects of the Hawke Government achieving its declared ambition of being a Government for the long haul.

In this regard, the crucial tests still lie ahead. Mr Hawke's calculation of his own unassailable political position may well carry him through the first public hurdles next weekend. But he was insufficiently confident to give any commitment in Jakarta as to Australia's stance at the United Nations when that body comes to vote on the East Timor question.

Equally sensitive in ALP and Australian terms is the issue of Indochina, where Mr Hawke has also signalled his intention to depart from party line. Resumption of aid to Vietnam, as the platform calls upon him to do, has been postponed while ASEAN explores the possibility of Australia becoming an intermediary in the search for a resolution to the Kampuchean problem, with all that issue's tinderbox implications for regional stability.

Those who value the maintenance and improvement of Australia's relations with the key nations of Asia will support the deferral of any provocative action where there is hope of constructively employing Australia's goodwill throughout the region on an issue of great regional importance.

But anything concerning Vietnam produces emotional reactions among many Labor supporters, and the evolution of a truly con-

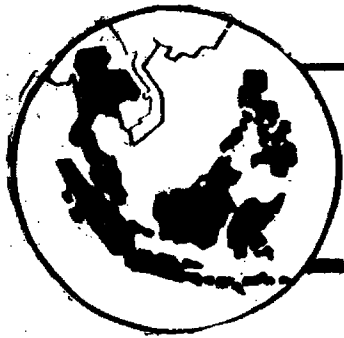
structive set of policies toward South-East Asia will be painful indeed for the ALP.

However, in rejecting one particular policy — which quite explicitly sought to tie the hands of any Labor Government wishing to establish a mutually tolerant relationship with Indonesia — the Prime Minister, and his Foreign Affairs Minister who paved the way with his visit to Jakarta last April, have commenced that evolution. That they face a painful few months trying to reason with the ideologues in their ranks is undeniable.

But they may take heart from the national sigh of relief which greeted Mr Hayden's recent announcement of the resumption of normal relations with the Soviet Union and the end of restrictions on scientific and cultural exchanges which constituted the ludicrous rump of our ill-fated Afghanistan protest.

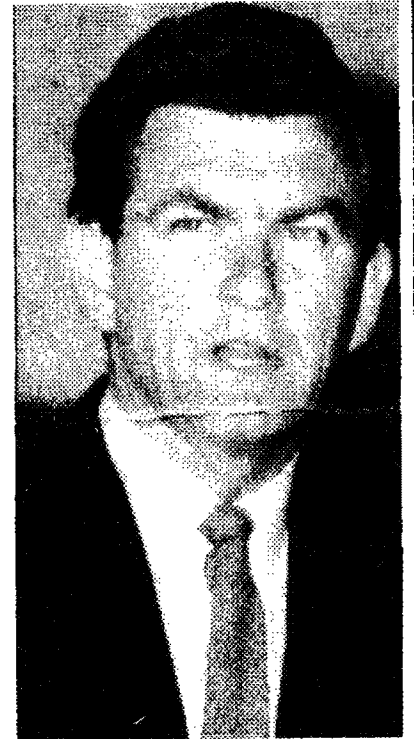
That was a hangover of the previous government's decision to adopt a high-sounding moral stance and apply it in a selective and inconsistent manner to a government whose admittedly unsavoury actions had offended it. It achieved nothing except to expose Australia's impotence to influence the matter.

Indonesia is closer to home. Most Australians would also take issue with some of its policies. But we achieve nothing by rooting our relationship in past grievances and denying ourselves the channels practically to influence those policies.



date line asean

Hayden may be Asean's emissary



MR HAWKE

JAKARTA, Sun. — Australia is willing to meet an Indonesian request to mediate between Asean and Vietnam in seeking a settlement in Kampuchea, Australian Prime Minister Bob Hawke said yesterday.

Mr Hawke, on a two-day visit, told reporters that Foreign Minister Mochtar Kusumaatmadja made the request during a meeting yesterday.

"I indicated to him that the Australian Government is willing to do whatever it could ... If it was desired that our Foreign Minister should act as an emissary," Mr Hawke said.

Australian Foreign Minister Bill Hayden is due to visit Hanoi later this month.

INDONS WANT AUSSIES TO MEDIATE

"When Mr Hayden goes to Hanoi he may well be able to play some role in the communication of new approaches by Asean in respect of the Kampuchean problem," Mr Hawke said.

Mr Hawke said President Suharto did not ask for assurances that Australia's new Labour Government would continue to support Jakarta in a crucial United Nations vote on Timor expected in October.

"I indicated that the decision of the Australian Government will be tak-

en closer to that time, at the end of the year, when it may arise for a decision," he said.

The Australian leader indicated he would not let Labour Party resolutions calling for an end to Australian defence aid to Indonesia until the Timorese are granted self-determination, jeopardise relations.

He said in view of Indonesia's economic and strategic importance to Australia, it would be grossly irresponsible of his Government not to protect relations between

the two countries.

Despite leftwing Labour condemnation of Jakarta over Timor, "military aid is continuing and will continue," Mr Hawke said. Past decisions on the issue, he said, would not necessarily be binding forever on his Government.

Background

Indonesia's State Secretary Sudharmono said President Suharto had taken the opportunity of briefing Mr Hawke on the historical background to the annexation. He got the impression during the meeting that "Australia considers bilateral relations very important and will avoid anything

which could disrupt them".

Foreign Minister Mochtar Kusumaatmadja said after the talks he had been able to assure the Australians that 24 more Timorese would be allowed to leave for Australia today. After that, only a further 36, who have been given residence permits in Australia, would be waiting to leave.

In a speech at a State banquet hosted in his honour by President Suharto, Mr Hawke said: "We need not hide what is a matter of public and historical record — that the unfolding of events in late-1975 and 1976 marked a setback in our relations.

Herald

Weg's Day

HAWKE...!
DO YOU LIKE
HIS STYLE..?

ALP

FOREIGN
POLICY

TIMOR
REVERSAL



WEG
MELBOURNE
HERALD

RIB TICKLER!

...AND WHAT ABOUT
POLITICAL ASYLUM,
SHOULD I NEED IT?

7/6

S. M. Herald



S. M. Herald
7.6.83

Now PM

Victoria calls for special party conference

From RUSSELL BARTON and IAN DAVIS

CANBERRA. — The Victorian branch of the Labor Party yesterday called for a special national conference to strengthen Labor's anti-uranium policy.

The Victorian move creates a second serious challenge to the Prime Minister's stand on Labor policy — first East Timor, now uranium.

The new dissension comes as Mr Hawke prepares to discuss uranium with the French President, Mr Mitterrand, in Paris later this week.

It follows backbench attacks on Mr Hawke's announcement at the weekend effectively scrapping Labor policy on East Timor in talks with President Suharto of Indonesia.

The Victorian secretary of the ALP, Mr Peter Batchelor, yesterday sent letters to all other State branches of the party calling for support for the Victorian move for a special Federal conference to strengthen the party's uranium policy.

The administrative committee of the ALP's Victorian branch last Friday severely criticised the Government for its handling of

uranium policy. The committee wants the Government to withdraw licences it has recently granted to two uranium companies to negotiate further uranium contracts. The companies are Energy Resources of Australia and Queensland Mines.

The Victorian branch is also calling for a ban on uranium sales to France because of continuing French nuclear tests in the Pacific.

Mr Batchelor said yesterday: "It was felt that the granting of the licences was not in the spirit of resolutions of the State and Federal conferences. It is inconsistent to let companies go and get new contracts while the policy calls for phasing out the uranium industry."

While the uranium argument would have to be resolved at a special conference, the East Timor issue will be fought out at a scheduled meeting of Labor's national executive on 29 June.

The East Timor issue was yesterday put on the agenda for the executive's meeting with its backers citing a call which has come from the Young Labor Movement for a debate on Labor's policy, laid down at last year's national conference.

Mr Hawke's statement in Jakarta ensured that the matter would be put on the agenda.

Most groups in the Labor Party expect the executive to resolve the dispute over East Timor, and particularly the question of how the Government will vote on the issue in the United Nations later this year.

The executive, comprising two representatives from each State, the four Federal parliamentary leaders and deputy leaders from the House of Representatives and the Senate, and representatives from the ACT and the Northern Territory, has the power to "interpret" policy between the national conferences held every two years.

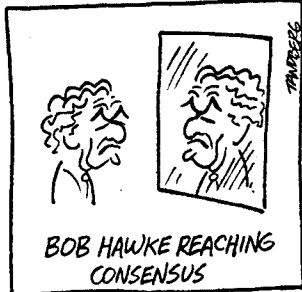
The outcome of the battle in the national executive will be affected by the annual conferences of Labor Party branches to be held in NSW, South Australia and the Northern Territory next weekend and in Victoria and the ACT the following weekend.

Continued: PAGE 4

PAGE 4: Labor's policy unpredictable, says Peacock

PAGE 12: Access letters

PAGE 13: Editorial; Nicholson's view.



faces N-I-R-O-W

Hawke Timor issue irks Labor

By NIKI SAVVA

CANBERRA — Fears grew in the Labor Party yesterday that the Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, was moving towards making party policy not binding on his Labor Government.

Concern was mounting among Labor MPs and officials over Mr Hawke's style of leadership, with the virtual abandonment of Labor policy on East Timor and uranium.

One source said Mr Hawke had not ruled out the possibility of a special national conference to discuss the party's constitution.

"It has become a rules issue, not an issue about East Timor or Vietnam or uranium," the source said.

"That's the argument the Left is concerned about now."

One MP said he would not be surprised if Mr Hawke now moved towards freeing a Labor Government from having to observe party policy.

The conflict boiled over with

remarks by Mr Hawke in Jakarta, making it clear he believed the party's policy on East Timor was irrelevant.

However, the issue had been simmering for weeks and began with the decision to call a royal commission on the Combe affair.

Then, last week, Mr Hawke indicated that Australia was prepared to sell uranium to France without receiving an assurance from the French that they would discontinue nuclear testing in the Pacific.

Party policy states that uranium should not be sold to France until it abandoned the testing.

When Mr Hawke meets President Mitterrand in Paris this week he will reiterate Australia's protest over the latest French test on Muraroa Atoll but will also tell

him that sales of uranium to France are not contingent on its abandonment of testing.

The ALP Left has always known it would lose on the East Timor issue, but Mr Hawke's blunt reversal has angered the Left and turned the debate from East Timor to rules.

The ALP Victorian state secretary, Mr Peter Batchelor, said Mr Hawke's decision to ignore party policy was destroying party morale.

At ALP state conferences in both South Australia and Victoria during the next fortnight, there will be motions calling for a special national conference on uranium.

Party sources said they expected Victoria, SA and probably

Tasmania to support a conference on the party's rules.

Under the ALP's constitution most state branches must vote for a special conference.

In Melbourne yesterday, the president of the Timorese Association of Victoria, Mr Antonio Do Nascimento, said: "Mr Hawke's decision to abandon party policy on East Timor is a way of condoning the Indonesian action there."

"His (Mr Hawke's) decision is all wrong," he said, speaking for 1500 Timorese living in the state.

"To continue to supply military aid that might be used by the Indonesian Government to continue their campaign of annihilation of the East Timorese people is intolerable."

Timor's place in our history

MR HAWKE'S "betrayal" of the East Timorese has angered not only the Left-wing of the A L P. Our Prime Minister has come under fire from the Deputy Leader of the Australian Democrats, Senator Colin Mason, who accuses him of feeding Indonesia's imperial ambitions and inviting more trouble along the borders of Papua New Guinea.

Relevantly, today's final writing-off of any prospects of self-determination for the Timorese comes just 20 years after 750,000 Papuans in West New Guinea — now Irian Jaya — were similarly "betrayed."

There are differences. In the early 1960s Australia was dealing with President Soekarno when he laid claim to West New Guinea as a former appendage of the Dutch East Indies.

Soekarno was then at the peak of his noisy pretensions to grandeur — as spokesman for

Third World anti-colonialism, and as promoter of military confrontation abroad to distract attention from the failures of Guided Democracy at home.

Today Australia is dealing with President Soeharto, whose Army regime has been underwritten by the U.S. as a stabilising force in South-East Asia.

There are other differences. Today voices are being raised within all the Australian political parties, sympathising with

the East Timorese. But all share a reluctance to confess to guilt in the handing over of West New Guinea to Indonesia.

Before 1962 the Menzies Government had backed the Dutch in their contention that Indonesia had no valid claim to Irian Jaya, on either historic or ethnic grounds.

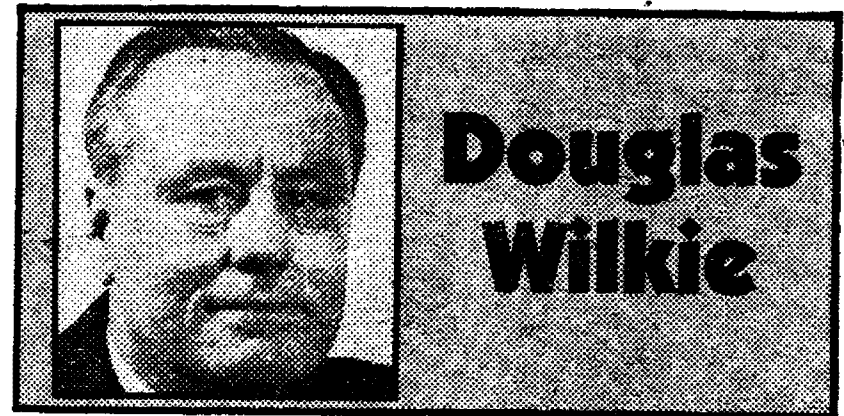
When Dutch troops repelled an attempted Indonesian invasion there was wide acclaim in Australia.

But the U.S., afraid that a

setback to Soekarno would drive him into the arms of communism, pressured Holland into accepting a negotiated transfer of sovereignty. Canberra duly switched policy overnight in Indonesia's favor.

The face-saver was a period of UN administration of Irian Jaya, to be followed in 1969 by an Act of Free Choice by the local Papuans.

Nobody could have doubted at the time that Jakarta would fudge the choice by making selective contact with a rela-



tive handful of primitive Papuans who could be cajoled or coerced into voting for Indonesian rule.

A Menzies Liberal Government "pragmatically" made the best of a shoddy job, to foster good relations with Jakarta.

The then Labor Opposition restricted criticism to a claim that trouble would have been avoided if UN mediation had been sought 10 years earlier.

Labor's claim was dubious, because Soekarno had already

gone on record in 1950 as boasting that the whole of New Guinea rightfully belonged to Indonesia.

Soekarno even talked of an Indonesian empire extending from Malaya to Madagascar, an outpost of Malay culture in the heyday of Indonesian trade with East Africa.

Senator Mason has invoked history to remind us in the 14th century powerful Indonesian emperors also claimed sovereignty over northern Australia.

Hawke's Timor remarks ignite party resentment

Financial Review

7/6

THE weekend bushfire lit by the Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, on the East Timor and Vietnam aid issues spread rapidly yesterday as prominent ALP members expressed their discontent.

It is now certain this weekend's ALP State conferences in NSW and South Australia will debate the issues hotly, as will Victoria's next week.

Party observers fear motions critical of the Prime Minister could be put forward from the conference floors.

The secretary of the Victorian ALP, Mr Peter Batchelor, said yesterday that Mr Hawke's virtual ditching of the party's official East Timor policy was undermining party morale.

"Mr Hawke says circumstances have changed. The Victorian branch would like to know what those circumstances are," he said. "They don't appear apparent to the Victorian branch at present."

He said feeling was "very strong" within the branch on the issue.

Two reports on the fate of East Timor (annexed by Indonesia in 1975) will go before the Victorian conference on June 18 and 19, one from the State's Administrative Committee and the other from the State Foreign Affairs Policy Committee, chaired by outspoken left-winger Mrs Jean McLean.

Mrs McLean said yesterday many party members were distressed at Mr Hawke's weekend statements.

Mr Hawke told audiences in Jakarta the official ALP policy recognising an "inalienable" East Timorese right to self-determination was "not appropriate."

Mr Hawke has also alarmed many in the party with his reported dictum that "I believe it would be irresponsible of a Government which is in possession of information which

places a different complexion on an issue not to take account of changed circumstances."

The party's Rule 5(B) states emphatically that the national conference, which passed last year's Timor resolution, shall be the party's supreme governing authority, and its decisions binding on every section of the ALP.

Although the rules also give

By DEBORAH SNOW

the party executive power to interpret policies and judge the timing of their implementation between national conferences, critics argue this does not give the Prime Minister a mandate to jettison policy resolutions.

Many observers are puzzled by Mr Hawke's timing in igniting the East Timor question within the party, given the prominence of the State conferences.

Also, Australia will not be forced to take an international stand on the issue until October, the earliest month the issue can come up in the United Nations.

It is possible the question may be deferred even longer in the UN.

Yet Mr Hawke's remarks have forced the issue to a head now.

Although the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Hayden, has recently faced tough questioning from Victorian party members on East Timor, he has so far managed to buy time by talking of the need for consultation with ASEAN countries before making decisions.

His first overseas visit as minister was to Indonesia, where he succeeded in gaining Indonesian agreement to the

visit of a parliamentary delegation to East Timor in July. His public statements avoided any direct refutation of ALP policy.

But Indonesia has threatened to let its relations with Australia founder entirely on the East Timor question if the ALP insists on a hard line.

Ultimately, a softer policy has to be sold to the party, in the pragmatists' view, but Mr Hawke's statements are forcing the pace.

Among left-wing MPs to criticise his view yesterday

- ALP's uranium policy problem, page 4.

were Mr Ken Fry, one of two ACT members, and Senator Gordon McIntosh, who chairs the Senate Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and Defence.

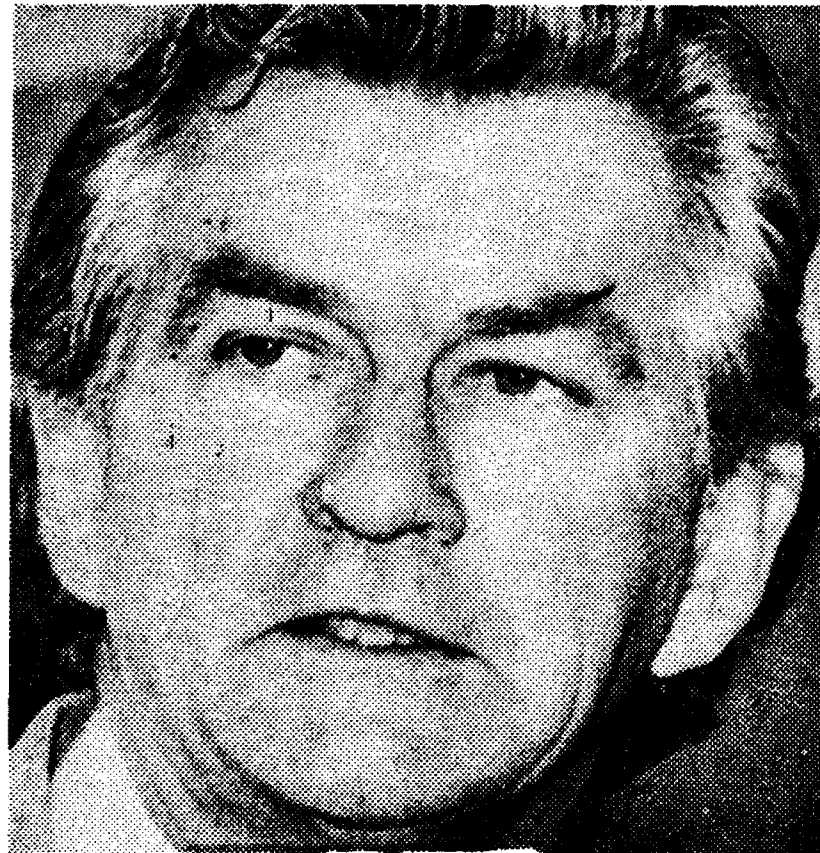
Veteran Queensland left-winger Senator George Georges has also spoken out, saying conference policy was binding on all politicians, and that as it was a matter of conscience, the issue was "highly divisive" within the party.

