

East Timor: Myth and Reality

By Helen Vaughan

Since 1975, when East Timor became a focus of international concern, there have been a number of myths propagated: initially by the Indonesian government to justify the invasion, and more recently, by the Australian government to justify the apparent non-implementation of ALP policy. The propaganda campaign against an independent East Timor has been characterised by gross misrepresentation and manipulation of the facts.

Timor had for 400 years been a focus of Portuguese and Dutch trading, with Portuguese settlement since the 16th century and a strong 'black Portuguese' population as a result of inter-marriage. In 1904 Timor was divided east-west, between the Portuguese and the Dutch. Ethnically, the original Timorese are more closely related to the people of Papua New Guinea and Australian Aborigine (Helen Hill, *The Timor Story*). Notwithstanding the inevitable influence of Portuguese colonisation, the people of East Timor are a distinct group. To suggest that the Maubere people are ethnically part of Indonesia is fallacious: the Indonesian populace is itself ethnically, culturally and linguistically diverse. As for the economic viability of East Timor, 400 years of Portuguese colonialism had done very little. The local economy was one of subsistence agriculture, a basic but adequate livelihood from the land. Since the invasion thousands of people have died from starvation, induced by Indonesian military strategies, including the use of defoliants and the forcible movement of people (by bombing among other encouragements) from their traditional lands. The Indonesian military have become notorious for their manipulation of food supplied by aid agencies, often selling it on the black market.

Economic Viability

However, when Western countries think of economic viability, they inevitably measure in terms of material progress. One of Indonesia's claims today (see *Herald* series April-May 1983) is that it has achieved a measure of development for East Timor: a new air-conditioned airport for Dili; new road-works; new schools; new homes. Impressive? A new airport to replace the one that was bombed during the invasion; new roads to aid the military penetrate the countryside; new schools to teach the Indonesian language — now the official language, replacing Tetum; new homes for the Javanese

soldiers and farmers. Still impressed? And what of the Timorese this is to benefit, who will she share it with? A dead brother or cousin, Maybe his/her mother living in a refugee camp in Portugal.

Another of the reigning myths is that Indonesia was invited to intervene in East Timor to restore order after the civil war. The civil war eventuated after the Indonesian inspired coup by the UDT party; UDT and Fretilin had previously been allied with Fretilin but broke the alliance (May 1975) after Indonesia had convinced UDT that Fretilin represented the brutal forces of communism. Fretilin had gained great popular support from a broad base of the population and





had initiated a number of social and agrarian reforms. Within two weeks of the coup, Fretilin, with the support of the armed forces and backed by population of most of the urban and rural areas, defeated the coup. This having failed, the Indonesians turned to the pro-Indonesian parties, KOTA with about 40 members and Apodeti with about 300 members, and claimed their support for intervention. Hardly a bona fide invitation to invade a country — 340 people out of a population of 600,000 at the time of the invasion. It should also be noted that the massive death toll (approx. 150,000) resulted not from the civil war but from the invasion and the subsequent genocidal policies pursued by the Indonesian military. The genuine act of self-determination that is said to have taken place in East Timor comprised of the gathering together of a few representatives who were forced to vote with a 'gun at their temple', not unlike elections throughout Indonesia.

Progress?

Recently, it has been claimed by Mr Hawke and Mr Hayden that significant progress has been made and circumstances have changed that might preclude the necessity of implementing the policy of the ALP. Notably, Mr Hayden has achieved the placement of one AAP journalist in Jakarta, no doubt on trial and of little help to the East Timorese. We saw in the 'Age' in March this year the reunion of families divided by the invasion and have since been informed that the Indonesians are cooperating with the Australian government to hasten the reunion of families. So they should, this is no new agreement but part of an existing one that was signed in 1977 and that the Indonesian military has until now done everything to frustrate, including demanding bribes before people can leave the country. It has also been noted that a parliamentary delegation will be able to visit East Timor in the near future,

no doubt with the help of Indonesian military interpreters recording every detail that is uttered. Visits to East Timor by selected journalists and politicians in the past have been reputedly stage managed; free access to the people and the island has been denied and the people have been coerced into presenting a happy face. If this is what is supposed to represent changed circumstances, I deign to suggest that nothing has changed, that the ALP POLICY REMAINS the same and that the only changed circumstance appears to be the election of Mr. Hawke. Only hours before Mr Hawke arrived in Jakarta, it was reported in the 'Age' (3/6) that Timorese women are forcefully injected with Depo-provera, a devastating long term birth control drug. Already up to 150,000 people are estimated to be killed, almost one-third of the population; how much more do they want to reduce the population?

ALP Policy

The ALP policy remains and demands, among other things, defence aid to Indonesia should be withdrawn — this was breached by the delivery of an attack class patrol boat earlier this year; that visas should be issued to Fretilin representatives wishing to visit Australia — breached again, visas were cancelled only hours after they had been approved by Mr West (immigration Minister), it was claimed that visas would be reissued after Mr. Hawke had been to Indonesia, hardly in the spirit of the policy.

The arguments of the political realists are unconvincing and inconsistent. Self-determination is an important issue and if Australia does not come out in active support of it at the United Nations this year, the one hope that the East Timorese have of presenting their cause to an international forum may be buried. It seems that, in the area of aid to Vietnam and the non-implementation of policy, self-determination is considered to be a right of the Kampuchean people; is this not so for the East Timorese.

I agree with Mr. Hayden that "you can't change the world overnight", it appears though, that 'you can sell it out overnight'.

Public Meeting:
Australia's Crucial Role
Speakers: Abilio Arujo
and Roque Rodriguez
Venue: Dallas Brooks
Hall.

Date: Sunday 31st July, at
2.00 pm.

LEARNING EXCHANGE - JULY 1983

Resistance leader in Lisbon explains ceasefire in Timor *C.T. 1/7/83.*

Fretilin shows photographs of atrocities

Fretilin leaders displayed at a news conference in Lisbon on Wednesday 39 photographs, which they said had been smuggled from East Timor, showing alleged Indonesian atrocities and the ceremony at which a ceasefire was signed between Fretilin leader Sha Na Na and the Indonesian commander of East Timor, Col. Purwanto, at Lari Guto, in the eastern zone, on March 23.

The two men are shown smiling and holding a document between them, although the Indonesian Government has denied that a document was signed. A red-bereted commando is leaning over their shoulder.

Five of the photographs show mutilated corpses, for which Fretilin

said the Indonesian military was responsible. Two show lines of corpses of Timorese children, on which bullet marks are evident. Two others show an Indonesian soldier and Timorese militiamen holding the severed heads of Fretilin guerillas. Another shows the horribly disfigured corpse of an adult male Timorese, who appears to have been tortured to death, bound to a bamboo frame.

Other photographs show Sha Na Na reviewing troops and guerillas displaying captured weapons. Most are light arms, many of them G3 automatic rifles, the standard NATO arm supplied to the Portuguese army in Timor,

From JILL JOLLIFFE, in Lisbon

although there are some US-manufactured M16s, which were unknown in Timor before the Indonesian invasion.

Fretilin leader Mr Abilio Araujo gave the news conference four reasons why Indonesia had sought a ceasefire with Fretilin. He said a Fretilin counter offensive last year had "imposed military defeats" on Indonesia; a degradation of socio-economic conditions in Indonesian-controlled centres had led to a surge of discontent and made conditions ungovernable for Indonesian authorities; there was widespread demoralisation within the Indonesian army; and there was the move to international solidarity with Fretilin.

Although Mr Araujo's statement followed a standard Fretilin line, against a generally accepted picture of reduced Fretilin activity in recent times, there is evidence to suggest that a reassessment of the military situation in Timor in the past year may be in order.

More information is now coming to light concerning a Fretilin counter-offensive, "operation thunder", late last year.

Mutinies among Indonesian troops, going back to the large-scale military offensive in 1981, seem to have created unusual problems for Indonesian authorities.

A captured Indonesian document, seized by Fretilin during "operation thunder" which gives details of Fretilin strength and organisation throughout East Timor, shows a more highly organised structure than had previously been credited to Fretilin.

Although there are still many questions unanswered about the reasons for the ceasefire — international factors such as the election of a Labor Government in Australia, Portugal's recent diplomatic drive and some questioning of US support for Indonesia in Timor by US congressmen and senators, have obviously played a role — the factor of Fretilin military pressure may be more important than was at first thought.

C.T. 1/7/83

Fretilin visas

Visas would be issued to two members of the East Timorese Fretilin resistance movement, Mr Abilio Araujo and Mr Roque Rodrigues, who wish to visit Australia from between Tuesday and August 7, the Minister for Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, Mr West, announced yesterday.

Fretilin seeks our help, but talks confusion reigns

LISBON, Thursday. — The Fretilin guerilla movement appealed to Portugal and Australia yesterday to help achieve a peace settlement in East Timor.

A spokesman for the East Timor independence movement, Mr Abilio Araujo, said that a cease-fire with Indonesian forces had been in effect since March 23.

"After nearly eight years of constant war that has already cost dozens and even hundreds of thousands of lives, the prospect of peace is greeted with emotion by the people of East Timor," he told reporters.

However, there was still confusion today on the form of negotiations that have taken place between Fretilin and the Indonesian authorities.

Indonesia at first denied Fretilin reports of a cease-fire, but in Bangkok yesterday the Foreign Minister, Dr Mochtar, said talks were taking place, and he hoped they would lead to a permanent end to the fighting.

Today Dr Mochtar was quoted as saying in Jakarta that "remnants" of the pro-independence Fretilin movement had misinterpreted an attempt by the local Governor to persuade Fretilin men to surrender.

He said the East Timor provincial Governor, Mr Mario Carascalao, under the general amnesty offer by the Indonesian Government in 1977, was trying to speed up the solution to the Fretilin issue.

"East Timor is only a domestic issue, a provincial issue, since it is being tackled by the local governor," he said.

But the Fretilin insists there is a cease-fire. At the Lisbon news conference, reporters were shown what were purportedly photographs of the preliminary talks between Indonesian and Fretilin military commanders and of alleged Indonesian atrocities against the population.

Mr Araujo said that before the cease-fire talks a meeting in Lisbon of Fretilin's representatives abroad decided that the negotiations should lead to:

- The total and unconditional withdrawal of Indonesian troops from East Timor.
- The setting up of a multinational force in East Timor to supervise the orderly withdrawal of the Indonesians and guarantee a transitional administration.
- The placing of Fretilin forces in unpopulated areas to pave the way for the organisation of free and democratic consultation of the people.

He also told reporters: "We appeal to the Portuguese State, through President Antonio Ramalho Eanes and the Prime Minister, Mr Mario Soares, to make a positive contribution to this peace process in East Timor."

"We also appeal to the Australian Government to assist the efforts already started by Fretilin and Indonesia so as to guarantee the prosecution of the dialogue with the aim of restoring the rights of the people of East Timor."

Meanwhile, Dr Mochtar said in Jakarta today that Indonesia was not happy about Australia granting visas to two Fretilin representatives.

"This is not happy news for Indonesia. We hope that they will not be received as Government guests or be received by officials," he said.

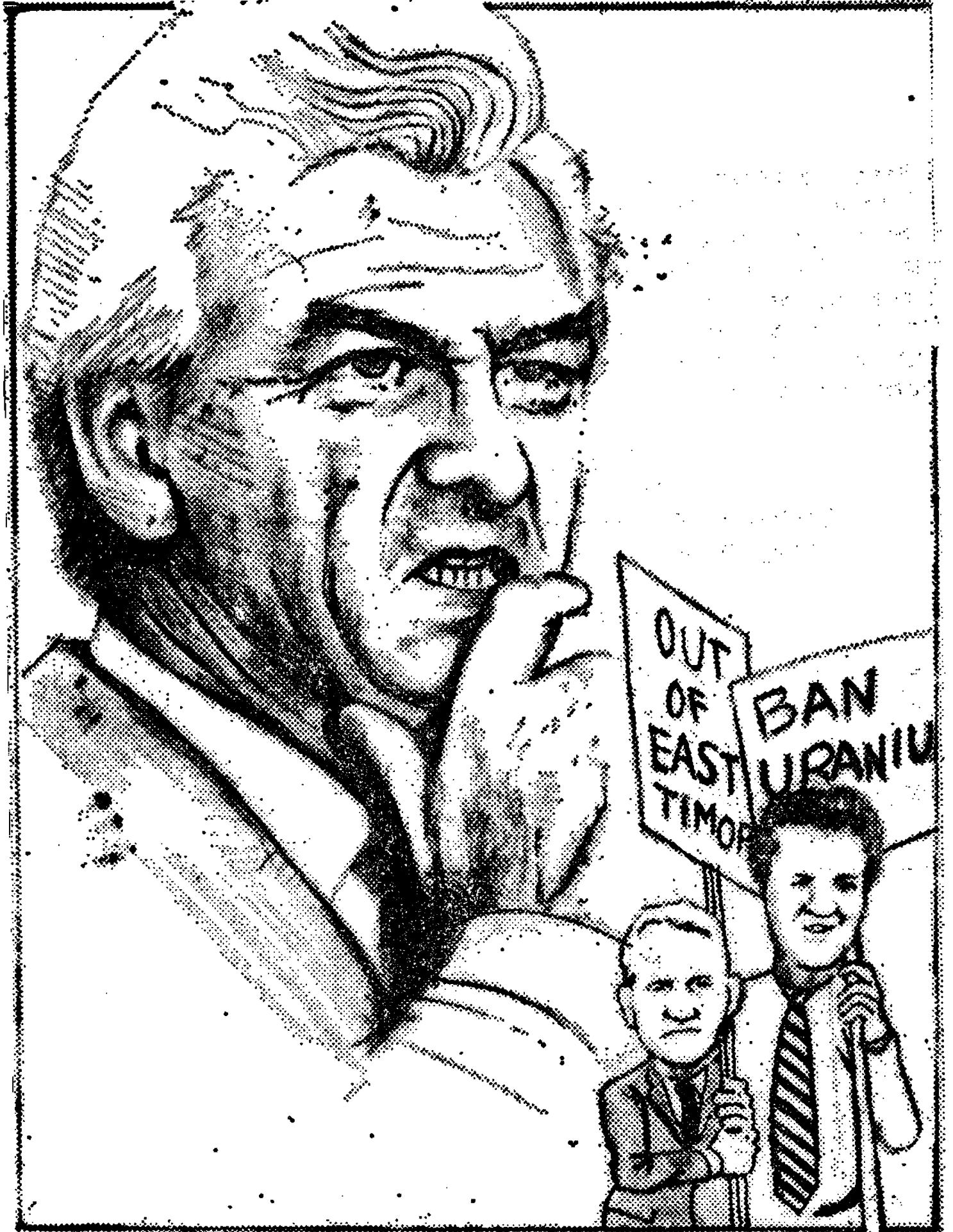
He said Indonesia had tried its best to understand the Australian Government's problem regarding East Timor during the visits here of the Foreign Minister, Mr Hayden, and the Prime Minister, Mr Hawke.

"Australia should also understand that Indonesia has certain sensitive issues, and that there are things that we cannot accept."

CHART DIGITAL (AAP-Reuter)

S.M.H.
11/7/83

SMH - 1/7/83



lions, now for the world

He tamed

BOB HAWKE had his faith in himself restored this week.

That much was obvious when he returned to his Parliament House office on Wednesday after his first direct brush with the party since becoming leader — a meeting of the ALP National Executive.

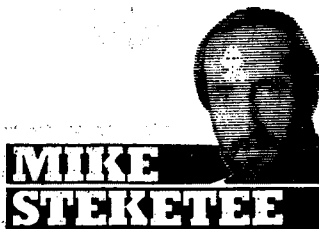
This was not a Prime Minister weighed down with the burdens of office. It was the all-conquering hero, bursting through the doors, fairly bounding up the steps of Kings Hall, grasping tourists by the hand.

Hawke had good reason to be pleased with himself. He had just been thrashed with a feather by a group of people who have the power and who in recent weeks had been given the ammunition to censure him.

Having taken it upon himself, in effect, to rewrite the rules of the Labor Party, he went into the den, stroked the lions and persuaded them to lie down in meek submission. As a result, he was reinforced in his conviction that he knows best how to handle the Labor Party.

The more Hawke has come under attack in recent weeks from party conferences and Caucus members, the more he seems to have lifted his eyes to the far horizon. In his speech to the National Press Club on Monday, he represented himself very much as a man with a mighty mission — and not one confined just to Australia.

"I profoundly believe that the work and efforts, the experience and the experiments, the success or failure of this Australian Labor Government, are critically impor-



tant to the whole future of the Labor cause, the cause of social democracy, throughout the industrialised world," he said.

There is no modesty here, false or otherwise. Bob Hawke is not just concerned about his own future or that of Australia: it is the salvation of the world he has in mind.

It is hardly surprising, then, that it is only with the greatest reluctance that the Prime Minister will lower his eyes to the petty preoccupations of the day. He is a man of passion, not of paperwork.

"Hawke will sign anything you put in front of him," one bureaucrat said. Obviously this is an exaggeration, although it may be true of the relatively unimportant area in which this person is working. Hawke is not a man for the minutiae.

When it comes to the party, his approach is similar. This week, his supporters in the parliamentary party were concerned about the potential for an embarrassing vote against the Government on the uranium issue in the Caucus industry committee.

They encouraged Hawke to get

on the phone and rally the troops. He failed to do so, apologising later that he had got caught up in work.

As a result — at least, this is the interpretation of the Right — the Left and the Centre had the numbers, voting 14-8 to demand the Government withdraw the uranium negotiating licences it had issued to the two existing producers, Queensland Mines and ERA. Only by a bit of good old-fashioned NSW-style politics was that motion rescinded and replaced by one from Senator Graham Richardson — together with an amendment from Ros Kelly, the member for Canberra — sending the whole issue back to Cabinet for review.

Hawke's ebullient mood on his return from the National Executive suggests he was less than completely relaxed about that meeting. He had good cause not to be.

Seldom has any Labor leader played so fast and loose with the traditions, the feelings of the party. It is not just what Hawke did — Labor Governments are often accused of breaches of party policy — it is the offhanded way in which he did it.

Though he later moderated his language a little, in the early stages of his overseas trip he made comments suggesting that party policy was irrelevant, or relevant only at the time it was made, and that the Government had superior knowledge to the party.

Gough Whitlam, criticised for being arrogant and presidential, never went this far. He did the annual tour of party conferences,

where the party activists often have their finest hours. In his first year in Government, Hawke missed them all because he was overseas.

In the Labor Party structure, the National Executive is a very powerful body, second only to the National Conference, which is the supreme policy-making organ of the party. That, at least, is the theory — the mythology perhaps, after the experiences of Wednesday.

Peter Duncan, the angry, no longer young, man of the South Australian Left, proposed a motion which read: "That in view of the concern expressed in recent State conferences and other party units, the National Executive notes that the decisions of the Federal Conference are binding on every organisation and party member without exception. The executive calls on the Parliamentary Labor Party to ensure that, in implementing the party's platform, all policy proposals receive full consideration by Caucus and Caucus committees and that every opportunity is taken to consult the party . . . and that greater efforts be made to inform the party and public as to the Government's activities."

During a debate running for 2½ hours, Hawke had some sharp exchanges with Duncan and Henry Lawrence, a left-wing ACT delegate. Hawke took particular exception to the first paragraph of Duncan's resolution, which he said could only be interpreted as an attack on him. Why didn't he spell it out? he said to Duncan, in what was an effective piece of bluff.

The Duncan motion was defeated

and a much milder resolution proposed by Bob McMullan, the national ALP secretary, was substituted. This motion achieved the outstanding feat of pulling its own teeth, reaffirming the role of the National Executive under the party rules but then stressing it was up to the parliamentary party to control the timetable for implementing the platform. It added, in effect, that consultation was the important thing.

This resolution was carried unanimously. Hawke can go back to being president.

The 18 members of the National Executive accepted the Prime Minister's assurances that he would consult (although his approach up to now has been to announce first and consult later), that he would implement party policy on winding down the uranium industry (although the Government's actions so far suggest a reluctance to do so) and that, more generally, he would implement party policy as far and as fast as possible — which means not at all in areas such as Timor.

Quite simply, the party is not prepared to take Hawke on, despite the provocation of recent weeks. That includes the Left, where, among the rank-and-file, there is a very substantial disaffection with the policies of the Government and Hawke's style of leadership.

The Left, which has been shut out of a significant role in the Government so far, is finding very little room to move.

Hawke's popularity in the real world remains very high, according

to the polls. There is a distaste and a distrust of the Left in the electorate.

Yet, in the party organisation, as distinct from the Government, it is in a powerful position. On the National Executive, it can count on an almost certain eight votes out of 18 and, as a series of ballots on Wednesday demonstrated, can call the shots on some issues.

In two votes for positions on the National Executive, the initial outcome was 9-9. In a subsequent ballot for senior national vice-president, Senator Arthur Gietzelt — who with Tom Uren is the leader of the old NSW Left — defeated Chris Schacht, a moderate from South Australia, by 10-8.

Schacht was then chosen as a junior vice-president. The tie for the second junior vice-president's position eventually was resolved by a draw from the hat which saw the Left's Senator Pat Giles prevail over the more moderate Michael Behan.

All this points to the fact that, on major issues, Hawke has the support of the National Executive — in particular because he can count on the three other parliamentary leaders — the Deputy Prime Minister, Lionel Bowen, and the Leader and Deputy Leaders in the Senate, John Button and Don Grimes — to swing in behind him.

But there are signs that Button and Grimes want to preserve a balance, perhaps in the hope that it will help temper a headstrong Hawke in the longer run.

TIMOR 'CEASEFIRE AGREEMENT'

'A surprising achievement' from Fretilin's point of view

A CANBERRA man, Mr Jim Dunn, claims to have seen and read a "ceasefire agreement" between Indonesian officials and the Fretilin resistance movement in East Timor.

He says the document is in English, contains three main conditions and makes it clear that the initiative for the talks which led to the signing came from the Indonesian side, not Fretilin.

His claims conflict with the official Indonesian version, given on June 29 by the Foreign Minister, Dr Mochtar, who said that the talks not be called ceasefire negotiations and that Jakarta did not know who had initiated them. Dr Mochtar also indicated that the Indonesians did not regard the talks as having been completed yet, or the fighting having stopped yet.

Mr Dunn, who has been a campaigner on behalf of the East Timorese for many years and is president of the Human Rights

Council of Australia and co-president of an international preparatory committee for a world congress on human rights, will publish a book in about a fortnight called 'East Timor — A People Betrayed'. He is a former consul for Australia in East Timor and has held a number of Department of Foreign Affairs positions. (He is now director of the foreign-affairs research service in Parliamentary Library.) He is a specialist on Indonesia.

He has been critical of the policy stances of both the Whitlam and Fraser Governments (although not the Fraser Opposition in 1975) and can see the Hawke Government policy going the same way.

He returned a week ago from a major European visit which included talks with the UN Human Rights Commission and the International Red Cross, in Geneva, the European

Human Rights Commission and Amnesty International, in London, and the International Federation for Human Rights, in Paris.

He is concerned that some Indonesians are claiming that the talks were intended to lead to a surrender by Fretilin and that elements in Australia were accepting this, without credible evidence.

When in Portugal on his overseas tour, "prominent Timorese" whom he had met before had approached him and shown him 39 photographs, since given world-wide publicity, allegedly smuggled out of East Timor and purporting to show Indonesian atrocities and a ceremony at which the "ceasefire" was signed between Fretilin leader Sha Na Na and the Indonesian military commander in East Timor, Colonel Purwanto, at Lari Guto, on March 23. [The Canberra Times's correspondent in

POLITICS

By COLIN BRAMMALL

Portugal, Jill Jolliffe, was the first to report to Australia the cessation of hostilities, on June 24.] Mr Dunn had got other information from other sources in Portugal and other parts of Europe about the "ceasefire".

"They also had with them some documents about this meeting", he said.

"The [ceasefire] document sets out the conditions for the ceasefire — the document was in English, by the way, with a Fretilin heading and with the signatures of both parties. . . ."

Two things were very interesting about it: the Fretilin position was obviously very confident and it was clearly a two-sided truce, with no suggestion of the negotiations being about surrender; and it was specified in the document that the initiative for the meetings came from the Indonesians.

"There were three main conditions: one of course was that the ceasefire would take place, another was that UN officials would gain access to East Timor and a third condition was about . . . Timorese participation in decisions about the future", he said.

"It wasn't terribly specific, as I recall. It didn't demand independence but nevertheless from a Fretilin point of view it was a surprising achievement. . . ."

Among other things, it recognised by implication that Fretilin was a major party in East Timor and that Fretilin was obstructing Indonesia's claim of control over East Timor. It also put the East Timor question back on to the international stage.

The "ceasefire" had taken pressure off the Fretilin forces by stopping the fighting and having the Indonesians fly in medicines and food and fly out some of the

wounded to the Indonesian-controlled capital, Dili.

He thought the main reason that Fretilin agreed to the ceasefire was the major role played by the Governor of East Timor, Mr Mario Carrascalao.

" . . . Even though he at least gives lip service to a loyalty to Indonesia . . . he has been trying to stabilise conditions in the province and to improve them as much as possible", he said. "In that sense he's won a lot of respect from the Timorese, including from Fretilin.

"In fact, a recent snippet of information from an entirely different source suggests that Fretilin may have told Carrascalao that they'd be happy to have him as president of the new, independent republic of East Timor.

"Now that's surprising — that came from a very reasonable source, a very credible source — for Fretilin to be suggesting that it would be happy to have a former leading UDT figure, now a figure working for Indonesia, as its president.

"[This] shows the complexity of Timorese politics and also really, how little we probably know about current trends. . . ."

"My reading of the information I've got from quite a few sources is that the initiative largely began with the Governor, who was supported by the local Indonesian military commander, who I was told — by the acting bishop, in fact — is quite a humanitarian man. . . ."

[The "acting bishop" referred to was actually, at that time, the former acting Bishop, Monsignor Martinho Da Costa Lopes, a Timorese, with whom Mr Dunn had dinner while in Portugal. Jill Jolliffe has reported that he stood down at the request of the Vatican, which had been pressured by Indonesia, which wants the Vatican to recognise the annexation of East Timor.]

Mr Dunn said his book sought to answer some, not all, questions about East Timor.

What kind of a place was East Timor? Why were the Portuguese there so long? What are the

Timorese like — are they the same as the people on the other side of the island? Why was Indonesia interested in getting East Timor? When did its involvement begin? What happened in 1975? Did Australia really encourage the military intervention? What were the political parties like?

"I've gone into 1975 in considerable detail, based on a lot of information that has been around for a while [and also on] a lot of leaked documents. . . .", and what took place in the Australian Parliament at the time, he said. One of the issues he took up was the "big fiction" that Fretilin was a communist organisation.

