

Letters to the Editor

Dear Editor,

Contrary to Mr K. Rivett's assertion in the January newsletter, the Australian Section has not "pronounced" on the question of Indonesian sovereignty in East Timor. We have responded to the Australian Foreign Minister's statement that "it is now time for the international community to put the Timor question

4 - NATIONAL NEWSLETTER

behind it", and that there should be no more United Nations resolutions on the topic.

We claim that the issue of human rights violations in East Timor continues to be of concern, and should rightly be the subject of United Nations attention, regardless of the sovereignty issue.

Human rights matters cannot always be

separated from other issues that come before the various United Nations committees and the General Assembly, and we should not lose opportunities to keep up the pressure.

Roger Gurr,
National President,
Amnesty International Australia

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL AUSTRALIA - FEB. 1983

AFR

1/2/83

Sinclair affirms role of Indonesia in Timor

By DEBORAH SNOW

THE Minister for Defence, Mr Sinclair, has issued a strong statement in support of the Indonesian Administration in East Timor, following his return on Sunday from an official tour of Indonesia.

Mr Sinclair, who was visiting the country for the first time in his official capacity said his tours of East Timor and Irian Jaya (the Indonesian territory bordering on Papua New Guinea) were "particularly important parts of our stay."

Mr Sinclair said that despite continuing rumours of famine in East Timor, he believed the situation was being "adequately managed" despite a pronounced drought in the territory.

"If there is an indictment of the situation in East Timor, it is the product of 400 years of neglect," he said.

"The Governor is confident that East Timor will be able to produce enough food for its own people and indeed sees the province as an exporter of

food to other parts of Indonesia in a few years."

Mr Sinclair said his party had also visited Atauro Island and found that descriptions of it as a concentration camp were "not accurate."

"Included in the party was a female secretary on my staff who at no stage felt threatened in any way or at all apprehensive on the island."

There was no forced confinement, he said "although the circumstances of living were certainly not good."

The Minister said his tour of Irian Jaya had revealed no "signs of aggressive intent" towards Papua New Guinea.

"We were assured that as a result of the visit by the PNG Foreign Minister a few weeks ago, there is now a better

understanding between the Government of PNG and that of Indonesia."

He said discussions would be held with the Government of PNG to confirm this was the case.

The Minister was also at pains to smooth over the rift which past Australian media reporting of Indonesia has opened up.

Mr Sinclair said many in Australia had "an inadequate understanding of the magnitude of the tasks of nation-building confronted by the Indonesian Government in respect of the diversity of the country and its people, and the poor inheritance from the colonial regime of only a generation ago."

East Timor: the strange case of Jill Jolliffe

THE RECENT VISIT of two Australian editors to East Timor has helped to explode the myth spread throughout the Australian media, that the Marxist-oriented guerilla movement, Fretilin, which seized power in a bloody civil war in 1975, has any real significance in the province. But their visit has not silenced Fretilin's supporters in aid agencies or the media.

The supporters of Fretilin come from two sources: the traditional left — including the Communist Party, various extreme left Trotskyite groups, and the pro-communist left in the ALP — and some church and development agencies.

An important role in projecting support for Fretilin in Australia, and correspondingly, of criticising Australian Government and Indonesian actions in relation to the province, has been played by Jill Jolliffe.

Background

Now living in Portugal, Jill Jolliffe has an interesting background of political activity in Australia.

In the 1960s, Jolliffe was active in the agitation and demonstrations against Australian Government support for the anti-communist Government of South Vietnam, being arrested and fined, on one occasion, after a protest demonstration outside the Prime Minister's residence in Canberra.

In February 1972, Jolliffe wrote for the Marxist publication, *Socialist Review*, about the youth wing of the Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist).

(*Socialist Review* was the journal of the Trotskyite Socialist Workers Party).

In April 1975, she first became involved in East Timor, when she represented the Communist-controlled Australian Union of Students on a delegation to East Timor.

That delegation also included representatives of the Amalgamated Metal Workers and Shipwrights Union and Mark Aarons.

She returned to East Timor after Fretilin seized power in August-September 1975, and



Jill Jolliffe

with the virtual absence of journalists from the province, sent glowingly sympathetic reports to the Australian press from Dili, the capital of East Timor, which were published by the metropolitan dailies.

Jolliffe was evacuated from Dili in December 1975, shortly before the Indonesian Government formally occupied East Timor.