The Leader of the Opposition, Mr Peacock, sought to heighten the party's turmoil yesterday by accusing the Government of being unpredictable.

He said Mr Hawke's statements were a recognition that ALP policy would undermine Australia's standing in the region.

But the "acrimonious division" within the ALP would generate continuing instability in Australia's relations with its neighbours.

"Because of its internal divisions, the Hawke Government's foreign policy is proving completely unpredictable," he said.



MR HAWKE

Labor's policy unpredictable, says Peacock ^{Age} 7th June

By RUSSELL BARTON in
Canberra and OLGA FERNLEY
in Melbourne

The Federal Government's foreign policy was proving completely unpredictable because of divisions within the Labor Party, the Opposition Leader, Mr Peacock, said yesterday.

He said the Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, was learning the value of the previous Government's foreign policy, as shown by his decision to abandon Labor policy on East Timor while in Indonesia.

But the decision had caused acrimonious division in the party which will generate continuing

instability in Australia's relations with countries in the region, Mr Peacock said.

"This uncertainty will continue to raise questions about the reliability of Australia under a Labor Government, as a regional partner," he said.

In MELBOURNE, Victoria's East Timorese welfare officer, Mr Joao Goncalves, said his people were in a state of shock over the Prime Minister's abandonment of ALP policy on East Timor.

The Timorese Association in Victoria wrote to Mr Hawke in mid-May requesting to speak with him before he left for Jakarta. In their letter, they pleaded that circumstances in East Timor remain unchanged, and said they hoped that rumors of an imminent back-

tracking from ALP policy were unfounded.

Mr Goncalves said he had been told Mr Hawke had no time to meet Timorese community representatives before his trip. Mr Goncalves said the community was outraged, especially since the Minister for Foreign Affairs Mr Hayden, also declined to meet with them before his trip to Jakarta in April.

The Timorese Association in Victoria represents 1500 East Timorese. Its president, Mr Antonio Do Nascimento, said the association condemned Mr Hawke's decision to ignore ALP policy. He said that "to continue to supply military aid that might be used by the Indonesian Go-

vernment to continue a campaign of annihilation of the East Timorese people is intolerable".

The chairman of the Australia-East Timor Association, Dr George Preston, challenged the Prime Minister's assertions that circumstances have changed in East Timor and therefore ALP policy is no longer relevant.

Five independent organisations, The Australia-East Timor Association, the East Timor Support Group in the ALP, the Indonesia Action Group, Christians in Solidarity with East Timor, and Reunite in Australia the Families of East Timor, will meet Mr Hayden tomorrow to present the case for East Timorese self-determination.

The Sydney Morning Herald

Hawke throws down gauntlet

MR HAWKE'S candour can only be applauded. In Jakarta he has effectively stated that the Labor Government has divested itself of the incubus of a Labor Party Conference resolution demanding a withdrawal of Indonesian troops from East Timor and an act of self-determination. Clearly that was as unthinking as it was unavailing in what it seeks to achieve. But was Jakarta the right place, and a brief visit the right time, for the Prime Minister to challenge in such head-on fashion an admittedly incongruous but undeniably powerful coalition of left- and right-wing forces over the issue?

It is not enough to point out by implication that true believers, like Labor's Senator Gordon McIntosh, and political opportunists, like the Australian Democrats' Senator Mason, have absolutely no chance of changing the situation. It is not enough to point out that nothing Australia says or does on the subject of East Timor, even if it were to vote against Indonesia on the issue in this year's General Assembly, will in the slightest change the fact that East Timor is now an integral part of Indonesia.

Nevertheless, Mr Hawke needs to tread carefully in throwing down the gauntlet to those in his party, and on the Opposition benches, who disagree with him over East Timor. He now faces a very stiff test in party branches and in confrontation with a politically wide range of members of groups actively involved in the issue — especially with this weekend's ALP conferences

looming in Sydney and Adelaide. He was equally unwise to have challenged them in Jakarta by stating that renewed Australian aid to Vietnam, another emotive, sensitive issue, is likewise a matter on which he does not feel bound by formal Labor Party policy.

Intellectually he cannot be faulted in saying that a Labor policy devised in different times, in different circumstances, to meet different needs cannot be allowed to determine Government policy in a greatly changed context. But it is a politically risky statement. He might well have been wise to avoid quite so provocative an over-the-shoulder glance to gauge the effect of his public assurances to President Soeharto that, despite Australia's objections to Indonesia's intervention in East Timor, both countries must look to the future.

Nor perhaps was it entirely tactful, not least to his hosts, to make such an explicit statement on Australian policy ahead of the visit in July of the Australian parliamentary delegation which is to visit East Timor, as well as Jakarta, and report to Parliament. If Mr Hawke's unqualified statement means that his Government is quite certain that Australia will not be obliged by party policy to change its vote on East Timor in New York in October, then he has brought off a coup. But if it provokes a party crisis in Australia, as seems possible — the outcome of which is to oblige the Government to change its stance in October — then it will be nothing short of a political disaster.

Senator barracks for free E. Timor ^{S.M. Herald} 7/6

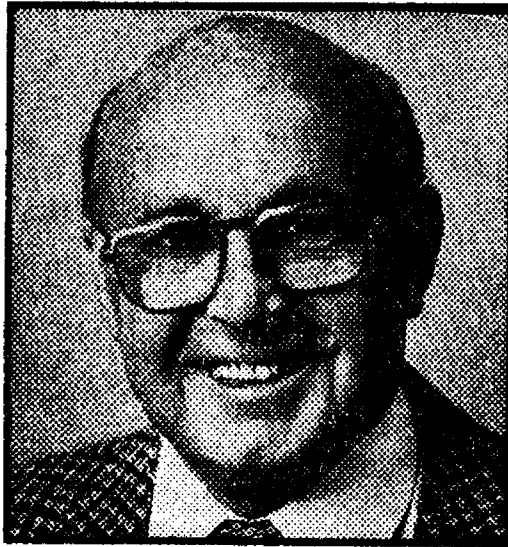
From RICHARD MCGREGOR

CANBERRA. — Senator Gordon McIntosh, one of the ALP's most vociferous supporters of an independent East Timor, first visited the region in the role of a devil's advocate.

"I went over in March, 1975, as a sceptic," he said yesterday, "because I could not believe the propaganda that was coming out about the amount of support for Fretilin (the indigenous independence movement)."

He said his doubts were overcome by the size of the crowds turning out to hear Fretilin leaders, and the enthusiasm and excitement of the movement.

As a member of the party's



Senator McIntosh

Left wing, Senator McIntosh is not in a position of power in the ALP. But he is in a position to make a lot of noise.

He is the chairman of the Senate Standing Committee on Defence and Foreign Affairs, which is preparing a report on East Timor.

He will also represent the Federal Government when the Timor issue is voted on at the United Nations later this year.

He is also in the parliamentary delegation which will visit Indonesia and East Timor next month, a group whose report the Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, would hope to use to support his shelving of ALP policy on the issue.

Senator McIntosh was born in Glasgow in 1925, and retains a pronounced Scottish accent. A former president of the Amalgamated Engineering Union, he received strong backing from trade unions in his State of Western Australia to

be elected on the Senate ticket in 1974.

He feels intensely about the East Timor issue, and has maintained close contact with Fretilin since the Indonesian takeover late in 1975.

"How can we even open our mouth anywhere in the world on human rights if we renege on this," he said. "They were our allies in the war."

Last year, he followed former Prime Minister, Mr Whitlam, to the United Nations in New York for a debate on the issue. "Because Whitlam was going over as an individual, I wasn't going to let him off the hook," he said.

Although the details are yet to be finalised, the parliamentary delegation is expected to be away for 10 days, with four of them in East Timor.

Sydney M. Herald 7/6/83.

Left wing to challenge PM's policy switches

From PETER KENNEDY

CANBERRA. — The standing of the Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, within the Labor Party, following his weekend switches of policy on East Timor and aid to Vietnam will be tested at State branch conferences over the next two weekends.

There is a strong possibility of motions critical of his actions being carried by at least two of the conferences.

There were signs of growing resentment in the rank-and-file yesterday at the East Timor and Vietnam moves, on top of last week's disclosure that two Australian companies had gained special licences to negotiate new uranium export contracts.

In weekend talks with President Soeharto, Mr Hawke spoke of East Timor as being part of Indonesia — despite a resolution passed at last year's national annexation. He has also shelved the party policy on resuming aid to Vietnam.

Left-wing members claim all three moves are clearly contrary to the policy laid down in the party's platform.

In separate developments involving Left-wing members of the party yesterday:

- Mr Gerry Hand, the Member

for Melbourne, described Mr Hawke's justification for the changed approach to Indonesia as a "cop-out."

- Mr Ken Fry (ACT) warned the Prime Minister's "elitist approach" to foreign affairs could divide the party.

- A leading member of the NSW administrative committee, Mr John Birch, called on Mr Hawke to work within the party's democratic processes if he wanted to change policy.

The first concerted response from party members will emerge this weekend at the annual conferences of the NSW and South Australian branches.

The Sydney conference agenda includes a motion from the left-wing Amalgamated Metal, Foundry and Shipwrights' Union calling for the end of aid to Indonesia and the withdrawal of Indonesian forces from East Timor.

In addition, the Left is expected to present an urgency motion expressing concern about the bypassing of party policy by Mr Hawke.

However, the Left has claim to only about 40 per cent of the conference's 820 delegates, and critical motions are more likely to be carried at the Ade-

laide conference, where the Left is stronger.

The strongest criticism is expected to come from Mr Hawke's own branch of Victoria the following weekend.

At the last conference two months ago, a resolution virtually reaffirming existing policy on Timor was passed unanimously. An administrative committee meeting last Friday called for the implementation of the policy to end uranium mining in Australia.

Mr Handsaid recent policy changes had caused a "fair amount of anger" in branches his electorate.

He said he did not accept Mr Hawke's justification for changing the policy on Timor — that the policy had not taken into account altered circumstances.

"It is an absolute cop-out to talk about humanitarian issues being framed while in Opposition, and that now we are on the other side of Parliament the morals change. This is absolutely disgusting."

Another Left-wing MP, Joan Coxedge, MLC, said: "It seems as if a few people at the top are tossing our policies overboard in rapid succession on grounds of expediency."

Two other prominent Left-wing party members warned that Mr Hawke's approach to foreign affairs could divide the party.

Mr Ken Fry, the Federal Member for Fraser (ACT), said that Mr Hawke had departed from party policy in failing to press for an independent East Timor in talks with President Soeharto last weekend.

Mr John Birch, a leading left-wing member of the NSW administrative committee, said he thought the recent developments were more an example of Mr Hawke's presidential style than any plan to establish his ascendancy over the party's Left.

"I think it is incredible that, having gained such a popular mandate, he should have so early in his period of Government created such major dissension within the party," Mr Birch said.

It is almost certain that the Timor issue will be listed for discussion at the next national executive meeting on June 29.

Mr Hawke could seek backing for his changes at the meeting.

PAGE 3: An Australian PM at the Court of St James; PAGE 8: Hawke throws down gauntlet; PAGE 12: Senator barracks for free East Timor.

Hartley tips a new Labor chief

"YOU are looking at the possibility of another Labor leader within the lifetime of the existing Parliament."

That was the dire prediction of Bill Hartley, of the Victorian Socialist Left, yesterday, when I asked him what he thought of Prime Minister Bob Hawke's policy shift on East Timor.

"In the whole history of the Labor Party, any theory that the leader was bigger than the movement has always resulted in disaster," Mr Hartley continued darkly. "Even in a split!"

To say that Mr Hartley, a socialist hard-liner and political "firecracker," was upset by Mr Hawke's new stance on East Timor would be an understatement.

But Mr Hartley, 52, took pains to emphasise that he was not surprised.

"My particular view of Bob Hawke is well known in Labor circles," he said.

"Just let's say that his conduct since he became Prime Minister has been what I expected.

"We have had a wide range of conflicts, not just the differences between the Arabs and Israel.

The present trouble between Mr Hawke and the Labor Party arises from the fact that the party did not have a real chance of taking part in the election of its new leader.

"By the time it reached the discussion stage it was a fait accompli.

"It was a strange situation. Bill Hayden was a popular figure. He had our confidence, a hold on both the party and his parliamentary colleagues.

"It was a well-planned coup

which put Bob Hawke into the leadership ..."

What else was new? Surely, even Mr Hartley would concede that there was little, if any difference, between the attitudes of Messrs Hayden and Hawke to East Timor these days.

"I have known Bill Hayden for 20 years," Mr Hartley said. "Above all, he operates as a loyal party man.

"Hayden has the same views as Hawke, true enough, but he has made it clear he accepts his obligations to the party.

"I am still confident that, as Foreign Affairs Minister, under pressure from the party, Mr Hayden will instruct Australia's representatives at the United Nations to keep self-determination for East Timor on the agenda of the UN decolonisation committee."

Surely that would lead to a major rift between Mr Hawke and Mr Hayden and factionalisation of the parliamentary Labor Party.

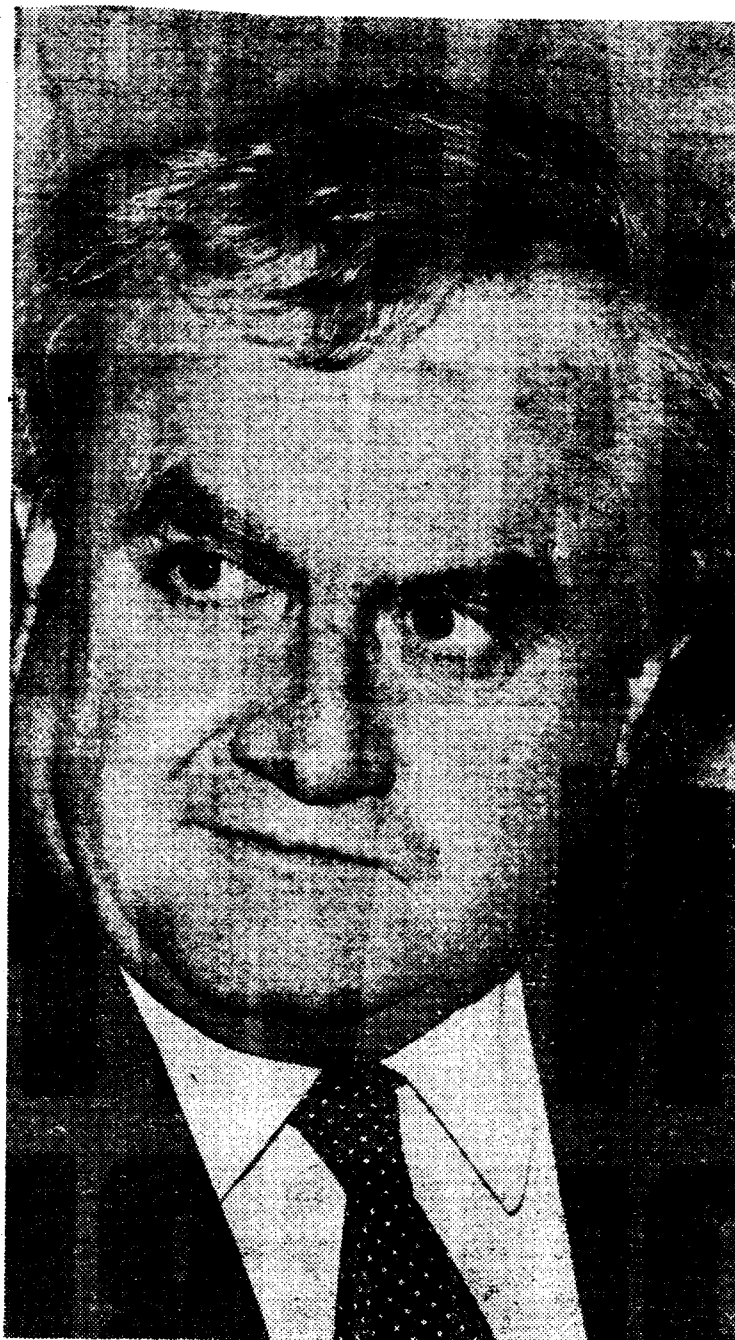
Mr Hartley shrugged and grinned, as if to say: "You don't say."

"I am not over-excited by present problems," he said. "My view is that there is a long way to go in this Government.

"There is a substantial technical problem between the party and parliamentary leadership which has to be tackled by the parliamentary leadership.

"It will reach Bob Hawke, all right, rest assured of that."

Mr Hartley flatly refused to discuss widely circulated reports that he was "on the comeback



● MR HARTLEY ... "Bill Hayden was a popular figure."



By TOM PRIOR

trail" to power in the Victorian ALP.

"The important issue is whether the trade union movement and the Left are about to achieve their program of effecting a turnabout in economic policy," he said.

"A turnabout which will mean we will have an August Budget which will reflate the economy, expand it ...

"We have to do something to meet our campaign promises.

Mr Hartley was dining with Mr Ibrahim Sager, press officer of the Libyan Peoples' Bureau, when I interviewed him.

Mr Sager said he had been stationed in Canberra for two-and-a-half years and really enjoyed his Australian assignment.

Internal politics were not his concern, he said with a smile.

"To modify the recession and to reduce unemployment is by far the biggest issue facing the Labor Party today," Mr Hartley added.

"We can have ideological differences on East Timor, but there can be no differences on stagflation and the deep human issue of unemployment.

● The secretary of the Victorian Labor Party, Mr Peter Batchelor, said that, as recently as last April, a state conference of the party had called for self-determination for the East Timorese.

"It was a policy supported by 75 per cent of the delegates, not just the Left," Mr Batchelor said.

He said the Victorian ALP had not been consulted or notified about the recent changes in policy.

"We are also anxious to hear why Mr Hawke has chosen to make an announcement at variance with the opinion of the ALP national conference last July," Mr Batchelor said.

Timor and royals: PM fights back

From PETER COSTIGAN who is with the Prime Minister in London

The Timor policy row, the royal family, and Madame Tussaud today dominated the Prime Minister, Mr Hawke's visit to Britain.