He also looked at East Timor's history, going back through the four centuries of Portugal's presence, and giving "some attention" to Australia's long-term relationship, including the stationing of troops there during World War II and, after Japan occupied it, the deaths of up to 70,000 Timorese.

There would be some new information, but the book mainly served to examine all the available material together for the first time.

What did he think was East Timor's future? Would it remain part of Indonesia?

"Well, I expect it will," he said. "I must say I don't see any light at the end of this tunnel.

"But of course one never knows. I think we should never just dismiss it that way. . . ."

(Continued from page 1)

17/83



Mr Carrascalao

S. M. H. 2/7/83

Vietnam hits 'hypocrisy' on Timor

HANOI, Friday. — Vietnam's Foreign Minister, Mr Thach, yesterday accused the members of ASEAN and "many" other unnamed countries of adopting double standards over Indonesia's military intervention in Timor and Vietnam's intervention in Kampuchea.

Australia and Indonesia's partners in ASEAN — Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand — have all recognised Indonesia's incorporation of East Timor. But they oppose Vietnam's presence in Kampuchea.

Mr Thach said he did not discuss the issue with Australia's Foreign Minister, Mr Hayden, during his visit although Mr Hayden later told Australian journalists that Mr Thach had said that if a conference about the regional situation including Kampuchea could be agreed on Hanoi felt that "unreasonable" issues such as (Soviet access to) bases in Vietnam and Timor should not be on the agenda.

Vietnamese forces entered Kampuchea in December 1978 for two reasons. It was asserting its right of self-defence because the Khmer Rouge had repeatedly attacked southern Vietnam and wanted to invade. Also the "peoples' front" of Kampuchea had also asked Vietnam to save the country from the Pol Pot regime's genocidal policies.

But Mr Thach said that Indonesia had no such right to go into East Timor.

Indonesia faces new 'battle' over East Timor

JAKARTA, Mon. — Indonesia stands a good chance this fall of winning UN recognition of its 1976 annexation of East Timor but a last-ditch diplomatic offensive by Timorese separatists and Australia's Labour Party could reverse the odds.

Indonesia has been lobbying for UN recognition of its sovereignty over the former Portuguese colony for seven years. In October, the UN Subcommittee on Decolonisation once again takes up the issue.

"Last year, we had only four votes against us and this could be reversed this time," Indonesian Foreign Minister Mochtar Kusumaatmadja said.

But opposition is being consolidated on diplomatic fronts as far flung as Lisbon and Canberra.

In Canberra, Prime Minister Bob Hawke is under heavy pressure from within his Labour Party to drop Australia's past support for Indonesia in the United Nations on the East Timor issue — even at the cost of harming bilateral

relations.

In Lisbon, members of Fretilin, the Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor, have launched a major public opinion campaign to revive their cause.

In 1975, Fretilin, then engaged in a civil war against the Portuguese, issued a unilateral declaration of independence that prompted Jakarta to "allow" some 2,000 Indonesian "volunteers" to participate in an invasion that seized the capital of Dili and "liberated" the Timorese from both "colonialist suppression and Fretilin terror."

Fretilin rebels fled into the mountains and Indonesia announced it was incorporating East Timor.

According to Indonesian military sources, some 300 to 400 heavily-armed Fretilin guerillas remain on the mountainous island occasionally raiding remote villages.

UN recognition of Indonesia's annexation of East Timor would be a severe blow to the guerillas probably forcing them to accept a Government amnesty

offer to surrender — or die.

Fretilin members in Lisbon claim Indonesian authorities have signed a ceasefire with guerilla leaders in East Timor — thus giving the movement legitimacy. They also have hinted that Jakarta might agree to the posting of UN peacekeeping forces in East Timor.

Officials in Jakarta deny the Fretilin statements:

"We do not sign ceasefires with rebels but with countries," a Defence Ministry spokesman said.

Aussie vote

"Indonesia's sovereignty in East Timor is a fact and is not negotiable," a Foreign Ministry official said.

Mr Mochtar confirmed that East Timor Governor, Portuguese-educated Mario Carrascalao, was "holding talks on his own initiative with rebels in East Timor" and was offering an "unlimited amnesty so that they can join our side."

Mr Hawke so far has delayed spelling out his position on the vote, pending the results of an Australian Parliamentary delegation's visit to East Timor later this month. — UPI.

S.M.H. 7/7/83

Timorese forgotten

SIR: There appears to be a lack of public awareness of the debt we owe to the Timorese people for the assistance they gave to our Australian commandos during World War II.

The Timorese helped the Australians to evacuate by submarine from Portuguese Timor in the face of the Japanese onslaught.

At the instigation of surviving commandos, during the late 60s the Australian Government sponsored and financed the construction of overnight stop-over amenities above the capital, Dili, for Timorese making the two-day over-range safari from the hinterland to the market place at Dili to trade their products.

These excellent facilities were nearing completion in 1969 when inspected by the writer and his wife in the company of, and by courtesy of, the wife of our consul there.

One wonders if the provision of these amenities has fully extinguished our debt to the Timorese people.

J. A. Stuart,
Westbrook Avenue,
Wahroonga.

June 22

Hawke walks the tightrope over Papua New Guinea

NST
8/7/83

By JOHN LOMBARD
CANBERRA

CANBERRA: When Australia's Defence Minister Gordon Scholes visited Port Moresby, he was asked if Australia could provide more intelligence about Indonesian troop movements on Papua New Guinea's border with the Indonesian province of Irian Jaya.

Mr Scholes is reported to have told his hosts he would pass the request on to Prime Minister Bob Hawke. But the issue has brought to head a very delicate policy stance for Australia's new Labour Government.

Papua New Guinea is a former Australian colony that became independent in 1975. It relies heavily on Australian budgetary support and its tiny defence force is very much on the Australian command model.

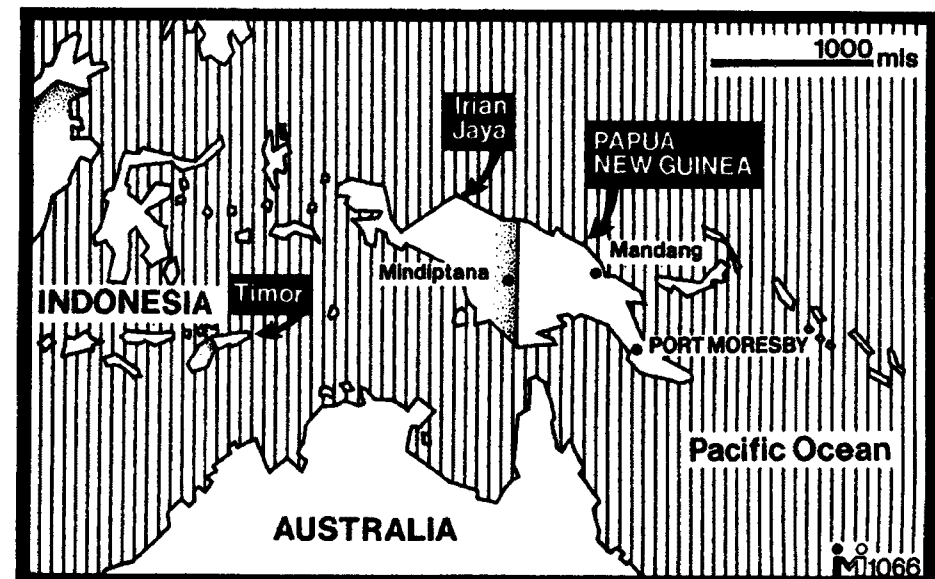
Sanctuary

But Papua New Guinea is becoming increasingly nervous about Indonesia as a neighbour. Recently, Indonesian Foreign Minister Dr Mochtar had to apologise to Prime Minister Michael Somare's Government in Port Moresby because a road being built in Irian Jaya had "accidentally" crossed over the border into Papua New Guinea territory.

Indonesian troops have chased members of the Irian Jayan Independence Movement who have crossed into Papua New Guinea for sanctuary, though they have been sent back by Papua New Guinea patrols.

On the other hand, Australia is trying to re-negotiate friendly relations with the Jakarta administration in spite of a fiercely anti-Indonesian policy on the Labour Party's books.

Party policy calls for the withdrawal of recog-



nition of the incorporation of the former Portuguese colony of East Timor as Indonesia's 27th province and the withholding of defence aid to Indonesia until the East Timorese conduct an act of self-determination.

Good relations with Papua New Guinea and Indonesia are pivotal in Australian foreign policy. Significantly, the two capitals were the first ports of call for Mr Hawke on his first overseas trip as Prime Minister in June.

If the unthinkable happened and Indonesian troops moved into Papua New Guinea, would Australia go to Papua New Guinea's defence? The question has occupied the minds of Australia's defence chiefs and politicians, although it is not openly discussed.

In an interview, Mr Scholes said he believed such circumstances were "highly unlikely," although he was sure there would continue to be some crossings of the border.

He said: "I doubt that there will be a major military incident in the area, but with respect to a specific invasion, or activity of that nature, we don't have specific treaty arrangements with Papua New Guinea, which means that the Govern-

ment will have to consider the situation at the time and make a decision based on the facts of the time."

It is not a prospect that would be welcomed in either Port Moresby or Canberra, but it does raise the question of Indonesia's long-term ambitions in Papua New Guinea. Most commentators agree that Indonesia's main concern, at least in the short-term, is the maintenance of and support for a stable Government in Papua New Guinea.

But if Papua New Guinea became destabilised or showed signs of re-aligning itself with a power not approved by Indonesia, the Jakarta generals may well take action similar to the invasion of East Timor in 1975.

Probably neither Australia nor Papua New Guinea could do anything to stop such a force. Indonesia is a country of more than 150 million people. It has an army of 200,000, a navy of 40,000, and an air force of 2,000.

Australia's 15 million people support total armed forces of only 73,000 and Papua New Guinea's 3.2 million people have a defence force of 3,770.

One of Papua New Guinea's major current problems is that budget-

ary difficulties have forced it to slash its border patrols by two-thirds. Indonesia gave Papua New Guinea approval to appoint a defence attache at its Jakarta embassy two years ago, but the financial situation has prevented anyone taking up the position.

Intelligence

This is why Mr Scholes was asked if Australia could provide more intelligence on Indonesian troop movements. Papua New Guinea military commanders have to rely on extremely unreliable reports from villagers on the border.

How would Australia carry out this role? It was revealed in an Australian newspaper recently that the Australian Embassy in Port Moresby houses a sophisticated electronic listening device that can tap telephone calls. Mr Somare protested at the report.

But after Mr Hawke's visit to Port Moresby both leaders agreed it was longer an issue. The turnaround was not completely explained.

It is understood Mr Hawke, who had not been aware of the "spying" operation, told Mr Somare that the target for any such equipment was not Papua New Guinea: it was Indonesian traffic. — Gemini.

Fretilin two ask PM to intercede

From MATTHEW BOLTON

SYDNEY. — Two leaders of the East Timor independence movement, Fretilin, yesterday called on the Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, to help bring peace in East Timor.

The two members of Fretilin's central committee, Mr Abilio Araujo and Mr Roque Rodrigues, arrived in Sydney this week and will deliver a letter from the Fretilin leader, Jose Gusmao (Sha Na Na), to Mr Hawke asking him to help end the war against Indonesia and give East Timor self-determination.

Despite the recent softening of the Labor Party's policy of independence for East Timor by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Hayden, and by Mr Hawke, Mr Araujo said he hoped the Australian Government would support Fretilin in its ceasefire talks with Indonesia.

A ceasefire was signed in March. This was the first time that the Indonesian Government officially recognised Fretilin.

Mr Araujo and Mr Rodrigues originally sought entry visas last May. The Australian Government granted entry but then deferred entry until after Mr Hawke returned from his overseas trip. They are in Australia for a speaking tour.

Mr Araujo is Minister for Economic and Social Affairs in the Government of the Democratic Republic of East Timor, declared on 28 November 1975, and is Fretilin's representative in Europe.

Mr Rodrigues is the republic's Ambassador to Angola, which recognises the republic as a sovereign State.

"We know that there is criticism in the ranks of the Labor Party (over these recent statements). But since Indonesia and Fretilin are sitting together we don't see any reason for Australia to worry about their relations with Indonesia," Mr Araujo said.

He said that this was a "historical situation for Australia to exercise a positive role" in establishing peace in East Timor.

"We feel that if the Australian people want the East Timorese people's rights respected then the Australian Government will do it," Mr Araujo said.

Timor governor denies report of deal with Fretilin

JAKARTA, Sunday. — The Indonesian Governor of East Timor has denied reports that Indonesia had signed a formal cease-fire agreement with Fretilin guerillas opposing the country's occupation of the former Portuguese colony.

Governor Mario Viegas Carrascalao, in an interview with Agence France-Presse, said that no cease-fire had been signed, and added that Fretilin did not even ask for one.

But he told AFP that at a meet-

ing on March 27 he had promised a Fretilin commander that if he allowed his followers to leave their mountain hideouts "nothing will happen to you."

Hundreds of Fretilin guerillas, mostly hiding in remote mountain areas, have been opposing Indonesian rule in East Timor since it began in 1975 following an armed invasion.

The official's denial of a formal cease-fire offer were provoked by reports from Lisbon that such an arrangement between Indonesia and

the guerillas had been reached on March 23.

But the East Timor Governor agreed he had met Gusmao, a Fretilin guerilla commander, on that day.

He said the meeting was arranged after a public speech he gave last November in which he had said that people should receive returning guerillas with open arms since "they are brothers."

Mr Carrascalao said he made the speech as some guerillas were remaining in the jungle because they

were afraid to risk possible revenge by people whose relatives had been killed in the fighting.

The Governor said he received a letter several weeks later from Gusmao, which said that the guerillas "did not want to be in a war anymore," and asked for guarantees that they would not be harmed if they came out from hiding.

Mr Carrascalao, who, observers say, enjoys respect from both the Fretilin and Indonesian sides, added that there had been no shooting reported in the area since January.

The Herald reported on July 1

that there was confusion over the form of negotiations between Fretilin and Indonesian authorities.

Then, Indonesia denied reports of a cease-fire but in Bangkok the Foreign Minister, Dr Mochtar, said that talks were taking place and hoped that they would lead to a permanent settlement.

A day later, Dr Mochtar was quoted as saying in Jakarta that "remnants" of the Fretilin movement had misinterpreted an attempt by the local governor to persuade Fretilin men to surrender.

SYDNEY MORNING Herald 11/7/83
CHART Digital

INDONESIA

C.T. 11/7/83 P5

Timor ceasefire denied

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But he said that, at a meeting on March 23, he had promised a Fretilin

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AGE

Saturday 9 July 1983 — 5

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WORLD NEWS

'No formal truce' in East Timor

JAKARTA, 10 July. — The Indonesian Governor of East Timor has denied reports that Indonesia signed a formal ceasefire agreement with Fretilin guerillas opposing Indonesia's occupation of the former Portuguese colony.

Governor Mario Carascalao, in an interview with Agence France-Presse, said that "no ceasefire had been signed", and added that Fretilin "did not even ask for a ceasefire".

But the Governor told AFP that, at a meeting on 23 March, he had promised a Fretilin commander that if he and his followers left their mountain hideouts, "nothing will happen to you".

Hundreds of Fretilin guerillas have been fighting Indonesian troops in East Timor since Indonesia's armed invasion.

The official's denials of a formal ceasefire offer were prompted by reports from Lisbon that such an arrangement between Indonesia and the guerillas had been reached on 23 March.

—AAP-AFP

Indonesia keeps silence on Timor visit by Aust MPs

By DEBORAH SNOW

THE Australian Parliamentary delegation to leave tomorrow for a much publicised tour of Indonesia and East Timor has still had no final word from the Indonesian Government on its itinerary.

The leader of the delegation, New South Wales Labor MP Mr Bill Morrison, spoke with Indonesian Foreign Minister Dr Mochtar at the weekend and said that the delegation wanted three clear days on the ground in East Timor.

Dr Mochtar promised to recommend this to the Indonesian Government but the outcome is still not known.

The Indonesians first agreed to the Australian parliamentary tour during April, when Foreign Affairs Minister Mr

Bill Hayden was making his first ministerial visit to Jakarta.

The delegation's visit has become the object of intense interest within the ALP because of the official ALP platform's condemnation of the Indonesian annexation of East Timor in late 1975.

Prime Minister Mr Hawke has said that the report by the five Australian MPs will be a factor in the overall review of bilateral relations between Australia and Indonesia.

Left-wing ALP members who continue to support the Fretilin resistance in East Timor claim that the tour will be stage-managed by the Indonesians to put the best light on conditions in Timor.

Mr Hawke had agreed to make an RAAF VIP plane available for use by the delegation, to maximise time in East Timor and avoid the delays which using commercial

flights through the area would involve.

But Dr Mochtar told Mr Morrison at the weekend that the Indonesian Government objected to the use of an RAAF plane.

Dr Mochtar said that the Australian MPs would be guests of the Indonesian Parliament and it would be inappropriate for the Australians to supply their own transport.

A spokesman for the Indonesian Embassy in Canberra yesterday said, "We are hosting, and would like to take all responsibility including costs of transport and so on."

All facilities would be made available to the delegation, he said, even if it meant hiring a private plane.

The other four members of the delegation are Senator Gordon McIntosh (ALP, WA), Mr Manfred Cross (ALP, Qld), Mr Don Dobie (Lib, NSW) and Senator David MacGibbon (Lib, Qld).

Mr Cross said yesterday that he could understand Indonesian objections to the delegation flying in its own plane. Australia would no doubt raise similar objections if another country used its own plane to fly around Aboriginal settlements.

The delegation's plans so far envisage meeting non-government aid agencies on Saturday, followed by talks with Indonesian Government representatives, including President Suharto, on Monday and Tuesday.

On Wednesday the group

plans to fly to Kupang, in West Timor and on Thursday to leave for Dili in East Timor.

The delegation then hopes to tour the province until the following Monday but this is subject to talks today between Mr Morrison and Indonesian officials in Canberra.

Up to 10 Australian journalists have applied to accompany the delegation but on indications yesterday none looked likely to get into East Timor.

Three have clearance to fly on the Indonesian leg with the delegation, Mr Peter Hastings of The Sydney Morning Herald, Mr John Lombard of Radio Australia and Mr Leigh McKay of Australian Associated Press.

AAP has been allowed to station Mr McKay in Jakarta on a trial basis. The Indonesian Government is still extremely wary of Australian journalists entering the country.

Mr Lombard flew to Jakarta yesterday to await the arrival of the delegation.

Mr Hastings has decided to postpone his visit. He said yesterday that Indonesian sources had indicated that he would be the only journalist allowed to accompany the Parliamentary delegation into East Timor and this would be "totally unacceptable."

The Indonesian Embassy said yesterday that it received applications from seven other Australian journalists last Thursday to go to Indonesia but they were too late to gain entry.

Timor 5 'can see anything'

JAKARTA, 11 July. — An Australian parliamentary delegation due to go to East Timor at the end of the month may visit any place they want in the former Portuguese colony, East Timor's Governor Mario Carrascalao says.

Asked by Agence France-Presse in an interview what places they would visit, the Governor said: "I am going to let them see anything they want."

He said the delegation, which Indonesia does not recognise as a fact-finding mission, could walk or go by car as they chose, but added firmly: "I don't say later on we could not use a car because there was still war there."

The five-member delegation, led by Mr Bill Morrison and made up of two other members of the Labor Government and two Liberal Party members, is to arrive here on 25 July.

—AAP-AFP

LATE NEWS

E. Timor visit

JAKARTA, Monday (AAP-AFP).
— The Australian parliamentary delegation to visit East Timor at the end of July could visit any place it wanted, the Governor, Mr Carrascalao, said in an interview in Jakarta.

The five-member delegation, to be led by Mr Morrison (Lab, NSW) and made up also of two other Labor MPs and and two Liberal MPs, is to arrive in Jakarta on July 25.

C.T. 12/7/83 p.1.

Labor caucus endorses
\$8,500m deficit

Uranium decision deferred

By COLIN BRAMMALL

The Labor Party caucus postponed decisions on uranium mining and sales until September yesterday when supporters of the Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, were successful in gaining time for the divisive issue to be defused.

Mr Hawke did not contribute directly to the debate at a special caucus meeting at Parliament House, but said in his opening report that the question ought to be put off. A number of reviews of aspects of the issue were in progress, and all could be presented to caucus in September for full debate.

Caucus also endorsed the Government's intention to budget for a deficit of \$8,500 million this financial year, and rejected a move to abandon the Government's policy on the national communications satellite.

The industry committee of caucus had moved to cut off the possibility of new uranium export contracts being approved and for Cabinet to reconsider the decision by the Deputy Minister and Minister for Trade, Mr Bowen, to allow Queensland Mines and Energy Resources of Australia to negotiate new contracts, although not to sign them.

Had the committee's recommendation been accepted, it would have been a serious rebuke for Mr Bowen, and Mr Hawke. But it was not accepted, and neither was an amendment which sought to strengthen opposition to uranium mining by applying current ALP policy strictly.

The policy bans all future uranium mining (except at Roxby Downs in South Australia), and requires the phasing out of existing mines and the withdrawal of contracts to export uranium to countries engaged in the nuclear testing of weapons.

The recommendation and the amendments were overridden by a second amendment which referred the committee's report back to Cabinet to be considered with other reports — those to which Mr Hawke had referred earlier. Cabinet is to return its own recommendations to caucus before making a final decision.

The industry committee's resolution, eventually superseded by the second amendment, was, "This committee calls upon the Government to approve no new contracts for the sale of uranium from mines owned by Energy Resources of Australia and Queensland Mines and calls on the Cabinet to review the rights of ERA and Queensland Mines to negotiate contracts in the light of ALP policy and to report to the industry committee."

The first amendment, which was defeated 54-29, was, "It is vital that the Federal Government should stand by the major commitments contained in our national uranium policy. These

are to phase out uranium mines, impose a ban on the development of any new mines subject to clause 64C and cancel existing export licences for mining companies which sell our uranium to countries such as France engaged in nuclear-weapons testing.

"Accordingly, we call on the Federal Government to withdraw the special licences granted to Energy Resources of Australia and Queensland Mines to negotiate new uranium contracts and, further, we resolve that Queensland Mines should not be permitted to proceed with shipments of uranium to France until the French Government ceases all nuclear-testing programs in the Pacific region."

The second amendment, which was carried without a vote-count, as the motion, was, "That the report of the industry committee be noted and referred to Cabinet for consideration with any other reports. That Cabinet report back to caucus its recommendations for adoption before any such Cabinet recommendation is made final.

The proceedings were described by party sources as "a good, healthy, Labor Party debate" and took about 1½ hours. There were about a dozen speakers, including Mr Bowen.

The Budget-deficit question was dealt with

by the simple motion that the Government's Budget strategy be endorsed, and this was carried without a vote being taken.

An amendment from the Left, sponsored by Dr Theophanous (Vic) and running to seven paragraphs, sought to force the Government to extend the deficit to \$9,500 million, but this was defeated on the voices.

The key sections of the amendment were:

"... the Federal Parliamentary Labor Party calls for new programs to boost public-sector employment (especially since 40 per cent of this public-sector spending is picked up by the private sector), to assist in the reconstruction of industry and to increase consumer demand (especially for the poor and unemployed).

"The Federal Parliamentary Labor Party thus requests the Government to introduce an extra stimulus of at least \$1,000 million, based on implementing at least some of the new programs of high-labour content which have been put forward by ministers in pre-Budget discussions, priority being given to those programs most likely to directly create jobs and stimulate demand."

Several members of caucus asked Mr Hawke to guard against electoral backlash to Budget

decisions by making sure the reasons for them were fully explained. The reaction against the Government's plans to tax lump-sum super-annuation payments was cited as an example of inadequate explanation.

The communications-satellite question was raised in the party's infrastructure committee, which recommended that the project go ahead as scheduled, that it be incorporated into Telecom and that the Government not sell any shares in Aussat Pty Ltd, the company created to operate the system.

Caucus divided the recommendation into two parts, accepting the first part and referring back to Cabinet the remainder. Adoption of the recommendation on shares would have been embarrassing for the Government, which decided in principle in May to sell 49 per cent of Aussat.

An attempt was made to refer the whole satellite question back to Cabinet, but this was rejected.

Mr Hawke reported also on the establishment of the Economic Planning and Advisory Council, saying it was expected to meet for the first time this month.

In his report on his three-week overseas trip, he said the Government had no intention of cutting off military aid to Indonesia. The Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Hayden, said bilateral talks on military aid were going on with Indonesia at the moment.

Mr Hawke confirmed that the parliamentary delegation to visit Indonesia this month would travel in a VIP aircraft. This was to allow the group more time in East Timor than would have been available if it travelled by commercial aircraft.

The Leader of the Opposition, Mr Peacock, said later that the caucus decision on uranium raised "more uncertainty".

"The internal divisions within the Labor Party have raised doubts about the future of the billions of dollars' worth of investment in the industry, about the many jobs that industry has and will continue to create, and about Australia's potential export earnings from uranium," he said.

"The Labor Cabinet must reject the recommendations of the industry committee if Australia is to maintain its reputation as a reliable trading partner and a responsible nation prepared to contribute to the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons."

Of the Economic Planning and Advisory Council, Mr Peacock said its composition, announced this week, made a mockery of consensus government. A majority of members would have an association with the Labor Party and would rubber-stamp the Government's big-spending policies.

R.M.T.
Gough
1983

What is

happening in

East Timor?

What is happening in East Timor? We hear reports that inside this country, people live in daily struggle. But for many Australians, the plight of this people is just another unavoidable stroke of bad luck . . . "It's just another 3rd world poverty story" . . . O.K. . . . It's just another story, but this time it's happening only 350 miles from home. It's the same old story, except that this time we are responsible for allowing the saga to continue. We, in this country are in a prime position to support the East Timorese rights to govern themselves. This support can best be indicated by voting with East Timor, at the UN this year.

Yes the story is the same . . . small country is invaded and it's allies turn tail and pretend they didn't see. Except it is OUR Prime Minister this time who has bypassed the opportunity to openly declare Australia opposed to the Indonesian military invasion of East Timor.

The East Timor story differs from other stories of human rights violation in that Australian leaders are directly involved in allowing these injustices to continue. And yet it seems we have an unlimited capacity for apathy in this country. In the same tired old way, Hawke's moves to abandon ALP policy on East Timor are excused with lines about *pragmatism* and *political diplomacy*.