Agitation

Throughout 1976 and 1977, she was active in the pro-Fretilin agitation within Australia, against the Indonesian Government's occupation of East Timor, and Australia's acquiescence in that action.

At the time, she also wrote a book, *East Timor, Nationalism and Colonialism*, which not surprisingly, was highly sympathetic to Fretilin.

In early 1978, Miss Jolliffe left Australia to live in Portugal.

From there, she has continued to write for many newspapers, including the *Canberra Times*, the *Melbourne Age*, the *Melbourne*

Herald, and the British newspaper, the *Guardian*, with reports sympathetic to Fretilin, from the emigre Timorese community in Portugal.

Within days of reports in the Australian press on the visit to East Timor by the two Australian editors, P.P. McGuinness of the *Australian Financial Review* and Dan O'Sullivan, of *West Australian Newspapers*, Miss Jolliffe had filed a contradictory report — published in the *Melbourne Age* — based on information supplied to her by supporters of Fretilin in Lisbon.

This report said that there was growing resistance in East Timor to Indonesia's occupation of the province.

Since the journalists' extensive visit to East Timor, Dr Peter McCawley of the Australian National University, has analysed Indonesian Government reports on East Timor, brought back to Australia by the journalists.

He said, "The picture of conditions in East Timor which emerges from these reports is consistent both with the Australian journalists' impressions and with the Indonesian Government's approach to development problems elsewhere in Indonesia.

"Conditions in the province are described as very bad after the collapse of effective Portuguese rule in 1974, and the situation deteriorated further during the political and military strife that followed.

"More recently, living conditions appear to have steadily improved as Indonesian control over the territory was strengthened.

"Economic growth in East Timor is beginning from a very low level — the Portuguese neglected the colony for centuries, and no one else in the West was interested in the plight of the Timorese people until Indonesia took over.

"The task of developing East Timor will be a long and difficult one, and doubtless many mistakes will be made

along the way.

"But the prospects for the immediate future are encouraging.

"The Indonesian Government's heavy-handed annexation of East Timor in 1975 rightly attracted considerable criticism in international circles.

"But future debate about Indonesia's role on the island should acknowledge that, for the first time in hundreds of years, there is a government in East Timor which is taking the task of economic development seriously."

APR 21/2183

East Timor and the press

SIR, Your report on New Facts About East Timor, coupled with your editorial (Financial Review, January 25) need to be put into some sort of perspective.

While some of the information provided adds to our understanding of what has happened in East Timor since 1975, the articles are based on an inaccurate and misleading assumption. The intent throughout is to contrast "alarmist reports" with "eyewitness accounts from two ex-

is on holiday

perienced journalists" as the article by Dr Peter McCawley puts it, or "the observations of two experienced Australian journalists" with "unsourced and tendentious reports" as your leader writer puts it.

It is particularly misleading when one of the people in question is your leader writer, himself.

The implication is that Indonesia has been given a clean bill of health after careful scrutiny and consideration by Australian journalists. Nothing could be further from the truth. Australian journalists have not been given the opportunity.

For several years now the Indonesian Government has consistently refused to allow working Australian journalists access to any part of Indonesia, let alone contentious areas such as Irian Jaya or East Timor. Capable and experienced journalists well-versed in the nuances of Indonesian politics and society have been forced to leave the country when the Government refused to extend their visas. Other working journalists have been refused entry to the country completely.

Of course, visas are not the major problem faced by Australian journalists. Some working in East Timor at the time of what Dr McCawley delicately describes as "the heavy handed annexation of the province" were murdered by the Indonesian army to prevent them from revealing the army's role in destabilising the then independent East Timor.

The crime of Australian journalists has not been, as the Indonesian Government has claimed, because of some bitter campaign against the country by Australian reporters. It has been that they have honestly reported what they believed to be the truth, often to the discomfort of senior Indonesian Government officials.

There have been few exceptions to the fiat of the Indonesian Government — certainly none that allow anyone to speak with the confidence of your leader writer, and of Dr McCawley, of a steady improvement in living conditions.

Indeed, probably the last independent report from East Timor was by the Pulitzer prize-winning South-East Asian correspondent of the Philadelphia Inquirer, Rod Nordland. His report from Dili, published last May, included a survey of 22 Timorese children. According to World Health Organisation standards, 18 of them were suffering from malnutrition and were dying of starvation.

The "experienced Australian journalists" whom you so confidently quote are former journalists now holding senior management posts. They were taken around East Timor as guests of the Indonesian Government. Neither of them, to the best of my knowledge, has any recent history of researching or reporting on Indonesia.