Wait and find out the facts — that was Mr Hawke's challenge today to Labor Party critics of decisions he took on Timor.

He denied that he had pre-empted ALP policy.

Mr Hawke also had words for British press observation that he, a republican, was spending most of his two-day stay seeing members of the royal family.

"Oh dear, oh dear, we are not falling into that one again, are we?"

"It is always natural, appropriate and necessary that a visiting Prime Minister should visit the Queen of Australia, and I will be doing that. I find nothing unusual in these visits.

"I have already met Prince Charles and Princess Diana and had an enjoyable time with them — bounced the future King of England on my knee."

Asked if that also meant the future king of Australia, he said: "That is a long way down the track, isn't it."

"I mean, we've got the Queen who is going to be the Queen for a long time. Then there's Prince Charles who is young and healthy. We have got to look after the events of the next 17 years or so and that's enough to contemplate."

IMMORTALISED

Mr Hawke is to be immortalised in wax at the famous Madame Tussaud's museum, the first Australian Prime Minister since the late Sir Robert Menzies to be so honored.

Ian Hanson, Madame Tussaud's chief sculptor, spent an hour in Mr Hawke's Savoy Hotel suite doing the preliminary work before starting the three-month-long process of sculpting the life-size figure.

Mr Hawke, who joins Australian megastar Dame Edna Everage at the museum, agreed to send one of his old suits to the famous London tourist attraction.

nationally supervised act of self-determination by the Timorese.

Mr Hawke said: "I believe there needs to be a further examination of what is happening there and the way in which Indonesia is responding to the initiatives Mr Hayden raised with them in April."

"I repeat — it cannot be said strongly enough or often enough — that what the concern of Australians, including the Labor Party is, is the interest of the people of East Timor."

On a more serious note, Mr Hawke said Australian policy on East Timor had to be looked at "in the light of developing circumstances."

"But what Foreign Minister Bill Hayden and I are mutually saying is that it is intelligent for the Government and the Labor Party to give themselves as much time as possible before the final decisions are made in this matter, decisions which can affect the future interests of Australia very, very gravely."

That decision was Australia's attitude to a possible vote in the United Nations later this year on Indonesia's control of East Timor.

For the past four years, Australia has voted in the UN to recognise that East Timor is part of Indonesia. Labor Party policy directs a Labor Government to withhold that recognition until there is an inter-

MEUR. HERAND -

7/6/83

Bob Hawke

NEW STRAITS TIMES, K.L. 7/6/83

faces a party revolt

PRIME MINISTER Bob Hawke faces a Labour Party revolt on his return from his overseas trip over his about-turn on East Timor and Vietnam.

By ditching Labour Party policies on these two issues, he is certain to be slammed by left-wing factions at the Victorian Labour conference next week.

A political source in Canberra said the Labour Party's official policy was irrelevant and not in Australia's interests. Labour Party policy decided at last year's national conference directed a Labour Government to defer aid until Indonesian troops leave East Timor.

It is also Labour Party

From PUTRA LAXANA in MELBOURNE

policy that a Labour Government should resume humanitarian aid to Vietnam.

But in talks with the Indonesian Foreign Minister Dr Mochtar, he indicated that Australia would not resume aid to Vietnam that was cut off four years ago by the Fraser Government.

In a two-hour meeting with President Suharto, Mr Hawke told the Indonesian leader that Australian aid worth A\$10 million to Indonesia would continue.

A Federal Labour MP, Mr Fry, today criticised Mr Hawke for "sacrificing principles for expediency" in his Indonesian talks.

A member of the foreign affairs committee of the Labour Party, Dr Joe Camillieri, said Mr Hawke's stance had to be condemned in strong terms.

Writing in the *Age* newspaper today, a leading political analyst said: "Mr Hawke has given his party one firm message. He, his Cabinet and political realism, not the party's ideologues, will determine the Labour Government's foreign policy.

"As his entourage proceeds, the Prime Minister sheds inappropriate policies like the old clothes they are: colourful items that might be worn in opposition but which look decidedly garish in Government.

"In the process, Mr Hawke is turning the old rules of the Labour Party on their head. Just as he got the party leadership on his terms — essentially by winning the electorate first and the party later — so he will run foreign policy his way and trust that he can persuade the party to catch up."

Hayden steps in on Timor

From GARY O'NEILL

CANBERRA. — The Foreign Minister, Mr Hayden, today backed the Government's new policy on Indonesia and East Timor.

Mr Hawke and Mr Hayden are now publicly opposed to the ALP hardliners who are insisting that the party's strongly anti-Indonesian policy be followed.

Mr Hawke telephoned Mr Hayden late last night from London to discuss in detail his talks with the Indonesian Government over the issue.

Mr Hayden and Mr Hawke will now try to link the Government's stand on the East Timor issue to negotiations over a peaceful settlement in Kampuchea.

The Indonesian Foreign Minister, Dr Mochtar, has offered Mr Hawke a letter of support to be taken by Mr Hayden on his forthcoming visit to Hanoi.

The Indonesians are willing to back Australia's efforts with the Vietnamese over Kampuchea, but the degree of support will depend on Australia maintaining a "pragmatic" attitude towards East Timor.

Today Mr Hayden started to defuse the growing impatience from the Left-Wing over the Timor issue by claiming that East Timor could not be considered in isolation.

"It cannot just be seen in terms of a relationship between Indonesia and East Timor, but also has to be seen as part of the whole ASEAN relationship and the initiatives we have taken in Vietnam.

"They are all interlocked," he said.

Before his visit to Hanoi, Mr Hayden will

attend a meeting of ASEAN foreign ministers in Bangkok which, apart from several other matters, is expected to endorse Australia's initiatives with the Vietnamese.

Mr Hawke and Mr Hayden are determined that nothing should be done to rock the boat over East Timor, at least before then.

Mr Hayden said today the Australian Government had formally "noted" Indonesia's incorporation of East Timor.

At the same time the Government regretted there had been no internationally supervised "act of self-determination" for the Timorese people.

THE AGE

Tuesday 7 June 1983

Hawke's new beginning in Indonesia

EDITORIAL OPINION

FOR almost a decade, Australian disquiet over Indonesia's annexation of East Timor by force of arms has crippled our relations with Jakarta. At the time of the military takeover, this newspaper condemned Indonesia's action and we hold to the view that the way in which the Indonesians went about achieving annexation was a particularly unpleasant episode in the recent history of the region. Australians were justifiably outraged by the circumstances of the military invasion and the subsequent pacification program which led to considerable loss of life. There was also good reason to be unhappy about the behavior of some Australian politicians who sought to excuse what was in reality a crude example of the strong exerting hegemony over the weak. The Timor issue has been clouded from the outset by hypocrisy. Successive Australian Governments have handled the truth with less than complete respect. Publicly, they have complained about Indonesia's action. Privately, they have all but sanctioned it.

The Timor issue has been a significant impediment in the way of a more constructive Australian relationship with not only Indonesia, arguably the most important member of ASEAN, but with the region generally. If we do not have

sound working relations with our closest and biggest neighbor then the chances of us exerting influence in the region are limited. Mr Hawke and Mr Hayden set out, properly we believe, to emphasise the primacy of our regional concerns. In the first months of the Labor Government, Mr Hayden visited ASEAN capitals, carrying the message that Canberra wanted to become more involved in the affairs of the region, and more particularly in the search for a solution to the Kampuchea problem. We have serious reservations about the desirability of backing a coalition of forces in which the Khmer Rouge is the dominant party. It is a point we should make to our ASEAN friends. At the same time, we should take the opportunity of playing honest broker in a search for a peaceful solution and under these circumstances it is reasonable to continue to defer the question of our supplying aid to Vietnam.

It is in the wider context that Mr Hawke's apparent concession to Indonesia over East Timor should be viewed. Mr Hawke is accepting the reality of the Indonesian takeover and saying that relations between Canberra and Jakarta should not continue to be impeded because of Timor. Mr Hawke is adopting the only realistic course available to him. It is unrealistic to believe, as some

appear to — notably the Left wing of the Labor Party — that self determination is still an option for the East Timorese. Who is going to intercede on their behalf?

While we may quibble with Mr Hawke's praise for Indonesia's achievements in East Timor, we believe, on balance, his stand to be a courageous and responsible one in Australia's best interests. Mr Hawke has not allowed himself to be intimidated by Labor's platform. At the same time, it should be noted that the Prime Minister has not firmly committed the Government to support Indonesia's position if the East Timor issue comes up for a vote at the United Nations later this year. This will depend, Mr Hawke says, on the findings of a parliamentary delegation which will visit East Timor soon.

It is understandable that church groups and others in the community, especially the East Timorese migrants, should feel disappointed by Mr Hawke's remarks in Jakarta, but it seems pointless for these groups to indulge in recriminations. It would be better for them to seek ways of turning an

improved climate in Australian-Indonesian relations to their advantage. In turn, Mr Hawke and the Government have a strong duty to the East Timorese to do everything to assist in humanitarian causes such as family reunions.

If Mr Hawke wins the battle with his party over Timor — and it should be noted that he has not won it yet — he will then have created a singular opportunity for Australia to make a fresh start in its relations with Indonesia. If a watershed is reached, then let us hope that Australian officials and politicians have learned something from the East Timor experience. For a number of reasons the Indonesian Government is not an easy one to deal with. It can be both subtle and crude. Its leaders can be devious and straightforward. They are unpredictable.

Officials in the Australian Department of Foreign Affairs appear to have persuaded our politicians over the years that in dealing with the Indonesians they too should embrace subtleties of expression and behavior alien to the Australian political character. This diplomacy of the "Shadow Play" has not worked, nor is it ever likely to. In dealing with the Indonesian Government we should put our point of view unambiguously on our own

Hawke's new beginning
in Indonesia.

1200

7/6/83

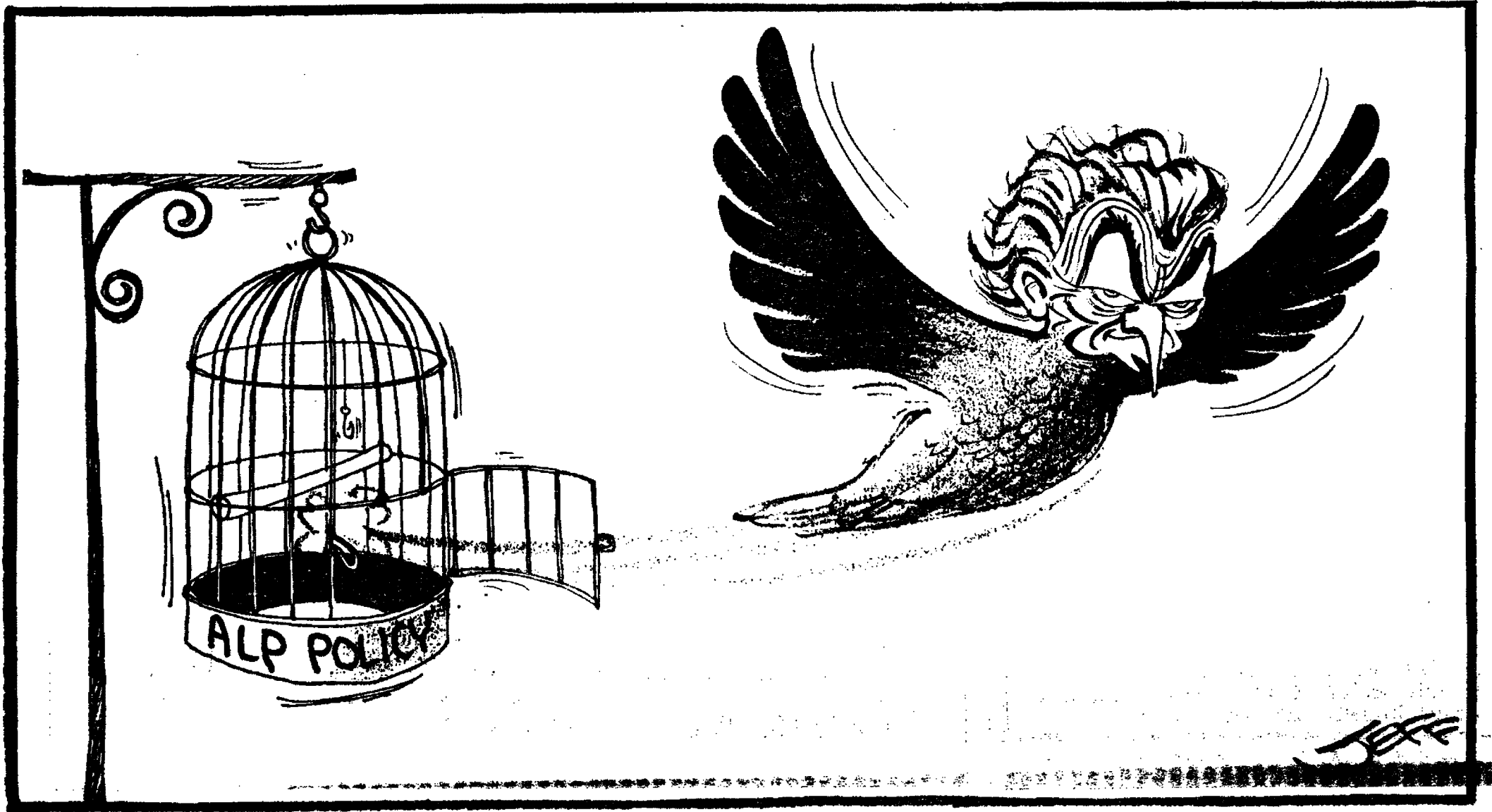
Canberra

terms and in straightforward language. This does not mean Australia should deliberately give offence, but it should not leave doubt in the minds of the Indonesians about where it stands on particular issues. For example, Jakarta should not be left in any doubt about Australian concern for the security and territorial integrity of Papua New Guinea.

There is no reason why Australia and Indonesia should not be useful partners in an important enterprise: that of promoting regional stability and trade. Canberra and Jakarta have legitimate interests in common, not least of them being that of ensuring that the region does not become a focus of superpower activity. In the commercial sphere, if the Pacific basin idea was ever to take shape, then Australia and Indonesia would be important economic units in a regional community of like-minded trading nations.

Australia is a significant regional country, and so, too, of course, is Indonesia. In short, there are good reasons why it is in the interests of both countries to work together. Mr Hawke has indicated his Government is prepared to contemplate a new beginning. This is not appeasement. It is common sense.

JEFF'S VIEW



MENB SUN THURS - 7/6/83

Now Hawke faces a nuclear row

7/95

FROM PAGE 1

There is also mounting pressure among backbenchers for the July Caucus meeting to be expanded from its consideration of the Budget preliminaries to a discussion of Mr Hawke's statements on East Timor.

Mr Hawke is looking to the executive to defuse this possible clash between himself and Caucus.

The Victorian, South Australian, ACT and, possibly, also the Northern Territory conferences are likely to call on the Government to implement the party's already agreed policy on East Timor.

The Victorian branch is likely to reaffirm the stand which the party's State council took last

April calling for immediate implementation of the policy.

The Victorian branch is also likely to consider a report from the State foreign affairs committee which will criticise the failure of the Government to declare its attitude on the question. This follows a meeting last Tuesday between the Foreign Minister, Mr Hayden, and the Victorian foreign affairs committee.

The Government's stand will be generally supported by the more pragmatic NSW branch, which is expected to leave the question of timing and implementation of

the policy to Federal Ministers.

This follows the decision of the 106-member Queensland State council on Saturday which confirmed support for the East Timor policy of the last Federal conference but said the "timing, rate and extent of implementation is a matter for the Government to determine in the light of existing conditions".

Although the uranium question is likely to create continuing trouble within the ALP, Labor sources yesterday said that Victoria was unlikely to receive the support of the three other States it needs for a special conference.

Mr Hayden is an influential member of the Queensland branch

and the resolution on implementation is similar to wording used recently by him.

The Queensland ALP council last week rejected a special conference on uranium; the Right-wing should be able to block the proposal in NSW; there appears little support for a special conference from South Australia and there is no Tasmanian branch following last year's Federal intervention, thus depriving Victoria of the support it needs for such a conference.

A parliamentary delegation of three Labor Party members and two Opposition members will visit Indonesia and East Timor from either 17 or 24 July.

Hawke flies into Timor storm

Mr Hawke's virtual abandonment of the Labor Party's policy on East Timor earns him plenty of criticism from readers in today's Access comments.

Too progressive

Mr Hawke's single-handed decision to retract on the East Timor issue has taken the principle of self-determination a little far. This is not the sort of progressive Government for which I thought I was voting.

IAN PARSONS,
31 Rangeview Grove,
North Balwyn.

Different standards

Mr Hawke apparently applies different standards to foreign policy, compared to domestic affairs. Indonesia may keep its ill-gotten gains, but tax evaders may not. It is all the more despicable, for on one hand mere money is involved, whereas on the other there are human lives and destinies.

MARK JONES,
372 Albert Road,
South Melbourne.

Same old story

It would seem that in politics the more things change the more they remain the same. In foreign affairs the strong still have our blessing and support and the weak our usual lousy condolences, while at home power remains with the Opposition parties in the Senate. So what's new?

CHARLES MILES,
359 Blackburn Road,
Burwood East.

Take firm stand

ALP members will ask: "Why have party policies?" Australians should ask: "Why must Australia always react to string-pulling by others (UK, US, Indonesia)?" Press and Prime Ministers say it is inevitable, but a firm stand on East Timor would bring no apocalypse. Indonesia needs us, too.

ROGER MITCHELL,
102 Charles Street,
Footscray.

Betrayed again

The East Timorese have been betrayed again. First it was the Whitlam Government, then the Fraser Government and now the Hawke Government. What a price to pay for good relations with the Indonesian Government.

CHRISTINE MCINTYRE,
85 Peel Street,
Kew.

Liberal gift

The exaggerated concern over the plight of East Timor by some Labor Party members is a strange way to repay Mr Hawke for leading the party to victory. Andrew Peacock must think all his Christmases have come at once.

MICHAEL JONES,
5 Beresford Street,
Caulfield North.

Shabby exercise

Mr Hawke's overturning of the ALP's East Timor policy is a shabby exercise in political expediency. It is a tragedy that such a black mark should spot the copy book of a party that has previously put principle before pragmatism.

DAVID FRY,
67 Williams Road,
Windsor.

Retrospection

On 6 July 1982, retrospective legislation rectified a technical defect rendering 4000 persons liable to conviction for exceeding the .05 alcohol test. Some, no doubt, to lose their livelihood. Apparently nobody objected. Where were the voices of those who now have such qualms about retrospective legislation.

DAVID BARKLEY,
4 Richard Street,
Box Hill North.

Move targets

The naval gentlemen whose letter calling for improvements in our Defence was published in 'The Age' on Saturday, neglected to mention one important point. The removal of all US bases from our shores should take priority. Soviet missiles are aimed at these prime targets.

DIANA GREENTREE,
68 Thompson Street,
Williamstown.

Right to democracy

Why can't politicians stand up to Right to Life's demands, instead of cringing to them? Democracy could become undermined.

CONSTANCE E. LITTLE,
Swan Reach.