When Indonesian troops moved into West Irian, it was excused because the invaded territory fell inside the boundaries of the former Dutch empire, and was therefore the rightful (what does that word mean anyway??) property of the Republic of Indonesia. When Indonesian troops marched into East Timor, Suharto claimed to be *filling a vacuum* left when the Portugese withdrew from their former colony. Big brother Indonesia was *stabilising* the region, and, since, claims to have contributed to progress inside East Timor, by building roads, schools, hospitals, and an airport. These claims can only be accepted by turning a blind eye to the realities of the Indonesian military occupation of one of our closest neighbours.

What are the realities?

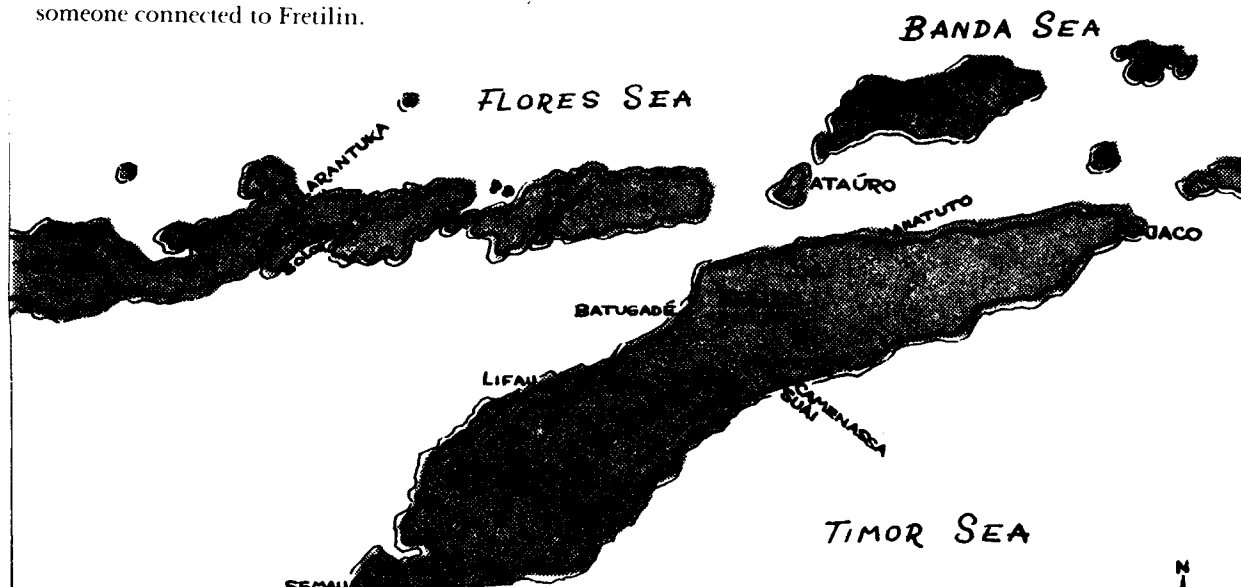
In the midst of a civil war between UDT (the Democratic Union of East Timor) and Fretilin (the Revolutionary Front for Independent East Timor), the Portugese administration withdrew from East Timor proper. Fretilin won the war, and went on to

govern East Timor, making repeated calls on Portugal to come back and meet its decolonising responsibilities. That was August, 1975. In December, 1975, Indonesian troops invaded, claiming to have been "invited" in to restore order. What had actually happened was that a

splinter group from UDT had asked for Indonesian assistance in setting up a UDT government in East Timor. At all times, the Timorese have fiercely demanded the right to govern themselves.

In 1975 the estimated population of East Timor was 650,000. Today that figure is closer to 500,000. What has happened to this percentage of the East Timorese population? At the time of the invasion, East Timorese were killed by the thousands, and since that initial onslaught, there has been a famine that was brought about by crop burning exercises, carried out by Indonesian troops (under the command of Col. Purwanto). The purpose of this exercise was to flush out the Fretilin troops, who depend on these crops for food, whilst hiding in the mountains. Unfortunately for the Timorese, this lack of food resulted in the deaths of many thousands of Timorese, and still did not succeed in killing off Fretilin fighters. The famine lasted from 1978-1980.

Apart from this direct method of Subduing the population, resettlement programmes are effectively taking mountain people to live by the water, in areas that are easily surveyed by the military. Nearly 4000 East Timorese have been "resettled" on the island of Atauro. They are in fact political prisoners, whose crime is to have been related to, or friendly with someone connected to Fretilin.



Freedom in East Timor?

It is well established that Fretilin fighters are still resisting the Indonesian occupation. Although Indonesian sources would have us believe that Fretilin troops number a mere 200, Timorese church and Portuguese sources estimate this number at closer to 3 or 4000. However, as so few outsiders have found their way into East Timor since 1975, it is virtually impossible to verify information and reports about this situation. The governor of East Timor, Mario Carrascalao, has said:

"There is still military control . . . (in East Timor) . . . but that is because some Timorese are still fighting in the bush . . . others must identify themselves by showing their identity cards."

In other words, freedom to move around does not actually exist. In Indonesian controlled areas such as Dili and Manatuto, the controls on the East Timorese are very strict. In other areas such as Vinqueque, and Lespolos, Fretilin is basically in control.

At the UN conference in 1982, a resolution was sponsored once again by Portugal, to support East Timorese rights to "self expression." In response to accusations that Indonesia is violating human rights, the Indonesian delegate claimed two things:

- that Fretilin no longer exists anywhere but in the minds of some people
- that East Timor has freely chosen to be a part of Indonesia.

Fretilin clearly still exists, and what's more it is causing a great deal of trouble, and international embarrassment. As for *free elections* many stories have filtered back about the direct pressures applied on the Timorese to vote for integration. On May 23rd of this year, *The Age* reported a Timorese woman's experience in these *free elections*. She was given a ballot paper and told "you are going to vote for the President of Indonesia."

If this is what is called the "freedom to vote," then it is of no value at all for the East Timorese.

The myths of progress

Between 1975 and now there have been 250 kms of road, 18 bridges, a telephone system and TV sets installed in Dili, five hospitals, schools . . . how can we argue with the facts of these new, progressive improvements which the Indonesians have brought to East Timor? It is understandable that the average Australian may be easily convinced of the advantages of Indonesian control in East Timor. But for most Timorese, living in isolated villages or near the

mountains, which run virtually down the centre of East Timor, the new roadworks and communications systems make no difference to daily life, and nor were they ever designed to. The improvements have been to accommodate the Indonesian troops, centred mainly in the big towns. Likewise, the new airport (built to replace the one which the Indonesians bombed) is of no use to East Timorese people who are subject to the decisions of the military on the matter of whether they can leave their country.

And the schools? Anyone at all familiar with education systems must know that the most effective way to indoctrinate en masse is to restructure the education system for the youngest generation. This is the thrust of the new schools. Native East Timorese languages and Portuguese are banned, and the Indonesian language is the only one officially taught. By the same token Indonesian history, and culture are learned at school, and East Timorese culture completely ignored . . . This form of *education* can hardly be called *progressive*.

Australia's crucial role

Meanwhile, 350 miles down under, Australian politicians still chew the fat about advantages of forgetting the facts of the Indonesian invasion, and voting against the resolution to support East Timor, at this year's UN conference. The advantages would basically be that:

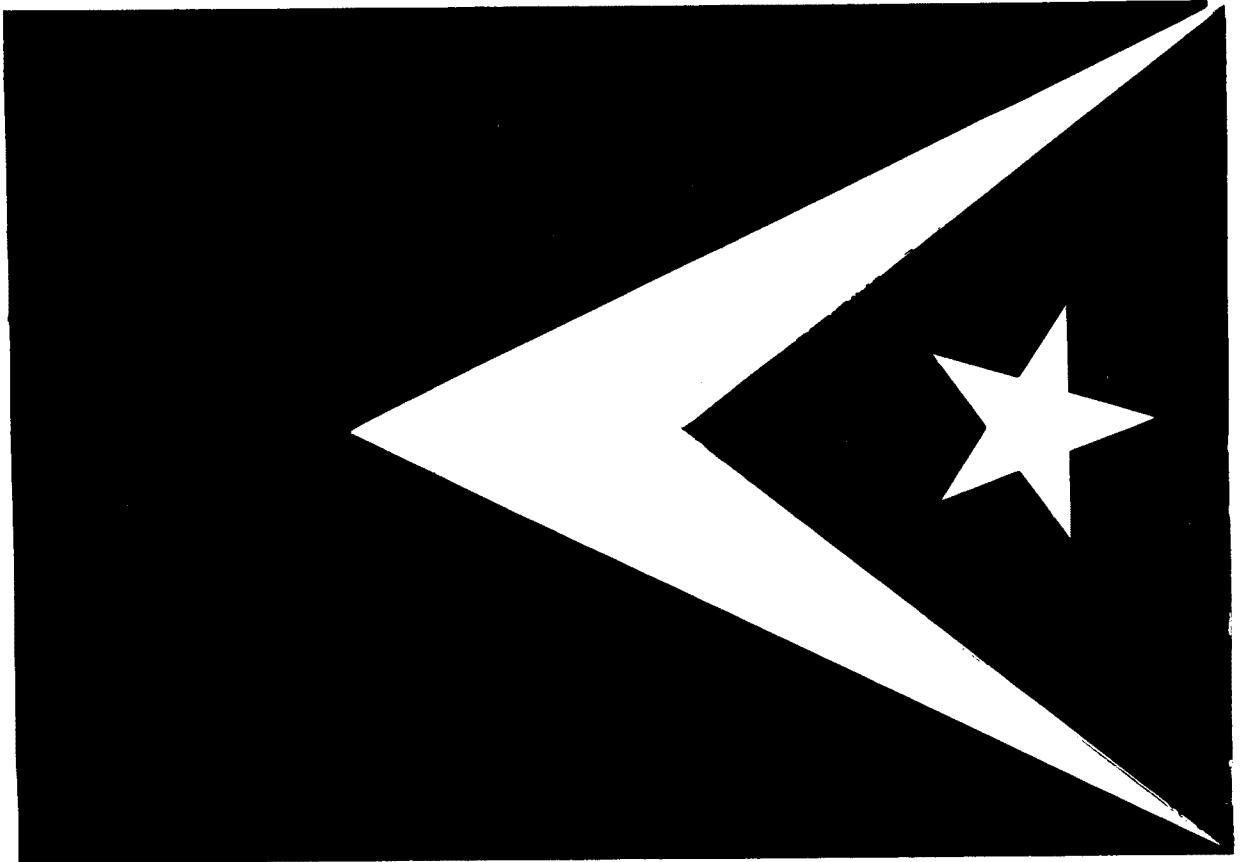
- The U.S. would highly approve.
- The Labor Government would be seen to be realistic and sensible and not idealistic and amateurish.
- This little country's embarrassing plea for our help would be silenced once and for all, if the issue was dropped from the UN agenda after this year's vote.

Not a lot to be gained, really, when weighed against the importance of that vote to over 500,000 lives. At the moment, the UN supports East Timorese rights to self expression, by only a few votes. The great danger

is that after this year the issue may be dropped altogether at an international level. This would leave the Indonesian Government with a free reign within East Timor, and no international scrutiny to have to contend with.

It is logical to assume that Australia is in a prominent position, at least as far as ASEAN is concerned, to lead the way in regional attitudes towards the East Timor situation. It is frightening to think that we have a certain amount of power to exert pressure on Indonesia, and yet refuse to do so. The

Hawke Government is effectively doing just this. The only avenue left for Australians to show their concern over the situation in East Timor now, is for people to publicly demonstrate that concern. For this purpose a public meeting has been called for Sunday, July 31st, 2pm at Dallas Brooks Hall. It is crucial that this meeting is seen to be attended by at least 2000 Australians... and student support is needed to make up those numbers. If you support the rights of the East Timorese people in the matter of self-determination, then come and show that support on the 31st.



R.M.L.T.
Catalog 15-7-88

S.M.H. 16/7/83

Labor MP urges Timor action

DARWIN.—A Federal Labor backbencher has called on the Government to offer its services as an intermediary in talks between Indonesia and rebel forces in East Timor.

The Member for the Canberra seat of Fraser, Mr Ken Fry, said yesterday that the situation in Timor was an opportunity for Australia to press for peace as it had done recently in Kampuchea.

Mr Fry said there was now strong evidence that Indonesia was seeking a political solution to the problems which followed its invasion of the island in 1975.

"The oil glut has meant the Indonesians are facing the possibility of a massive deficit this year

— they will need international aid to prop up their finances," Mr Fry said.

"The talks the Indonesian Government have held with the Fretilin guerillas are to me the strongest indication yet that they are looking for a way out."

Mr Fry, who was in Darwin for talks with Timorese refugees, said the issue of Indonesia's annexation of East Timor would linger for decades unless some solution could be found.

"The issue is simply not going to fade away and I don't think we're achieving anything by backing down before a repressive regime such as that in Indonesia," he said.

"Fretilin has asked that we take an active role in negotiating for a settlement and I believe the way

is open for a transition to independence, rather than an immediate pull-out by the Indonesians."

Mr Fry said a number of factors were looming which would force the Federal Labor Caucus to take a stand on the issue.

These factors included the possibility of a United Nations vote on the question before the end of the year and the imminent release of a Senate report on the situation.

"I believe the Federal Labor Caucus will have to make up its mind some time in the Budget session of Parliament," Mr Fry said.

"I'll be hoping to persuade as many MPs as possible of the dangers of letting the leadership trample over the party's policies in this or any other area."

S.M.H. - 16/7/83

IN BRIEF

Timor call to end fighting

JAKARTA, Friday. — The Indonesian armed forces commander General Benny Murdani has called on guerillas of the Fretilin independence movement to stop fighting and warned them not to believe they could get help from abroad. In speeches on Wednesday in Bacau and yesterday in Dili, East Timor, during a visit to the province, General Murdani asked those "who are still in the mountains or in the jungle" to come down and build "the East Timor province together," the Armed Forces Daily reported today. Hundreds of Fretilin guerillas hiding in the mountains of East Timor have waged sporadic warfare against Indonesian troops since they entered the province at the end of 1975.

TIMOR

C.T. 16/7/83

General calls for end to fighting

JAKARTA, Friday (AAP-AFP). — Indonesian armed forces commander General Benny Murdani has called on guerillas of the Fretilin independence movement opposing Indonesian rule in East Timor to stop fighting and warned them not to believe they could get help from abroad.

In speeches made on Wednesday in Bacau and yesterday in Dili during a visit to the province to greet troops at the end of the Moslem fasting month, General Murdani asked those "who are still in the mountains or in the jungle" to come down and build "the East Timor province together", the armed forces newspaper reported today.

Hundreds of Fretilin guerillas hiding in the mountains of East Timor have waged sporadic warfare against Indonesian troops since they entered the province at the end of 1975. The former Portuguese colony was incorporated into Indonesia as the 27th province in August, 1976.

General Murdani said "nobody should dream of creating an independent republic since Indonesia had paid dearly [for] and never neglected her unity".

The former intelligence chief, who led the campaign to East Timor in 1975, said he had made his call to the rebels to prevent more bloodshed.

SHADOW OVER AUSSIE-INDON TIES

East Timor a thorny issue

● SEVEN years after Indonesia annexed the former Portugese colony, East Timor still casts a dark shadow over relations between Australia and Indonesia.

● THE question: Can Australian Prime Minister Bob Hawke retain good relations with Indonesia and at the same time keep faith with the stated East Timor policy of his ruling Australian Labour Party, which is deeply critical of Jakarta.

● FROM Indonesia's point of view, Mr Hawke must make a choice between the two.

● THE Australian Prime Minister can only postpone his decision for the time being — whether to support Indonesia in its diplomatic battle for world recognition of its sovereignty over East Timor.

JAKARTA: East Timor still casts a dark shadow over relations between Australia and Indonesia seven years after Jakarta annexed the former Portuguese colony and defeated left-wing separatist guerillas.

The issue poses a major foreign policy test for Prime Minister Bob Hawke, who visited Indonesia last month to gauge the problem for himself.

The question is, can Mr Hawke retain good relations with his giant northern neighbour and at the same time keep faith with the stated East Timor policy of his ruling Australian Labour Party (ALP), which is deeply critical of Jakarta.

From Indonesia's point of view, Mr Hawke must make a choice between the two. Jakarta hopes he will maintain the support given to Indonesia on the issue by the former Liberal Government under Malcolm Fraser, defeated by Mr Hawke in the March general elections.

Yesterday marked the seventh anniversary of East Timor's incorporation into Indonesia, and ever since making the move President Suharto's Government has been fighting a diplomatic battle for world recognition of its sovereignty.

After lobbying Third World nations, Jakarta believes it has a good chance this autumn of either defeating the annual motion in the United Nations General Assembly calling for Timorese self-determination or having it removed from the agenda altogether, diplomatic sources said.

Last year Indonesia lost by four votes.

Mr Fraser's Government not only voted for Indonesia at the UN but also lobbied other countries to do so, the sources said.

Mr Hawke's problem is that official ALP policy, as laid down by its national conference last July, is to support UN motions calling for Ti-

morese self-determination.

The Australian leader however is known to favour a more moderate line, and party rules permit him to implement Labour policies "in the light of circumstances at the time."

Visit

Mr Hawke said while in Jakarta that Canberra would not take a decision on its UN vote until towards the end of the year. He also added that a forthcoming visit to East Timor by an Australian parliamentary delegation would increase understanding and informed debate on the question prior to the decision being made.

"If Australia cannot establish constructive relations with its near and most populous neighbour, the whole credibility of its foreign policy would be diminished," he said after returning home.

The delegation of five Indonesian has made clear it will not be happy even with an abstention by Australia at the UN vote.

It is also concerned about the possible influence on other countries, particularly small Pacific nations, should Canberra decide to change Australia's voting stance.

Indonesian Foreign Minister Mochtar Kusumaatmadja is now on a 20-day tour of the Solomon Islands, Western Samoa, Fiji, New Zealand and Papua New Guinea,

is due to start a nine-day visit to Indonesia on July 25 and spend four of those days in East Timor, which lies about 400 miles off the northern Australian coast. It is also due to visit the other half of Timor Island, West Timor.

Indonesian officials, proud of the development effort their Government has put into East Timor since annexation, seem confident the delegation will leave with a good impression.

that he admits is not unconnected with seeking support for Indonesia's stand on Timor.

Four of these countries supported Jakarta at last year's vote. Western Samoa's position was unclear.

Neither Indonesian nor Australian officials in Jakarta were willing to say how bilateral relations might suffer if Canberra failed to continue its support for Indonesia. But one Western diplomat said it would make life tougher for Australia "right across the board."

"The Indonesians could react quite harshly," said another.

East Timor, with its 600,000 people, was declared an Indonesian province by President Suharto in 1976 after hasty decolonisation preparations by Portugal had led to a civil war between rival Timorese factions.

Indonesian troops had intervened the previous year against the forces of Fretilin, the revolutionary front for an independent East Timor, when the leftist group emerged dominant and eventually

declared unilateral independence from Lisbon.

Indonesia partly justifies its intervention by arguing that Fretilin was a Marxist movement and

that Jakarta and its allies could not afford to see an Asian Cuba emerge in their midst.

Another argument is that East and West Timor are ethnically the same, and were one entity before the Portuguese came in the 15th century.

The Indonesians say the war in East Timor has long since been over, with only a few hundred disorganised Fretilin remnants holding out in the mountains.

Effort

Fretilin exiles in Lisbon recently called on Portugal and Australia to help achieve a peace settlement and said a ceasefire with Indonesian forces had been in effect since March 23 this year.

Indonesia denied any ceasefire had been agreed. A Defence Ministry spokesman said Indonesia "does not and will not sign a ceasefire

agreement with insurgents... If the Fretilin people want to surrender we will accept them."

Armed Forces Commander Benny Murdani has called on the guerillas to come down from the hills and join the national development effort.

East Timor Governor Mario Viegas Carrascalao said recently that although he had met a Fretilin commander on March 23, the latter had not even requested a ceasefire.

The governor said he had promised an amnesty to the guerillas if they left their mountain hideouts. He denied that Fretilin had any coherent organisation left in East Timor.

Groups of guerillas seemed ready to negotiate because they were unable to continue their struggle, he added.



MR MALCOLM FRASER



MR BOB HAWKE

East Timor remains cut off from the rest of the country for security reasons with special permits needed for visitors and even telephone links with Jakarta permitted only to authorised officials. - Reuter



PRESIDENT SUHARTO

Report by
RICHARD
PASCOE

So, it's not that easy!

BRISBANE — Australians were too isolated and ill-informed to understand the complex politics of South-East Asia, Indonesia's Foreign Minister, Dr Mochtar Kusumaatmadja, said yesterday.

Dr Mochtar said Australians were expecting Foreign Minister Bill Hayden to come up with an instant solution to the Kampuchean conflict during his recent peace mission.

But, he said, the Kampuchean issue was too complicated to be solved in just one trip.

"Australia, because of its relative distance and unfamiliarity with the problem, tends to see things rather too simply," Dr Mochtar said.

In other points, made during a stopover in Brisbane on his way to meet leaders of four South Pacific nations, he said:

- An Australian parliamentary delegation to visit East Timor next week would get a free hand.

- A UN vote on Indonesia's takeover of East Timor may never happen.

- Australian criticism of Indonesia's presence in East Timor was misplaced.

- Fighting had ended be-

tween Indonesian forces and Fretilin guerrillas.

- No immediate end was in sight to the ban on Australian journalists in Indonesia.

Dr Mochtar said Mr Hayden's trip to Hanoi was not wasted and Australia could make a valuable contribution to negotiations on Kampuchea.

"I think if he (Mr Hayden) didn't achieve much then it's not his fault, but the fault of those who expect too much," he said.

"The nature of the Kampuchean conflict is such that it's too complicated to be solved by just one trip."

Dr Mochtar said Australians grew up believing all problems had simple answers.

"I would say you have been very fortunate in this country — no real problems.

Dr Mochtar said Mr Hayden was a typical Australian, describing him as a "no-nonsense person and very honest, very frank."

"By the time he (Mr Hayden) reached Bangkok I think he realised the world was more complicated.

"The nearer he came to Hanoi the more cautious he became."



● DR MOCHTAR

● The fight's over, P.15.

SUN 18/7/83 . p15.

Fighting is over — Mochtar

BRISBANE — "It has always been our policy not to wipe them out. It would not be difficult militarily to finish them off.

"We do not choose to do that."

They were the words of Indonesian Foreign Minister Dr Mochtar Kusumaatmadja yesterday as he described what he called "the strange situation" that existed with remnants of the Fretilin guerrillas in East Timor.

Dr Mochtar, chief foreign spokesman for his country's 150 million people, said there had been no fighting in East Timor for four months.

He said the East Timorese Governor, Mario Carazcalao, had negotiated peace with the leader of the guerrillas, "a man who uses the battle name Xanana."

"They held a meeting in March after a guarantee was given to the remnants that if they came down

By JOHN HAMILTON

from the hills they would not be shot," Dr Mochtar said.

The Foreign Minister was making an overnight stop in Brisbane, on his way to a three-week tour of the countries of the South-West Pacific.

Although his stop-over was strictly unofficial, Dr Mochtar spoke by phone to the Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, in Canberra.

Dr Mochtar said relations between Australia and Indonesia were good "and always had been."

But he spent some time discussing the present situation in East Timor, long a stumbling block to relations between the two countries.

He said that after the March meet-

ing between the Governor and the Fretilin leader, a written assurance had been given that the guerrillas were "welcome to participate in the reconstruction of the province."

"Now the remnants come and go, they even come into town carrying their guns. It is a very strange situation. The military haven't even taken their rifles from them."

I asked Dr Mochtar about the visit to Australia by two exiled Fretilin leaders who want Australia to take part in a UN peace keeping force in East Timor while Indonesia withdraws.

"The time for a peace keeping force was in 1975, when all hell broke loose and the Portuguese Governor fled to Atauro Island," he said.

Mochtar delivers rebuke to 'ignorant' Australians

From DAVID BROADBENT

BRISBANE. — Australia's isolation and lack of serious social problems have left us largely ignorant of the complexities and difficulties of life in most Asian countries, the Indonesian Foreign Minister, Dr Mochtar, said yesterday.

Not only did Australians tend to think of most things "rather too simply". We also expected people like the Foreign Affairs Minister, Mr Hayden, to achieve far more than is possible in international relations.

Dr Mochtar, who passed through Brisbane on his way to a tour of the Solomons, Fiji and New Zealand, said Mr Hayden had achieved very little on his recent South-East Asian tour, but it would be naive of Australians to expect anything else.

"If Mr Hayden did not achieve much, it was not his fault but the fault of those people who expected too much," he said.

"The nature of the Kampuchean conflict is too complicated to be solved in just one trip by an Australian Minister.

"Generally it should have been a very rewarding experience for Mr Hayden because he had the chance to meet all the ASEAN officials and their colleagues in the US and Japan. He got a chance to look at the question from all angles."



Dr Mochtar: you are used to instant solutions.

Dr Mochtar sees Australia's isolation and ignorance as something of a problem in its dealings with near neighbors.

"Generally because of Australia's isolation and unfamiliarity with problems you may tend to think of things rather too simply," he said.

"You are very fortunate in this country with no real problems. If the water closet leaks or the lights go out, it is a big problem for you, but it is nothing compared to the problems we face.

"You are used to instant solutions, although I will not say you have been spoilt because I wish I was in your position."

Dr Mochtar said that if Mr Hayden, being a man of his environment, began his recent Asian

tour with high hopes of settling the Kampuchean problem, he quickly realised that the situation was extremely complex.

"You noticed from his comments that he realised how complicated the situation was. The nearer he came to Hanoi the more cautious he became," he said.

In his brief visit to Australia Dr Mochtar also discussed arrangements for a tour of Timor by a delegation of Federal parliamentarians later this month.

He expected that the visit, which would include three days in West Timor and three days in East Timor, would do much to dispel any remaining Australian concern about Indonesia's handling of the situation.

He said Indonesians understood Australia's isolation and were patient in the face of any criticism based on ignorance.

"We know you need to be more familiar and we have no doubt any criticism over East Timor is well motivated and well intended," he said.

"Some of your criticism is in the same tradition of your support for our own struggle for autonomy, but in this case it is misplaced."

Dr Mochtar said the entire question of Indonesia's control of East Timor was now well and truly settled, and continuous debate on the matter in the United Nations was artificial.

MEMO. SUN. 18/7/83 19 31.

Time-out on Timor

JAKARTA, Sun. — East Timor still casts a dark shadow over relations between Australia and Indonesia, seven years after Jakarta annexed the former Portuguese colony.