No doubt many of the reports coming out of East Timor are alarmist and wildly exaggerated, but they are not redressed by a bland portrayal of official figures. They can only be redressed by the Indonesian Government opening

up the country to journalists with a deep knowledge of the area, able to bring their knowledge to bear in a critical and sympathetic fashion.

Christopher Warren,
NSW branch President,
Australian Journalists' Association.

Letters

East Timor article ignored real issue

SIR, Your leading article (Financial Review, January 25) dealt with Indonesia's annexation of East Timor and acknowledges that "... Indonesia's treatment of its own citizens, and the manner in which it incorporated Irian Jaya and East Timor, are worthy of strong condemnation."

The article then went on to totally ignore the real issue in East Timor today — that of the denial of self-determination.

Claims and lengthy dissertations on adequate food supplies and the absence of famine in East Timor do not justify the loss of basic human rights.

Black people in South Africa are better fed than many people in neighbouring countries, yet this does not justify apartheid.

Reference to the Inquiry into East Timor by the Senate Standing Committee on

Foreign Affairs and Defence was also a red herring.

I am a member of that committee and it is not true that a reading of the available transcript of evidence shows "... little but repetitious rumours".

When you refer to "... un-sourced and tendentious reports about East Timor which are uncheckable ...", you cast doubts on my colleagues and myself.

We received a total of 219 submissions from Australia

come an Indonesian colony, will be the day I consider that justice has been done. I, too, look for truth and not prejudice in my dealings with the East Timor issue.

GORDON McINTOSH,
Senator,
Western Australia.

Speculation unfounded

SIR, Your speculation today about an expected

Patrick Cook is on holiday

and overseas. Much of the evidence given to us was in camera and will only be revealed via our findings in our report.

I must also comment on the recent visit to East Timor by P. P. McGuinness and D. O'Sullivan. They were in that country for three days and were accompanied by an Indonesian interpreter who writes for a military newspaper. He does not speak Tetum or Portuguese, the languages of the East Timorese people.

Visual observations are useful but do not supply adequate information for authoritative statements.

The day the East Timorese people are given the free choice, taken from them in 1975 by the Indonesian aggressors, to determine whether they govern themselves or be-

"winding down in (Bradmill's) operations, including its Stubbies and Blues Union Divisions," is extremely damaging and disruptive to the Bradmill Group and those two major subsidiaries.

The reorganisation in Bradmill announced today solely concerns the Group's Head Office management structure.

Stubbies and Blues Union, two of the four large garment-manufacturing subsidiaries in the group, are both successful, profitable companies and any thought of winding down their operations would be insane.

However, your report is commercially damaging to them and has caused dismay among employees, suppliers and customers.

I ask you to mitigate the damage by making it con-

spicuously clear to your readers that there is no threat to Stubbies and Blues Union. It is absolutely business as usual for these two industry leaders.

The reorganisation I have announced resulted from a review of Bradmill's Head Office structure, and the appropriateness of the existing structure for today's and tomorrow's conditions in our industry.

The result will be a more streamlined structure involving decentralisation of some management responsibilities to the subsidiaries, including Stubbies and Blues Union.

**Executive Chairman,
executive chairman
Bradmill Industries Ltd.**

Indonesian secrecy

SIR, I have read with some interest your editorial on East Timor (January 25) and the Peter McCawley article in the same issue.

If what you both say about that issue is correct, how is it that members of the Senate Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee as individuals, nor the committee as such, have been declined entry into East Timor by the Indonesian authorities?

More's the pity that evidence given to the committee in camera by frightened Timorese nationals cannot be made public.

C. G. PRIMMER,
Senator for Victoria,
Member of Senate Standing
Committee on Foreign Affairs
and Defence.

Need for ties to Indonesia recognised: Sinclair

Australia and Indonesia recognised the importance of developing a closer relationship in the face of a shared strategic threat from the north, the Minister for Defence, Mr Sinclair, said last night.

Talking in Canberra about his recent visit to Indonesia, when he became the first Australian Minister to tour troubled East Timor, Mr Sinclair said his party was treated as "friends and neighbours with common interests".

There was general acceptance that any threat to Indonesia and Australia "was likely to come from the north and that our two countries thus shared strategic interests".

He said relations between Australia and Indonesia since 1945 "have not always been smooth and have passed through periods of active support, indifference, confrontation, relative influence, mistrust and mutual toleration".