Stop frauds

The huge welfare fraud is still going along its merry way. About 20,000 cheques were cashed fraudulently last year and some are picking up welfare 20 times over. Introduce identity cards and photos and pay into bank accounts.

MYRTLE CREAM,
Hawthorn.

Year of the number

Re Alan Rawson's letter (6/6). Yes let's consider the introduction of identity numbers. How about next year? 1984 seems appropriate.

ROD MCGREEVY,
Traralgon.

What next?

ALP policies on Timor, uranium and Vietnam are some of the reasons why I voted Labor. Unfortunately glamor boy Bob has lost his shine now that he has sacrificed principles and thousands of Timorese for so-called political realism. What Labor policy will he abandon next?

HANK VAN LEEUWEN,
Lot 3, Sunnyside Terrace,
Emerald.

Another target

Mr Roper's zeal against smoking is to be targeted next on some critical areas, e.g. pregnant women, presumably for smoking's possible ill effects on the unborn baby. Let us hope Mr Roper shows equal zeal soon about a practice that has certain ill effects on the unborn, namely abortion.

DANIEL POWER,
East Kew.

Access letters must be 50 words or less. Lines open between 8 am and noon, 1 pm and 4 pm weekdays.

Lack of consensus

Of course Mr Hawke's unilateral change of the East Timor policy will split the party. There are plenty of ALP members who do not believe that this scandalous sell-out of our former allies is a necessary part of so-called "consensus government".

DEIDRE MASON,
40 Gore Street,
Fitzroy.

Poor exchange

The Indonesians have effectively won Mr Hawke's recognition of their takeover of East Timor in return for the provisional placement of an Australian journalist in Jakarta, a three-day parliamentary trip to East Timor, and the reunion of some Timorese families. I imagine the Timorese will be wildly celebrating their good fortune in Dili today.

MARIE KEATING,
17 York Street,
North Fitzroy.

LIVING WITH INDONESIA

FOUR years ago the Fraser Government gave de jure recognition to Indonesia's incorporation of East Timor, which had become formal in Jakarta's eyes in July, 1976. That recognition was confirmed in Jakarta at the weekend by the Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, on behalf of his own Government. It was a sensible recognition of what has become a fait accompli, after the Indonesian invasion of Portugal's colony in December, 1975.

The people of East Timor should have been given the opportunity to exercise an act of self-determination, but this has been denied them by the superior power of Indonesia and the weakness of Portugal, which does not recognise the incorporation but has no means of reversing it. In almost seven years Australia has failed to insist effectively on an act of self-determination. It is time Australia learned to live with that failure. It is time Australia concentrated on helping as much as possible, in other ways, the people of East Timor.

Australia has no right to interfere in what it has recognised as a domestic matter for Indonesia, namely the continuing Fretilin resistance within East Timor. But it need not ignore it. Therefore, we welcome Mr Hawke's announcement that Australia will make a new contribution of \$1.5 million to Red Cross and UNICEF relief programs there.

Accurate reportage of Indonesia's East Timor policy in Australia also could promote moderation. According to a confidential report by Mr Dennis Richardson, of the Australian Embassy in Jakarta, who visited Atauro in September last year, "any family thought to have a relative in the mountains is sent to Atauro. They are sent in family groups". Indonesian officials had told him that between June, 1981, and his visit 202 deaths had occurred, most of them from gastro-enteritis. Mr Richardson's report, made available to the Senate standing

committee on foreign affairs and defence, is serious, official evidence of what is still happening, and it is good that relations between Indonesia and Australia are such that this evidence can be made known between the Governments, and then publicised precisely because the Australian media is free. Australian media representatives must be expected to report and comment freely, whenever they work in any part of Indonesia, which is only what they are expected to do within Australia. There can be no implied reservations, therefore, about the work of Australian Associated Press, when it sends a resident correspondent to Jakarta for the first time.

If the negotiations, expected to end within a week, are successful, as Mr Hawke predicted, then both countries will gain, if the correspondent's freedom is properly supported. The application by AAP for a resident visa was made two years ago, and it will be an improvement when AAP does not have to rely on Reuter's newsagency. But the Indonesian Government will have to be more liberal than it was when it decided more than two years ago not to allow either *The Sydney Morning Herald* or the ABC to continue their permanent representation in Jakarta. Visas for Mr Peter Rodgers and Mr Warwick Beutler were not renewed.

Family reunions

Now, it is encouraging that Mr John Lombard and Mr Ted Knez have recently been to Indonesia for Radio Australia, on temporary visas, and their reporting has been heard not only by Indonesians, because their material has also been used domestically by the ABC. Soon, we hope, the ABC and *The Sydney Morning Herald* will have resident correspondents back in Jakarta. We would also welcome the return to Canberra of a resident correspondent of the Indonesian newsagency, Antara.

It has to be acknowledged that the Indonesian Government, essentially a military one, has also shifted its ground and is trying to meet an Australian point of view which it does not like. For example, it has agreed to welcome next month a parliamentary delegation which includes Senator Gordon McIntosh, an implacable Labor campaigner for East Timor self-determination. Mr Hawke hopes, apparently, that this delegation will help the Labor Party to accept his policy switch on East Timor. Currently the suggestion is that the party will not wear what has been described as Mr Hawke's "effective dumping" of the ALP's official policy on East Timor. However, realities have to be faced and the Labor Party has to allow

its Government to govern and allow it some degree of flexibility in doing so. Furthermore, there is no possibility that whatever wrong has been done in East Timor can be reversed by a policy of confrontation. Circumstances often dictate that changes have to be made and it is against that background that the ALP should consider what Mr Hawke has done. Of course, the Member for Fraser, Mr Fry, who has been forthright in his criticism of Mr Hawke, has a right to be heard. Just how the ALP resolves this issue may be a pointer as to how strong a grip it is likely to hold on the government benches.

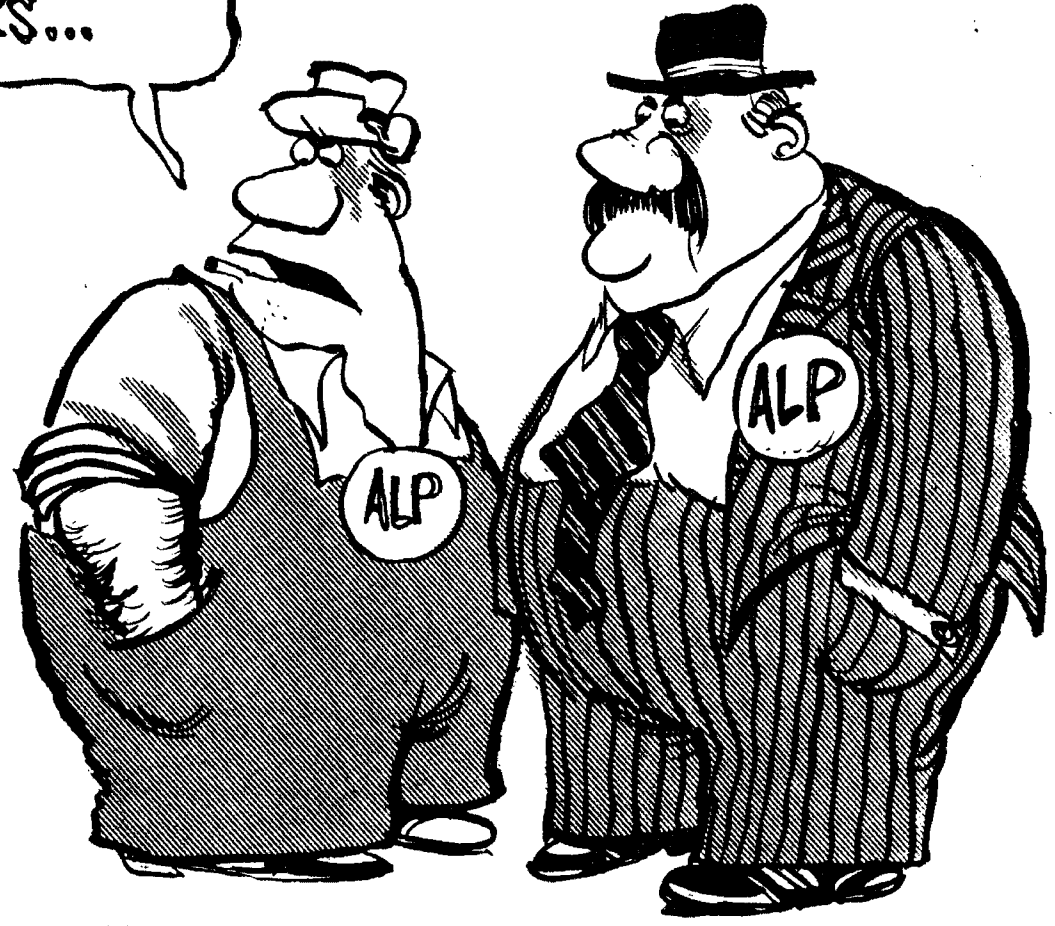
Meanwhile, it seems fair enough that the two Fretilin representatives, Mr Araujo and Mr Rodrigues, should be allowed to visit Australia from June 25. The enforced postponement of their visit, which was to have begun on May 22, was perhaps a reasonable exercise in diplomacy, bearing in mind Mr Hawke's visit to Jakarta.

This Labor Government should not have been impressed, for example, by any new Indonesian undertakings about the reunion of relatives of East Timorese in Australia. It was agreed by Jakarta in July, 1978, that about 600 of these relations should be given exit visas for Australia. So far only 425 of these have reached Australia, and some have had to bribe their way out, and 47 have died because their departures had been so long delayed. The record is shocking, and it ought to be remembered. Indeed, Mr Hawke should make President Suharto aware, if he has not already done so, that Australia's vote at the United Nations in October may partly depend upon what happens to the remainder of these relations meanwhile. Will they now, at last, be allowed to get here quickly and cheaply? Governments which use whatever sanctions they have honestly and purposefully do not lose respect.

AUSTRALIAN - 8/6/83

AT LEAST HE'S STUCK
TO THE OFFICIAL
POLICY ON MAKING
EXCUSES...

IT'S ALL THE FAULT
OF MISREPORTING
BY THE PRESS...!



Mitchell

ALP flying Liberal flag,

says Chipp

8/6/83 AGE.

From STEPHEN MILLS

CANBERRA. — The leader of the Australian Democrats, Senator Chipp, yesterday accused the Labor Government and Liberal Opposition of entering a "conspiracy of conservatism".

Since 5 March, the Labor Government had littered the political landscape with broken promises on East Timor, uranium, French nuclear testing, aid to Vietnam, and the size of the deficit, Senator Chipp said.

"In all these instances the Opposition has gloated over the Government's adoption of their discredited policies," Senator Chipp said. "It is a tacit conspiracy."

The human rights of the East Timorese and the unemployed at home demanded more than that, he said. The Hawke Government had come to power as a socially reforming party, but had adopted the colors of its predecessors on the spurious grounds of expediency, pragmatism and changed circumstances.

"The East Timorese have been abandoned because of 'reality'. What does that mean for the people of Poland or Afghanistan?" Senator Chipp asked.

The ALP had joined the Liberal/National Party Opposition in their advancement of the "drug pedlar's morality" in regard to uranium: "They believe we have to sell it because, if we don't, someone else will."

Senator Chipp said the tacit conspiracy of conservatism would condemn Australia to dealing with the problems of the 1980s with the solutions of the 1960s.

"I'M not going to try to say from this side of the world how the Labor Party should conduct their conferences . . .

"I don't think that's the way I should respond to that question, any more than people should try to say from one side of the world, or far away from me, how I should read a situation on the spot."

Thus did the Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, deliver his punchline — and underline his dilemma as he weaves his way around Labor Party policy — in his suite in the Savoy, looking out over the Thames.

It was probably appropriate — a favorite word of his which he uses to cover most situations on this trip — that a short time earlier he sat for 45 minutes while a Mr Ian Hanson, the chief sculptor of Madame Tussaud's, had measured his head minutely, and from every angle, with a pair of calipers.

It was also probably appropriate that a Mrs Margaret Thatcher had just spoken to him on the phone to tell him she thought they would both "be around for a while in our respective positions."

As he put it: "She's certainly right in one respect, and I can only say she thought that in respect of her own."



In a Britain caught up in the last stages of an election, Fleet Street's interest in the Australian Prime Minister has been largely restricted to "Republican Bob's growing royalism" as he pops around London from Prince Charles, to the Queen, to the Queen Mother, and laughingly relates how he has been bouncing the "future king of England" on his knee.

But he avoids answering whether Prince William is also the "future king of Australia," because that, to use another Hawkeism, is "a long way down the track, isn't it?"

However, what is a lot further up the Hawke track is the reaction from within the Labor Party back in Australia to his attitudes on East Timor and aid to Vietnam, declared when he was in Indonesia at the weekend.

Not forgetting the course he appears to be preparing to take on uranium policy, and the issue of uranium exports to France — which will come to a head after he reaches Paris today.

In London, Mr Hawke has been getting the feedback from Australia on these issues, and he is starting to react in turn, and not quite as coolly as he was a few days ago.

It is therefore worth recapping the issues for a party which insists on crossing every "t" and dotting every "i" in its policy, and whose leader now sees the great need for flexibility in international diplomacy and wants to do it his way.

On East Timor, Mr Hawke has announced that defence aid to Indonesia will continue, despite the national conference resolution of last July that there should be no such aid while its occupation forces remain in the former Portuguese colony.

On resumption of aid to Vietnam (also a conference resolution), Mr Hawke has said that this will not be done precipitously.

He has taken this stand because the ASEAN nations don't like the idea, and because the Foreign Minister, Mr Hayden, may be able to play a mediating role in Hanoi.

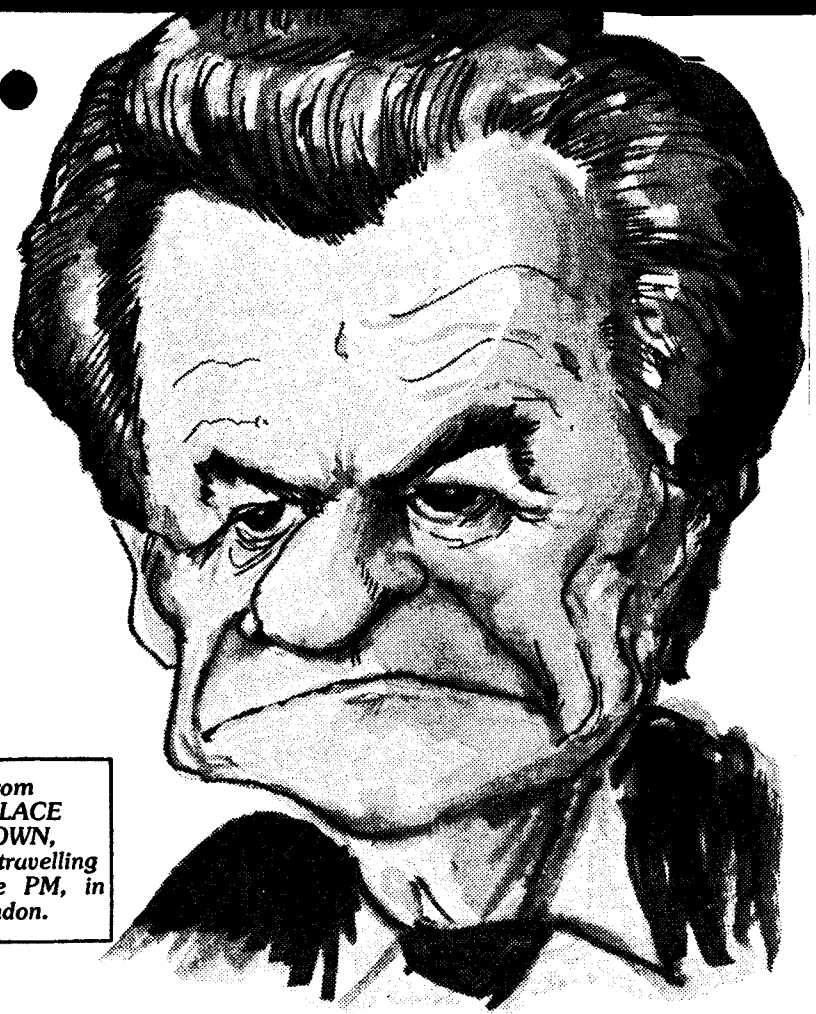
On uranium, the French Government is ready to ask Mr Hawke about future supplies of Australian uranium, and Mr Hawke has already stated he will not "link" this issue to

Australia's opposition to French nuclear tests in the Pacific.

Yet the conference specifically spelt out that "any contract with the French Government could only be contemplated subject to France ceasing all nuclear testing programs in the Pacific."

Dilemma for the travelling PM. . .

From WALLACE BROWN, who is travelling with the PM, in London.



BOB HAWKE, by Sun artist Tom Kerr.

Over-riding these points are the party rules, which state that national conference decisions shall be binding on every member and every section of the party, and that while the parliamentary party has authority to make decisions in caucus meetings, no attitude can be expressed which is contrary to the platform or any other decision of the conference or national executive.

In response to the criticisms from within his party, Mr Hawke has been gradually honing his answers along the track.

He has not, he maintains, overturned policy. It is just that the policy has to be looked at in the light of developing circumstances.

It is, he says in his Savoy suite, nonsense to say that the conclusions of the Australian parliamentary delegation to East Timor have been pre-empted.

Asked about continuing military aid to East Timor, he ducks, and says Australia's position in regard to Indonesia is related specifically to Australia's upcoming decision on East Timor when and if the vote comes in the United Nations.

And this should be determined in the light of changed circumstances, too.

He maintains it is the interests of the East Timorese people that are paramount, and he insists he is talking hypothetically now, but it could be that the evidence will show

that the interests of these people would be best served "by a continuation of their being part of Indonesia."

Quite pragmatically, he shrugs Australia's shoulders in acceptance of the Indonesian fait accompli on East Timor.

And, in a rhetorical question

directed back at an Australian journalist, he testily describes repeated references to the need for a vote of self-determination in East Timor as "a remarkable exercise in a lack of logic."

He asks: "Are you suggesting that an ALP conference or Australian Parliament or some other body can determine that there shall be a vote of self-determination in East Timor?"

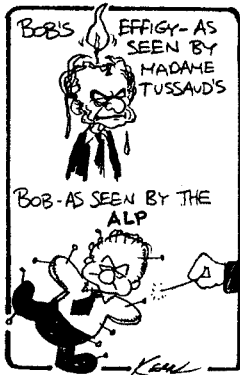
Further, he is really talking to his wider Australian audience, and doing what he says he was not about to do in the

first place — trying to influence those three state Labor conferences, in Victoria, New South Wales, and South Australia, next weekend.

Prime Minister Hawke is still using the trust-me tactic with which he won the March 5 election.

More importantly, he believes that on these issues and from this distance, he and the Foreign Minister, Mr Hayden, will have the numbers if they are put to the test in a Labor conference or executive.