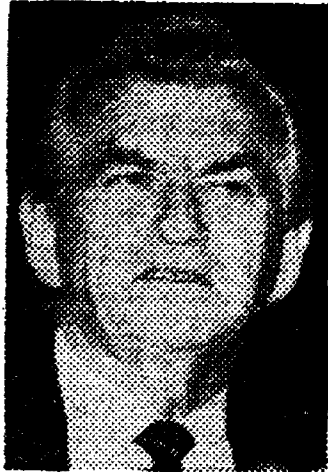
The issue poses a major foreign policy test for Australian Prime Minister Bob Hawke, who visited Indonesia last month to gauge the problem for himself.

The question is: can Mr Hawke keep good relations with his giant northern neighbor and still keep faith with the ALP's stated policy on East Timor which is deeply critical of Jakarta?

From Indonesia's point of view, Mr Hawke must choose between the two. Jakarta hopes he will maintain the support given by the former Liberal Government.

Today marks the seventh anniversary of East Timor's fall to Indonesia and ever since making the move, President Suharto's Government has fought a diplomatic battle for world recognition of sovereignty.

After lobbying Third World nations, Jakarta believes it has a good chance of either defeating the annual motion in the United Nations General Assembly calling for Timorese



● MR HAWKE

UN vote hangs in balance

By RICHARD PASCOE of Reuters

self-determination, or having it removed from the agenda altogether.

Last year it lost by four votes.

Malcolm Fraser's Government not only voted for Indonesia at the UN, but lobbied other countries to do so.



Mr Hawke's problem is that official ALP policy, as laid down by the party's national conference last July, is to support Timorese self-determination.

But the PM is known to favor a more moderate line and party rules allow him to act "in the light of circumstances at the time."

Mr Hawke said while in Jakarta that a decision on the UN vote wouldn't be made until later this year.

He said a coming visit to East Timor by an Australian parliamentary delegation would increase understanding and informed debate on the question before any decision was made.

"If Australia cannot establish constructive relations with its near and most populous neighbor, the whole credibility of its foreign policy would be diminished," Mr Hawke said after returning home.

The parliamentary delegation of five will start a nine-day visit to Indonesia on July 25

and spend four days in East Timor, about 650 km off Australia's northern coast.

The delegation is also due to visit the other half of Timor island, West Timor.

Indonesian officials seem confident the delegation will leave with a good impression.

The Indonesians have made it clear that they won't be happy even with an abstention by Australia at the UN vote.

Last night, Indonesian Foreign Minister Mochtar Kusumaatmadja left on a 20-day tour of the Solomon Islands, Western Samoa, Fiji, New Zealand and Papua New Guinea.

He admitted the trip was "not unconnected" with seeking support for Indonesia's stand on Timor.

Four of the countrys on Mr Kusumaatmadja's itinerary supported Jakarta at last year's vote. Western Samoa's position was unclear.

The Indonesians say the war in East Timor is long since over, with only a few hundred disorganised Fretilin rebels holding out in the mountains.

But Timor remains cut off from the rest of the country for security reasons and special permits are needed to visit it.

Even telephone links with Jakarta are limited to authorised officials only.

Australians called too isolated, ill-informed

BRISBANE: Australians were too isolated and ill-informed to understand the complex politics of South-East Asia, Indonesia's Foreign Minister, Dr Mochtar, said in Brisbane yesterday.

Dr Mochtar said Australians were expecting the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Hayden, to come up with an instant solution to the Kampuchean conflict during his recent peace mission.

But, he said, the Kampuchean issue was too complicated to be solved in just one trip by Mr Hayden.

"Australia, because of its relative distance and unfamiliarity with the problem, tends to see things rather too simply — it's more complicated than that," Dr Mochtar said.

In other points, made during a stopover in Brisbane on his way to meet leaders of four South Pacific nations, Dr Mochtar said:

An Australian parliamentary delegation to visit East Timor next week would be given a free hand.

A United Nations vote on Indonesia's takeover of East Timor might never happen.

Australian criticism of Indonesia's presence in East Timor was misplaced.

Fighting had ended between Indonesian forces and Fretilin guerillas.

No immediate end was in sight to the ban on Australian journalists in Indonesia.

Dr Mochtar said Mr Hayden's trip to Hanoi was not wasted and Australia could make a valuable contribution to future negotiations on Kampuchea.

"I think if he [Mr Hayden] didn't achieve

much then it's not his fault but the fault of those who expect too much," he said.

"The nature of the Kampuchean conflict is such that it's too complicated to be solved by just one trip."

Dr Mochtar said Australians grew up believing there were simple answers to all problems.

"I would say you have been very fortunate in this country — no real problems. I mean if a water faucet leaks that is a big problem for you, or if the lights go out or something like that."

"Compared to what we experience in our areas it's nothing. You're used to having instant solutions for your problems."

"When you grow up in such an environment you tend to see things in a less complicated way," he said.

Dr Mochtar said Mr Hayden was a typical Australian, describing his as a "no-nonsense person and very honest, very frank".

"A man cannot divorce himself from his environment," he said.

"By the time he [Mr Hayden] reached Bangkok I think he realised the world was more complicated. The nearer he came to Hanoi the more cautious he became," Dr Mochtar said.

On the East Timor issue, Dr Mochtar said the United Nations vote scheduled for next October might not go ahead.

"People are realising it's not a real problem. People are increasingly understanding the Indonesian position, that integration has been accepted and the problem is now how to ensure progress," he said.

CANBERRA TIMES 15/7/83

Indonesia ready to court nations of South Pacific

Transcribed from
18/7/83

By PETER ROBINSON

AT a time when Australia is involving itself much more actively in South-East Asian affairs, Indonesia has served notice that it intends to pursue a more active diplomatic policy toward the small nations of the South-West Pacific.

Whether or not this is a subtle hint to Australia to stick more closely to its own immediate backyard was not made clear yesterday by Indonesian Foreign Minister, Dr Mochtar Kusumaatmadja, when he passed through Sydney on his way to begin a goodwill tour of the South-West Pacific.

Moreover, while carefully avoiding any criticism of the efforts of the Foreign Minister, Mr Hayden, with regard to Vietnam and Kampuchea, Dr Mochtar did manage to convey a distinct lack of enthusiasm when he talked with newsmen.

The diplomatic situation is a delicate one because both countries have every right to claim legitimate national interests are involved in their stepped-up diplomatic initiatives.

Australia is certainly concerned with the political stability and well-being of South-east Asia, while Indonesia has an obvious stake in the peace and prosperity of the South West Pacific — although it has not been active there in the past.

Dr Mochtar said yesterday that it was "high time, indeed overdue, that we should pay more attention to the South Pacific than we have been doing so far."

This particular tour takes him to the Solomons, Fiji, West Samoa and New Zealand.

The official statement on his trip said: "As a member country of the Asian Pacific region, Indonesia shares the same responsibility with the other member countries in developing its economic, social and cultural life, within the framework of strengthening the bonds of friendship and cooperation among countries in the region, in order to enhance peace and stability in the Asian Pacific basin."

Again, whether it is coincidence or not, the fact is that Dr Mochtar's tour takes him to a number of countries which have traditionally been the object of a certain amount of Australia-New Zealand economic and political rivalry at a time when Australian-New Zealand relations are under some strain.

Asked if he thought Mr Hayden's visit to Hanoi had achieved much, Dr Mochtar said: "I don't think it changed much about the Cambodian question itself, but it was helpful in keeping the lines open to Vietnam and keeping them from feeling isolated. It certainly was useful for Mr Hayden."

As for Mr Hayden's appeal to the parties to be "flexible," Dr Mochtar said: "I think some people were not very amused by his call to be more flexible. For some time we thought he was thinking that ASEAN was not so flexible, but then it turned out that it was directed against China — and of course they had to



DR MOCHTAR

come out very hard after that."

Dr Mochtar stressed that ASEAN was more united than ever on the Vietnam-Kampuchea issue and all its members had been flexible in reaching this position.

"I hope Australia will be helpful," he said.

"Basically," Dr Mochtar said, "we are quite relaxed about a solution of the Kampuchean question. Everybody can have a crack at it, and they are welcome to it — even if it is to learn how complex and difficult it is."

He said too many people thought of it simply as Vietnam versus Kampuchea, but actually it was five conflicts rolled into one.

There was conflict between the Kampuchean Communist Party and the Vietnamese Communist Party; between the Chinese and the Vietnamese, a Chinese-Soviet dimension and the traditionally suspicious relationship between Thailand and Vietnam.

Moreover, Dr Mochtar said his information was that the Khmer Rouge, far from losing ground in Kampuchea, were now rapidly regaining their old strength.

Referring to the East Timor issue, Dr Mochtar reiterated that in the Indonesian view the question of the Australian Labor Party's policy was purely an internal Australian matter.

He recognised Australian sympathies with independence struggles — "but you have to be sure about the facts, and that's where we differ."

There had been no "cease-fire" between Indonesia and Fretilin in the sense of an agreement between two equals. All that had happened was that the Governor of East Timor had promised rebels that they would not be shot, a guarantee that nothing would happen to them.

Indonesia had had rebellions before and had always followed the policy of "forgive and forget," he said.

In any case, it was possible that there would be no United Nations General Assembly vote on the East Timor issue at all, which would help everyone.

"Over the years, people have increasingly come to understand that the issue has been artificially kept alive," he added.

Fretilin men for talks

C.T.
19/7/83

SYDNEY: A Fretilin delegation touring Australia will meet Federal Government parliamentarians next week to plead its case for a settlement of the East Timor dispute.

The delegation, comprising two members of the Fretilin Central Committee, will talk with the ALP parliamentary subcommittee on defence and foreign affairs in Canberra.

The leader of the delegation, Mr Abilio Araujo, told a press conference yesterday, "It rests in the hands of Prime Minister Bob Hawke and his Government to play a key role in bringing a just and lasting peace to East Timor.

"Such a role would not harm Australian relations with Indonesia."

Mr Araujo said that Australian support for the Fretilin peace plan

would have a strong impact on other countries. But he also believed that victory against the "Indonesian aggressors" was only a matter of time.

"There is an atmosphere of expectation in East Timor at present," he said.

Mr Araujo and Mr Roque Rodrigues began a three-week speaking tour on Sunday which will take them to seven Australian cities.

The Fretilin peace plan for East Timor calls for:

The total and unconditional withdrawal of Indonesian troops.

The formation of a multinational force to supervise the withdrawal and guarantee a transitional administration.

Fretilin forces to be placed in un-

populated areas to pave the way for free and democratic consultation with the people.

Mr Araujo said the ceasefire of March this year remained in place, despite isolated clashes.

But he added, "There are those who do not accept our peace plan and are prepared to exterminate the whole East Timorese population to win the war in East Timor.

"We make it clear there is no question of ending our armed and political struggle unless there is a genuine internationally supervised free and democratic consultation of the East Timorese people and unconditional withdrawal of Indonesian troops."

Mr Araujo said that Fretilin guaranteed the safety of the Australian parliamentary delegation due to visit East Timor this month.

INDONESIA

Move to undercut Radio Australia

JAKARTA, Monday (AAP-AP). — In an effort to whittle away the influence of Radio Australia's Indonesian-language broadcasts, Indonesia would build a 250-kilowatt transmitter on the outskirts of Jakarta, the Information Minister, Mr Harmoko, said today.

The transmitter would be built in Cimanggis, 30 kilometres south-east of Jakarta, and aimed at reaching an estimated 30 million people in eastern Indonesia.

Listeners there, he said, had been tuning in to Radio Australia because broadcasts of Indonesian Radio were not clearly heard.

The Australian Broadcasting Commission's Jakarta office was closed in 1980 because of its reporting on East Timor.

Mr Harmoko said the new transmitter, to be finished in 1984, would replace pre-World War II vintage equipment used by the government-owned Radio Republic Indonesia.

The national radio's 49 regional stations, including one in Irian Jaya with a 10-kilowatt capacity, relay news programs from Jakarta.

Mr Harmoko also said his ministry planned to improve the quality of its news program and to order the country's 569 private radio stations to relay it.

He added that another 250-kilowatt radio transmitter would be built in the Sumatran city of Medan in an attempt to prevent listeners there from tuning in to Radio and Television Malaysia and Singapore Radio.

Canberra Times - 19/7/83

MPs face obstruction over Timor visit

AGE p32.
20/7/83

From MICHELLE GRATTAN

CANBERRA. — A Federal parliamentary delegation is running into Indonesian obstruction in arranging details of its visit to East Timor next week.

The Indonesian Government has made it clear it does not want the delegation to take an RAAF VIP plane to East Timor.

The Indonesian Foreign Minister, Dr Mochtar, told the delegation leader, Mr Morrison, at the weekend that the Indonesian Parliament was hosting the Australian visit and felt it should organise the arrangements, including travel.

The delegation had wanted to take the VIP plane so it could be sure of having three full days in East Timor. With commercial flights, the delegation would have only two full days and part of two

other days in East Timor.

The delegation is still negotiating with Indonesian authorities to try to get its three full days in Timor. There is also argument over whether the Australians can take an interpreter who speaks Portuguese and Tetum, the local language in Timor. The Indonesians want to provide interpreters.

The Indonesians do not want the mission — arranged when the Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, was in Jakarta — being seen as an investigative one.

The Indonesians also may bar several journalists who have applied, from accompanying the delegation to East Timor.

A spokesman at the Indonesian Embassy said yesterday: "I just heard that the journalists can't join the mission because the VIP (plane) is not due to be used." The

spokesman said he had not heard definitely from Jakarta whether journalists would be able to go independently.

But one journalist who has applied, Mr Peter Hastings, an associate editor of the 'Sydney Morning Herald', said last night that he had heard from well placed Indonesian sources that he was the only journalist the Indonesians were prepared to allow into East Timor with the mission. Mr Hastings said he would not go if other journalists were banned.

The members of the parliamentary delegation are Mr Morrison (ALP, NSW), Mr Cross (ALP, Qld.), Senator McIntosh (ALP, WA), Mr Dobie (Lib., NSW), and Senator McGibbon (Lib., Qld.). Mr Morrison leaves Australia on Friday for Jakarta. The delegation members will spend several days in Jakarta before flying to East Timor.

S.M.H - 20/7/83 76

Timor decision final

JAKARTA, Tuesday. — The integration of East Timor into Indonesia was final and no power in the world could change it, the province's governor, Mario Carrascalao, said at the weekend. The official Antara newsagency said the Governor told officials in Dili on Sunday that the 600,000 Timorese had made their own decision to join Indonesia and had been supported by 150 million Indonesians. He called on Timorese to welcome the Australian parliamentary delegation when it arrives on July 25.—Reuter.

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ACR - 20/7/83

Timor delegation flies into a storm

By **PETER HASTINGS,**
Foreign Editor

The Australian Parliamentary delegation which is due to leave on Friday on a 10-day visit to Indonesia and East Timor, will not have a smooth ride. A variety of difficult problems arise from the radically different perceptions of Australians and Indonesians on what the visit is about.

There are increasing strains between Jakarta and Canberra over Indonesia's refusal to allow the delegation to use a RAAF BAC One-Eleven to fly from Jakarta to Dili, and over other matters ranging from interpreters to an Australian press presence.

Jakarta's paranoia over the East Timor vote coming up in the General Assembly in November, and whether Australia will vote for Indonesia — as it did last year — or against it, is beginning to surface rapidly.

The delegation comprises three Labor members — Mr Bill Morrison, delegation chairman and former Defence Minister in the Whitlam Government, Senator Gordon McIntosh (WA), chairman of the Senate Standing Committee on Defence and Foreign Affairs, and Mr Manfred Cross. The Liberal members are Senator McGibbon (Q) and Mr Dobie (NSW).

The committee of which Senator McIntosh became chairman with the change of Government in March, conducted a series of hearings on East Timor last year. It was supposed to have released its findings late last year, but did not. Senator McIntosh, who strongly opposes Indonesian policies in East Timor is believed to want the report's findings toughened up.

The Indonesian Government opposed Senator McIntosh's inclusion on the delegation, but both Mr Hayden and Mr Morrison properly insisted that as Senator McIntosh represented an important strand in Australian political attitudes to both Indonesia and East Timor he must go, that without him the committee would lack credibility in Australia.

A request for non-Government interpreters speaking Tetum — the major Timorese language — has also been denied. Government Tetum-speakers will be provided.

Mr Morrison recently got Mr Hawke's permission to use a RAAF BAC One-Eleven VIP aircraft for internal travel in Indonesia. Mr Morrison hoped this would allow the delegation to land in Kupang and travel by road to inspect the Australian West Timor project, spend 3½ to four days in East Timor and a few hours in nearby Flores to enable delegation members to see that surrounding islands in the Nusatenggara area of Indonesia are just as poor and resourceless as East or West Timor.

The delegation will travel by

Continued Page 2

Timor visit delegates fly into a storm

From Page 1

Qantas to Jakarta on Friday for weekend talks. It had hoped to fly to Dili by BAC-111 on Tuesday.

But a few days ago Mr Morrison heard from Jakarta that it would not agree to use of the RAAF aircraft and that the delegation would have to travel to Dili and back by scheduled Garuda flights via Den Pasar, a time consuming trip. This also means that the delegation might not have as long in East Timor as hoped, and would not be able to visit Flores.

Highly placed Jakarta sources told the Herald that the Speaker of the DPR (Indonesian Parliament), Lieutenant-General Amir Machmud, had refused permission for the BAC One-Eleven to carry the Australian politicians.

General Machmud, an extremely tough, old style general — one of the famous three who demanded President Sukarno's resignation in 1966 — takes the view that the Australian Parliamentary delegates are visiting Indonesia as guests of the Indonesian Parliament, which is paying the bill, and must therefore travel by Indonesian aircraft.

It was pointed out to DPR officials that Mr Sinclair, when Defence Minister, had visited Dili last year in a BAC One-Eleven. The answer was uncompromising.

Use of a BAC One-Eleven to carry an Australian Parliamentary delegation to visit East Timor would make most Indonesians believe that the delegation was a "committee of inquiry" flying under a foreign flag to investigate Indonesia's internal affairs.

The biggest headache has been press representation. The DPR made it clear it wanted no Australian journalists. Various excuses were given. There would not be enough helicopters and at \$2,000 an hour flying time it was too expensive anyway. The DPR also discovered that no journalists had ever accompanied a parliamentary delegation outside Australia before.

Well placed Indonesian sources said that opposition to the Australian press travelling with the delegation was not restricted to Jakarta. Their interpretation of Canberra hand signals was that if no Australian journalists were admitted, delegation members would be just as happy to pursue their deliberations in East Timor away from the prying eyes of reporters.

Other Jakarta sources insisted that there should be some Australian press representation and finally gave visas initially to two Australian journalists — there may now be others — to visit Indonesia and East Timor and a permit to Jakarta's AAP representative to visit Dili as well.

The two Australia-based journalists were the ABC Radio Australia's Mr John Lombard and myself. Both our passports were given visas with the specific statement that we were to accompany the "Delegasi Parlemen Australia."

On Monday afternoon a senior official in Jakarta, a friend of long standing, rang to say that the BAC-111 had been cancelled and that this meant that while Australian journalists with valid visas could enter Indonesia, the question of going to East Timor had been "unfavourably reviewed."

"You can go if you want," he said, "but your colleagues cannot. How do you feel about that?" I replied that it would be totally unacceptable for me to go alone and that I would not therefore accompany the delegation to East Timor.

20/7/83

WORLD NEWS

Handbook captured by Fretilin sets guidelines for violence during interrogation

Indonesian tactics in Timor outlined

From JILL JOLLIFFE, in Lisbon

A captured Indonesian military document has given a comprehensive picture of the situation in East Timor.

The 82-page counter-insurgency manual, which Fretilin says it captured from the Indonesian military, has been translated from Indonesian into English by a specialist in Indonesian studies, who has vouched for its authenticity.

The manual instructs Indonesian soldiers on matters such as methods of breaking down Fretilin support in villages, interrogation and conducting raids in suspected Fretilin villages.

It draws a picture of an intricate Fretilin network of support throughout the country, which it says depends on civilian sympathisers in each village who liaise with armed cells of guerillas in the mountains.

On interrogation techniques, it advises officers not to use violence unless absolutely necessary — "if the captive has difficulty telling the truth". When violence is used, it advises officers to "avoid the taking of photographs which show torture".

The handbook is divided into eight sections. The first seven are marked "secret", while the last — a report of a meeting with Timorese militia leaders and local administrators in Baucau from May 5 to 8 last year — is marked "restricted".

A note on the cover says, it was

captured on December 30, 1982, during Operation Thunderclap. On the inside cover is a message to Fretilin representatives abroad from Fretilin commander Sha Na Na saying that technical difficulties prevented a whole translation. It said the document described "measures and counter-measures feverishly applied during the years".

The handbook was smuggled to Lisbon last month with a large consignment of other material, including cassette tapes, photographs and documents, addressed to the Fretilin leadership abroad.

Fretilin is described throughout as "the GPK" (*Gerombolan Pengacau Komunis*), meaning, the group of communist trouble-makers.

Of the eight sections, some are written by infantry Major William Da Costa and others by Colonel A. Sahala Rajagukguk, and are dated July, 1982, and September, 1982. It can be assumed that the contents describe the situation at these dates, and were probably still valid in December, when Fretilin seized the document from an Indonesian military post near Baucau.

Since then a ceasefire has been in force in East Timor, negotiated at two meetings between Sha Na Na and Indonesian officials, on March 20 and 23. Major Da Costa was reportedly an initiator of the negotiations, and was present at at least the first round of talks.

The handbook describes a full-scale Indonesian military operation, *Operasi Kikis*, under way at the time of writing.

It advocated that during this operation, and in future, new tactics should be used to break up Fretilin networks. It stressed psychological methods to persuade villagers to stop supporting Fretilin and urged a new flexibility by military commanders in treating all problems. It said they should respect local customs, and emphasised the importance of development aid to the villages as a means of pacification.

In the section on interrogation, it noted that too much coercion had been used in the past and that that policy was wrong.

"The use of violence often has the result that the person admits his guilt through fear and subsequently follows the wish of the interrogator," it said. This was an obstacle to obtaining accurate information useful in the field. However, violence was allowed "in certain situations where the person interrogated has difficulty in telling the truth".

"If you are forced to use violence, there should not be a member of the general public present to see it," it continued. "Avoid taking photographs which show torture [while being given electric shocks, stripped naked, etc], remember not to print freely outside . . .

these documentation/photos so that they are found in society by irresponsible individuals."

In the section on conducting raids it said anti-guerilla operations had not been able to break up the clandestine organisation in settled areas.

Fretilin had survived because people assisted it with logistics, information and hiding places — things fundamental to guerilla tactics.

Suspected villages could be raided by using several tactics, including repeated surprise raids and raiding settlements around areas which were targets of Operation Kikis.

During a night raid, all people should be taken out of their homes. Those who tried to flee would be considered Fretilin. During a day raid all men and women would be assembled to hear a lecture while officials entered their houses. "In doing this, it should be avoided that people's belongings disappear as a result of the raid, because if this happens it would be used by the enemy and their supporters as propaganda materials," the manual said. Once again those who dispersed would be treated as the enemy.

The introductory section said the Fretilin military organisation throughout Timor was divided into three zones: Haksolok, covering the border area to Dili in the north and Betano in the

south; the Nakroman central region, reaching to Baucau in the north and Viqueque in the south; and Funu Sei Nafatin, covering the eastern zone.

The more serious military problems were in Funu Sei Nafatin, where Fretilin regional commanders were named as Falo Chai, Mau Muruk, David Alex, Kalisa and Oligari. It described the areas of Quelicai, Baguia and Laga-Nunira as "critical", and referred to food shortages there.

The area of Uatolari (on the south coast) was secure from Fretilin disturbances only because the guerillas had an established network there and never attacked an area that helped them.

Fretilin cells in the far eastern tip of the island (in Saelari, Baguia, Luro, Lospalos and Tutuala) had been dismantled by the Fretilin army but the guerilla network in the rest of the eastern zone was still intact.

The handbook profiled an average Fretilin guerilla, who had "a militant spirit of attack, faith in himself, willingness to sacrifice, speed of movement, and protects communication lines with his command".

"From the beginning [Fretilin] has been conscious that they can only survive if there is a supporting population.

Otherwise they just become vagrants in a sad condition," it said.

Fretilin convinced the people to support it because its members were "sons of the region who represent their aspirations". They were working for the region, and more convincing to the people than the Indonesian armed forces.

Fretilin always exploited the weaknesses of Indonesian army members, making them into the weaknesses of the Indonesian army in general, by spreading through propaganda the idea that the Indonesian army was a coloniser.

□ JAKARTA, Tuesday (AAP-Reuters). — The integration of East Timor into Indonesia was final and no power in the world could change it, the East Timorese Governor, Mr Carrascalao, said yesterday.

The official Indonesian news agency Antara said he told a ceremony in Dili marking the seventh anniversary of the territory's incorporation into Indonesia that 600,000 Timorese had made their own decision to join Indonesia and had been supported by 150 million Indonesians.

Mr Carrascalao said he welcomed a visit by a five-member Australian delegation to the area later this month, and asked local government and citizens to give a warm welcome to the Australians.

Assurances on Timor visit

CANBERRA. — The leader of the Australian parliamentary delegation to Indonesia and East Timor is confident the delegation will be able to spend enough time in East Timor to satisfactorily assess the situation there.

Mr Bill Morrison (Lab, St George) said yesterday he had emphasised the need to spend three full days in East Timor at a meeting in Brisbane last Sunday with Indonesian's Foreign Minister, Dr Mochtar.

It had been necessary to do this after Dr Mochtar told him the Indonesian authorities would not allow the delegation to fly from

Jakarta to Dili in a RAAF BAC One-eleven.

"The reason we wanted to use the VIP plane was to enable us to spend a bit more time in East Timor," Mr Morrison said. "A Saturday and Sunday there was hardly suitable. We wanted three clear days on the ground. Commercial airline schedules made this very difficult, and the VIP plane would have given us more flexibility."

Mr Morrison said he expected to get final details of the itinerary in Canberra today on the eve of the five-member delegation's departure for Indonesia.

—Peter Kennedy

S.M.H. 21/7/53

Indonesian Timor troops given torture manuals

S.M.T. - 21/7/83

LONDON, Wednesday. — Indonesian troops operating in East Timor have been provided with a secret manual and instructions that permit torture, a report from Amnesty International said today.

An 82-page military manual captured from Indonesian forces by the East Timor resistance movement, Fretilin, smuggled to Portugal last month and independently authenticated by Amnesty International, tells soldiers not to photograph prisoners being stripped naked and tortured with electric shocks.

The manual is divided into eight sections, seven of which are marked "secret," including a chapter on interrogation procedures.

It says no local witnesses should be present if force is used "to avoid arousing the antipathy of the people."

In a letter sent to President Soeharto of Indonesia today, Amnesty International points out that all governments are bound by international human rights standards that prohibit torture in all circumstances.