Major "public factors" in this relationship were the "unfortunate" deaths of five Australian journalists in Balibo in 1974 and continuing disputes over media coverage of Indonesian policies in Australia.

But during his recent visit, he and senior members of his official party, including the Secretary of the Department of Defence, Mr Bill Pritchett, and the Chief of Defence Force Staff, Air Chief Marshal Sir Neville McNamara, were impressed that of the importance of developing closer relationships based on personal contact and co-operation is recog-

nised as much by Indonesia as it is by my government".

However, "it will not be an easy relationship to maintain and develop.

"There is still a residue of suspicion in some quarters — on both sides.

"Much of it derives from ignorance and intolerance".

Regardless of this, Indonesia, with 155 million people, possible 200 million by the year 2000, "is bound to us by geography and that will not change".

He predicted Indonesia would emerge as an industrial power "to be reckoned with in South-East Asia".

"Certainly the potential is there and, in the defence field, I am sure the will is there to increase the present level of practical co-operation," he said. "We must look for projects and activities which will increase our understanding of each other and enhance the ability of our two defence forces to work together".

On Indonesia's intervention in East Timor, he said, "Whatever the rights and wrongs of that intervention, it is now a fact of life that East Timor is fully integrated into Indonesia".

He said he was assured that the formerly tense situation on the border with Papua New Guinea was "presently quiet".

The Indonesian authorities seemed to be watching security on the border and "waiting to see whether the Somare Government in PNG will effectively, from the Indonesian point of view, administer their side of the border".

He proposes checking his impressions from the visit when he visits PNG in a fortnight.

Timorese need our help

SIR, The recent visit to East Timor of two prominent Australian journalists as well as the Minister for Defence, Mr Sinclair, are welcome indications of a new, albeit selective, Indonesian approach to the vexed question of East Timor.

Much of the earlier rancour could have been avoided if independent fact-finding missions had been permitted to visit the province, thus avoiding the necessity for Australian aid agencies to rely on church and other local sources, usually unnamed for fear of reprisals.

Australian
Financial
Review

9/2/83

The Electoral Act requires publication of the names and full addresses of the writers of letters on the election.

However until qualified international agencies such as UNICEF are allowed to conduct in-depth assessments, it is likely that there will continue to be conflicting reports on the current state of play.

Your editorial on January 25 adverted to the role of Mr J. D. Traill QC who was commissioned by ACFOA in 1977 to inquire into the situation in East Timor.

The report, finally submitted two years after the deadline, seemed more intent on justifying the Indonesian takeover and criticising those Australian agencies and individuals who had expressed concern than in ascertaining the then current position in East Timor.

The report overlooked many recent developments and rejected many insights from church and other sources by applying a legal standard of proof to their authorship.

Whilst it contained a number of positive and constructive proposals regarding refugee reunion, the report did little to identify "the needs of all people in all parts of East Timor" or to propose "aid programs to the people of East Timor" as required by the terms of reference.

Australia's principal concern should not be with assessing the bona fides of predictions of famine, but rather with meeting the basic needs of the East Timorese as identified by them.

Mr Sinclair and others have confirmed that Australia is not the only place suffering drought conditions. Many Australian overseas agencies are willing to consider the provision of a wide range of emergency and development assistance programs to East Timor.

It is to be hoped that despite the tragedies of the past and hitherto persistent Indonesian determination to shield events and conditions from the outside world, the stage has now been reached where the basic needs of the people of East Timor will once again be paramount.

**R. K. R. ALSTON,
Chairman of
The Australian
Council for
Overseas Aid.**

In the running for the best headline of 1983 401

News Weekly vindicated on East Timor

BY OBSERVER

A personal opinion

CANBERRA: The visit to East Timor by Australia's Defence Minister, Ian Sinclair, has concluded with the Federal Government moving firmly towards support for the development program which Indonesia has commenced in the former Portuguese colony.

While the issue will continue to attract some attention — it is currently the subject of inquiry by the Senate Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and Defence — the enormous weight of evidence which has come forward over the past 12 months has totally vindicated the stand taken by *News Weekly* on the issue.

The most recent controversy on the subject began in January 1982.

"Church circles"

At that time, anonymous "church circles" in Australia floated a series of stories in the daily newspapers, particularly the *Sydney Morning Herald* and the *Melbourne Age*, to the effect that East Timor was facing an unprecedented famine, and that the Indonesian Government was callously allowing people to die, particularly in areas controlled by the Marxist guerrilla movement, **Frettilin**, or occupied by its supporters.