MARSHALL JUN. 8/6/83



Threat on PM moves

By NIKI SAVVA

CANBERRA — Angry Labor MPs have threatened to call a special caucus meeting over apparent policy reversals by the Prime Minister, Mr Hawke.

The move will be made unless a satisfactory explanation is given for Mr Hawke's reported remarks on East Timor, and if he tells French President Mitterrand that sales of uranium to France are not contingent on the French stopping nuclear testing in the Pacific.

A caucus meeting is scheduled for late July, but attempts will be made to bring it forward if this is felt necessary.

Victorian MP Mr Gerry Hand said yesterday he expected Mr Hawke to report on his talks when he returned.

He said he expected Mr Hawke would report "very quickly after his return" on his talks with President Mitterrand.

"But if we can't get answers in the next few days I would expect that people will be looking for a special caucus meeting to determine the issue," Mr Hand said.

Mr Hawke said last week there would not be any "linkage" between uranium sales to France and Australian protests on nuclear tests.

However A L P policy states no uranium should be sold to France until it abandons testing.

Caucus members are concerned by reports that two Australian companies, Energy Resources of Australia (ERA) and Queensland Mines, have been authorised by the Trade Department to negotiate new uranium export contracts — a move which goes against A L P policy.



They are also concerned over reports that Mr Hawke has virtually dumped the policy on East Timor, which rejects the Indonesian takeover and calls for self determination for the East Timorese.

The Foreign Minister, Mr Hayden, yesterday moved to contain criticism of Mr Hawke and the Government.

Mr Hayden said that on the East Timor question Mr Hawke was correct in what he said in Jakarta and hadn't said anything in conflict with party policy.

He said media reports of Mr Hawke's remarks were "provocative."

Mr Hayden said he could understand the reaction of Caucus members based on what they had read in newspapers.

"But when I consulted the transcripts I found those rather strong reports were not justified on the basis of what Mr Hawke said," he said.

Mr Hayden said he hoped his comments would "reassure" those in the Left wing.

He said Mr Hawke phoned him on Monday night and assured him that what he had said was in accord with previous statements by Mr Hayden.

Mr Hayden said that as far as he knew, no approval for new contracts for uranium exports had been granted, and if such a submission had come before Cabinet he would oppose it because it was in breach of party policy.

Talks on Timor

THE Foreign Minister, Mr Hayden, will meet Timor activist groups today to discuss A L P policy on East Timor and Indonesia.

The groups have been pressing for a meeting with either Mr Hayden or the Prime Minister, Mr Hawke.

They claim they were snubbed until they received a telegram from Mr Hayden last week.

Australia-East Timor Association spokesman Dr George Preston said yesterday Mr Hayden had been embarrassed into the meeting by protests which supported A L P policy but condemned its actions.

Dr Preston said he was concerned that Mr Hayden had not heard all points of view on East Timor.

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MELB HERALD 8/6/83

Hayden backs PM on Timor

8/6/83

MELB ACC

Hayden defends PM on Timor policy

From IAN DAVIS in Canberra and MICHELLE GRATTAN in London

The Foreign Minister, Mr Hayden, yesterday defended his leader, Mr Hawke, against charges that the Prime Minister had dumped ALP policy on East Timor.

However, Mr Hayden signalled that he might not be at Mr Hawke's side in another row brewing in the Labor Party, when he said that any new uranium contracts would be contrary to Labor policy and that he would not support the signing of them.

Mr Hayden yesterday called a Press conference to counter Press reports that Mr Hawke's comments in Jakarta at the weekend conflicted with party policy which rejects Indonesian incorporation of East Timor.

Mr Hawke said in London it was nonsense to suggest he had pre-empted the parliamentary delegation to East Timor — and denied he had broken Labor policy.

Defending his stand on East Timor, which has brought him under strong attack from the ALP Left, Mr Hawke said: "It can't be said strongly enough or too often, that what the concern of Australia, including the Labor Party, must be is the interest of the people of East Timor."

However, a prominent Labor backbencher and chairman of the Senate Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee, Senator Gordon McIntosh, immediately rejected Mr Hayden's defence of the Prime Minister, and said that the characterisation of Mr Hawke's comments as in conflict with party policy was the only possible interpretation of Mr Hawke's remarks.

Senator McIntosh, whose committee is drafting the report of its inquiry into conditions in East Timor and who is a member of the parliamentary delegation

which will visit Indonesia and East Timor in July, said: "It is only reasonable that one can assume from what he (Mr Hawke) said that he was reneging on the policy."

"He has got to explain to Caucus what he means by forgetting the past."

Mr Hawke's trip has produced criticism within the party on two fronts: his departure from the hard line national conference policy calling for the withdrawal of recognition of Indonesia's incorporation of East Timor and the possibility that he will go soft on banning uranium sales to France while it continues its Pacific tests.

The criticisms will come to a head at State ALP conferences in South Australia, New South Wales and the Northern Territory this weekend and in Victoria next weekend.

Defending Mr Hawke, Mr Hayden said yesterday: "The man didn't say anything that contradicted the policy of the party as far as I can establish."

"I can find no justification for some of the more provocative accounts which have appeared in some of the papers."

Mr Hayden said backbench reaction to reports of Mr Hawke's comments was "understandable".

"I felt some concern myself, in fact very large concern, because they (news reports of Mr Hawke's comments) were provocative. When I consulted the transcript, however, I found that those rather strong reports were not justified on the basis of what Mr Hawke said."

"I can understand why people reacted the way they have and I would rather hope that my comments would reassure them."

Mr Hayden said the Prime Minister had phoned him from London the previous night.

The Prime Minister believes that while the next few weeks may produce some rough moments in the party over Timor, good relations with Indonesia demand that the policy be scrapped.

Despite his assurance that he is not pre-empting the parliamentary delegation in July, which will be led by a former Defence Minister, Mr Morrison, Mr Hawke appears convinced that its finding will get the Government off the hook.

The ALP policy had to be looked at "in the light of developing circumstances", Mr Hawke said.

FROM PAGE 1

"If it emerged that all the evidence pointed to the fact that the best interests of the people of East Timor were to be served by a continuation of their being part of Indonesia, and it was clear on all the available evidence that that was their wish, is someone going to suggest that because some resolution was passed in different circumstances at some earlier time . . . that's the way you conduct foreign affairs?"

Among the "evidence" on the basis of which judgment would be made was next month's parliamentary delegation.

This morning Mr Hayden is to see a delegation from five East Timor support groups, including Mr Bryant, the former Labor Minister and member for Wills (now Mr Hawke's seat) who are expected to press him to implement Labor policy on East Timor.

Mr Bryant was a signatory with two present Labor Ministers — Senator Gareth Evans and Mr Barry Jones — and Victorian Labor MLC Mrs Hogg of a

letter to ALP members last year calling on them to ensure immediate implementation of the East Timor policy decided at last year's national conference.

Mr Hawke stressed several times Mr Hayden's agreement with his (Mr Hawke's) view of how the Timor issue should be handled.

On the highly sensitive uranium issue, it remains to be seen what Mr Hawke says on uranium sales when he meets President Mitterrand in Paris on Thursday. He has already said that he will not link the protest over the tests to the question of uranium sales, but he will tell the French that Australia is reviewing its uranium safeguards policy.

In the longer run, uranium is likely to be a more sensitive issue within the Labor Party than Timor, and Mr Hawke will be receiving advice to be very cautious in France, to avoid taking a position likely to exacerbate criticism of him within the ALP.

A Victorian Labor MP, Mr Gerry Hand, has written to ALP Caucus members asking them to pressure Government leaders over reports that they had breached the party's policy on uranium mining and exports.

By BRIAN TIMMS

NST- YL 6/83

Honeymoon is over for Hawke

CANBERRA: Australia's Labour Government has been in power almost three months and the signs are that its honeymoon with the electorate is over.

Labour, which had promised tax cuts for all but the very rich, instead embarked on a pragmatic economic strategy which at least in the short term is proving unpopular.

As a result of a recent budget, the average family is about A\$30 (US\$26) a month worse off since Labour swept the Liberals from seven years in power on March 5.

Now the Liberals, stunned at first after the election, have launched a tirade against what they call "Labour's plethora of broken promises."

But Prime Minister Bob Hawke, pointing to an inherited budget deficit for 1983/84 of A\$9.6 billion (US\$8.2 billion), has indicated there could be even tougher times ahead.

"So long as the sacrifices are shared fairly, it will be for the good of all Australians," he said in newspaper advertisements issued just before the May 19 Budget.

Among measures to haul back the deficit have been a cut in pensions for people over 70 with big private incomes, and a 30 per cent tax on lump sum superannuation retirement payments.

Mr Hawke appeared to ensure that there was little scope for complaint by holding an economic 'summit' of businessmen, employers and workers soon after being elected.

They all agreed that with inflation and unemployment running at a rate of around 11 per cent, drastic economic remedies were needed, giving Labour what some commentators described as a blank cheque to do what it liked.

But now there are rumblings of discontent from within the electorate and unions.

Labour's first real test of its policies took place last weekend in a by-election in the marginal middle class parliamentary seat of Bruce in Melbourne.

Voters registered their opinion with a 3.5 per cent swing to the Liberals, who comfortably retained the

seat after coming close to losing it at the general election.

Mr Hawke said of the defeat, "The Government accepts some of the blame for the presentation of the budget.

"If we have to take a biff on the chin in the short term in a by-election loss for the good of the Australian people, then we will just have to take it," Mr Hawke said.

The noises coming from the Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU), said to have a special relationship with Labour, will be a little harder to take.

The ACTU, which Mr Hawke headed in the 1970s, is showing increasing signs of unease nearing the end of a six-month freeze on pay rises.

Tighter control

Unions agreed at the economic 'summit' to restrain demands under a centralised system of fixing all rises, which the Government said should go no higher than four per cent.

A few weeks later, ACTU announced it wanted inflation-linked rises amounting to about nine per cent this year and warned that failure to meet the demand could result in individual unions going for the biggest rise they could get.

Such a free-for-all would blow apart Labour's plan to help revive the economy and reduce unemployment by controlling prices and incomes.

The union threat is seen partly as a bargaining

counter but it hangs heavy over the Government in its first months in office, which have been almost totally dominated by the economy.

But Labour, a moderate party with a cautious approach, has nevertheless found time to start dismantling some of the policies of its conservative predecessor.

It has refused to pay the full bill for a projected rail link between Alice Springs and Darwin in the Northern Territory and scrapped some costly water conservation projects.

And Labour is imposing tighter control on foreign investment, including for the time being blocking the entry of foreign banks until the financial system is reviewed.

Labour has made clear there is no room for foreign investors to take a controlling interest in strategic areas, such as mining and agriculture.

This led to South Korea's threatening trade reprisals recently after one of its companies was barred from taking a 25 per cent stake in the running of an oil pipeline in Queensland.

But Labour is not adopting an insular approach when it comes to foreign policy and has become something of a conciliator over Kampuchea and in wrangles between China and the United States.

Differences within the Cabinet emerged when Deputy Prime Minister Lionel Bowen came out with the surprise suggestion of a Japan-Australia peace-keeping force for Vietnamese-occupied Kampuchea.



MR HAWKE ... rainmaker

Mr Bowen lost out on becoming Foreign Minister when the job was given to Bill Hayden as consolation for being replaced by Mr Hawke as party leader just before the election. Mr Hayden, in Hong Kong when Mr Bowen suggested the force, said it was the first time he had heard of it and little has been heard of the idea since.

Mr Hawke, chain-smoking cigars, has appeared to flourish in the first hectic days of office and received a blessing for which the previous Government had unsuccessfully offered prayers.

'Hawke the Rainmaker' read the headlines when the deluge fell last month to break the worst drought this century and produce the promise of bumper crops. — Reuter

Chipp attacks Labor

From **STEPHEN MILLS**

CANBERRA. — The leader of the Australian Democrats, Senator Chipp, yesterday accused the Labor Government and Liberal Opposition of entering a "conspiracy of conservatism".

Since 5 March, the Labor Government had littered the political landscape with broken promises on East Timor, uranium, French nuclear testing, aid to Vietnam, and the size of the deficit, Senator Chipp said.

"In all these instances the Opposition has gloated over the Government's adoption of their discredited policies," Senator Chipp said. "It is a tacit conspiracy."

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Jones, Evans signed letter on Timor 8/6/83

From **SIMON DALDERSTONE**

CANBERRA. — Two Federal Government Ministers were among four signatories of a letter circulated to Labor Party members last year calling on them to ensure immediate implementation of the ALP East Timor policy when in Government.

The letter was from the still-active "East Timor Support Group in the ALP" and was headed "Implementation of ALP Policy on East Timor."

The support group said one of its four aims was to commit the party to withdrawal of recognition of the Indonesian annexation on obtaining Government.

It was signed by Caroline Hogg, a Victorian Labor MLC and wife of Bob Hogg, the senior adviser to the Prime Minister; Barry Jones (now the Minister for Science and Technology); Gareth Evans (now the Attorney-General); and Gordon Bryant (the former ALP member for Wills).

Mr Bryant will represent the East Timor Support Group in a five-person delegation to the Foreign Minister, Mr Hayden, today.

Senator Evans said last night that his "sole role was as a signatory".

"The letter was essentially a

vehicle for making known views of a diverse cross-factional group of ALP members on the issue," he said. He would not comment last night on the East Timor policy.

An official in Mr Jones's office said last night that the Minister had not been involved recently in the issue, as it was the responsibility of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Hayden and the Prime Minister, Mr Hawke.

Senator Evans visited Indonesia last summer, and is believed to have held discussions there on the ALP policy.

The letter, sent to ALP members after the Federal conference in June last year, pointed out that the "strong policy" adopted at the conference committed the party "to action both in Government and in Opposition".

The letter said Portugal had "belatedly taken up its responsibilities in relation to East Timor and is seeking support for an Indonesian withdrawal and a genuine act of self-determination in East Timor".

"Australian support for such proposals may be critical and on regaining Government the ALP may once again be in a critical position to influence the future of East Timor," said the letter, which had attached to it the policy adopted at the 1982 conference.

Indon road could be invasion route: PNG

8/6

PORT MORESBY, 8 June. — The location of an Indonesian road being built in southern Irian Jaya near the Papua New Guinea border was chosen by strategic military consideration.

This was the conclusion of a document drawn up by an analyst in the PNG Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade after the road had been found to cross the border three times.

The report said the road had potential for aggression rather than defence.

The section of the 850 kilometre Trans Irian Highway was also strategically placed to control the "inevitable" hostilities against Javanese settlers by the Melanesian population of the Merauke district.

A considerable number of the 70,000 to 80,000 Melanesians in the district would be dispossessed of their traditional lands by the Indonesian Transmigration Program.

The Trans Irian Highway was started in 1981 and would eventually link the southern port of Merauke to the Irian Jayan capital of Jayapura in the north.

But the section of the road discussed in the report, bypasses transmigration projects in the west and crosses the Merauke River to the Irian Jaya-PNG border.

The report said this section seemed to serve no useful purpose other than to service the border post of Botar.

"It bypasses the transmigration projects to the west which are serviced by the more direct road west of the Merauke River," it said.

"What then is its purpose?"

"It is obvious that the location of this stretch of road has been dictated by strategic military considerations.

"The Indonesians do not want a major river between their road and the border, in this case the Merauke River."

"If it came to small scale conflict between Papua New Guinea and Indonesia, the river would be an obstacle to invasion by their troops.

"If this is correct it gives a clue to their thinking on how they would invade. It would be by troops on foot and perhaps four wheel drive or light tracked vehicles."

Hayden defends PM on Timor policy

2515
8/6/73

FROM PAGE 1

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Among the "evidence" on the basis of which judgment would be made was next month's parliamentary delegation.

This morning Mr Hayden is to see a delegation from five East Timor support groups, including Mr Bryant, the former Labor Minister and member for Wills (now Mr Hawke's seat) who are expected to press him to implement Labor policy on East Timor.

Mr Bryant was a signatory with two present Labor Ministers — Senator Gareth Evans and Mr Barry Jones — and Victorian Labor MLC Mrs Hogg of a

letter to ALP members last year calling on them to ensure immediate implementation of the East Timor policy decided at last year's national conference

Mr Hawke stressed several times Mr Hayden's agreement with his (Mr Hawke's) view of how the Timor issue should be handled.

On the highly sensitive uranium issue, it remains to be seen what Mr Hawke says on uranium sales when he meets President Mitterrand in Paris on Thursday. He has already said that he will not link the protest over the tests to the question of uranium sales, but he will tell the French that Australia is reviewing its uranium safeguards policy.

In the longer run, uranium is likely to be a more sensitive issue within the Labor Party than Timor, and Mr Hawke will be receiving advice to be very cautious in France, to avoid taking a position likely to exacerbate criticism of him within the ALP.

A Victorian Labor MP, Mr Gerry Hand, has written to ALP Caucus members asking them to pressure Government leaders over reports that they had breached the party's policy on uranium mining and exports.

Jones, Evans signed letter on Timor

ACE-
8/6/83

From **SIMON BALDERSTONE**

CANBERRA. — Two Federal Government Ministers were among four signatories of a letter circulated to Labor Party members last year calling on them to ensure immediate implementation of the ALP East Timor policy when in Government.

The letter was from the still-active "East Timor Support Group in the ALP" and was headed "Implementation of ALP Policy on East Timor."

The support group said one of its four aims was to commit the party to withdrawal of recognition of the Indonesian annexation on obtaining Government.

It was signed by Caroline Hogg, a Victorian Labor MLC and wife of Bob Hogg, the senior adviser to the Prime Minister; Barry Jones (now the Minister for Science and Technology); Gareth Evans (now the Attorney-General); and Gordon Bryant (the former ALP member for Wills).

Mr Bryant will represent the East Timor Support Group in a five-person delegation to the Foreign Minister, Mr Hayden, today.

Senator Evans said last night that his "sole role was as a signatory".

"The letter was essentially a

vehicle for making known views of a diverse cross-factional group of ALP members on the issue," he said. He would not comment last night on the East Timor policy.

An official in Mr Jones's office said last night that the Minister had not been involved recently in the issue, as it was the responsibility of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Hayden and the Prime Minister, Mr Hawke.

Senator Evans visited Indonesia last summer, and is believed to have held discussions there on the ALP policy.

The letter, sent to ALP members after the Federal conference in June last year, pointed out that the "strong policy" adopted at the conference committed the party "to action both in Government and in Opposition".

The letter said Portugal had "belatedly taken up its responsibilities in relation to East Timor and is seeking support for an Indonesian withdrawal and a genuine act of self-determination in East Timor".

"Australian support for such proposals may be critical and on regaining Government the ALP may once again be in a critical position to influence the future of East Timor," said the letter, which had attached to it the policy adopted at the 1982 conference.

Chipp attacks Labor

From STEPHEN MILLS

CANBERRA. — The leader of the Australian Democrats, Senator Chipp, yesterday accused the Labor Government and Liberal Opposition of entering a "conspiracy of conservatism".

Since 5 March, the Labor Government had littered the political landscape with broken promises on East Timor, uranium, French nuclear testing, aid to Vietnam, and the size of the deficit, Senator Chipp said.