"Rather than comply with these standards," the letter states, "these military instructions, while describing the use of force and threats during interrogation as something generally to be avoided, explicitly allow for the possibility of torture

and provide guidelines to prevent its exposure."

Amnesty International has received persistent reports of torture, including electric shocks, by Indonesian forces in East Timor since they invaded the territory in December, 1975.

The organisation has also expressed fears for suspected Fretilin supporters who have "disappeared" after detention.

Sub-section V13, titled "The use of force and threats," in the chapter on interrogation procedures, states in translation from the original Indonesian: "It is hoped that interrogation with the use of force will not be implemented except in those situations where the person examined tells the truth with difficulty (is evasive).

"However, if use of force is required there should not be a member of the local population present . . . to witness it, so that the antipathy of the people is not aroused.

"Avoid taking photographs showing torture (taken of someone being given electric shocks, being stripped naked and so on). Remember that such photographs should not be printed freely outside or in Denpasar (the regional command headquarters in Bali) and found by irresponsible members of society "

(AAP)

C.T. 21/7/83

Journalists barred from MPs' Timor tour

JAKARTA, Wednesday (AAP). — Indonesia will not allow Australian journalists into East Timor to cover next week's visit by an Australian parliamentary delegation, but will admit selected journalists "at some other time".

Permission had been granted for Peter Hastings, of *The Sydney Morning Herald*, and John Lombard, of the ABC, to accompany the delegation in Indonesia from July 25 to August 2, except for the three days it toured East Timor, an Indonesian Ministry of Information source disclosed today.

"The journalists whose applications are approved to accompany the delegation can visit East Timor at some other time, perhaps before or after the delegation," the source said. "This is the policy."

He declined to elaborate, except to say the invitation to the delegation, issued by the Indonesian Parliament after the visit to Jakarta in April of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Hayden, had not included journalists.

The members of the delegation are Mr Morrison (Lab, NSW), its chairman, the chairman of the Senate Standing Committee on Defence and Foreign Affairs, Senator McIntosh (Lab, WA), Mr Cross (Lab, Qld), Senator McGibbon (Lib, Qld) and Mr Dobie (Lib, NSW).

The Indonesian Defence and Security Ministry denied today the existence of a special military manual for troops serving in East Timor that permitted torture of guerilla prisoners.

Amnesty International reminds Indonesia of human-rights standards; New light shed on E. Timor cease-fire. — Page 4.

Indonesia keeps silence on Timor visit by Aust MPs

By DEBORAH SNOW

THE Australian Parliamentary delegation to leave tomorrow for a much publicised tour of Indonesia and East Timor has still had no final word from the Indonesian Government on its itinerary.

The leader of the delegation, New South Wales Labor MP Mr Bill Morrison, spoke with Indonesian Foreign Minister Dr Mochtar at the weekend and said that the delegation wanted three clear days on the ground in East Timor.

Dr Mochtar promised to recommend this to the Indonesian Government but the outcome is still not known.

The Indonesians first agreed to the Australian parliamentary tour during April, when Foreign Affairs Minister Mr

Bill Hayden was making his first ministerial visit to Jakarta.

The delegation's visit has become the object of intense interest within the ALP because of the official ALP platform's condemnation of the Indonesian annexation of East Timor in late 1975.

Prime Minister Mr Hawke has said that the report by the five Australian MPs will be a factor in the overall review of bilateral relations between Australia and Indonesia.

Left-wing ALP members who continue to support the Fretilin resistance in East Timor claim that the tour will be stage-managed by the Indonesians to put the best light on conditions in Timor.

Mr Hawke had agreed to make an RAAF VIP plane available for use by the delegation, to maximise time in East Timor and avoid the delays which using commercial

flights through the area would involve.

But Dr Mochtar told Mr Morrison at the weekend that the Indonesian Government objected to the use of an RAAF plane.

Dr Mochtar said that the Australian MPs would be guests of the Indonesian Parliament and it would be inappropriate for the Australians to supply their own transport.

A spokesman for the Indonesian Embassy in Canberra yesterday said, "We are hosting, and would like to take all responsibility including costs of transport and so on."

All facilities would be made available to the delegation, he said, even if it meant hiring a private plane.

The other four members of the delegation are Senator Gordon McIntosh (ALP, WA), Mr Manfred Cross (ALP, Qld), Mr Don Dobie (Lib, NSW) and Senator David MacGibbon (Lib, Qld).

Mr Cross said yesterday that he could understand Indonesian objections to the delegation flying in its own plane. Australia would no doubt raise similar objections if another country used its own plane to fly around Aboriginal settlements.

The delegation's plans so far envisage meeting non-government aid agencies on Saturday, followed by talks with Indonesian Government representatives, including President Suharto, on Monday and Tuesday.

On Wednesday the group

plans to fly to Kupang, in West Timor and on Thursday to leave for Dili in East Timor

The delegation then hopes to tour the province until the following Monday but this is subject to talks today between Mr Morrison and Indonesian officials in Canberra.

Up to 10 Australian journalists have applied to accompany the delegation but on indications yesterday none looked likely to get into East Timor.

Three have clearance to fly on the Indonesian leg with the delegation, Mr Peter Hastings of The Sydney Morning Herald, Mr John Lombard of Radio Australia and Mr Leigh McKay of Australian Associated Press.

AAP has been allowed to station Mr McKay in Jakarta on a trial basis. The Indonesian Government is still extremely wary of Australian journalists entering the country.

Mr Lombard flew to Jakarta yesterday to await the arrival of the delegation.

Mr Hastings has decided to postpone his visit. He said yesterday that Indonesian sources had indicated that he would be the only journalist allowed to accompany the Parliamentary delegation into East Timor and this would be "totally unacceptable."

The Indonesian Embassy said yesterday that it received applications from seven other Australian journalists last Thursday to go to Indonesia but they were too late to gain entry.

FILE 21/7/83

No journalists on Timor visit: Indons

JAKARTA, 20 July. — Indonesia will not allow Australian journalists into East Timor to cover next week's visit by an Australian parliamentary delegation but will admit selected journalists "at some other time".

An Information Ministry source today disclosed that authorities had granted permission for Mr Peter Hastings of the 'Sydney Morning Herald' and Mr John Lombard of the ABC to accompany the delegation in Indonesia from 25 July to 2 August except for the three days in East Timor.

"The journalists whose applications are approved to accompany the delegation can visit East Timor at some other time, perhaps before or after the delegation," the Ministry source said.

"This is the policy." He could not elaborate.

Although the party of three ALP and two Liberal MPs will also meet President Suharto and visit Bali, Jakarta and Australian aid projects in East Java, Indonesian and Australian officials say East Timor is the most significant part of the tour.

— AAP

Amnesty protests over Timor torture orders

Page 1

Age

21 July
1983

From JILL JOLLIFFE

LISBON, 20 July. — Indonesian troops operating in East Timor have been instructed in a new “hearts-and-minds” strategy and in torture procedures, according to a secret document claimed to have been captured by Fretilin.

The 82-page military manual has been described as genuine by Amnesty International, which today sent a letter of protest to President Suharto of Indonesia.

The document, which Fretilin says it captured on 30 December 1982, is a counter-insurgency manual which describes an intricate network of Fretilin organisations throughout East Timor.

The document was made public as a delegation of Australian Federal MPs prepares to visit East Timor next week.

It says Fretilin depends for its existence on village supporters (nureps) who liaise with armed cells of guerillas in the mountains. It sets out procedures for interrogating captured Fretilin and advises officers not to use violence unless absolutely necessary — only in the case of stubborn prisoners.

When this is used, it advises, “avoid the taking of photographs which show torture (while being given electric shocks, stripped naked, etc.)”

It says no local witnesses should be present if force is used.

In the letter to President Suharto, Amnesty points out that all Governments are bound by international human rights standards that prohibit torture in all circumstances.

“Rather than comply with these standards,” the letter says, “these military instructions, while describing the use of force and threats during interrogation as something generally to be avoided, explicitly allow for the possibility of torture and provide guidelines to prevent its exposure.”

Amnesty International has received persistent reports of torture, including electric shocks, by Indonesian forces in East Timor since they invaded the territory in December 1975.

The organisation has also expressed fears for suspected Fretilin supporters who have “disappeared” after detention. Many are believed to have been summarily executed after being tortured under interrogation.

[In JAKARTA, the Indonesian Defence and Security Ministry today denied the existence of the manual for troops serving in East Timor, AAP-Reuter reported.

Asked to comment on Amnesty International allegations about such a manual, a Ministry spokesman, Rear Admiral Erwin Mangawang, said: “No, it does not exist. We have never issued such a manual for East Timor.”

Continued: Page 8

Amnesty protests to Indonesia over Timor torture

Amnesty has asked President Suharto to issue immediate instructions to all forces under his command prohibiting the torture of prisoners under all circumstances.

The letter also points out that Amnesty International is strictly concerned with the protection of human rights. The organisation has taken no position on the territorial conflict involving East Timor and does not take sides in armed conflicts.

The handbook is divided into eight sections, the first seven of which are marked "secret" and the last — a report of a meeting between Timorese militia leaders and local administrators held in Baucau on 5-8 May 1982 — is marked "restricted".

The document is duplicated and bound in a manila folder. The cover bears the words 'Kodim 1628/06 Bakau Tim Tim' and 'Baurah 1628/06', meaning in Indonesian District Military Command, Baucau, Timor, and Baucau Regional Command.

FROM PAGE 1

It bears the stamp Permanent Committee of the Revolutionary Council of National Resistance (in Portuguese) and the words "Captured on 30 December 1982, Operation Thunderclap" handwritten in the lower right-hand corner. On the inside front cover is scrawled a message to Fretilin representatives abroad saying: "For technical difficulties we haven't been able to do an entire translation," adding that the contents describe "measures and counter-measures feverishly applied during the years". It is signed by Fretilin Commander Jose Gusmao — Fretilin code name Sha Na Na.

The document was smuggled to Lisbon last month with a large consignment of other material — cassette tapes, photos and documents, addressed to the Fretilin leadership abroad.

The eight sections include 'The Village as a Focus of Attention', 'How to Secure Society from the

Influence of GPK Propaganda', 'Established Procedure for Conducting Raids on Inhabited Areas' and 'Established Procedure Concerning Methods of Interrogating Captives'. It is illustrated by diagrams and maps.

Fretilin is described throughout as the GPK — Gerombolan Pengacau Komunis, meaning 'The Group of Communist Troublemakers'. Some of the sections are written by Infantry Major William da Costa and others by Colonel A. Sahala Rajagukguk and are dated July 1982 and September 1982. It can be assumed that the contents describe the situation at these dates and were probably still valid in December, when Fretilin seized the document from an Indonesian military post around Baucau.

Since then a ceasefire has been in force in East Timor, negotiated at two meetings between Fretilin Commander Gusmao and Indonesian officials, on 20 and 23 March. Major da Costa was reported to be an initiator of the negotiations,

and was present at at least the first round of talks.

The handbook describes a full-scale Indonesian military operation — operasi Kikis — which was under way at the time of writing. It advocates that during this operation, and in future, new tactics should be used to break up Fretilin networks. It stresses psychological methods to persuade villagers to stop supporting Fretilin, as well as to convince surrendered guerillas to abandon their cause.

It urges a new flexibility by military commanders in dealing with all problems, urging them to respect local customs and emphasising the importance of development aid to villages as a means of pacifying the countryside.

It describes a plan to increase the use of Timorese in protecting villages, phasing out the Hansip units which were attached to the regular Indonesian army, in favor of Ratih units — village militia which have not had the regular economic and logistic support af-

forded to the Hansip units, but which, it says, will have in future.

The Hansip units are administratively independent paramilitary units made up of Timorese volunteers but commanded by Indonesian officers.

The introductory section says that the Fretilin military organisation throughout Timor is divided into three zones: Haksolok, covering the border area to Dili in the north and Betano in the south, the (Nakroma) central region, reaching to Baucau in the north and Viqueque in the south, and Funu Sei Nafatin covering the eastern zone.

It is apparent that the greatest military problems are in the last district, where Fretilin regional commanders are named as Falo Chai, Mau Muruk, David Alex, Kalisa and Oligari. It describes the areas of Quelicai, Baguia and Laga-Nunira as critical, and also refers to food shortages there. It says the area of Uatolari (on the south coast) is secure from Fretilin disturbances only because the

guerillas have an established network there and "they never attack an area that helps them".

The document says that the Indonesian army had succeeded in dismantling Fretilin cells in the far eastern tip of the island but that the guerilla network in the rest of the eastern zone was still intact.

In the section "Established Procedure Concerning Methods of Interrogating Captives", it notes that too much coercion has been used in the past and that this policy is wrong. "The use of violence often has the result that the person admits his guilt through fear, and subsequently follows the wish of the interrogator." This is an obstacle to obtaining accurate information useful in the field, it says. But, violence is admissible "in certain situations where the person interrogated finds it difficult to tell the truth. If you are forced to use violence, there should not be a member of the (general public) present to see it".

EAST TIMOR

Amnesty reminds Indonesia of human-rights standards

LONDON, Wednesday (AAP). — Amnesty International has written to Indonesian President Suharto today pointing out that all governments are bound by international human-rights standards that prohibit torture in all circumstances.

The Amnesty action follows the publication of an Indonesian military manual which included instructions to soldiers not to photograph prisoners being tortured. But it said that if such photographs were taken, they should not be allowed to fall into the hands of "irresponsible members of society". No local witnesses should be present if force was used.

After receiving a copy of the manual, seized by Fretilin fighters in East Timor in December, 1982, and brought to Europe last month, Amnesty said it had taken steps to establish the document's authenticity and was satisfied that it was genuine.

The letter to Mr Suharto said, "Rather than comply with these standards these military instructions, while describing the use of force and threats during interrogation as something generally to be avoided, explicitly allow for the possibility of torture and provide guidelines to prevent its exposure."

It asked Mr Suharto to issue immediate instructions to all forces

under his command prohibiting the torture of prisoners under all circumstances.

It pointed out that Amnesty was strictly concerned with the protection of human rights, and had taken no position on the territorial conflict involving East Timor.

Amnesty has received persistent reports of torture, including electric shocks, by Indonesian forces in East Timor since they invaded the territory in December, 1975. It has expressed fears also for suspected Fretilin supporters who had "disappeared" after detention. Many are believed to have been summarily executed after being tortured under interrogation.

New light shed on ceasefire

From JILL JOLLIFFE, in Lisbon

Apart from providing an inside account of the situation in East Timor which contrasts strongly with Indonesian public statements, the Indonesian military document captured by Fretilin guerillas throws new light on a ceasefire negotiated in March.

It would be wildly exaggerated to say that Fretilin military pressure forced Indonesian officers into talks. The election of Mr Hawke as Australian Prime Minister and associated behind-the-scenes Australian pressure on Jakarta, Indonesian eagerness to wipe the issue from the United Nations agenda in 1983 by any means, and general international pressure, including an approach to the Indonesian Government by the UN Secretary-General, Dr Javier Perez De Cuellar, are all important factors. But the military situation, and Indonesia's inability to control it, was a factor, which appeared insignificant at first but in the light of new information should perhaps be given extra weight.

The failure of conventional military measures has led Indonesian officers to formulate a new "hearts-and-minds" strategy (with a resort to torture if this fails) to persuade Timorese villagers not to give their support to Fretilin.

The document demonstrates also how deceptive appearances can be in as complex a situation as that in East Timor. Countless journalists and politicians, including a former Australian Prime Minister, Mr Gough Whitlam, visited East Timor when the conditions described in the handbook certainly prevailed, but did not see the evidence, which the Indonesian military has now inadvertently presented to the world.

CANBERRA TIMES 2/17/83

Indonesia's army 'permits torture'

LONDON, Wednesday. — Indonesian troops operating in East Timor have been provided with a secret manual and instructions that permit torture, a report from Amnesty International said today.

An 82-page military manual captured from Indonesian forces by the East Timor resistance movement, Fretilin, smuggled to Portugal last month and independently authenticated by Amnesty International, tells soldiers not to photograph prisoners being stripped naked and tortured with electric shocks.

The manual is divided into eight sections, seven of which are marked "secret," including a chapter on interrogation procedures.

It says no local witnesses should be present if force is used "to avoid arousing the antipathy of the people."

In a letter sent to President Soeharto of Indonesia today, Amnesty International points out that all governments are bound by international human rights standards that prohibit torture in all circumstances.

"Rather than comply with these standards," the letter states, "these military instructions, while describing the use of force and threats during interrogation as something generally to be avoided, explicitly allow for the possibility of torture and provide guidelines to prevent its exposure."

Amnesty International has received persistent reports of torture, including electric shocks, by Indonesian forces in East Timor

since they invaded the territory in December, 1975.

The organisation has also expressed fears for suspected Fretilin supporters who have "disappeared" after detention.

Sub-section V13, titled "The use of force and threats," in the chapter on interrogation procedures, states in translation from the original Indonesian: "It is hoped that interrogation with the use of force will not be implemented except in those situations where the person examined tells the truth with difficulty (is evasive).

"However, if use of force is required there should not be a member of the local population present . . . to witness it, so that the antipathy of the people is not aroused.

"Avoid taking photographs showing torture (taken of someone being given electric shocks, being stripped naked and so on). Remember that such photographs should not be printed freely outside or in Denpasar (the regional command headquarters in Bali) and found by irresponsible members of society"

In Jakarta, the Indonesian Defence and Security Ministry denied the existence of the manual. A spokesman said: "No, it does not exist. We have never issued such a manual for East Timor."

He said there was a general manual or handbook issued to all Indonesian military units, but declined to give details.

East Timor was considered part of Indonesian territory, and, therefore, no special military manual was issued, he said.

(AAP)

ES/7/83
Sydney Morning Herald

East Timor secrecy

SIR: The Indonesian Embassy has written to say that our visit to East Timor, scheduled for July 25, cannot go ahead for lack of time. This is an absurd reason since Indonesia invited us in the first place in April 1982. Moreover, we gave 14 months' warning of our desire to visit in July 1983. This would have been about the first prepared visit by an informed and independent group.

It was to have been composed of two staff members of the Catholic Institute for International Relations, a doctor working for the School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, London University, an agricultural expert, a lecturer in South-East Asian law at the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, Oxfam's field director in Indonesia, and a linguist specialising in East Timorese languages at the Centre National de Recherche Scientifique in Paris.

Two members of the party spoke Bahasa Indonesian, three Portuguese. We could communicate in three local languages. Nor was this a politically contentious group. Refusal to allow them in must give support to those who argue that Indonesia simply does not want well-prepared visits to East Timor to take place, especially by people who know the country, have technical skills, and speak the local languages.

However well-intentioned, three-day visits by journalists, politicians and even academics are never going to get a satisfactory picture of the situation.

We thought our own 10-day schedule was too short. While they refuse to allow visits by independent and informed outsiders, and engage only in one-way dialogue, the Indonesian authorities must expect little sympathy or patience from organisations which are critical of their policies.

The inept way in which this invitation has been handled has simply confirmed suspicion and wasted another opportunity to create better understanding.

**Robert Archer,
Catholic Institute
for International Relations,
Cambridge Terrace,
London.**

July 20

Delegation 'free to look around' in East Timor

AGE 22/7/83

CANBERRA.—The Governor of East Timor had guaranteed that the Australian parliamentary delegation to Timor would be able to see any areas they wished to see, the leader of the delegation, Mr Bill Morrison, said yesterday.

The five-man delegation leaves for Jakarta today, goes to West Timor next Wednesday and is in East Timor from Thursday until the following Monday.

Asked what the delegation would be able to tell in its three days in East Timor about the human rights situation there, Mr Morrison said: "We have got five members of the delegation with 10 eyes and we will be having wide-ranging opportunities to meet a lot of people and will keep our eyes and ears open."

He said in Jakarta the delegation would have talks with the Indonesian Legal Aid Institute, the main legal non-Government body in Indonesia monitoring human rights. The delegation would not be meeting any representatives of Fretilin, the East Timor independence movement.

He said he expected to report to Parliament on 25 August.

Another member of the delegation, Senator Gordon McIntosh, who has campaigned strongly on behalf of the East Timorese, said: "I am disappointed at the fact that journalists will not be accompanying the delegation to East Timor."

In **JAKARTA** yesterday the Speaker of the Indonesian Parliament, Mr Amir Machmud, said Indonesia had the right to decide where the delegation could travel in East Timor.

PAGE 10: Test execution claims, Timor team urged.

PAGE 13: Editorial

AGE 22/7/83

Test execution claims, Timor team is urged

By PAUL CHADWICK

A group of MPs yesterday urged an Australian parliamentary delegation to Timor to quiz Indonesian authorities about alleged illegal executions, torture and disappearances.

The five-member delegation should investigate claims by Amnesty International including an allegation that people who surrendered during an amnesty were executed, Senator Missen (Lib., Victoria) said yesterday.

Senator Missen, who is chairman of the Australian Parliamentary Group of Amnesty International, urged the investigation in a letter this week to the leader of the delegation, Mr Morrison, a former Defence Minister in the Whitlam Government.

Senator Missen said yesterday he was concerned at a report from Amnesty International in London, that Fretilin forces in East Timor had allegedly captured a secret military manual for Indonesian forces which allowed physical and psychological torture of prisoners.

Senator Missen said: "successive Australian Governments have a poor record in helping prisoners of conscience in Indonesia and, in particular, East Timor, and in carrying out our obligations towards the Timorese people including the reunion of families in Australia".

He said international visitors including the former Prime Minister, Mr Whitlam, had "obviously been limited in their inspections and misled in their assessments of the situation" in East Timor.

The delegation of three Labor MPs and two Liberals leaves today for Jakarta.

A Labor member of the delegation, Mr Cross (Brisbane), said last night that he had received about 400 allegations of alleged misdeeds by Indonesia in East Timor. He said he doubted that the delegation could do some of the tasks required by Amnesty, such as compile a list of all detainees.

Asked whether the delegation would ask Indonesian authorities whether the alleged military manual existed, Mr Cross said the delegation would "play it by ear". It would explore all matters carefully because it had responsibilities to maintain good relations between Australia and Indonesia while assessing the conditions on East Timor.

The other members of the team are Mr Dobie (Lib, NSW), Senator McIntosh (ALP, WA) and Senator MacGibbon (Lib, Qld).

Delegation 'free to look around' East Timor

PERTH.—The Governor of East Timor had guaranteed that the Australian parliamentary delegation to Timor would be able to see any areas they wished to see, the leader of the delegation, Mr Bill Morrison, said yesterday.

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PAGE 10: Test execution claims, Timor team urged.

PAGE 12: Editorial

THE AGE

Friday 22 July 1983

New doubts over Timor

THE Indonesian Foreign Minister, Dr Mochtar, said earlier this week that Australians were ignorant of the difficulties and complexities of life in Asian countries. It seems that the Indonesian Government is determined to keep us this way — to split its own purposes. Obstructions placed in the way of an Australian parliamentary delegation due to leave for East Timor today, and the release in Europe of what is claimed to be an Indonesian military manual outlining methods of "pacifying" the former Portuguese colony, lead to the belief that Indonesia still has much it wishes to hide from the outside world.

Australians, in the light of these events, cannot escape the conclusion that they appear to have been misled in the most cynical manner. Only weeks ago there were encouraging signs of progress. A ceasefire, it was learned, had been in effect in Timor for some time. The Australian Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, and the Foreign Minister, Mr Hayden, at considerable risk to the fabric of the Labor Party, and despite profound reservations in some quarters of the Australian community, were striving to create a more positive and constructive relationship with Jakarta. Their initiative was both appropriate and necessary. Clearly it remains in the

best interests of two neighbors to reduce residual suspicion and emotion by working towards understanding, trust and co-operation in spheres of mutual concern.

All this, through no fault of Mr Hawke or Mr Hayden, has now been thrown into question by the Indonesian Government's refusal to permit the parliamentary delegation to use its own aircraft, to employ independent interpreters and to be accompanied by a representative section of the Australian Press, and by the information contained in the secret military manual. That document, claimed to have been captured late last year by Fretilin and pronounced as genuine by Amnesty International, an organisation which brings considerable experience and authority to these matters, not only contradicts public Indonesian assertions that Fretilin is a spent force, but also serves to instruct troops in methods of torture.

It describes an intricate network of Fretilin organisation throughout the territory, with the guerillas depending for their existence on widespread support from villagers. There are particular complaints about the "disloyalty" of the population around the capital and other towns. Violence, it says, is admissible in certain situations "where the person interrogated finds it difficult to tell the truth. If you are forced to use violence, there should not be a member of the (general public) present to see it. Avoid the taking of photographs which show torture (while being given

EDITORIAL OPINION

electric shocks, stripped naked, &c). Remember not to print freely outside ... photos so that they are found in society by irresponsible individuals". The manual goes on to describe a full-scale Indonesian military operation which was under way at the time of writing.

The available evidence suggests that all is far from well in East Timor. At the very least there is much more going on in the territory than outsiders have been led to believe. Too much evidence of an equally disturbing nature has been produced in past years, by organisations including the Roman Catholic Church, for Australia to be able to dismiss these latest claims out of hand. What is apparent this week is that it is no longer tenable for the Indonesian authorities to argue, as Dr Mochtar did just a few days ago, that the entire question of Jakarta's control over East Timor is now well and truly settled.

Indonesia, it seems plain, has failed to win over the hearts and minds of the East Timorese. Her continued unwillingness to allow free and fair access to foreign observers serves as corroboration for that belief. The Indonesians insist that the Australian parliamentarians will not be on a fact-finding mission. They should be. But what the Indonesians must realise is that the impressions brought home by the visitors will determine the direction of decisions in the Labor Party Caucus

and have a profound effect on public attitudes in general.

If Jakarta has nothing to hide, let it provide complete access. Restrictions will serve only to undermine the credibility of the tour and thus Mr Hawke's position on Timor in the party and country alike. He may be obliged to reconsider his entire approach to Indonesia, the consequences of which could be deeply detrimental to the best interests of both nations. The only acceptable course for the Indonesians to follow is to stop obstructing the search for truth and to promote a peaceful accommodation in East Timor. Violence and secrecy are no answer.

Isolated, ill-informed and in Melbourne

23/7/83
THE AGE

NEXT week I will not be in East Timor with the Australian parliamentary delegation.

I will not be in East Timor because the Indonesian Government would not issue visas to journalists who wanted to accompany the delegation. (A certain Mr Purnomo of the Indonesian Embassy in Canberra kept telling me he was still waiting for "the green light" from Jakarta, and I eventually got the message.)

So I will be sitting in Melbourne instead, reflecting on the comment by the Indonesian Foreign Minister, Dr Mochtar, that Australians cannot understand the complex politics of South-East Asia because they are isolated and ill-informed.

Well, perhaps the man has a point — but neither Dr Mochtar nor any other Indonesian official is in any position to make patronising judgments on the quality of Australian understanding about the East Timor situation. If we are ill-informed about East Timor, and see things too simply, it is because the Indonesian Government will not let us in to assess the consequences of its violent and illegal annexation of the former Portuguese colony eight years ago.

In recent years, it is true, the Indonesians have permitted a handful of independent Australian observers to make brief and necessarily superficial visits to East Timor, and most appear to have published broadly favorable reports about recent Indonesian efforts on the island. But these reports are sharply at odds with the disturbing findings of reputable international aid and human rights agencies, and with the surprisingly consistent testimony of frightened Timorese refugees in Australia and Portugal.

Next week's visit by the Australian parliamentary delegation is unlikely to clarify things. The Indonesians have effectively restricted the independence of the delegation by denying them the use of their own VIP jet and their own independent interpreter. For good measure they have excluded journalists.

Here, perhaps, I should stress that the Indonesians are not just discriminating against Australians. They have also cancelled a scheduled 10-day visit by an expert group from the London-based Catholic Institute for International Relations. The group was invited to East Timor by Indonesia in April 1982 and was due to arrive next Monday. It would have included a doctor specialising in



tropical medicine, an agricultural expert and several linguists.

Indonesia's duplicity over the Australian parliamentary visit to East Timor has been blatant. On 27 June Dr Mochtar announced that the Australian delegation would be able to "talk freely to anyone they want and go anywhere they want provided facilities to do so are available" (my italics). Last Sunday the line was that the delegation would have "a free hand". The last-minute restrictions imposed on the visit will effectively stop the delegation from making any credible assessment of the true state of affairs in East Timor.

The Indonesians are plainly trying to stop any fact-finding mission from tuning up anything embarrassing before the crucial UN vote later this year on the Indonesian takeover of the island.

Their attitude is a pretty savage slap in the face for the Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, and the Foreign Minister, Mr Hayden, who incurred the (justifiable) wrath of much of the Labor Party for unilaterally abandoning party policy towards East Timor. The policy, formulated when Labor was in Opposition, commits an ALP Government to supporting independence and self-determination for East Timor — a position totally rejected by the Indonesian invaders.

In the interests of good relations with Australia's biggest and closest neighbor, in the interests of "stability", Messrs Hawke and Hayden have dumped that policy, and with it the East Timorese people who helped save the lives of thousands of Australian soldiers during World War II. Labor's latest about-face was one of the more shameful episodes in the less than glorious history of Australia's fawning relationship with Indonesia.

But perhaps, as Dr Mochtar says, I am a simple, isolated and ill-informed Australian. I will therefore outline eight sets of questions which I would have asked if I had been allowed to enter East Timor and move about freely with an independent interpreter. They are the sorts of questions which the parliamentary delegation ought to ask.

1. Has the fighting stopped between the Fretilin independence movement and the Indonesian army? Recent re-

ports suggest that some sort of talks have taken place on the island. Dr Mochtar says Fretilin forces have ceased fighting, but that there has been no ceasefire. If so, on what terms? And why, if the shooting has stopped, are the Indonesians so nervous about spreading the good news?

2. How do the Timorese people feel about the Indonesian takeover and the imposition of the Indonesian language and institutions on the island? Do they care about independence and self-determination? What are their wishes? Mr Hawke weeps for the Jewish refuseniks in the Soviet Union and for the Afghan people. He should be no less anxious about the human rights of the East Timorese.

3. What is the current state of Fretilin? Officially Indonesia insists that the movement has been reduced to 100 or so guerrillas isolated in the central highlands. However, the captured Indonesian army handbook, on which 'The Age' reported this week, describes a much more highly organised and structured resistance to Indonesian rule. And what is the internal composition of the Fretilin resistance? Are they Marxists? Or are they romantic reactionaries seeking a return to the old Portuguese ways? Or are they passionate nationalists? Or a mixture?

4. What is the food situation in the country? Although there have been no reports of famine in East Timor for at least 18 months, there are still persistent reports of food shortages in different areas. How is food distributed and allocated between the East Timorese and the Indonesian occupiers? What do local people have to pay for food? How adequate is nutrition generally? What has been the effect on food production of the Indonesian resettlement schemes and the Indonesian-imposed restrictions on freedom of movement within East Timor?

5. How are the Indonesian troops, who are reported to have killed up to 100,000 East Timorese since 1975, treating the population now? As in all wars, atrocities have been alleged. The captured Indonesian army handbook confirms that torture is taking place and also that efforts are being made to deal sensitively with the population. How many are getting the beat-

ings and the electric shocks? How many are getting the kid gloves treatment?

6. What is the situation of those who want to leave East Timor to be reunited with family in Australia and elsewhere? Until March this year many Timorese refugees complained that they were forced to pay bribes to various officials in order to clear their departure. Since then some 30 a month have been arriving in Australia without having had to pay bribes. Why are so many Timorese migrants in Australia so afraid to talk about life in East Timor? Is there any evidence for claims that they have been told that criticism of Indonesian administration will result in trouble for relatives still in East Timor?

7. How do conditions in East Timor now compare with conditions under Portuguese colonial rule? Indonesia has plainly been making efforts to improve infrastructure in recent years by building schools and roads and houses, and by clearing war debris from cities and airports. But is this the result of genuine concern for the East Timorese or merely window dressing aimed at softening international criticism of its takeover? And who is getting the benefit of the infrastructure improvements — the East Timorese or their Indonesian rulers? Do the Timorese like what their children are being taught in the new schools? So they get to live in the new houses? How do they use the roads for their own benefit?

8. How beneficial have the various international aid schemes been to the East Timorese people? Who has access to, use of, and profits from, what becomes available under the aid programmes?

Given the persistent refusal of the Indonesians to allow full and open investigation of these sorts of questions by Australians or anyone else, there can be no moral justification for the Hawke-Hayden abandonment of Labor's Timor policy. They, of course, argue that in terms of realpolitik we have no choice: we must have a positive, constructive and harmonious relationship with Indonesia.

In my view the price demanded by the Indonesians for a such relationship — the sacrifice of the rights of the East Timorese to independence and self-determination — is too high a price for Australia to pay. Bob Hawke ought to do better than Neville Chamberlain.

Top Indon: mystery killings not bad thing

JAKARTA, 21 July. — The Speaker of the Indonesian Parliament, General Amir Machmud, said today he personally approved of the summary killing of hundreds of suspected criminals throughout the country in recent months.

General Machmud did not directly attribute the killings to Government agents, but he said the Government's efforts to combat crime should be appreciated.

Speaking to reporters after meeting President Suharto, he said the appearance of mysterious gunmen who have yet to be officially identified was a response to a mounting crime wave.

Indonesian newspapers carry almost daily reports of fresh discoveries of bullet-ridden bodies of men described as "extortionists, robbers or suspected villians".

No official figures have been issued since the killings started in the central Java town of Jogjakarta early this year, but newspapers estimate the death toll could be as high as 500.

General Machmud said he personally did not mind if hundreds of bandits had to be sacrificed "to give a feeling of tranquillity to the 150 million Indonesians".

He said Government security efforts "have shown a high degree of success, which is reflected by the sharp decline of criminality and the general feeling of relief expressed by all layers of society".

ACK - 22/7/83

Address to Sydney meeting

CT 25/7/83

Fry speaks of ALP pressure about Timor

SYDNEY: Labor Party leaders were putting great pressure on Federal Labor Members of Parliament to get them to weaken their stand on the East Timor issue, the Member for Fraser, Mr Fry, said yesterday.

Mr Fry appealed to his colleagues in the Federal caucus to stand firm and resist the pressure, during an address to a public meeting in Sydney yesterday.

The meeting was addressed also by Mr Ablio Araujo and Mr Roque Rodrigues, two members of the Fretilin central committee, who are on a tour of Australia and will be in Canberra today.

The two men want to meet the Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, and to discuss with him the possibility of Australian participation in a United Nations peace-keeping force to supervise a withdrawal of Indonesian troops from East Timor.

Mr Fry told the meeting "tremendous forces" were at work within the Federal caucus to seek a compromise or to abstain from voting on independence resolutions due to go before the UN in November.

"But I don't think there should be any question about that," Mr Fry said.

"Our policy does not accommodate compromise.

"Our policy says quite clearly we support the right of East Timorese to self-determination and we will support the UN resolution which criticises the Indonesian occupation."

The resolution on East Timor, adopted by last year's national ALP 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".

Mr Fry said, "There should not be any problem within the Labor Party about that, but of course there is. I just want to make a public appeal to you today, to all my colleagues in the parliamentary Labor Party, and I have a lot of friends there who think the same way I do about East Timor but are under pressure from leadership and for various other reasons.

"I am fearful that some of them may lose their strength on this particular question.



Mr Fry

"And I make an appeal to all my colleagues now not to deny the right of the people of East Timor the right of our loyalty in return for the loyalty they gave to us in World War II."

Mr Fry said 40,000 "of their people" were killed in World War II supporting Australian commandos in East Timor.

During a visit to Jakarta last month, Mr Hawke talked of East Timor as being part of Indonesia.

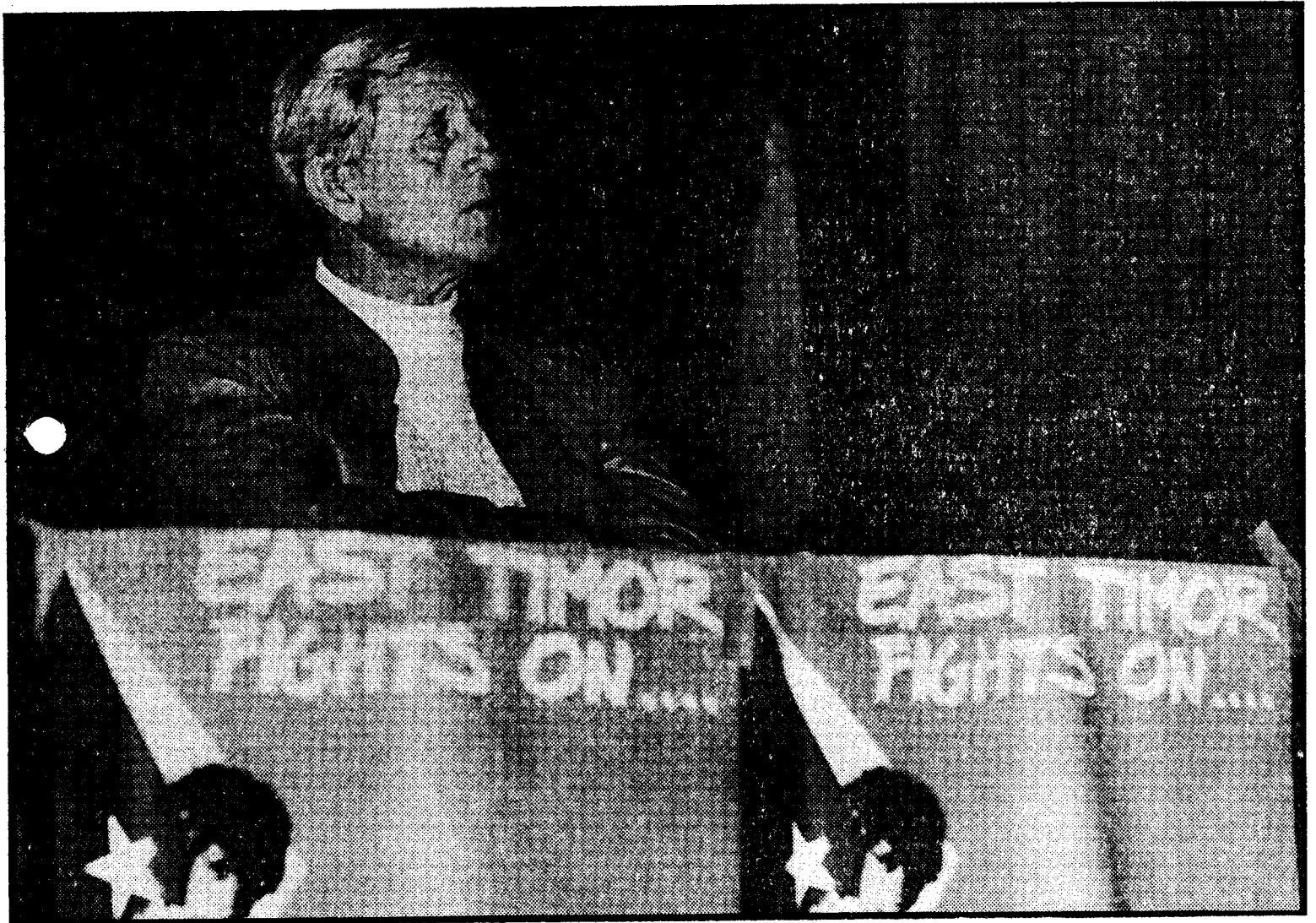
He expressed regret to President Suharto that there had not been an internationally supervised act to self-determination.

Mr Fry told the meeting, "It is unworthy of the Labor Party and it is unworthy of the people of Australia that we cannot do anything about it and [that] appeasement of Indonesia is our only option.

"It is unworthy of us to accept the view that we should succumb to the bullying of a regime like the Suharto regime.

"I know the rank and file of the party support the East Timorese people very strongly indeed but there is tremendous pressure within the parliamentary party to go back on that undertaking.

"And I appeal to them today to stick to that undertaking and not to turn their back on people who really, desperately, need their help now."



Ken Fry . . . he wants ALP politicians to stand firm for the East Timorese.

Federal minister to speak at pro-Fretilin meeting

Fry's plea to other MPs: don't give in

By MIKE STEKETEE, State Political Correspondent

The Minister for Defence Support, Mr Howe, is to address a meeting in Melbourne next Sunday promoting the Fretelin cause in East Timor, despite Indonesian objections.

It is understood there were efforts within the Government to dissuade Mr Howe from going to the meeting because of the sensitivity of the issue in Australian-Indonesian relations.

The meeting's main purpose is to hear speeches from two Fretilin representatives visiting Australia — Mr Abilio Araujo, leader of Fretilin's external delegation, and Mr Roque Rodriques, Fretilin representative in Angola.

Mr Howe, a leading member of the Victorian Left, has made clear his support for a full implementation of ALP policy on East Timor, including a properly supervised act of self-determination and the cutting off of military aid to Indonesia until

it has ended its occupation of East Timor.

The information counsellor at the Indonesian Embassy, Mr Issiamet Poernomo, said Mr Howe's attendance would be "regrettable indeed."

Indonesia had asked the Australian Government not to welcome the Fretilin representatives in any formal way or to organise or support meetings.

A Foreign Affairs Department spokesman said the Government regarded the visit as private and not under Government auspices.

However, the Victorian ALP is one of the meeting's sponsors.

The spokesman said he understood Mr Howe was taking part as an individual member of the ALP, not as a minister. He agreed the distinction was a fine one.

Asked if he had any doubts about attending the meeting, Mr Howe said: "I have a long-standing commitment so I didn't have any doubts."

On whether his attendance had been cleared within the Government, Mr Howe said he had discussed it with other Government members, but he would not indicate if they included the Prime Minister,

Mr Hawke, or the Foreign Minister, Mr Hayden. Nor would he say if any objection had been raised about his speaking at the meeting.

He said he had not been given a precise brief but he would be speaking on Labor's policy.

Caroline Hogg, a Labor member of the Victorian Legislative Council, said the theme of Sunday's meeting would be that Australia had a crucial role to play in the future of East Timor.

Recent photographs had shown Indonesian officials talking to Fretilin representatives under a Fretilin flag, she said. This indicated Fretilin was in a much stronger position than we have been led to believe by the Indonesian propaganda machine."

Meanwhile, it is reported from Jakarta that the three Labor Party members of an Australian parliamentary delegations began on Saturday their visit to Indonesia with talks at the Legal Aid Institute, Indonesia's leading human rights organisation.

The delegation's program includes a three-day visit to East Timor beginning today, and a meeting with President Suharto.

Labor Party leaders were putting great pressure on Federal ALP MPs to get them to weaken their stand on the East Timor issue, Mr Ken Fry, the Labor Member for Fraser, said in Sydney yesterday.

He appealed to his colleagues in the Federal Caucus to resist during an address to a public meeting at the Tom Mann Theatre in Surry Hills on "Timor: Australia's Shame."

Mr Fry told the meeting "tremendous forces" were at work within the Federal Caucus to seek a compromise

"But I don't think there should be any question about that," Mr Fry said. "Our policy does not accommodate a compromise. Our policy says quite clearly we support the right of East Timorese to self determination and we will support the UN resolution which criticises the Indonesian occupation . . ."

"It is unworthy of the Labor Party and it is unworthy of the people of Australia to take the view that we cannot do anything about it and appeasement of Indonesia is our only option."

— Ross Dunn

MPs under great pressure over Timor, says Fry

SYDNEY. — Labor Party leaders were putting great pressure on Federal ALP Members of Parliament to weaken their stand on the issue of independence for East Timor, the Labor member for Fraser, Mr Ken Fry, said yesterday.

Mr Fry, addressing a public meeting in Surry Hills, appealed to his colleagues in the Federal Caucus to stand firm.

Mr Abilio Araujo and Mr Roque Rodrigues, two members of the Fretilin central committee who are on a speaking tour of Australia, also spoke to the meeting.

The Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, has refused to meet the two men. They want to discuss the possibility of Australian participation in a United Nations peace-keeping force to supervise a withdrawal of Indonesian troops from East Timor.

Compromise

Mr Fry told the meeting "tremendous forces" were at work within the Federal Caucus to seek a compromise or abstentions on independence resolutions due to go before the UN in November.

But I don't think there should be any question about that," Mr Fry said. "Our policy does not accommodate a compromise. Our policy says quite clearly we support the right of East Timorese to self determination and we will support the UN resolution which criticises the Indonesian occupation."

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

During a visit to Jakarta last month, Mr Hawke 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 determination.

AGE - 25/7/83

WORLD NEWS

Timor team queries mystery killings

JAKARTA, 24 July. — Three ALP parliamentarians yesterday met Indonesian lawyers to discuss justice and civil rights, issues recently highlighted by the killings of hundreds of known or suspected criminals across Indonesia by unknown gunmen.

The Labor men, members of a five-man Australian Parliamentary delegation on a 10-day tour at the invitation of the Indonesian parliament, also discussed human rights in East Timor where they will spend three days next week.

Delegation chairman Mr Bill Morrison, Senator Gordon McIntosh and Mr Manfred Cross spent an hour with Mr Adnan Nasution, honorary director of the Jakarta Legal Aid Institute, and his colleagues.

The institute, an association of lawyers which publishes an annual report on human rights in Indonesia and gives legal aid to poor people, has condemned the killings of "tattooed criminals" as illegal vigilante action.

Another source said the Australians were told it was widely believed that army security forces had ordered the recent killings, commonly called "executions by mysterious gunmen" by local media.

The Legal Aid Institute told them it hoped the Government would prevent people taking the law into their own hands before the killings spread to "political victims", the sources said.

The Jakarta media report that about 500 men known to police as hard-core criminals and usually wearing tattoos have been shot dead in mysterious circumstances since late last year.

The army has admitted responsibility for some deaths but says most have resulted from gang wars, while public figures including the Speaker of Parliament, Mr Amir Machmud, and the Attorney-General, Mr Ismail Saleh, have supported the campaign as distasteful but necessary.

Meanwhile the head of Indonesia's Intelligence Co-ordinating Agency, Mr Yoga Sugama, yesterday criticised Amnesty International as a troublemaker and said the London-based human rights group had singled out Indonesia although there were human rights abuses the world over.

The three Labor party delegates, to be joined this weekend by Liberals Mr Don Donie and Senator David MacGibbon for the official start of the tour on Monday, are expected to concentrate on civil rights issues when they visit East Timor.

CHART — AAP-Reuters

Dol: 1000

Delegates meet lawyers

JAKARTA, Sunday (AAP). — Three Labor parliamentarians met Indonesian lawyers yesterday to discuss justice, civil rights and human rights in East Timor, where they will spend three days next week.

They are members of a five-man Australian parliamentary delegation on a 10-day tour at the invitation of the Indonesian parliament.

The delegation's chairman, Mr Morrison (Lab, NSW), Senator McIntosh (Lab, WA), and Mr Cross (Lab, Qld) spent an hour with the honorary director of the Jakarta Legal Aid Institute, Mr Adnan Nasution, and his colleagues.

The institute is an association of lawyers which publishes an annual report on human rights in Indonesia and provides legal assistance to low-income earners.

Mr Morrison said later, "We welcomed the opportunity of talking with representatives of the legal fraternity who were concerned with civil rights in Indonesia.

"They believed the Indonesian Government was not implementing legislation under the criminal code and the injunctions of the constitution."

Another source said the Australians had been told it was widely believed that Army security forces had ordered the recent killings of hundreds of known or suspected criminals across the country by unknown gunmen.

The killings were commonly called "executions by mysterious gunmen" by local media. The Legal Aid Institute had told the Australians it hoped the Government would prevent people taking the law into their own hands before the killings spread to "political victims", the sources said.

The three Labor men and the other two delegates, Mr Dobie (Lib, NSW), and Senator

MacGibbon (Lib, Qld), begin the official tour tomorrow.

As well as human rights the three ALP delegates queried the Legal Aid Institute about political prisoners from the now-banned Indonesian Communist Party, the PKI, but Mr Morrison did not disclose details of these talks.

The Labor delegates later met United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) officials to discuss aid programs in East Timor to which Australia is contributing more than \$A500,000 this year to boost nutrition among young people in seven villages.

The head of Indonesia's Intelligence Coordinating Agency, General Yoga Sugama, criticised Amnesty International yesterday as a trouble maker and said the London-based human-rights group had singled out Indonesia, although there were human-rights abuses the world over.

General Yoga, speaking after talks with President Suharto, told Antara news agency: "They [Amnesty] are just a group of trouble makers. Do you think it is only in Indonesia where people are killed? We find killings everywhere in the world."

The intelligence chief said he and Mr Suharto had discussed a "letter from Amnesty International about this and that".

However, he made no reference to a letter Amnesty said it had sent from its London headquarters earlier in the week, protesting against a military manual it alleged permitted the use of torture by Indonesian troops in East Timor.

Instead General Yoga implied that he was referring to a separate letter, protesting against the summary street executions of hardened criminals.

Malik attacks corruption

JAKARTA, Monday. — The former Indonesian Vice-President, Adam Malik, replaced by President Suharto last March, has attacked corruption and the killing of criminal suspects by unidentified gunmen. The official news agency, Antara, quoted him as saying at his 66th birthday party yesterday that corruption was "an excess of the revolution," which should be fought. He said he regretted the killing of hundreds of known or suspected criminals in recent months by unidentified gunmen. The Armed Forces Chief of Staff, Benny Murdani, has said some of the killings, which newspapers have said could total 500, were carried out by Government agents, although he blamed others on gang warfare. Newspapers reported today that 10 more murder victims had been found.—Reuter.

SMA 26/7/83

Tues July 26/7/83

The Sydney Morning Herald

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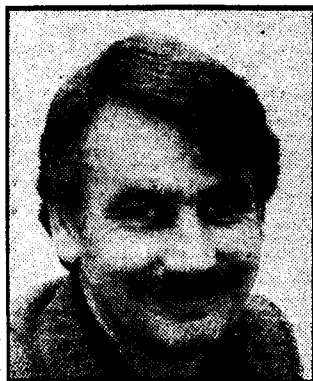
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Indonesians edgy over Labor-Fretilin links



Mr Howe . . . taking part in talks as a member of the ALP, rather than as a minister.

From MIKE STEKETEE

CANBERRA. — New strains are developing in the relationship between Australia and Indonesia over the involvement of senior members of the ALP in the visit to Australia of two Fretilin representatives.

The Indonesian Embassy will seek clarification of the Federal Government's attitude to the visit after learning of developments which the Indonesians are concerned will lend credibility to the cause of independence in East Timor.

The Federal Caucus Defence and Foreign Affairs Committee will meet here tomorrow to hear the case for independence put by Mr Abilio Araujo, leader of Fretilin's external delegation, and Mr Roque Rodriguez, the Fretilin representative in Angola.

The 39-member committee includes seven ministers, although it was not clear last night how many ministers, if any, would attend.

Although the Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, has refused to see the Fretilin visitors, Mr Ken Fry, the ALP backbencher who is active on the Timor issue, said yesterday a member of the Prime Minister's staff had agreed to accept a letter from them.

The letter is from the East Timor guerilla leader, Sha Na Na, and asks Mr Hawke to consider Australian participation in a United Nations peacekeeping

force to supervise a withdrawal of Indonesian troops from East Timor.

The Fretilin representatives also will be meeting Dr Bob Merrillees, who is in charge of the south-east Asian desk in the Department of Foreign Affairs.

Next Sunday, the Minister for Defence Support, Mr Howe, will address a public meeting in Melbourne for Mr Abilio and Mr Rodriguez. One of the sponsors of the meeting is the Victorian ALP.

All these developments threatened to arouse Indonesia's suspicions about the Labor Government after they were calmed by Mr Hawke and the Foreign Min-

ister, Mr Hayden, during visits to Indonesia.

In what amounted to a veiled warning to the Government, a spokesman for the Indonesian Embassy said yesterday he hoped the Fretilin visit did not jeopardise the Australian parliamentary delegation now in Indonesia.

The Indonesian spokesman, Mr Isslamet Poernomo, said the timing of developments in Australia was unfortunate "when we are now building up our mutual understanding through your parliamentary delegation."

Mr Poernomo said the Embassy would ask the Foreign Affairs Department in what cap-

acity Mr Howe would be addressing Sunday's meeting.

A Foreign Affairs spokesman has said Mr Howe will be acting as an individual ALP member, not a Government minister. Indonesia would welcome an endorsement of this from the Prime Minister.

The five-member Australian delegation began its 10-day tour of Indonesia yesterday.

● Indonesia has now agreed to let two Australian journalists into East Timor with the delegation after having refused them last week. No reason for the change of mind was given.

PAGE 8: Editorial — Ticklish trip to East Timor.

Ticklish trip to East Timor

NOTHING so well illustrates the problems arising from the different cultural perceptions of Australians and Indonesians as the initial responses of both to the visit to Indonesia and East Timor by the Australian parliamentary delegation, which began yesterday. Many in Australia, right across the political spectrum, but especially on the Left, continue to regard Indonesia's armed intervention in East Timor, in 1975, followed by its incorporation in the republic, as illegal and a crime against human rights. They have also come to regard the parliamentary delegation, tacitly if nothing else, as less a delegation than a de facto committee of investigation. This emerges very clearly in complaints echoed by one member of the delegation itself — that Indonesians are deliberately trying to prevent the Australians from finding out the facts about East Timor by such means as denying the delegation the right to use a RAAF VIP aircraft to travel from Jakarta to Dili; by denying the delegation a non-official Tetum (local language) speaker; by allowing the delegation only four to five days in East Timor; and by refusing even selected journalists the right to cover the delegation's stay in Dili and its cover of East Timorese centres by road and helicopter.