"In all these instances the Opposition has gloated over the Government's adoption of their discredited policies," Senator Chipp said. "It is a tacit conspiracy."

The human rights of the East Timorese and the unemployed at home demanded more than that,

he said. The Hawke Government had come to power as a socially reforming party, but had adopted the colors of its predecessors on the spurious grounds of expediency, pragmatism and changed circumstances.

"The East Timorese have been abandoned because of 'reality'. What does that mean for the people of Poland or Afghanistan?" Senator Chipp asked.

The ALP had joined the Liberal/National Party Opposition in their advancement of the "drug pedlar's morality" in regard to uranium: "They believe we have to sell it because, if we don't, someone else will."

Senator Chipp said the tacit conspiracy of conservatism would condemn Australia to dealing with the problems of the 1980s with the solutions of the 1960s.

AGE

Hayden backs PM on Timor

From IAN DAVIS in Canberra
and MICHELLE GRATTAN in London

The Foreign Minister, Mr Hayden, yesterday defended his leader, Mr Hawke, against charges that the Prime Minister had dumped ALP policy on East Timor.

However, Mr Hayden signalled that he might not be at Mr Hawke's side in another row brewing in the Labor Party, when he said that any new uranium contracts would be contrary to Labor policy and that he would not support the signing of them.

Mr Hayden yesterday called a Press conference to counter Press reports that Mr Hawke's comments in Jakarta at the weekend conflicted with party policy which rejects Indonesian incorporation of East Timor.

Mr Hawke said in London it was nonsense to suggest he had pre-empted the parliamentary delegation to East Timor — and denied he had broken Labor policy.

Defending his stand on East Timor, which has brought him under strong attack from the ALP Left, Mr Hawke said: "It can't be said strongly enough or too often, that what the concern of Australia, including the Labor Party, must be is the interest of the people of East Timor."

However, a prominent Labor backbencher and chairman of the Senate Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee, Senator Gordon McIntosh, immediately rejected Mr Hayden's defence of the Prime Minister, and said that the characterisation of Mr Hawke's comments as in conflict with party policy was the only possible interpretation of Mr Hawke's remarks.

Senator McIntosh, whose committee is drafting the report of its inquiry into conditions in East Timor and who is a member of the parliamentary delegation

which will visit Indonesia and East Timor in July, said: "It is only reasonable that one can assume from what he (Mr Hawke) said that he was renegeing on the policy."

"He has got to explain to Caucus what he means by forgetting the past."

Mr Hawke's trip has produced criticism within the party on two fronts: his departure from the hard line national conference policy calling for the withdrawal of recognition of Indonesia's incorporation of East Timor and the possibility that he will go soft on banning uranium sales to France while it continues its Pacific tests.

The criticisms will come to a head at State ALP conferences in South Australia, New South Wales and the Northern Territory this weekend and in Victoria next weekend.

Defending Mr Hawke, Mr Hayden said yesterday: "The man didn't say anything that contradicted the policy of the party as far as I can establish."

"I can find no justification for some of the more provocative accounts which have appeared in some of the papers."

Mr Hayden said backbench reaction to reports of Mr Hawke's comments was "understandable".

"I felt some concern myself, in fact very large concern, because they (news reports of Mr Hawke's comments) were provocative. When I consulted the transcript, however, I found that those rather strong reports were not justified on the basis of what Mr Hawke said."

"I can understand why people reacted the way they have and I would rather hope that my comments would reassure them."

Mr Hayden said the Prime Minister had phoned him from London the previous night.

The Prime Minister believes that while the next few weeks may produce some rough moments in the party over Timor, good relations with Indonesia demand that the policy be scrapped.

ACCESS AGE 8/6

Enlightened

Special credit must be given to Mr Hawke and Mr Hayden for bringing to a head the long years of Australia's moral ambiguity over the Indonesian invasion of East Timor. While an elite of militant enthusiasts within the ALP may not agree with these enlightened judgments, it is hard to advance one sane reason for Mr Hawke and Mr Hayden acting otherwise.

GEORGE LEE,
49 Kensington Road,
South Yarra.

Selective protest

A real spate of protests followed the statement by Mr Hawke regarding East Timor. I wonder where the protesters were when Mr Whitlam formerly endorsed the annexation of the Baltic countries by the USSR.

ALEXANDER GOLDSTEIN,
33 Leaburn Avenue,
Caulfield.

Disband parties

It would appear that our PM is a one-man band. Its just typical of Labor and Liberal politicians. Mr Hawke is breaking his election promises even faster than Mr Fraser did. We are all being duped by these two parties, they should be disbanded. Mr Chipp's mob are hardly any better.

PETER ALLAN,
4 Tyrell Avenue,
Blackburn.

Despite his assurance that he is not pre-empting the parliamentary delegation in July, which will be led by a former Defence Minister, Mr Morrison, Mr Hawke appears convinced that its finding will get the Government off the hook.

The ALP policy had to be looked at "in the light of developing circumstances", Mr Hawke said.

Continued: PAGE 4

PAGE 4: Jones, Evans signed letter on policy.

Canberra Times 8/16

Mr HAWKE 'MUFFS HIS CHANCE TO BE
SEEN AS A LEADER OF PRINCIPLE'

Outrage at Timor doublespeak adds to a lengthening trail of political turmoil

BETWEEN THE LINES

By GAY DAVIDSON

Mr Hawke maintained "that it was the Government's responsibility to make decisions 'relevant to the circumstances of the time'.

"The arrogance and the lack of consultation will certainly ensure heated words at the Labor State conferences over the next two weekends, and very likely at the Federal Executive meeting at the end of the month and the caucus in July.

"But very likely they will change nothing because, like Mr Fraser, Mr Hawke became Prime Minister with a massive majority."

cont'd.
overleaf.

ONLY last weekend there was a feeling of respite as Parliament closed up shop and the politicians left for warmer climes.

After all the turmoil of the past three months it was a relief to put out of mind the mangled figuring of the \$9,600 million deficit, the devaluation, the ASIO-Ivanov-Combe affair and the consequent Hope Royal commission, Captain Biggles (although the Tasmanian dam is still with us in the High Court), the economic summit meeting and more damping of expectations.

And there was the failure of the Constitutional Convention, the announcement of referendums for parliamentary reform, their deferral a fortnight later, the Hawke-Hayden initiatives to make friends with Jakarta, Senator Button's continued criticisms of the chairman of the ABC, and the Street Royal commission in NSW into possible political interferences (arising from delegations in an ABC program).

And then there was the economic statement, the defeat of tax-recoupment legislation, the watering down of freedom-of-information legislation, the likelihood of further rejections in the Senate of legislation to establish Medicare and to change the taxation of superannuation lump-sum payments.

Some of that amounted to foot-in-mouth gaffes, some to Opposition opportunism, and some to moving away from promised initiatives and reforms in favour of the status quo.

It looked like a new Government bent on simply retaining power, genuflecting to the Public Service and also to its perception of the electoral middle ground, rather than introducing the policies mentioned in its election speech or party platform.

So that last weekend was a coming-up-for-air as they all went away — until the news began coming back from Jakarta about Mr Hawke's foray into diplomacy.

After all the anguish in Australia ever since the civil war in East Timor, followed by Indonesia's military annexation in 1975 — immediately after the demise of the Whitlam Government, and just three months after Mr Fraser, Mr Anthony, Mr (now Sir Billy) Snedden, Mr Dudley Erwin and Mr Ian Robertson all referred to the possibility of East Timor coming under communist control if Fretilin gained power — surely the electorate is entitled to expect more principle and less condonation on the part of the Prime Minister.

Rejection of the Fraser Government's recognition of Indonesia's in-

corporation of East Timor and its military occupation since, as required by a resolution passed by the ALP conference last July, was a luxury Labor afforded itself in Opposition but which it could not continue with in Government.

However, the rest of that resolution, recognising the rights of the East Timorese to self-determination and independence, opposing all defence aid to Indonesia, supporting

Canberra Times, 8/6/83 (cont'd..)

The Australian Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, right, and President Suharto of Indonesia, left, converse via an interpreter at Merdeka Palace in Jakarta on Saturday during Mr Hawke's current overseas tour.



ALP Federal Executive, was in Portugal for the Socialist International women's conference at the same time that Mr Hayden was in Indonesia.

She received no briefing and it was only because she happened to hear in Lisbon from Jill Jolliffe, a journalist (and correspondent for *The Canberra Times*), of what was happening in Jakarta that she did not propose a resolution similar to the Labor resolution of last July.

Her resolution had been prepared some considerable time previously when the Socialist International was expected to be held in Sydney and the Australian delegation, as hosts, had naturally intended to take an active part.

Mr Hayden's ready acceptance of assurances that "log jams" in the East Timorese family-reunion program were being freed up, that a parliamentary delegation would be welcome to visit, and that Australian Associated Press could establish an office in Jakarta, did little to convince anyone that this Government would be more forthright than the last, or more supportive in alleviating the lot of the East Timorese.

Mr Hawke's equally ready acceptance of exactly the same assurances two months later does not offer much hope of a better deal for the East Timorese, or a more positive relationship between Canberra and Jakarta.

Mr Hayden has certainly acknowledged that many in his party and in the community have strong feelings, arising from World War II, when Australians were welcomed in violating East Timor's neutrality, and subsequently 70,000 East Timorese were killed during the Japanese occupation.

But Mr Hawke has made no concessions at all. He declined to see the East Timorese community here before his visit, staved off discussion in caucus, and in Jakarta maintained to journalists that it was the Government's responsibility to make decisions "relevant to the circumstances of the time".

The arrogance and the lack of consultation will certainly ensure heated words at the Labor State conferences over the next two weekends, and very likely at the Federal Executive meeting at the end of the month and the caucus in July.

But very likely they will change nothing because, like Mr Fraser, Mr Hawke became Prime Minister with a massive majority.

That should be all the more reason for the Australian Prime Minister to speak firmly against the methods Indonesia used seven years ago, and the repressive measures it is using still.

Acceptance of the facts of the annexation and Australia's recognition of it should have been accompanied by pressure on Jakarta to allow some form of self-determination and to accept international scrutiny.

Mr Hawke has muffed his opportunity to be seen as a leader of principle as well as pragmatism.

free migration from East Timor, the United Nations resolutions promoting the rights of the East Timorese, the entry of Fretilin representatives into Australia, and Australian access to East Timor, were all reasonable and worthwhile.

Several months after that resolution was adopted (Mr Hawke and Mr Hayden voting for it), and while the Fraser Government was lobbying for support for Indonesia's desire to have the matter dropped from the UN agenda, both Mr Hawke and Mr Hayden signed an appeal to the UN supporting East Timor's right to self-determination.

But Mr Hawke was hardly in office before he was signalling to the Indonesians that the resolution was an embarrassment and Mr Hayden, looking for a way out, hit on abstaining from the UN vote this year (as some 50 countries, including West Europeans, did last year).

However, news of both lines of thinking became public before Mr Hayden travelled to Jakarta in April, and ever since both the Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister have avoided the issue, saying Australia's vote would be decided nearer the time.

Consider this as an example of how little they have consulted with anyone on the matter: Mrs Joan Taggart, a long-time delegate on the

No special party conference on Timor, Hawke says

8/6/83

Canberra Times

Hawke

LONDON, Tuesday (AAP). — The Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, said in London today that there would be no special ALP national conference on the East Timor issue.

He declined to state his view on how Australia should vote on East Timor at the United Nations and said, "I regard it as appropriate to convey that not in a press conference in London but within the councils of the Labor Party when I get home.

"As far as the Labor Party is concerned, I will be conducting the debate and putting my point of view there within the party."

He would be doing this predominantly within the parliamentary party, although there would be opportunities for the issue to be discussed within the organisation.

Mr Hawke conceded that some members of the party had firm views one way on East Timor, while others tended to think otherwise.

"Ours is a party which will accommodate those sorts of discussions, and I believe an appropriate decision will emerge before the end of 1983," he said.

Yesterday, Mr Hawke said, "I would think, and it can't be said strongly enough and too often enough, that what the concern of Australians, including the Labor Party must be, is the interests of the people of East Timor. There is



AAP-AP satellite picture

The Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, is measured by Mr Ian Hanson, of Madame Tussaud's, in London yesterday. A model of Mr Hawke will go on display at the waxworks.

no other consideration which is relevant."

He posed a hypothetical situation where all the evidence pointed to the fact that the best interests of the East Timorese were served by their continuing to be part of Indonesia.

Mr Hawke, asked about expected criticism of his statements at the ALP conferences in NSW, South Australia and the Northern Territory at the weekend, said, "I am not going to try to say from this side of the world how they should conduct their conferences."

Angry reaction not justified: Hayden

Canberra Times

By TERESA MANNIX

8/6/83

The Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Hayden, defended the Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, yesterday against allegations that he had contradicted the ALP platform in his statements on East Timor and Vietnam.

The angry reaction to Mr Hawke's statements from some caucus members was understandable, he said at a news conference in Canberra.

"I felt some concern myself when I saw the reports," he said. "In fact, very large concern, because they were provocative. Therefore I can understand why people have reacted in the way they have."

However, he had since read a transcript of Mr Hawke's news conference in Jakarta which proved that the reports were unjustified and he had discussed the matter with Mr Hawke on Monday night.

"The record vouchsafes that man didn't say anything that contradicted the policy of the party," Mr Hayden said.

Mr Hawke had made it clear that the question of East Timor and military aid to Indonesia did not need to be decided immediately.

He had said that Australia would consider how to vote when the issue came before the United Nations, if it came up at all.

Mr Hayden had made it clear that

any action would be inappropriate while a review of bilateral relations between Australia and Indonesia was taking place.

"What Bob Hawke was saying was the same thing, perhaps in not as subtle a form as I did, or as eloquent in expression, but nonetheless the same thing."

The platform states that there will be no military aid to Indonesia while East Timor is occupied by Indonesian forces. Military aid established by the former Government has continued under Mr Hawke.

It also states that humanitarian aid to Vietnam should be resumed.

Mr Hayden, who said he believed Mr Hawke had been "very careful" in his statements, is to meet representatives of five Timor activist groups today to discuss the ALP's policy.

The president of the ACT branch of the party, Mr Marc Robinson, said yesterday that Mr Hawke was "very wrong" in his stand on the resumption of aid to Vietnam.

He has written to Mr Hawke "urging strongly" that the Government reconsider its position and implement party policy.

He expected the matter to be debated at the branch's annual conference in a fortnight.

Between the lines. — Page 2.

Hawke to lead party debate over Timor

From RUSSELL SCHNEIDER in London and MARSALI MACKINNON in Canberra

THE Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, indicated in London yesterday that he will argue the case for a review of official ALP policy on East Timor when he returns to Australia.

"There are some people in the Labor Party who have very, very firm views one way; others who are tending to think another," Mr Hawke told a London press conference.

"Our party can accommodate that sort of discussion and I think an appropriate decision will emerge before the end of 1983," he said.

The Timor policy is expected to be discussed by the party's national executive which meets at the end of this month after Mr Hawke returns from overseas.

Mr Hawke also made it clear he expected the issue to be raised in Caucus but ruled out at this stage any idea of him calling a special conference.

He stressed that the final decision would depend largely on the recommendations of a parliamentary delegation due to go to Timor later this month.

"We will be expecting a debate in Australia to develop in the light of this and other initiatives," he said.

"We would be able within the party and the Australian community to conduct a debate to try to find what would be the best decision to make in regard to Indonesia and East Timor."

Asked what his own views were on the Timor question, Mr Hawke said he did not think it appropriate to spell out his attitudes to a London press conference.

"I regard it as appropriate to convey that within the councils of the party when I get home," he said.

Provocative

"I will be conducting the debate and putting my point of view within the party."

IN CANBERRA, the Foreign Minister, Mr Hayden, moved to dampen down conflict in the Labor Party over the Prime Minister's apparent scrapping of the party's East Timor policy.

Mr Hayden called a press conference in which he claimed "provocative reports" in some newspapers were unjustified from a reading of transcripts of Mr Hawke's Jakarta statements.

Mr Hayden admitted he had not read later comments by Mr Hawke on East Timor, made in London, in which Mr Hawke repeated earlier statements that the ALP policy on

East Timor "has to be looked at in the light of developing circumstances".

The Prime Minister, clearly trying to stave off further criticism at party conferences this weekend, said: "I can't tell people at home how to run their State conferences, any more than people should try to tell me how to read a situation on the spot."

He said that it would be wrong to ignore current developments merely because a "group of people meeting in Australia at a certain point of time said 'It is our opinion this is the best thing'."

"It makes sense to me that you should examine the unfolding of this situation through this year before deciding the view you take on this matter," he said.

Mr Hayden, defending Mr Hawke's Jakarta stand, said: "The record vouchsafes the man didn't say anything that contradicted the policy of the party. As far as I can establish clearly, there have been misunderstandings."

Mr Hayden said he felt reaction by the ALP left wing to reports of Mr Hawke's remarks was "understandable", and he felt "some concern" himself when reading the reports.

But such concern was unfounded on a reading of Mr Hawke's exact words.

"I believe that as I read those transcripts Bob Hawke has been careful in what he has said, and has not said anything ... in conflict with our policy," Mr Hayden said.

Earlier, in an interview on ABC radio's AM program, Mr Hayden said Mr Hawke had rung him from London "to assure me, among other things, what he said was in conformity with what I'd said, and that very simply is ... that we noted the act of incorporation of East Timor into Indonesia, we deeply regretted it (and) regretted that there hadn't been an internationally supervised act of self determination".

Mr Hayden said: "I'm damned if I can see the justification for some of the stories which have appeared in the newspapers."

"The policy (on relations with Indonesia) hasn't changed from the circumstances I outlined a few weeks ago when I visited there."

Australia was conducting "productive consultations" with Indonesia on the bilateral relations between the two countries.

on Timor

From Page 1

Mr Hayden and Mr Hawke appear to be nurturing the relationship with Indonesia for another reason: it may contribute to the role Australia hopes to play in helping resolve the Kampuchean crisis.

Indonesian sources have said Indonesia enjoys a good diplomatic relationship with North Vietnam, and Mr Hayden said the Prime Minister had given him "a very encouraging report" of discussions with the Indonesians on Vietnam.

Any positive reports Indonesia can send Vietnam of Australia's new Government will enhance Mr Hayden's chances of a good reception in Hanoi on his forthcoming visit to North Vietnam.

Mr Hayden said that while the parliamentary delegation soon to visit East Timor would bring back a "very important input into any decision making we embark upon", it would be "unnecessarily provocative" to put "any tag" on the delegation.

He repeated that any government decision on which way Australia would vote in the UN later this year over East Timor would be made closer to the time - probably in October - when the UN considered the matter.

Mr Hayden was asked if Australia would now give aid to Vietnam, a matter also in doubt after statements by Mr Hawke reportedly contradicting Labor Party policy which supports the resumption of aid. Mr Hayden replied: "Mr Hawke has pointed out ... we are acting to facilitate consultations between the various parties involved in, or concerned about, the situation on the Indo-China peninsula.

"We shouldn't do anything that might imperil what at this point seems to be a little more than faintly encouraging prospects that we might get somewhere on that."