With the exception of charges over lack of press coverage — it now appears that reporters will cover the visit — these complaints have a certain logic. But how much? Of course, by using its own aircraft the delegation would enjoy greater mobility and comfort, and be able to visit other nearby islands in the drought-prone Nusatenggara area of the Indonesian Archipelago. Doubtless, too, the delegation prefers a Tetum-speaking interpreter of its own choosing; but where is it to get one? Any person in Dili able to speak Tetum, Portuguese and English, let alone Indonesian, is certain to be Government-

employed. In any case, the notion of an "independent" interpreter is surely illusory in a situation where few conversations will be private.

To all of these complaints there are nevertheless Indonesian answers which cannot simply be brushed aside as spurious. In the first place, the Indonesian Government, nationalistically hypersensitive over East Timor, is permitting the delegation to visit the province as a gesture of goodwill. There is no compulsion on it to allow the visit — at a time, moreover, when a senior Cabinet minister will be addressing a Melbourne meeting to promote the Fretilin cause in East Timor. Therefore the notion of the delegation's using its own aircraft is unacceptable. In Indonesian eyes it would confer on the delegation the status of a committee of inquiry rather than that of a friendly delegation.

By the same token the atmosphere in Jakarta, on the whole, is proving a good deal more relaxed on both sides than might have been expected earlier. This in part has been brought about by the welcome assurance of the Timorese Governor, Mr Mario Carascallao, a man respected by both Fretilin and anti-Fretilin forces, that the delegation is welcome to travel where it wants. Even so, there are some difficult passages ahead, given Jakarta's agitated preoccupation with the outcome of the East Timor vote in the UN General Assembly later this year, and Canberra's anxiety to balance Australia's long-term interest in maintaining friendly relations with Indonesia with the growing resentment of the ALP left wing, and others, over what they perceive as the Government's failure to comply with the anti-Indonesian resolutions over East Timor passed by the 1982 Labor Party Conference. In this situation, the delegation's report to Parliament at the end of next month becomes crucial.

Sydney Morning Herald - 26/7/83

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Two members of the Fretlin Central Committee, Mr Roque Rodrigues, left, and Mr Abilio Araujo, with the Member for Fraser, Mr Fry (Lab), yesterday. Mr Araujo is holding a letter to the Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, written by the commander of the Fretlin forces in East Timor, Sha Na Na.

Fretlin leaders in Canberra

A letter to the Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, from the commander of Fretlin's forces in East Timor, Sha Na Na, will be received tomorrow by a member of Mr Hawke's staff.

The letter was brought to Canberra yesterday by two members of Fretlin's central committee, Mr Abilio Araujo, head of its permanent external delegation, and Mr Roque Rodrigues, its representative in Angola.

Both men will be meeting Dr Bob Merrillees, head of the South-East Asian branch of the Department of Foreign Affairs, and the foreign affairs and defence committee of the parliamentary Labor Party.

They will be in Australia until August 6 on an unofficial mission, which was postponed in May because Mr Hawke was about to visit Jakarta and which

was prevented by the Fraser Government.

They will address a public meeting tomorrow in the ANU students' union at 5.30pm. They will also show slides and documents of the meeting in East Timor between Sha Na Na and the Indonesian military commander, Colonel Purwanto, on March 23.

Mr Araujo said yesterday that the main purpose of the Fretlin mission was to provide evidence to Australians of "the continuing struggle in East Timor, which is not a lost cause". He said Fretlin had nothing to hide.

This month in Vanuatu he had advised Senator McIntosh, (Lab, WA), a member of the Australian parliamentary delegation which arrives in East Timor on Thursday, to ask the Indonesian Government to provide a

helicopter to take the delegation to the Fretlin-held areas, where its safety would be guaranteed.

The parliamentary delegation had not been allowed to take its own interpreters, so the people interviewed would not feel free to talk openly through Indonesian interpreters, he said.

He said 7,000 Fretlin guerillas were still fighting in East Timor, and last month their commander had also written to the UN Secretary-General, Dr Perez de Cuellar, whose delegate to East Timor would soon be reporting.

The UN General Assembly is expected in October to consider the East Timor issue once again. Last November, by 50 votes to 46 (including that of Australia), the General Assembly decided to keep the issue before it.

Journalists allowed into Timor

JAKARTA, Monday (AAP). — Indonesia has agreed to allow two Australian correspondents into East Timor when an Australian parliamentary delegation visits there later this week.

An official Ministry of Information source told AAP's Jakarta-based correspondent, Leigh Mackay, and the ABC's John Lombard last night that they could fly to Dili on Wednesday and report in the area "for several days".

This reverses the Ministry's position last week when it announced that Australian journalist would not be allowed to cover the delegation's three-day East Timor visit but could enter the territory "at some other time".

The parliamentary delegation, which began a 10-day visit to Indonesia today at the invitation of the Indonesian Parliament, will meet President Suharto tomorrow and fly to Dili on Thursday.

Indonesian human rights different, delegation told. — Page 3.

Fretilin leaders in Canberra. — Page 9.

CANBERRA TIMES - 26/7/83

Howe pushes his line, but carefully

AGE 26/7/83

From SIMON BALDERSTONE

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

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

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

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

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

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



Mr Howe: 'There are always disagreements'.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

C.T. 26/7/83

Indonesian human rights different, delegation told

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

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

The delegation of three Labor and two Liberal MPs discussed East Timor and human rights with Mr Sukardi and the Indonesian Parliamentary Committee on Foreign Affairs and Defence when they opened a 10-day visit to Indonesia that includes three days in East Timor.

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

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

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

The delegation is led by Mr Morrison, (Lab, NSW), a former Defence Minister in the Whitlam Government, and the others are Senator McIntosh (Lab, WA), Mr Cross (Lab, Qld), Senator MacGibbon (Lib, Qld) and Mr Dobie (Lib, NSW).

Fretilin leaders in Canberra. — Page 9

The Clarion

27/7/83

Timorese bid to free families

TIMORESE refugees in the inner suburbs fear their families at home may be in extreme danger unless the Australian Government stops Indonesia ravaging the island.

Richmond has the highest Timorese population of any area in Australia.

They are trying to get work to save enough money to help their families escape.

It will cost \$1700 to get each person out of East Timor, according to two men who escaped 18 months ago.

The men do not want to be identified because they still have relatives in Timor.

Timorese refugees started arriving in Australia during the civil war in 1975 and more followed the Indonesian invasion.

Reunited

Suzanne Cooper, Community Development Officer at North Richmond Family Care Centre, has worked with the Timorese since they arrived here.

She says they were mainly pregnant women. They applied for Housing Commission flats in the same area so they could support each other.

As a result, almost all Victoria's 2000 Timorese are in the North Richmond Estate.

Most of the women have

By JOHN MURPHY

now been reunited with their families.

Australian churches and the Red Cross have lent money to bring families here and other Timorese have got jobs so they can meet the expense of getting relatives out.

The Timorese have heard many stories of people being captured by Indonesian soldiers, then simply disappearing.

They claim to have seen brutality by soldiers in their own villages.

To get out of the country, they pay for an exit visa that will get them to West Timor.

They then smuggle themselves to the Indonesian capital, Jakarta, before beginning a complicated journey to Australia, going through Hong Kong, Taiwan and other places in Asia.

The Timorese are now looking to the Australian Government to help them regain independence.

They say Indonesia holds Australia in high regard and

would pull out of East Timor if the Government applied enough pressure.

When former Prime Minister Malcom Fraser visited Jakarta in 1977, the Indonesian Government agreed to release 600 prisoners.

The release was very slow but since Prime Minister Bob Hawke's recent visit it has speeded considerably.

Suzanne Cooper wants everyone in the area to show their support of East Timor by attending a public meeting at Dallas Brooks Hall on Sunday, July 31, at 2 pm.

Speakers will include Senator Gordon McIntosh, a member of the parliamentary delegation visiting East Timor this month and Abilio Araujo of the Timorese resistance movement, Fretlin.

Soeharto, Aust MPs in 'frank' Timor talks

Indonesia's President Soeharto and a delegation of Australian MPs exchanged frank views on East Timor and bilateral relations yesterday, the eve of the delegation's visit to East Timor to compile a report on conditions there for the Australian Parliament.

The delegation leader, Mr Morrison (Lab, NSW), said later that during the 45-minute meeting at the presidential palace in Jakarta, President

Soeharto had given "a very detailed rundown on the Indonesian Government's policies on East Timor.

"I've also been informed again and again by President Soeharto this morning that the delegation will have the opportunity of travelling anywhere it wants to" in East Timor, said Mr Morrison.

He said the attention given the delegation by the Soeharto Government, and the earlier Indonesian decision to extend the delegation's East Timor visit by a day, indicated the importance that Canberra and Jakarta placed on the visit.

(Officially the five-man parliamentary delegation is visiting Indonesia for 10 days at the Indonesian Parliament's invitation. But Australian officials say its findings on East Timor could influence the Labor Party's struggle over whether to reverse its official opposition to Indonesia's integration of the territory in 1976.)

The tone of yesterday's meeting appeared to match that of a dinner for the delegation the previous night, hosted by the Indonesian parliamentary leadership, at which Mr Morrison and the parliamentary vice-chairman, Lieutenant-General Kharis Suhun "noted" differences between their respective Governments on East Timor.

AAP

MPs, Suharto swap Timor views

JAKARTA, Tuesday (AAP). — Indonesia's President Suharto and a delegation of Australian MPs exchanged frank views on East Timor and bilateral relations today, the eve of the delegation's visit to East Timor.

Delegation leader Mr Morrison (Lab. NSW) said later that during the 45-minute meeting at the presidential palace in Jakarta, President Suharto had given "a very detailed rundown on the Indonesian Government's policies on East Timor".

"I've also been informed again and again by President Suharto this morning that the delegation will have the opportunity of travelling anywhere it wants to," Mr Morrison said.

He said the attention given to the delegation by the Suharto Government and the Indonesian decision yesterday to extend the delegation's East Timor visit by a day in-

dicated the importance that both Canberra and Jakarta placed on the visit.

In his account of the meeting, Mr Morrison did not refer directly to ALP policy, set by its national conference last year, of supporting self-determination for East Timor, nor to Indonesia's view that the policy is incompatible with friendly and productive relations between the two countries.

He told journalists that the "events" of 1975-76 (when Indonesia intervened in the civil war in East Timor and later incorporated the territory as a province) "have created problems in relations between Australia and Indonesia".

He also said, "We can't become hostages of the past. We have to look to the future. The relations between Australia and Indonesia are important, and we should all work for the strengthening of those relations."

27/7/83
The tone of today's meeting appeared to match that of a dinner for the delegation last night.

The tour of an Australian parliamentary delegation to East Timor this week would be orchestrated like theatre and its Indonesian-supplied interpreters would be spies, two visiting Fretilin independence leaders said in Canberra yesterday.

The Fretilin representatives, Mr Abilio Araujo and Mr Roque Rodriguez, have invited delegation members — three Labor and two Liberal — to visit Fretilin-controlled areas.

They said that if Indonesian officials refused to take them to the east end of the island to speak with independence leaders, arrangements could be made for contact by radio transmitter.

Soeharto, Aust MPs in 'frank' Timor talks

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83 Concepts Timor

Mr Howe said, "Following a meeting of the Ministry today on the subject of ministers speaking on issues outside their portfolios, I have decided not to attend the public meeting in Melbourne next Sunday organised by the Australia-East Timor Associ-

Nevertheless, it is my firm intention to continue to express my views on the East Timor issue on the party's platform and to support Timor within the appropriate structures of the

C.T. 27/7/83

Minister accepts gag on Timor

The Minister for Defence Support, Mr Howe, has been ordered by a meeting of the full Ministry not to make any further statements on foreign affairs.

Mr Howe told an Australia-Cuba Friendship Society meeting in Melbourne last weekend that the Hawke Government should "pressure" the US to stop interfering in Nicaraguan affairs.

He had also planned to address a public meeting in Melbourne next Sunday for two visiting Fretilin representatives, Mr Abilio Araujo and Mr Roque Rodriguez.

Mr Howe's remarks and his intention to address the Melbourne rally were raised, it is understood, by the Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, at a scheduled meeting of the full Ministry in Canberra yesterday.

In a statement issued after-

wards Mr Howe said, "Following a meeting of the Ministry today on the subject of ministers speaking on issues outside their portfolios, I have decided not to attend the public meeting in Melbourne next Sunday organised by the Australia-East Timor Association.

"Nevertheless, it is my firm intention to continue to express my opinions on the East Timor issue and on the party's platform on East Timor within the appropriate structures of the party."

The Indonesian Embassy issued a statement yesterday expressing the hope that the Fretilin visit would not jeopardise the Australian parliamentary delegation now in East Timor.

Pryor's view. — Page 2; MPs, Suharto swap Timor views.

— Page 8.

Fretilin leaders bring letter for Hawke

From **SIMON BALDERSTONE** 27/7/83

CANBERRA. — Two visiting members of Fretilin's representative committee will meet a senior Foreign Affairs official today and deliver to the Prime Minister's staff a letter from their commander, Sha Na Na, to Mr Hawke. They will also meet the Portuguese ambassador in Canberra.

The two representatives, Mr Abilio Araujo, head of Fretilin's permanent external delegation and Mr Roque Rodregues, the representative in Angola, will meet the foreign affairs committee of the ALP parliamentary Caucus this morning.

They also plan to lunch with several Labor MPs, including some Ministers who have expressed a desire to meet them.

Mr Araujo said yesterday that the rank and file of the ALP had been very supportive of the Fretilin cause during their visit and had shown "sympathy and admiration" for the struggle for self-determination for East Timor.

Today the two men will present copies of a booklet said to show photos of dialogue started with the Indonesians in March this year.

The Fretilin representatives say the talks early this year, on a ceasefire agreement, were held with Fretilin flags hoisted and in Fretilin held areas, showing the power of the resistance forces.

"If we are a spent force, the Indonesians would never sit down and talk with us, equal to equal," said Mr Araujo.

He said he had believed Australians had been misinformed and manipulated by Indonesian propaganda, but had understood the situation when provided with evidence of the situation.

S.M.H. - 27/7/83

Mind your business: PM to ministers

From MIKE STEKETEE

CANBERRA, Tuesday. — The Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, gave ministers a stiff lecture yesterday about speaking out of turn and outside their portfolios, as the Minister for Defence Support, Mr Howe, did recently on Central America and East Timor.

Last night Mr Howe, a leading member of the Victorian Left, issued a statement saying he would not attend a rally in Melbourne next Sunday organised by the Australia-East Timor Association.

He said he had decided not to attend following the Prime Minister's lecture, given at a full ministry meeting.

Mr Howe was to have appeared on the same platform as two visiting Fretilin representatives, Mr Abilio Araujo and Mr Roque Rodrigues.

The Indonesian Embassy in Canberra complained about Mr Howe's proposed attendance after receiving assurances from the Federal Government that it regarded the Fretilin visit as purely a private one.

But Mr Howe added a note of defiance to his statement, saying: "Nevertheless, it is my firm intention to continue to express my opinions on the East Timor issue and on the party's platform on East Timor within the appropriate structures of the party.

"My primary concern is the welfare and aspirations of the East Timorese people, and I will continue to work to influence the Government's decisions on this evolving issue."

Mr Howe's remarks contrast with those of Mr Hawke who, during his Indonesian visit last month, ignored sections of the platform on Timor, which demands that military aid to Indonesia should be cut off until Indonesian troops have left Timor.

Mr Howe's dilemma is that of the Labor Left generally: how to continue to express and implement firmly held ideals and principles within a pragmatic Hawke Government.

Mr Hawke told yesterday's meeting that the Government could only be seen to be operating effectively if the Cabinet and the ministry function properly.

The discussion lasted for about an hour, but ministers said it did not become heated or focus on personalities. Instead, it broadened into ministers expres-

sing concern on issues such as the Budget decision-making process.

Some ministers complained that the procedure now under way by which Cabinet or Cabinet committees dealt with areas one by one, prevented the Government from setting proper priorities in its Budget decisions.

Mr Howe has not been the only minister to speak outside his portfolio since the election. But he has been the most recent.

On Saturday, at a meeting of the Australia-Cuba Friendship Society, he was strongly critical of US policies on Central America.

Mr Howe has also signed a letter critical of recent statements by Mr Hawke on Central America, saying they contradict ALP policy.

Mr Hawke said in Washington that the US had legitimate security concerns in the region, but that it should balance these with a consideration for human rights. He was confident this balance would be achieved.

National ALP policy calls on the US to stop interference, including military assistance to the region.

This is reflected in a recent Cabinet decision explained by the Foreign Minister, Mr Hayden, to the recent ANZUS meeting in Washington.

Mr Hayden's statement said Australia looked to the US to balance its legitimate right to be concerned about security in the area with a real concern for creating the conditions for economic and social reform.

"Australia considers that military action will not solve the problems of Central America and that it creates an environment which is not conducive to reform and reconciliation," the statement said.

In Jakarta, President Soeharto yesterday briefed the Australian parliamentary delegation on Indonesia's policies concerning East Timor.

The delegation leader, Mr Bill Morrison, a former Labor Defence Minister, said that President Soeharto had told the five-man delegation at a one-hour meeting in his palace that they were free to go anywhere they liked during their five-day visit to East Timor starting tomorrow.



Canberra Times, 27.7.83
CHART Digital

Hawke gag on Howe in foreign policy row

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spokesman said the Embassy
lained to the Department of
Affairs that Fretilin was
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Labor member for Fraser,
Fry, who is also a member
Caucus sub-committee, said
been delighted that the
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abinet (Senator Evans and
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etilin.

Fry said he believed the
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the issue of how Australia
vote on a possible United
resolution on East Timor
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Mr Abilio Araujo and Mr
Rodriguez, both members of
tilin Central Committee, de-
a letter to a member of Mr
s staff — after the Prime
r had refused to see them —
t Dr Bob Merrillees, head of
uth-East Asian desk in the
ment of Foreign Affairs.

Araujo said his visit to Aus-
ould help counter "the open
Indonesian propaganda" to
Australians had been sub-
or the past seven years.

said that conflict in East
was continuing and that
had 7,000 men from the
army plus "thousands of
s there." Indonesia had about
men from its regular forces
region.

From MICHELLE GRATTAN and
SIMON BALDERSTONE

CANBERRA.—The Minister for
Defence Support, Mr Howe, a
prominent Left-winger, has been
gagged from speaking out critic-
ally on foreign policy issues.

Yesterday the Prime Minister,
Mr Hawke, in effect reprimanded
Mr Howe at a meeting of the full
Ministry when he said that Minis-
ters should not go outside their
portfolios and could not, as Minis-
ters, express viewpoints as
individuals.

Last night Mr Howe issued a
statement saying he would pull
out of a rally next Sunday in Mel-
bourne organised by the Austra-
lia-East Timor Association, at
which he was to have been a
speaker.

Mr Howe at the weekend also
strongly criticised the United
States for its policy towards Cen-
tral America.

But sources said Mr Hawke was
concerned about Mr Howe's inter-
vention on Timor, an issue of
enormous sensitivity with the
Indonesian Government.

Today the first Fretilin repre-
sentatives to be allowed entry to
Australia for seven years will
meet Federal Labor MPs when
they appear before the Caucus de-
fence and foreign affairs commit-
tee to provide evidence of Fretilin
strength and alleged Indonesian
atrocities.

A spokesman for Mr Howe said
he would probably attend this
meeting if he was still in
Canberra.

The representatives may also
meet some Federal Ministers.

In his brief statement yester-
day, Mr Howe said he intended to
continue to put his view on East
Timor, but indicated he would do
it within the party.

He said he had decided not to
attend Sunday's meeting "follow-
ing a discussion of the Ministry on
the subject of Ministers speaking
on issues outside their portfolios".

"Nevertheless, it is my firm in-
tention to continue to express my
opinions on the East Timor issue
and on the party's platform on
East Timor within the appropriate
structure of the party," he said.
"My primary concern is the wel-
fare and aspirations of the East
Timorese people, and I will con-
tinue to work to influence the Gov-
ernment's decision on this
evolving issue".

The Ministry meeting agreed to
some guidelines for Ministerial
conduct, drafted by the Attorney
General, Senator Evans, which
said that a Minister who wished to
say something on another policy
area should consult the appropri-
ate Minister — and if there was a
difference of opinion, the matter
should go to the Prime Minister
for resolution.

The Indonesian embassy ear-
lier this week said it hoped that the
Fretilin visit would not jeopardise
the Australian parliamentary
delegation now in East Timor.

Mr Howe told the meeting that
the party had a view on East
Timor, and a lot of people were
disappointed at the Government's
handling of the matter. Another
Left-winger, the Minister for Ter-
ritories, Mr Uren, supported Mr
Howe, while the deputy Prime
Minister, Mr Bowen, said Minis-
ters should stick to their
portfolios.

Most Ministers were in clear
agreement with Mr Hawke in the
talks.

Mr Howe made a veiled criti-
cism of the Prime Minister during
his defence, suggesting that any
loss of Government credibility
had more to do with the Hope
Royal Commission than his
statements.

PAGE 5: Fretilin letter for
Hawke

Indonesia upset at ministers

From PETER KENNEDY

CANBERRA. — The Indonesian Embassy has described as regrettable the attendance of four Federal Government Ministers at an ALP Caucus sub-committee meeting yesterday with visiting Fretilin representatives.

A spokesman for the Embassy said: "We indicated orally to the Department of Foreign Affairs that we would prefer it if ministers did not attend."

The four ministers were Mr Uren (Territories and Local Government), Mr Brown (Sport, Recreation and Tourism), Senator Evans (Attorney-General) and Mr West (Immigration and Ethnic Affairs), who only attended for part of the meeting.

Two other ministers, Mr Howe (Defence Support) and Mr Scholes (Defence) sent apologies. It is understood they were in a Cabinet committee meeting.

The spokesman for the Embassy said he did not believe that the ministers who attended were supporting the Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, to promote understanding and good relations between Indonesia and Australia.

"But I am learning from one of my friends that you have to separate their capacity as a minister and as a Caucus member," he said.

"As a Caucus member a minister is free to attend just to listen to

what is said. Anyhow it is still regrettable."

The spokesman said the Embassy had explained to the Department of Foreign Affairs that Fretilin was hostile to the Indonesian Government.

The Labor member for Fraser, Mr Ken Fry, who is also a member of the Caucus sub-committee, said he had been delighted that the Ministers, especially those from the inner-Cabinet (Senator Evans and Mr West) had been at the meeting with Fretilin.

Mr Fry said he believed the talks with Fretilin would influence the attitude of some Caucus members if the issue of how Australia would vote on a possible United Nations resolution on East Timor was raised.

Earlier the two Fretilin representatives, Mr Abilio Araujo and Mr Roque Rodriguez, both members of the Fretilin Central Committee, delivered a letter to a member of Mr Hawke's staff — after the Prime Minister had refused to see them — and met Dr Bob Merrillees, head of the South-East Asian desk in the Department of Foreign Affairs.

Mr Araujo said his visit to Australia would help counter "the open field of Indonesian propaganda" to which Australians had been subjected for the past seven years.

He said that conflict in East Timor was continuing and that Fretilin had 7,000 men from the regular army plus "thousands of guerillas there." Indonesia had about 20,000 men from its regular forces in the region.

Fretilin paints rosy picture

From MATTHEW BOLTON in Sydney

RECONSTRUCTION, redevelopment, respect for cultural groups, and national advancement.

This may sound like the Labor Party's election-winning platform, but these goals have been professed by the "Democratic Republic of East Timor" through nearly eight years of guerilla warfare with Indonesia. They are, say members of East Timor's independence movement, to be the cornerstones for a new nation.

The movement, Fretilin, believes the war could end soon, bringing peace and self-determination to East Timor. It says a ceasefire was signed in March — the first time, it claims, the Indonesian Government has recognised Fretilin.

Fretilin claims this as a major victory. Indonesia denies that a ceasefire was signed.

The Democratic Republic of

East Timor was declared in November 1975, 10 days before the Indonesian invasion.

According to two members of Fretilin's central committee, who are in Australia trying to win the Government's support for their efforts to get an Indonesian withdrawal, a Fretilin victory would ensure the economic survival of East Timor through a wide diversification of industry.

Yesterday the two men, dressed in suits rather than the stereotype guerilla jungle greens, delivered a letter from their commander to the Prime Minister, and met a senior Foreign Affairs official and the foreign affairs committee of the parliamentary Caucus.

Mr Roque Rodrigues, the republic's ambassador to Angola, one of the few States to recognise the Fretilin "government", believes the East Timorese should decide their country's fate.

"If, in a democratic process, the people of East Timor wanted Indonesian rule, then OK. So long as it was established democratically but not by force," Mr Rodrigues said, stressing the occasional word, almost spitting it out and reclining in his chair after making his point.

Education, he says, would be one of the republic's first and major battles. Most Timorese are either illiterate or semi-literate.

In 1960, there were only four primary schools in East Timor for a population of more than half a million. In the 1960s the Portuguese built more schools. Fretilin claims to have established another 200 since 1975.

When the republic's Minister for Economic and Social Affairs, Mr Abilio Araujo, was seven years old, he had to leave his family and home district to continue his primary school studies in the capital, Dili, because his school went only to grade one.

Mr Araujo says East Timor's fertile land can support rice, maize, tropical fruits, sugar and cotton.

"We want to develop our traditional cloth industry which is now being developed in liberated areas, but it has not been mechan-

ised. With our plantations we will be able to carry out this development."

He says that once a strong Government has been established, the republic will have the job of reversing almost five centuries of mono-agriculture. Overseas aid and foreign investment will be needed.

"Physically we are an island, but culturally we are part of the human-kind. This is not philo-but culturally we are part of struggle," Mr Rodrigues said.

"In the interests of equality we can respect other groups. A non-aligned East Timor will be a factor for peace. If the people of East Timor are not given their rights, then there is no chance of peace in the region."

And Mr Araujo again: "We want to make friends with everybody. We are a small country, but with rich resources. We will take a policy of non-alignment — true non-alignment."

The two claimed that East Timor's "oil, magnesium and natural gas" would also be developed by a republic, as would the fishing and dairy industries.

In some fields, co-operatives would be set up. Doctors, technicians and other trained people would be desperately needed, Mr Araujo said.

"We feel that if the Australian people want the East Timorese people's rights to be respected, then we are sure the Australian Government will help us," he said.