Asked about the two new approvals to negotiate uranium sales given by the Government, he said: "As far as I'm aware, no new contracts have been released. To release new contracts would be contrary to the policy of the party and I for one would not support that, were that proposal to come before Cabinet."



Hawke's gamble on the new real foreign politik

AUSTRALIA has a new foreign policy, spelt out by Prime Minister Bob Hawke in Jakarta on Sunday afternoon.

Whether it can be put into practice depends on a number of intangibles which only time will determine.

In the short term Mr Hawke is almost certain to succeed with his new, pragmatic and, in the minds of many, sensible foreign policy. But securing it will mean the Labor Party will have to accept a repudiation of the party policy and, in accepting that, a watering down of the power of the rank and file.

Mr Hawke's new foreign policy line is probably accepted by a considerable number of left-wingers. What is likely to stick in the party craw is the method at which it was arrived.

As Mr Hawke articulated it at a Jakarta press conference just before setting off for London, Australia will, under his Government, aim its foreign policy at protecting and advancing the interests of Australia, and enabling Australia to "make a contribution to the cause of world peace".

But Mr Hawke has added a rider: "Both of these objectives, the protection of Australia's own interests and the achievement of some contributions towards world peace cannot be achieved unless we give emphasis to the region of the world in which we find ourselves."

In some ways Mr Hawke's description of his view of Australia's foreign relations seems a bit like a public service textbook.

But it is more than that. Both Mr Hawke and his Minister for Foreign Affairs, Bill Hayden, are convinced Australia should aim to make its mark in its own region and not attempt to interfere in big power international politics.

This concept is somewhat different from that of the past administration. The former Prime Minister, Malcolm Fraser, liked to play a major part in world politics, took pride in his achievements in southern Africa, and did his best to become some sort of spokesman for the Third World. Mr Fraser succeeded only in alienating much of his own party.

Ironically Mr Hawke's concern with the "new regionalism" has done the same. But whereas the Fraser philosophy

the other hand, has carefully and deliberately established a power structure aimed at minimising freedom of its elected representatives.

It is worth recalling what the Labor Party rules actually state. The official rules provide that the party's National Conference, which normally meets every two years, can determine the "objectives of the party".

The rules further state that "the ALP will act in accordance with the principles of action and progressive reforms set out in the party platform". The platform is determined by the conference, which is the "supreme governing authority of the party".

Indeed, the rules go on, the conference decisions "shall be binding upon every member and every section of the party".

Aware of the problems of being in government — but also of the propensity of politicians to put pragmatic considerations ahead of ideology, the rules also provide that the Federal Parliamentary Labor Party (the Caucus) has authority to decide what government can do — but provided that those decisions take "such action which may be possible to implement conference decisions".

More importantly the rules require that Caucus, and the Government, does nothing "contrary to the provisions of the party platform or any other decision of the National Conference or National Executive".

When the conference is not meeting, the 18-member National Executive makes decisions on policy — not necessarily the Government.

Therefore, if the Government is to move away from conference policy, it needs the executive's support.

The rules are clear. A government which acts "contrary to the provisions of the platform" risks censure.

In the case of East Timor the official party policy, rightly or wrongly, is that the party should "oppose all defence aid to Indonesia until there is a complete withdrawal of Indo-

nesian occupation forces from East Timor".

While in Jakarta, however, Mr Hawke made it clear — in private conversations with Indonesian leaders and in comments to the media — that he had assured Indonesia defence aid would continue.

On this alone Mr Hawke has repudiated the platform.

The political question for Mr Hawke and the ALP is not so much whether he was right. The real problem is how he went about it.

On the evidence so far he went about it without seriously consulting the Caucus or seeking National Executive support.

In the world of international politics such considerations might seem hair-splitting; in the real world of Labor power plays they represent a fundamental challenge to the rights of the party's rank and file.

There is, after all, little point in a political party ensuring a system of democracy and establishing rules which bind elected members to honor policy decisions if those decisions are to be ignored when the party gets into power.

Mr Hawke's problem is the general principle of the extent to which the ALP's formal policy-making bodies can influence a Labor government.

From RUSSELL SCHNEIDER in London

gradually alienated interest groups which would normally be expected to back him, Mr Hawke's attempt to achieve a distinct foreign policy stance is more significant, for it threatens the very basis of the Labor Party itself.

It is not so much Mr Hawke's policies that open up the prospect of internal Labor division. It is more that he is challenging the basis of the ALP system.

Mr Fraser could challenge his party dogma and get away with it, for the Liberals allow their elected representatives considerable latitude in determining or implementing policy. The Labor Party, on

Cont

There are two important issues at stake.

One is, as Mr Hawke has indicated, whether a Labor government should be bound by party dogma when it finds circumstances have changed and it has the responsibility of all Australia to consider.

The other is whether there is any point in holding conferences to determine policy if that policy is to be ignored.

In normal circumstances Mr Hawke could probably ensure that the executive would back his action. But these are not normal circumstances.

The party's national president, Mr Wran, who could be expected to endorse Mr Hawke's pragmatic approach, has stood aside as NSW Premier pending the royal commission into allegations of an attempt to influence a court hearing in his home State.

Labor's left wing, which pushed for the present Timor policy and which is far from happy with Mr Hawke's performance on Indonesian questions, is manoeuvring to off-load South Australian branch secretary Chris Schacht as delegate to the National Executive.

And Mr Hawke has come into open conflict with some key sections of the trade union movement — notably NSW Labor Council secretary Barrie Unsworth — over the question of taxing lump-sum superannuation.

Taken collectively, these represent a totally new dynamic affecting the Labor Government's relations with its own base.

Mr Hawke is confident he is right. The question is whether his party sees it the same way.

HAYDEN'S TIMOR

*... but uranium
issue smoulders*

By DEBORAH SNOW and GREGORY HYWOOD
in LONDON

THE Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Hayden, yesterday launched an all-out effort to damp down the East Timor and Vietnam aid controversies, but in so doing has fired a strong warning over the Government's bows on uranium policy.

He told a press conference in his office yesterday that he had no knowledge of two new uranium contracts being concluded by Australian companies since Labor took office.

But, he warned, "to release new contracts would be contrary to the policy of the Party and I for one would not support that were that proposal to come before the Cabinet."

A spokesman for Trade and Resources Minister Mr Lionel Bowen last week denied that any new uranium contracts had been concluded since the ALP took office.

But ministers have confirmed that the Government has granted licences to Queensland Mines and Energy Resources of Australia to negotiate uranium sales, leaving many in the party's

The ALP policy platform explicitly commits the Government to phasing out the uranium mining industry in Australia.

Mr Hayden's hard declaration cuts across anyone inside the Government who might seek to foster a climate more favourable to new contracts.

His efforts yesterday were directed at defusing the mounting fracas within the ALP on East Timor policy, Mr Hayden taking the strong line that "provocative" reporting by the media was largely to blame.

Mr Hawke also yesterday sought to lower the heat, denying in London that he had overturned ALP policy on East Timor, but he maintained that if the East Timorese accepted Indonesia's annexation the party should be prepared to shift its position.

Continuing to lay the groundwork for a switch in policy Mr Hawke said that the priority of Caucus and the ALP on the issue must be the best interests of the East Timorese.

If those interests were best served by continuing to remain part of Indonesia — and "all available evidence" indicated that the East Timorese agreed — then the ALP's opinion should change.

In Canberra yesterday Mr Hayden said that he had not received transcripts of Mr

SALVE

Timor salve but uranium issue smoulders

From page 1

Hawke's weekend press conferences in Jakarta until late Monday night.

Having read the transcripts, he said, "the record vouchsafes that the man didn't say anything that contradicted the policy of the party as far as I can determine."

Mr Hayden referred to a part of the transcript in which Mr Hawke parried question on military aid to Indonesia by alluding to public statements Mr Hayden had made in April.

Mr Hayden elaborated:

"What I said was that we have a review of bilateral relationships between Australian and Indonesia, and while that is underway it would be inappropriate for us to take any action and existing relations will continue.

"What Bob Hawke was saying was the same thing, perhaps not in as subtle a form as I did or as delicate expression but none the less the same thing.

"I believe, as I read these transcripts, that Bob Hawke has been careful in what he said, and he has not said

matters or expressed himself in conflict with our policy."

Despite the Foreign Minister's insistence an official transcript of Mr Hawke's introductory remarks to a June 5 Jakarta press conference records the Prime Minister as saying "I am very pleased to have been able to confirm to the Government of Indonesia that it is the firm intention of my Government to maintain our aid program."

There is also confusion within the party on what Mr Hawke meant when he referred at the weekend to "changed circumstances" of the East Timor-Indonesian question.

Mr Hawke told his Jakarta audience that ALP conferences dealt with policy "at a point in time . . . it would be quite irresponsible if you said, Well, we don't take any account of changed circumstances. That's not the way in which a government can properly operate."

Asked on the ABC AM program yesterday about the changed circumstances, Mr Hayden replied, "Look, I don't know what that's about I have no idea."

At his press conference later, he was again asked if Mr Hawke's remarks presaged a move away from official ALP policy.

Mr Hayden replied, "No, that's not right. How I read what he has said is that times

"I'm not committing myself now to any course of action the necessity for which cannot be determined at this point," he said.

But Indonesia clearly will not tolerate a vote against the annexation.

The longer the vote is deferred the more time Mr Hayden and Mr Hawke have to try to sell a more pragmatic policy to the party.

The danger is that Mr Hawke's comments on the relevance of last year's national conference resolutions have brought the fight to a head months before the Government would have liked.

Left wing party organisers and politicians have been vocal all this week in demanding that the Government not ride roughshod over the party on East Timor, and the matter is likely to erupt at State conferences this weekend in South Australia and New South Wales.

Mr Hayden has been invited to address the New South Wales conference.

He said yesterday that he had spoken with Mr Hawke on Monday night and "he assured me that he had been consistent in what he said with what I had said."

The press reports, he said, "can't be justified by literal interpretations of what Bob Hawke has said in these transcripts."

But whether the ALP left accepts that media provocation is to blame, the fracas has guaranteed a high profile for the issue at a time when the Government stands to be most

discomfited.

Mr Hayden leaves on June 26 for a landmark visit to Hanoi to offer Australia's services in finding a way out of the Kampuchean impasse.

He sees ASEAN goodwill toward the mission as vital. He argued yesterday that East Timor and the question of re-summing aid to Vietnam had to be seen as linked with the diplomatic initiative in Indo-China.

In London, Mr Hawke also said that while he wished there could be a vote of self-determination in East Timor this was unlikely to occur and Australia's judgment on how to handle the issue must come from alternative evidence.

Mr Hawke was not specific on what evidence was available to indicate the East Timorese response to the annexation but said that next month's Australian Parliamentary delegation to Indonesia would obviously provide some.

He conceded that the delegation could not obtain all the evidence.

The direction of Mr Hawke's comments both in Indonesia and subsequently indicate his determination to adjust the ALP policy of self-determination for East Timor to suit his priority of developing stronger relations with Indonesia.

Yet he is still publicly claiming that he is still well within party policy.

"I have not preempted any decision on the East Timorese issue by the Australian Government.

"At this moment there is

nothing I have said or done which precludes the carrying out of the view of the conference last year."

His argument continues to be that Australia's policy on East Timor hinges on any vote it takes in the United Nations.

A decision on what that vote would be if the issue arose would not be made until closer to the time.

He is thus giving himself and Mr Hayden time to jawbone within the ALP so that if the Government decides to support Indonesia in any vote it will not bring the ire of the party on its head.

Great store is being placed on the report of the Parliamentary delegation to provide evidence to justify Mr Hawke's stance.

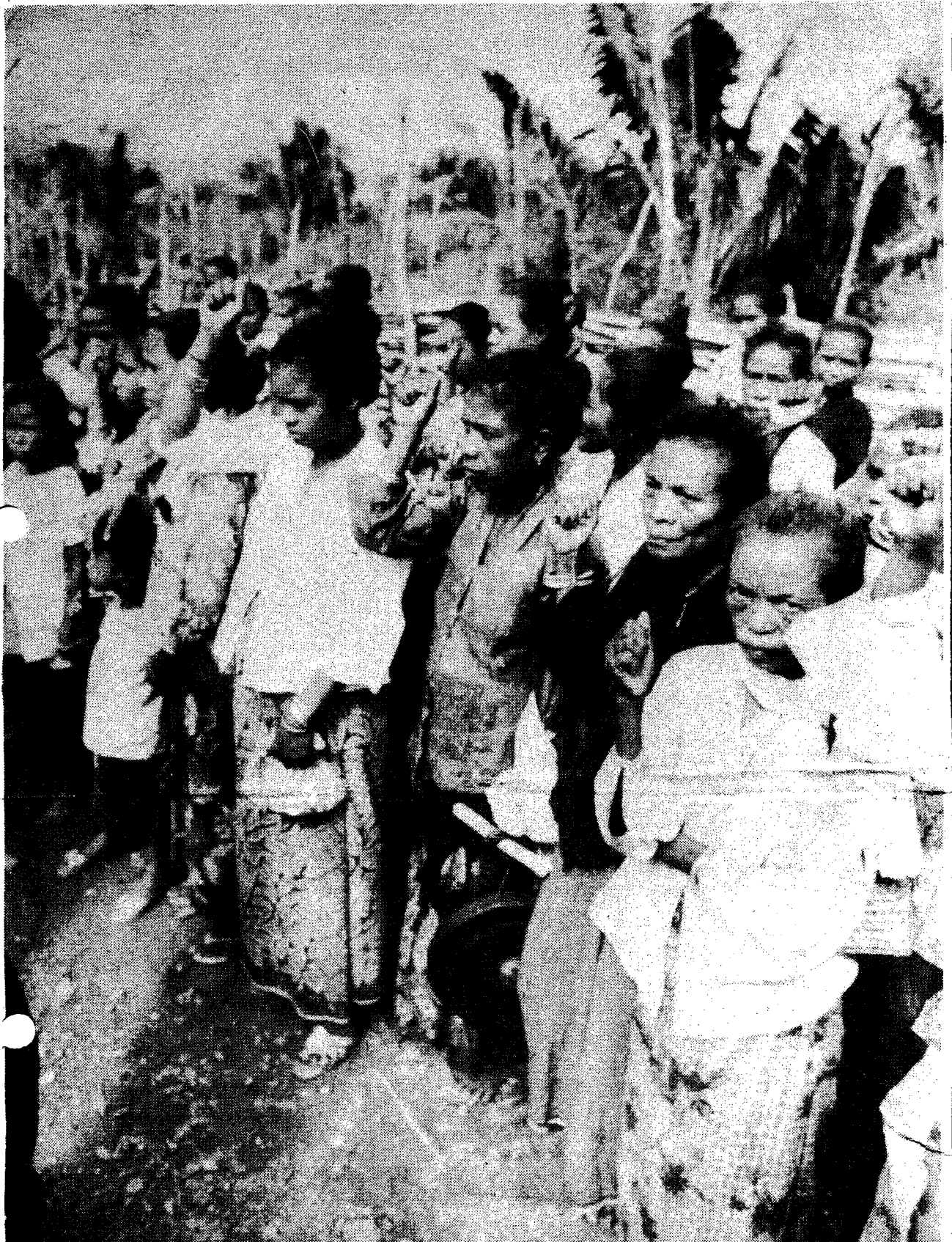
East Timor continued to be the key issue of Mr Hawke's overseas trip despite his having left Indonesia and arrived in London.

Because of the British general election his schedule has been considerably scaled down. He has been unable to have talks with Prime Minister Mrs Thatcher or Labour Opposition Leader Mr Foot, having to rely on a short telephone conversation with each on Monday.

He discussed the outcome of the Williamsburg economic summit in the US with Mrs Thatcher and said he agreed with her assessment that the emerging recovery in the US looked like being durable.

Mrs Thatcher had conveyed to him her confidence of a resounding win in tomorrow's election.

Tribune 4/6/83



• East Timorese women in May 1975 at a Fretilin rally in East Timor, before the invasion. All independent observers agreed Fretilin had majority support.

Hawke
rules...OK?



LABOR ANGER ON HAWKE'S RETREAT • Timor

Prime Minister Hawke has argued that, whatever Labor Party policy on East Timor says, the government must determine its timing and implementation. But through a strange logic, he deduces from this that he can do exactly the opposite to that recommended by his party. See our story on page 3.



Tribune

8/6/83

Bob Hawke and Labor policy

Prime Minister Hawke's cynicism in reversing Labor policies on East Timor, aid to Viet Nam and withdrawal of troops from the Sinai is breathtaking.

The justifiable anger among many Labor supporters will no doubt be expressed at some of the coming state ALP conferences.

Hawke generously offers to continue military aid to Indonesia yet refuses to resume modest humanitarian aid to Viet Nam. On both counts he contradicts ALP policy and reveals a remarkable callousness.

Hawke shows little regard for "consensus and reconciliation" in dealing with majority decisions of his own party. He is however keen to reach consensus with the Indonesian generals, the Reagan administration and their supporters here.

Hawke has argued he doesn't want to be

another Whitlam, to move too quickly with reforms. But even more than Whitlam, Hawke is emerging as a one-man band, disregarding party policies and putting his own in their place. That demoralises Labor supporters, something the Liberals and big business will ruthlessly exploit.

Hawke claims the right to change "old" Labor policies because of "new information". But he can point to nothing that has changed since July 1982 when the ALP national conference adopted these policies, or, for example, since last November, when Hawke signed a petition supporting East Timor's case at the United Nations.

Hawke's action against many progressive ALP policies is politically motivated by the desire to reassure conservative and business

interests here and "great and powerful friends" overseas. But these forces are unlikely to be appeased. They will demand more and more retreats from the Labor government.

The Senate has already sabotaged the retrospective tax legislation. They may well succeed in torpedoing Medicare. The Labor movement should both defend these progressive reforms and strongly oppose retreats on other issues such as East Timor, Viet Nam aid, uranium, and the Sinai troops.

Hawke could use his undoubted personal prestige among many Labor supporters to arouse opposition to conservative sabotage of progressive policies. It would be a better use of his energies than choosing to "crash through or crash" on a series of unprincipled policy switches.

Hawke retreats on Timor, Viet Nam aid and Sinai troops

by Denis Freney

In a few short days last week at the beginning of his overseas trip, Prime Minister Bob Hawke overturned ALP policy on East Timor, aid to Viet Nam, and withdrawal of troops from the Sinai.

He has done so without approval from the ALP national executive, the parliamentary caucus or even cabinet. Such arrogant disregard for ALP policy has naturally drawn strong criticism from throughout the ALP.

Hawke has bowed to massive US pressure on all these issues. He may go even further after he meets President Reagan — and CIA director William Casey.

Suharto's Secretary of State Sudharmono told the media after Hawke's talks with Suharto that Hawke had "implied that Australia will not reverse its vote" in the UN on East Timor. In other words, it will support Indonesia, as Fraser did.

Hawke praised Indonesian efforts in "helping the East Timorese" ignoring the 100,000 to 200,000 East Timorese who have died since the Indonesian invasion.

East Timor in the past had been a "setback" for Australian-Indonesian relations, he said, but we have not to "look to the future" — the same words used by Peacock and Fraser in the past.

Hawke claims Suharto has made a "concession" by allowing a parliamentary delegation to visit the country next month.

But this delegation is not a "fact-finding mission", as proposed in the ALP policy. It will be only a few days in East Timor and will be taken on a guided tour, without the right to "see what it wants to see" as demanded in ALP policy.

Only Senator Gordon McIntosh (Labor, WA) of the five-man delegation is a supporter of East Timor's right to self-determination. Hawke hopes, probably with justification, that the delegation will whitewash Indonesia.

Queensland resolution

Last weekend in Jakarta, Hawke quoted the ALP Queensland conference decision on East Timor to justify his reversal of the East Timor policy.

Hawke's logic is difficult to follow. The Queensland ALP conference last weekend, under strong pressure from Foreign Minister Hayden, while endorsing the ALP national conference resolution on East Timor, also voted narrowly to recognise that "the timing, rate and extent of its implementation was a matter for the government in the light of prevailing conditions."

Hawke apparently believes such a resolution allows him not only not to implement the East Timor resolution, but to do exactly the opposite to what it proposes.

Hawke is expected to press for a similar resolution at the ALP

national executive meeting on June 29 as an "interpretation" of the conference policy.

But ALP conferences and council meetings in other states are unlikely to accept any such resolution, particularly as it is clear that Hawke and Hayden will "interpret" them as the green light to reverse the policy they are supposedly to "implement".

Ken Fry MHR expressed the view of many ALP parliamentarians when he said Hawke's statements on East Timor and Viet Nam aid showed a "typically elitist approach to foreign affairs" — a belief that foreign policy was too important to be decided by the rank-and-file of the party.

Ken Fry said "Indonesia would have respected us more if we stuck to our policy — business would go on

as usual irrespective of our attitude to East Timor," he said.

Less attention has been directed at Hawke's retreat on aid to Viet Nam, which he said would be not resumed because it would detract from Foreign Minister Hayden's ability to negotiate on Kampuchea. Hawke also spoke of Hayden being an "emissary" from ASEAN nations in these negotiations, rather than, as was earlier understood, an independent negotiator.

Viet Nam made very clear that it welcomed Hayden's proposal to act as a negotiator on the Kampuchean issue, but that to fulfil this role Australia should adopt a neutral position, not that of ASEAN "emissary".

Within such a framework, the Hayden mission to Viet Nam will be unlikely to be taken seriously by anyone.

Hawke last week also argued that Australian troops will stay in the Sinai because the situation had changed as Syria had taken a more "aggressive" stance, supported by the Soviet Union. This turns the

facts on their head: it is Israel which has threatened war and escalated the crisis in Lebanon. (See last week's *Tribune*.)

And it was precisely the danger of

Australian troops in the Sinai being engulfed in a new war in the Middle East that was a major factor in the ALP adopting the policy of withdrawing those troops.

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EAST TIMOR GROUP'S REJECT HAYDEN'S LINE

By DEBORAH SNOW

REPRESENTATIVES of East Timorese independence groups which met the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Hayden, yesterday have accused the Department of Foreign Affairs of being a "public relations office" for the Indonesian Government.

After meeting Mr Hayden yesterday morning the delegation said it rejected arguments that Indonesia would retaliate sharply against Australia if Australia pursues the East Timor independence cause.

Even if Indonesia contemplated this action, the representatives claimed, it would suffer more than

Australia — a view officials do not share.

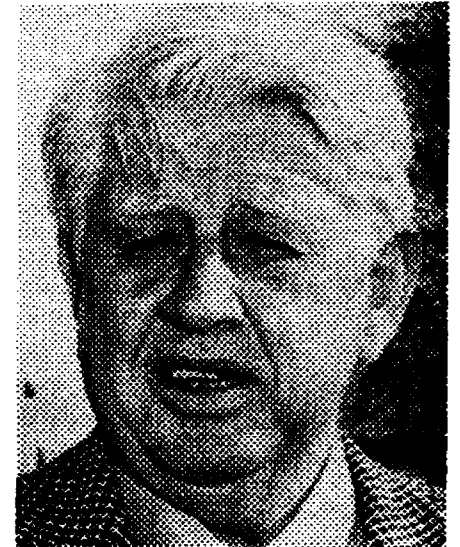
In reply Mr Hayden released to the delegation a letter from Qantas stating it would lose \$160 million if Indonesia closed its space to the Australian national carrier.

Mr Hayden also mentioned the possibility of access being

denied for commercial shipping en route to Japan.

The groups claimed that, under questioning, Mr Hayden agreed that the assessments had come from the Department of Foreign Affairs and the scenarios had not been put by Indonesia.

Mr Gordon Bryant of the Australia-East Timor Associa-



Mr BRYANT

tion, himself a former ALP minister, also warned yesterday that Indonesia would seek to "hoodwink" members of an Australian parliamentary delegation due to visit Indonesia at the end of July.

Mr Bryant said anyone who set much store by the report of the committee would be misled.

The tour of Indonesia and East Timor by the parliamentarians took on extra significance this week as the Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, suggested its findings might become a key determinant in the Government's ultimate stand on the issue.

The East Timor lobby said Mr Hayden gave undertakings yesterday that he and the Minister for Immigration, Mr West, would oppose in Cabinet any attempts to bar visits to Australia by Fretilin members.

Mr Hayden also agreed to meet representatives of East Timorese communities in Melbourne later this month.

E. Timor

'could cost Qantas

\$160m a year'

Financial Review June 27
CHART Digital

More could be done on Timor

IS there really nothing that Australia can do to help the East Timorese?

While independence as demanded by the Labor Party might be an impossible dream, surely Mr Hawke and Mr Hayden can put some pressure on the Indonesian Government so that Australia can provide aid directly to the East Timorese without it passing through the filter of a corrupt junta?

Let us not forget Australia's moral responsibilities to the East Timorese.

In 1941, 400 Australian soldiers were put on Timor. Those who landed on what was then Dutch Timor were betrayed to the Japanese and did not survive the war.

The 300-odd who landed in what was then Portugese Timor managed to hold down 21,000 Japanese troops and kill about 1500 with the loss of only 40 Australians.

According to the history of the campaign (Independent Company), "without the enthusiastic co-operation of the natives, the campaign could not have achieved the results it did and it might well have ended in betrayal and defeat of the Australians".

The East Timorese paid a high price for their co-operation with the Australians.

Apart from Timorese directly tortured and killed, starvation as a result of lost agricultural production and forced food collections for the Japanese led to 60,000 Timorese losing their lives, according to a Portugese post-war census.

The Indonesians have adopted a policy of starving Fretilin guerillas out of the Timor mountains by burning crops and killing livestock, rather than chasing them.

This policy of genocide has led to the deaths of at least 50,000 Timorese (admitted by Dr Malik) and probably closer to 100,000, according to more independent sources.



Given that the population of Timor is about 600,000, and that between a tenth and a sixth of the population has been wiped out, it is doubtful if there has been a more murderous invasion force in modern times.

Why did we allow this to happen? At the bottom of Australia's relations with Indonesia is a deeply ingrained belief that because of the relative sizes of the two countries, Australia must accommodate itself to Indonesian interests unless we can persuade the US to our side.

The history of the post-war period has shown that when it comes to a difference of opinion between Australia and Indonesia, the US will put Indonesia first. I assume this is because of the importance of Indonesian oil to the US West Coast and the Indonesian-controlled straits which link the Pacific Ocean and the Indian Ocean.

Both President Ford and his Secretary of State, Dr Kissinger, were in Jakarta days and even hours before the Indonesian invasion of Timor and neither wanted to know about it.

Does this mean that Australia has to defer to Indonesia whenever the interests of the two countries clash?

It is true that Indonesia has about 10 times the population of Australia. What is more important is that Australia has about three times the gross national product of Indonesia and therefore, in terms of offensive military capability, about three times the clout of Indonesia in this region.

While Indonesia has a formidable labor-intensive defensive army, it has a pitiful offensive

capability, as was shown in the initial stages of the Timor invasion.

If Australia had been prepared to park a couple of destroyers in Dili harbor and more importantly, been prepared to display a cohesive political will, the invasion of Timor would not have occurred.

In a sense, the Timorese were the biggest victims of the Kerr coup. The invasion occurred when there was a caretaker Australian Government pledged to take no initiatives, a Foreign Minister, Mr Peacock, whom the Indonesians believed supported their Timor takeover, and senior Ministers in that caretaker Government who had described Fretilin as communist.

While present official Labor policy is unrealistic, it would at least be in accord with the spirit of that resolution by the party conference (and a lot more concerned Australians) if Mr Hawke and Mr Hayden were prepared to push a policy of negotiating with the Indonesian Government to set up an Australian consulate in Dili with the task of providing aid directly to the region.

If Australia could get a hundred or so doctors, nurses, teachers and engineers into East Timor, it

would at least have the effect of making the Indonesian occupying forces behave a little bit more humanely to the local population.

Even if we put in only \$10 million a year (equal to our military aid to Indonesia), this would have the effect of lifting Timorese per capita income by about 20 per cent.

Surely we have some leverage on the Indonesians in order to impose such a policy. Apart from recognition of the takeover and support in the UN, Australia provides Indonesia with about \$50 million a year in aid which could be stopped or cut.

And Australia is an important member of IGGI (Inter-Governmental Group on Indonesia), the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank, which collectively supply Indonesia with nearly \$2000 million a year in foreign aid.

Pressure applied by these aid agencies — which, with the rapidly declining oil revenues (down 30 per cent 1981-82 to 1983-84), provide the economic cement for the urban elite — could force a change in policy that would help the East Timorese. To them we owe a greater moral debt than to anybody else in our region.

On his way to Washington to be photographed with President Reagan, the Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, has stirred up a domestic political hornets' nest by signalling a major departure from official ALP policy on the issue of East Timor — and as *Glenda Korporaal* reports, the Hawke Government's moves in South-East Asia also form a major subject of interest to the Prime Minister's hosts in America next week.

Political
report

The questions Washington is asking about Hawke's Government

Financial Review
JUNE 19 (cont'd...)

WHEN the Reagan Administration has its first real chance to size up Bob Hawke next week its major aim will be to assess what sort of role the new Australian Labor Government will play in the Asia-Pacific region.

While the Hawke Government is still in its early days, Washington currently sees nothing on the horizon that threatens to emerge as a major bi-lateral problem between the two governments.

Hawke's obvious desire to have a good working relationship with the US has also reassured anyone in the Administration who might have had fears of a repeat performance of the difficult period under the Whitlam Government.

But the Administration does see Australia's future relations with its Asian neighbours — and with the emerging Pacific nations — as vitally important.

For many years to come, the legacy of Vietnam will severely proscribe the overt role which any American Government can play in Asia.

This makes it all the more important for Washington to ensure that not only are the governments in the region friendly with America, but that they co-operate actively in an informal alliance which is very definitely seen as a Western bloc.

Under this scenario, any deterioration of Australian re-

lations with the rightwing Indonesian Government would be seen as a bad thing — as would any significant improvement in Australian relations with Vietnam.

For Washington, it is also important that the new Australian Government is able to work closely with the Asean nations which have already clearly established themselves as a major anti-communist force in South-East Asia.

It is for this reason that the policies which the Hawke Government finally adopts towards East Timor, Vietnam, the Kampuchea question and other Asian issues will be far more critically followed in the US than any domestic rhetoric about the need to review the Anzus alliance.

So far, most of the statements which Hawke has made on foreign policy issues in his overseas trip have been of the kind which would ensure him a good reception in Washington next week.

Hawke's obvious desire to bury the East Timor question and maintain a good Australian relationship with Indonesia has been a source of relief to Washington. (Indeed, there is an interesting hypothetical question about which side the US would support if Australia ever got into a confrontation with an anti-communist Government in Indonesia.)

Hawke's soft-peddling on the highly sensitive question of

a resumption of aid to Vietnam has also been reassuring. And of course, his further confirmation of his own reluctance to withdraw Australia's troops from the Sinai peace-keeping force is another positive sign in Washington's view.

Now that the forces have been in the Sinai for more than a year without incident, the Americans would be most offended if Australia decided to withdraw its contingent at this stage.

With negotiations over the future of foreign forces in Lebanon at a particularly difficult stage, Washington would not appreciate any revival of international debate over an area of the Middle East which is considered to be reasonably settled.

The one area of sensitivity in next week's discussions could be Australia's policy towards Kampuchea. Even

under Fraser, Australia took an independent position from the US on the question of who should represent that country in the United Nations — preferring to abstain in the credentials vote rather than support the former Pol Pot Government.

But there could be further difficulties if the Hawke Government sees itself as playing an independent, active brokering role in trying to seek a solution to the problem.

The Reagan Administration wants Asean — with its un-

questionable anti-communist credentials — to do all the running on this question and would be annoyed if Australia decided to go out on its own to try to solve the problem with a different approach.

Indeed, the official American policy on Kampuchea is that it supports Asean policy on Kampuchea — a policy which it is able to influence indirectly through its very close links with Singapore's Prime Minister, Lee Kuan Yew.

When the issue is raised next week, Hawke and his party can be expected to be politely told that would be a good idea to see that any Australian energies on this issue be expended in conjunction with the Asean countries, which are after all, as will be pointed out, the front line States in the conflict.

It may be all right for Foreign Minister, Bill Hayden, to act as a conduit for Asean suggestions to Hanoi, but the US will not be pleased if Australia takes a stand which is out of line with what the Asean states regard as in their best interests.

Similarly, the Australian delegation to Washington may also be disappointed if it sees itself as making any significant contribution to the state of US-China relations.

In an interview with foreign correspondents in Canberra before he left, Hawke raised

JUNE 9. HANNUAL REVIEW (CONT'D.)

The position's Washington is making...

the possibility of Australia being able to use its good offices with both Washington and Peking to work for some improvement in relations between the two major powers.

Chinese Premier Zhao Ziyang clearly used his recent visit to Australia to stress his concern about the deterioration of his country's links with America under the Reagan Administration — hoping that Hawke would be prepared to make some representations on his behalf during his visit to Washington.

But the Administration regards its relations with China as a strictly bilateral issue — and indeed, has a great deal of difficulty in publicly acknowledging that relations are in fact, under some strain.

In private, the real difficulty is the deep division within the Reagan Administration on the question of US relations with China and Taiwan.

While the US has formal relations with Peking — which were not established until the Carter Administration — there are many in the Republican Party who are adamant that the US should not abandon its links with Taiwan.

While none would advocate an end to US recognition of China, both Reagan and the Secretary of State, George Shultz, have strong sympathies for the Nationalist Chinese.

Hawke could expect a cool reaction at the White House if he tries to push the issue too

strongly in his talks in Washington.

Hawke's first official visit to Washington comes just after Japanese Prime Minister Nakasone's very successful moves to establish a much closer personal relationship between himself and President Reagan.

While Nakasone's strong support for the Reagan communique on arms control may have caused him some political problems in Japan, his performance at the Williamsburg summit has ensured him the highest of regard at the White House.

Nakasone's hawkish warnings about the threat from the Soviet build-up in the northern Pacific Ocean and his willingness to link Japan with Nato in the statement stressing the need for the Soviet Union to consider arms reduction on a global and not strictly European basis, bring him much closer to Washington than to Canberra.

In his speech to the Japan Society in New York last week, Nakasone used words of praise for Reagan which would have been totally unacceptable for any Australian Prime Minister to utter.

He blamed "Soviet expansionism" for the deterioration of East-West relations in the late 1970s and praised Reagan's "unflagging quest for peace".

"The wise decisions which he has made in the pursuit of peace have my full under-

P.N.G. DOCUMENT

Road location 'militarily strategic'

PORT MORESBY, Wednesday (AAP). — The location of an Indonesian road being built in southern Irian Jaya near the Papua New Guinea border was chosen according to strategic military considerations, a PNG Government analyst has said.

The analyst, in the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, drew up a document after it was found that a section of the road crossed the border three times.

The report said the road had potential for aggression rather than defence.

The section of the 850-kilometre Trans-Irian Highway was also strategically placed to control the "inevitable" hostilities against Javanese settlers by the Melanesian population of the Merauke district.

A considerable number of the 70,000 to 80,000 Melanesians in the district would be dispossessed of their traditional lands by the Indonesian transmigration program.

"It can be expected that a high

proportion will spontaneously migrate into the vacant land east of the border in the Western Province [Papua New Guinea]," the report said.

Work on the highway began in 1981. It will eventually link the southern port of Merauke to the Irian Jayan capital of Jayapura, in the north.

But the section of the road discussed in the report bypasses transmigration projects in the west and crosses the Merauke River to the Irian Jaya-PNG border.

C.T. 9/6/83

Possible Indonesian reprisals estimated

E. Timor 'could cost Qantas \$160m a year'

Indonesian reprisals against Australia over East Timor could cost Qantas \$160 million a year, the Department of Foreign Affairs has been told.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Hayden, gave a group of Timor supporters a copy of a letter from Qantas to the department yesterday.

Representatives of five groups met Mr Hayden to try to persuade him to abide by Labor Party policy on self-determination for the East Timorese and on ending military aid to Indonesia.

A spokesman for the Australian-East Timor Association, Dr George Preston, said the department had assessed the economic cost to Australia of Indonesian reprisals if Australia voted against Indonesia at the United Nations.

Mr Hayden had told the group that commercial shipping to Japan would also be severely affected if Indonesia refused access.

A spokesman for the ALP East Timor Support Group, Mr Gordon Bryant, described the Department of Foreign Affairs as "a public-

By *TERESA MANNIX*
relations officer for the Indonesian Government".

The Qantas letter said that losing the right to fly over Indonesia would cost the company \$160 million a year.

This was made up of additional flying costs to avoid Indonesian airspace, loss of revenue on current services flying over Indonesia and lost profits from operations between Australia and Indonesia.

Dr Preston said he found such arguments unconvincing and that any reprisals would affect Indonesia more severely than Australia.

Mr Bryant said Australia overrated Indonesia's ability to harass.

On the question of defence aid to Indonesia, Dr Preston said he had come away "unconvinced" by Mr Hayden's arguments.

He also attacked any suggestion that a parliamentary delegation due to visit Timor could be of any use in helping the Government formulate its attitude.

The Indonesians would "orchestrate" the entire proceedings and

would "hoodwink" the delegation. Anyone who put any store on the delegation's findings would be "naive".

Mr Bryant said the Government seemed to be going against the general tide of opinion. He believed caucus would be "resolute" on the party's platform.

The meeting was arranged several weeks ago, but it took on a new significance after statements by the Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, which led party members to believe he intended to abandon the policy.

The other groups represented were the Indonesia Action Group, Reunite in the Families of Timor (RAFT) and Christians in Solidarity with East Timor.

In Adelaide yesterday, Mr Clyde Cameron, who was a minister in the Whitlam Government, said that if Mr Hawke's reported turnabout on Labor's policy was true, charges could be laid against him by the party.

But he would be very surprised if a move to expel Mr Hawke succeeded, he said. However, if he acted in defiance of policy, "I could not rule it out".