"The East Timorese people have already given their blood and support in defence of Australia during the second world war. We are proud to say that the Australian journalists who lost their lives gave their blood for East Timor," Mr Araujo said.

"We should not forget the blood of the East Timorese people and Australian people. This blood has bonded a friendship between our peoples."

Over the past 10 years East Timor has been an unstable part of the South Pacific. Fretilin claims that with a policy of butter before, or without, guns, it might be able to bring stability to the region by bringing stability to a new country.

CANBERRA TIMES
28/7/83

ALP members asked to back Timor policy

The Member for Fraser, Mr Fry, has called on rank-and-file Australian Labor Party members to confirm their support for ALP policy on East Timor at local branch meetings.

Welcoming two Fretilin representatives, Mr Abilio Araujo and Mr Roque Rodriguez, at a reception last night, Mr Fry said the East Timorese question called for a vote "for aggression, repression and fascism, or social justice."

"Rank-and-file members must put pressure on their elected representatives to do the right thing," he said.

Mr Araujo said Australia should play a positive role in East Timor, where "a great debt was still owed to the 70,000 Timorese who died in the Second World War".

He called on Australians to support Fretilin's struggle for the unconditional withdrawal of all Indonesian troops from East Timor, under the supervision of a United Nations peace-keeping force and the recognition of the right to Timorese self-determination and independence.

Four ministers, including two Cabinet members, attended a Government foreign affairs and defence committee meeting addressed by the Fretilin representatives yesterday.

They were the Attorney-General, Senator Evans, the Minister for Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, Mr West, the Minister for Sport, Recreation and Tourism,

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They were the Attorney-General, Senator Evans, the Minister for Immigration and Ethnic Affairs, Mr West, the Minister for Sport, Recreation and Tourism, Mr Brown, and the Minister for Territories and Local Government, Mr Uren.

The Minister for Defence Support, Mr Howe, who was to have spoken at a rally in support of the East Timor Association on Sunday but has now pulled out, did not attend the meeting.

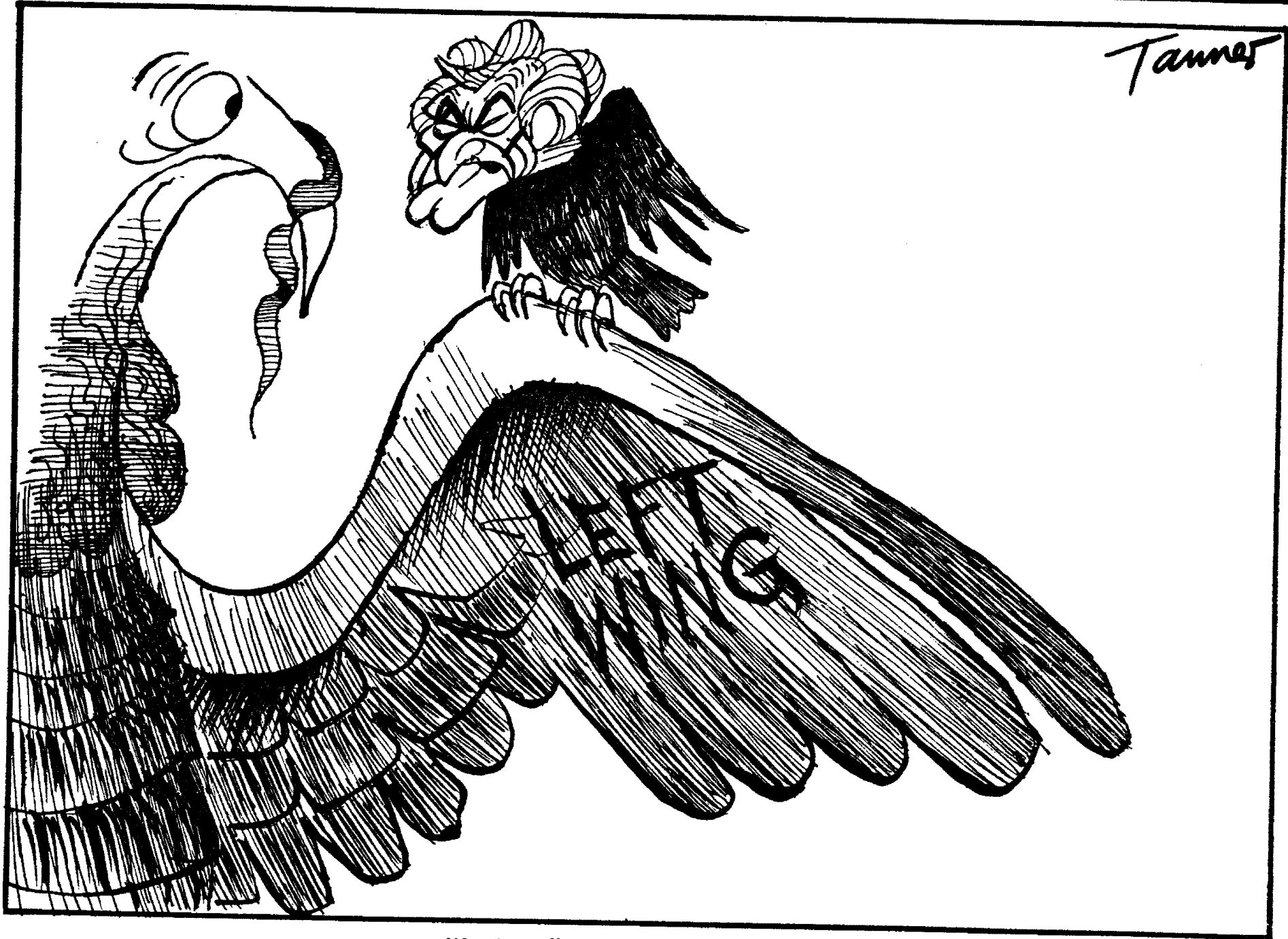
MPs arrive in Timor

JAKARTA, 27 July. — An Australian parliamentary delegation flew to West Timor today on its way to assess conditions in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor, incorporated into Indonesia seven years ago.

The group's findings could influence Australian policy on the controversial East Timor question.

The mission members are due to fly to East Timor tomorrow for a few days' visit after talking to local officials in Kupang and touring a cattlefarming project run with Australian aid.

—AAP-Reuter



AGNE . 28/7/83

"Let's talk turkey — shut up!"

Bairnsdale.

Labor spokesman

Brian Howe speaks for thousands of disappointed Labor supporters. His gagging by Mr Hawke is another step away from ALP policy and towards collaboration with Indonesia's annexation of East Timor and with Mr Reagan's aggression towards Central America.

**NOEL WILLIS,
Albert Park.**

ACE - 28/7/83

Access letters must be 50 words or less. Lines open between 8 am and noon, 1 pm and 4 pm weekdays.

Wrong concern

Mr Howe says ('The Age', 27/7): "My primary concern is the welfare and aspirations of the East Timorese people and I will continue to work to influence the Government on this evolving issue". Perhaps the people in Mr Howe's electorate would rather he made their problems his primary concern.

**JESS ANDERSON,
Ringwood.**

Labor MPs meet Fretilin officers

From SIMON BALDERSTONE

CANBERRA. — Two Fretilin representatives met 20 Federal Labor MPs — including four Ministers — yesterday, despite sensitivity within the ALP over the East Timor issue.

The two members of the central committee of Fretilin, addressed members of the foreign affairs and defence committee of the ALP parliamentary Caucus, urging them to support the implementation of present Labor policy and to press for Australian participation in a Fretilin peace plan for East Timor involving a United Nations peace-keeping force.

Although Labor leaders have appeared to soften the ALP stance recently on East Timor to try to maintain good relations with Indonesia, it remains party policy to reject recognition of Indonesia's annexation of East Timor and to oppose all defence aid to Indonesia until Indonesian forces withdraw from East Timor.

The two representatives, Mr Abilio Araujo and Mr Roque Rodriguez, also delivered a letter from their commander-in-chief, Kay Rala Xanana Gusmao, for the Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, to a member of the Prime Minister's staff.

The letter requested the Government to participate in talks that Fretilin says began in March between its forces and the Indonesian Government. The representatives showed Labor MPs photos of the meetings, which they said took place in Fretilin-held areas, indicating the strength of the Fretilin forces.

The four Ministers at the meeting were the Attorney-General, Senator Evans; the Minister for Sport, Recreation and Tourism, Mr Brown; The Minister for Territories, Mr Uren; and the Minister for Immigration, Mr West. Mr West and Senator Evans attended only briefly. Mr Brown had another item before the meeting.

The Minister for Defence supported, Mr Howe, who was gagged earlier this week from speaking at a Fretilin rally, sent his apologies, as did the Minister for Defence, Mr Scholes. Both were in a Budget committee meeting.

The two Fretilin members — the first to be allowed to visit Australia for seven years — also met the head of the South-East Asian section of the Department of foreign Affairs, Dr Bob Meerillees.

Mr Araujo said later that he was happy with the meeting. A labor MP, Mr Ken Fry, said the meeting would have an influence on the vote in Caucus if the ALP members voted to decide Australia's position at the United Nations.

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in the world.

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29/6/83

Hayden confirms Timor truce bid

From MICHAEL RICHARDSON,
of The Age, and
JILL JOLLIFE
of The Guardian

BANGKOK, Tuesday. — The Foreign Minister, Mr Hayden, confirmed today that negotiations are under way for a possible cease-fire throughout East Timor after a truce agreement between Jakarta and one group from the Fretilin independence movement.

He described the move as an important step towards ending the guerilla war that began when Indonesian forces invaded in 1975. A senior Australian official described the negotiations as "still pretty fluid."

Mr Hayden said there was, however, no sign that Jakarta would agree to hold an act of self-determination in the territory because it maintained that a special assembly of Timorese representatives in 1976 had chosen to make the territory part of Indonesia.

He discussed the Timor negotiations in a meeting with Indonesia's Foreign Minister, Dr Mochtar, yesterday following contradicting reports of a cease-fire.

The Herald quoted a senior Indonesian Government official on Sunday as saying that a "virtual cease-fire" between Indonesian troops and Fretilin guerillas existed in most remaining "contested areas" of East Timor for the past six months.

The former Roman Catholic bishop of East Timor, Bishop Martinho Da Costa Lopes, said in Lisbon that a cease-fire agreement had been in force since March. Yesterday an Indonesian Defence and Security Ministry spokesman denied the cease-fire.

The bishop said the Indonesians had not accepted two conditions demanded by Fretilin — a pledge to inform the UN that Jakarta was ready to negotiate with Fretilin and guarantee to hold a referendum on the independence issue.

Mr Hayden described the Lisbon reports as "perhaps overdrawn." He said he was first advised of the secret contacts between Fretilin and Indonesia in East Timor when he visited Jakarta about six weeks ago.

However, new details have emerged in Lisbon of the negotiations between Fretilin and the Indonesian authorities.

Photographs, documents, and a tape recording of a meeting show that Indonesian military authorities requested and signed a cease-fire agreement with the rebels in March.

A 40-minute tape recording smuggled from Timor to a refugee in Lisbon gives details of the first meeting between the Fretilin commander, Sha Na Na, and three Indonesian officers on March 21. The photographs show a second meeting at which the cease-fire agreement was signed.

In Bangkok, Mr Hayden also said that the cease-fire negotiations contradicted views put by "a number of quarters in Australia" that Fretilin's resistance was undiminished and fairly large-scale.

Hawke attacked on Timor

By LOUISE CARBINES

AGE 29/7/83

A senior ALP member last night criticised the Prime Minister Mr Hawke over his handling of the East Timor issue.

The immediate past president of the Victorian branch of the ALP, Mr Ray Hogan, told the Trades Hall Council that "Australia could feel a fair deal of shame over East Timor".

Mr Hogan, the secretary of the Miscellaneous Workers Union, said he was surprised Mr Hawke had refused to see two Fretilin members to accept a message asking for Australian support.

He also criticised Mr Hawke for comments he was reported to have made during a state dinner in Indonesia last month. Mr Hawke described Mr Suharto as

one of the most respected Heads of State in the world.

"Some of us who know how he (Mr Suharto) came to power can't accept this," Mr Hogan said.

The Trades Hall Council voted to confirm ALP policy supporting East Timor's right to self determination. After a Fretilin spokesman called on the council for its support, the council said it was dissatisfied with the Government's handling of the East Timor issue and of Australia's relations with the Suharto Government.

The Fretilin spokesman, Mr Abilio Araujo, said: "Only when our right to self determination is fully respected can there be peace. In the struggle for our survival, we need the support of your Government."

The Trades Hall Council supported resolutions passed at State ALP conferences calling for the withdrawal of Australian recognition of Indonesian annexation of East Timor, and an end to all military aid to Indonesia.

AGE

29/7/83

Time to weep

**Why doesn't Prime Minister Bob
Hawke cry for East Timor?**

**KEN BALDWIN,
Yarrambat.**

Mystery killings justified: top Indon

AGE
29/7/83

JAKARTA, 28 July. — A top Indonesian official has admitted implicitly for the first time that the armed forces were behind the "mysterious killings" of more than 500 suspected criminals during the past four months.

The killings began in April in Java but have since spread across the country. At the latest unofficial count, 553 people have died.

General Ali Murtopo, the former Information Minister and currently vice-chairman of Indonesia's Supreme Advisory Council, told reporters yesterday after a meeting with President Suharto that the killings were "justified" and "in line with the rules governing the implementation of the duties of the armed forces."

The retired general, who used to be one of President's Suharto's closest advisers, said that "realising that any conventional system has not worked in our efforts to combat crimes, the only consideration left in our mind was whether crime should be eradicated or not."

The final decision, he said, was to eradicate, for the sake of the people."

Indonesia should not let a situation develop which would be similar to Italy with its Red Brigades

or Japan with its Red Army, he said. "We do not want the situation to get out of control."

In another development Indonesia's Foreign Minister, Dr Mochtar, has asked for Western Samoa's help in limiting international discussion of its role in East Timor.

Dr Mochtar, winding up a four-day visit to Apia, Western Samoa, asked Western Samoan leaders and other members of the South Pacific Conference to support Indonesia's position in East Timor before the United Nations.

Indonesia hoped with Western Samoa's support to avoid further discussions of the issue in the UN, he said. In the past, Western Samoa had abstained from voting when the East Timor question was placed on the agenda at the UN General Assembly.

Dr Mochtar also held four days of talks with Western Samoan officials on extending Indonesian technical aid to the island nation, one of the poorest in the region.

On Tuesday, he met the Western Samoan Head of State, the Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister to discuss matters of mutual concern, he said. Samoan officials were invited to Jakarta to meet Indonesian officials and discuss bilateral aid and technical assistance.

— AAP-AP-Reuter

East Timor 'calm' as MPs begin tour

DILI, 28 July. — A five-man Australian parliamentary delegation arrived here today to gather first hand information about living conditions seven years after Indonesia incorporated East Timor.

The delegation, led by the Federal Labor MP, Mr Bill Morrison, will tour this harsh mountainous territory until midday on Monday, inspecting villages and development projects by car and helicopter.

Their four days here constitute less than half their 10-day goodwill visit to Indonesia. Officially the Timor visit is not an investigative mission, but their observations could help the Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, modify official ALP opposition to Indonesian rule.

The delegation of Mr Morrison, Mr Manfred Cross (Labor Qld) Senator Gordon McIntosh (Labor WA), Senator David MacGibbon (Liberal Qld) and Mr Don Dobie (Liberal NSW) flew from West Timor's capital, Kupang.

East Timor's governor since last September, Mr Carascalao, has assured the delegation full access to nine areas they wish to see and has put three helicopters at their disposal.

Before the delegation flew in, Mr Carascalao told AAP that the East Timorese independence movement Fretilin was "a spent force", rarely seen or heard with "no support amongst the people".

Amnesty

[AAP correspondent Leigh Mackay and Radio Australia's John Lombard arrived here yesterday after Jakarta authorities reversed last week's decision not to allow journalists to cover the visit.]

The last reported Fretilin attack came last January when guerrillas tried to burn houses in Jamalare village before local militia drove them off, Mr Carascalao said.

Confirming earlier statements by the Indonesian Foreign Minister, Dr Mochtar, the governor said he met Fretilin representatives twice in March and repeated the Government's offer of amnesty.

"It seemed they were in a spirit to come down. But since then I have heard nothing, not a shot, no contact. They can contact us whenever they want," he said.

"We did not talk about a cease-fire. They wanted to know what would happen if they came down, and I told them they had complete amnesty if they returned to their villages."

— AAP

MKAB. Sun. 29/7/83

Hawke hit over Timor 'sell-out'

MEMBERS of the Victorian Trades Hall Council last night criticised the Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, over his handling of the East Timor issue.

And the council overwhelmingly passed a recommendation supporting the policy of the Victorian branch of the ALP, which criticises the Federal Government's action on the issue.

In seconding the recommendation, Mr Ray Hogan, of the Federated Miscellaneous Workers' Union, said Australia had "sold-out" the East Timorese.

"We in Australia can feel a fair degree of shame," he said.

Mr Hogan said he was surprised by Mr Hawke's refusal to see two representatives from the Fretilin organisation to accept a message asking for positive Australian support of East Timor.

"I find that very strange in view of the ALP's stated policy," he said.



He also criticised Mr Hawke for comments reportedly made during a recent state dinner in Indonesia, where he said Mr Hawke described Indonesian President Mr Suharto as "one of the most respected Heads of State."

The THC's policy calls on the Government to support the principle of self-determination for East Timor and to cease all military aid to Indonesia.

It also calls on Australia to withdraw recognition of the Indonesian annexation of East Timor and to support the East Timorese before the United Nations.

Earlier in the evening a Fretilin representative, Mr Abilio Araujo, told the council that East Timor needed Australian support "in the struggle for our survival."

MPs start tour of East Timor

DILI, Thurs., AAP — Five Australian MPs arrived here today for a first-hand view of conditions seven years after Indonesia took over East Timor.

The delegation will tour villages and development projects in the rugged territory until Monday.

Officially, it is not an investigative mission but the tour could help Prime Minister Hawke modify official ALP opposition to Indonesian rule.

The delegation of Mr Bill Morrison, (Lab., NSW), Mr Manfred Cross (Lab., Qld), Senator Gordon McIntosh (Lab., WA), Senator David MacGibbon (Lib., Qld) and Mr Don Dobie (Lib., NSW) has been assured full access.

Before they flew in, Governor Carascalao said the East Timorese independence movement - Fretilin was "a spent force."

MELB SUN 29/7/83

Timor deaths

'accidental'

DILI, Thurs., AAP. — Five Australian journalists killed in East Timor in 1975 had been shot "accidentally", the East Timor governor said today.

The Governor said his own and other investigations indicated they were shot during an assault on Balibo by forces of the Timor Democratic Union (UDT).

"There might have been Indonesians in the attack but no regular troops," Governor Mario Viegas Carascalao said.

"Shots were fired into an old Chinese store where they were staying, but probably it was a cross-fire. Then some petrol or fuel caught fire and their bodies were burnt.

"No one knew until later who they were or that they were Australians," he said.

The five television journalists were killed on October 16, 1975, at Balibo.

QUESTIONS

They were in East Timor reporting the civil war in the colony, now a province of Indonesia, but still facing resistance from an independence force, Fretilin.

Governor Carascalao was being questioned by Australian journalists in East Timor with a five-man Australian parliamentary delegation.

The delegation, led by Labor MHR Bill Morrison, is investigating living conditions there seven years after the civil war.

In London, parliamentarians from eight EEC countries today called for self-determination in East Timor.

MARR. HERALD

29/7/83

SMH. 30 JULY 1983

EEC asked to support Timor

LONDON, Friday. — Parliamentarians from eight European Economic Community countries — including Britain — called today for self-determination in East Timor.

The declaration, signed by 170 MPs from Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Ireland, Italy, the Netherlands and Britain, has been sent to the governments of the European Economic Community.

It calls on them to work collectively for the self-determination of the East Timorese, which they say has been invaded and "forcibly annexed" by Indonesia.

One aim of the MP's declaration is to unite the EEC in future United Nations General Assembly votes on self-determination in East Timor.

The chairman of the human rights group in the British Parliament, Lord Avebury, said: "This is the first time a human rights initiative has been taken by parliamentarians of European Community countries acting together.

"Its timing is just right in view of what is happening now in East Timor."

Lord Avebury said the Indonesian Government had denied that it had made a ceasefire agreement with the resistance movement, Fretilin.

"They continue to insist that East Timor is their internal affair, and the Foreign Minister, Dr Mochtar Kusumaatmadja, has said that talks are 'aimed at preempting any foreign involvement in the settlement of the dispute'," said Lord Avebury.

MPs visiting sites picked by Fretilin

DILI, 29 July.—Nine sites chosen for inspection by an Australian Federal parliamentary delegation visiting East Timor has been recommended by the East Timorese independence movement Fretilin, the delegation leader, Mr Bill Morrison, said yesterday.

East Timor's Governor, Mr Mario Carascalao, had not known of the Fretilin list and had fully agreed to allow the delegation to inspect the sites, said Mr Morrison, a

Labor MP.

He surprised journalists and guests when he made the disclosure to Governor Carascalao at an open-air dinner for the delegation at Dili's Torismo Hotel last night.

"The nine sites we have asked to see were in fact chosen from a list of places obtained from Fretilin sources in Australia," Mr Morrison said.

"I want to make it clear to all concerned that neither Governor Carascalao nor other Indonesian authorities were aware of this, and it is to their credit that they

raised no objections to our visiting any of these sites.

Mr Morrison also said the delegation's two interpreters had been chosen from four candidates by a delegation member who had long opposed Indonesia's incorporation of East Timor, Labor Senator Gordon McIntosh.

The delegation, accompanied by Australian diplomatic and Indonesian Information Ministry officials, leaves today by helicopter to begin inspecting villages and areas around Bacau,

—AAP

Handwritten notes in the right margin: "The 30/7/75" and a large bracket-like symbol.

HAWKE FACES A GRILLING

STARTING this week, we will be treated to a spectacle unprecedented in Australian politics – five of the most senior members of Federal Cabinet giving evidence in a royal commission.

And, more importantly, being mercilessly cross-examined by one of the best and toughest barristers in Australia.

Prime Minister Bob Hawke says he is looking forward to his appearance at the Hope Royal Commission, scheduled for Wednesday.

If that is the case, Mr Hawke is a very unusual person. I have never known anyone who was not nervous about giving evidence before a royal commission.

Mr Hawke will find it a very different proposition from the controlled news conferences in which he answers questions.

And question time in Parliament is a snack compared with the grilling the Prime Minister can expect to get from David Combe's counsel, Mr Ian Barker, QC – the lawyer who prosecuted Lindy and Michael Chamberlain.

Other ministers who will parade through the witness box are Deputy Prime Minister Mr Lionel Bowen, the Attorney-General Senator Gareth Evans, the Foreign Minister Mr Bill Hayden, and the Defence Minister, Mr Gordon Scholes.

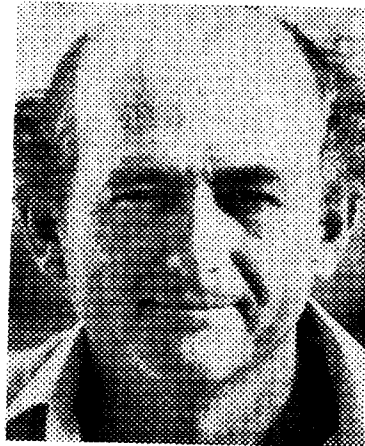
Expulsion

Also appearing will be the former Special Minister of State, Mr Mick Young, whose resignation from Cabinet was brought about by the Combe-Ivanov affair.

All were members of the National and International Security Committee of Cabinet, which decided to expel Ivanov and blackball Mr Combe in his role as a lobbyist.

The Government expects the ministers to be given a very hard time indeed, and senior Cabinet sources acknowledge that there may be some unpleasant political fall-out.

MR HAWKE did not strike a major problem in persuading Defence Support Minister, Brian Howe, to stop making public statements on foreign policy.



□ QC Ian Barker . . . tough

As one of Mr Howe's left wing colleagues said, just a touch cynically: "East Timor is important, but so is a portfolio."

That was a recognition that, for the time being at least, Mr Hawke's supporters are considerably stronger than the left wing in the Labor Caucus.

The ultimate sanction a prime minister can exercise is to dismiss or suspend a minister. In a Labor government, that can only really be done with the concurrence of Caucus.

At the moment there is no doubt that Mr Hawke would get Caucus backing if he insisted on the removal of a minister for talking out of turn.

Mr Hawke has already threatened dismissal or suspension of a

LAURIE OAKES
**ON THE
INSIDE**



THE BEST INFORMED
POLITICAL COLUMN

Tough time tipped at Commission

minister he believes was leaking details of economic discussions.

He said at a recent Ministry meeting that he knew the offender's identity and had no doubt Caucus would back him.

That kind of threat was not necessary when Mr Howe's foreign policy statements were raised at a meeting of the full Ministry on Tuesday.

The Prime Minister, in fact, was very careful not to bring any element of personal criticism into his comments.

Ministers, Mr Hawke said, should not speak on matters outside their own portfolios.

And they should not criticise Government policies and actions because to do so was a breach of the Westminster principle of collective ministerial responsibility.

In the past there has been some difficulty in enforcing these conventions in Labor governments.

It has been accepted that Labor Ministers can appeal from Cabinet to Caucus when they disagree with a decision.

Labor rules also make it clear that the National ALP Conference has authority over all party members – including Cabinet Ministers. In other words, Party policy takes precedence over Government policy.

And Mr Howe was setting out, in his public comments to espouse what he believed was party policy.

That Mr Hawke gained acceptance of the Westminster principles over traditional ALP ideas

was a victory – though Mr Howe reserved the right to express his views at Party conferences.

AUSTRALIAN diplomats in Seoul have accused South Korean authorities of bugging Embassy communications.

The incident is being kept very quiet in the Foreign Affairs Department, and may even be denied to prevent the rift developing any further. But it happened.

It resulted from a decision by Foreign Minister Bill Hayden to talk with some human rights activists during his visit to the South Korean capital last week.

Knew details

The right wing government of President Chun Doo-Hwan was angry about the talks with people they termed "dissidents" and a diplomatic pressure was applied to try to have Mr Hayden cancel the meeting.

The Australian Embassy believed bugging had occurred because the Korean authorities knew precise details of who had been invited to the meeting.

Mr Hayden ignored the pressure and met the "dissidents" on Wednesday. He also raised the issue of civil rights in South Korea when he met President Chun.

But Mr Hayden is not setting out to alienate President Chun. He and Mr Hawke have renewed an invitation issued by the former Government for President Chun to visit Australia and he should arrive here on October 11.

Sunday TELEGRAPH
July 31st 1983