(These stories followed earlier reports from the same source that up to 300,000 of East Timor's 700,000 people had been killed in the course of the Indonesian occupation, between 1975 and 1977.)

The report — based on letters sent by the Apostolic Administrator in Dili (frequently described as the "Bishop") to an Australian Bishop — had been de-authorised by the Vatican itself, which had written to the Australian Bishops, advising them, in diplomatic language, not to put credence in the Apostolic Administrator's views.

But anti-Indonesian and left-wing groups in Australia seized on the report, and



Ian Sinclair

made political capital out of them.

The reports were immediately challenged by **Mr B.A. Santamaria** on *Point of View*, *News Weekly*, and the Foreign Editor of the *Sydney Morning Herald*, **Peter Hastings**, who warned at the time that the report was unverified, and should therefore be treated with caution.

Warning

Mr Santamaria publicly cited the Vatican's warning, and pointed out that the report was totally at odds with reports on the situation from the two relief agencies operating there, the Red Cross and the American Catholic Relief Services.

He pointed out that the practical result of the allegations could be to jeopardise international relief efforts, including Australian food aid, which Indonesia might refuse to accept, as it would tend to corroborate the inaccurate and mischievous report.

This in fact happened.

Had the church sources heeded the warnings given,

they could have got off the hook.

Instead, the campaign of vilification of Indonesia was stepped up and a number of development aid agencies, including the Australian Council for Overseas Aid, entered the fray.

News Weekly was attacked for publishing "pro-Indonesian propaganda" — as were **Mr Whitlam** and **Mr Hastings** (who visited East Timor together last year), **Professor Heinz Arndt** and a prominent Sydney QC, **Mr John Trull**, who had conducted an inquiry into the East Timor issue, on behalf of the Australian Council for Overseas Aid, which arrived at conclusions which ACFOA found unpalatable.

Apology

(The Australian Bishops had to apologise for one defamatory report, circulated by the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace.)

Since then, further reports from the relief agencies operating in East Timor have emphasised the extent to which the Indonesian Government has gone to avert food shortages, and to commence development of the province.

The visit to East Timor by **Mr Hastings** and **Mr Whitlam** was followed last December by two prominent journalists, **P.P. McGuinness** of the *Australian Financial Review* and **Dan O'Sullivan**, of *West Australian Newspapers*.

Their conclusions were even more detailed than those of earlier Australian visitors, and completely repudiated the allegations by church and development agencies in Australia.

Mr McGuinness wrote in the *Financial Review* on January 25, "Virtually every independent observer who has the opportunity to see conditions in East Timor first hand, despite the inevitable limitations, has told the

same story: that conditions in East Timor are improving, there certainly are not famine conditions and the Indonesian Government is carrying out a genuine development program to the advantage of the Timorese...

"Nevertheless, many people in Australia prefer to rely on unsourced and tendentious reports which are uncheckable and which are intended to convey an unrelievedly black picture of conditions.

"... 'Church sources' are quoted as if they were reliable when they have again and again been shown to be little but repetitious rumours...

"The greater part of Australian public discus-



Mr Whitlam

sions on East Timor in recent years has been coloured by extreme prejudice and bias, which have contributed to poisoning relations between Australia and Indonesia", he said.

These conclusions were subsequently confirmed by a leading Australian demographer, **Dr. Peter McCauley**, who analysed official information on East Timor's development.

Mr Sinclair's visit to East Timor — following shortly after Defence Supply Minister **Ian Viner's** visit to the ASEAN countries — indicates that the Australian Government will no longer sit on the fence while these base and misleading allegations are circulated.

In the light of all that has happened, any repetition of them now would be evident bad faith.

UN group told of Timor violations

GENEVA, Tues. — The UN Human Rights Commission yesterday took up for the first time charges of human rights violations in East Timor, the former Portuguese colony invaded by Indonesia in 1975.

A delegate from the Roman Catholic Church peace body Pax Christi, which has consultative status with the commission, denounced “the treatment inflicted on the Timorese.”

The delegate, Adrien Claude Zoeller, said the invasion and subsequent moving of the Timorese to areas of high population had disrupted agricultural production.

This plus natural catastrophes had caused famine in 1978 and 1979, which was likely to recur now, according to reports from Dili, the capital, Mr Zoeller said.

A resumption of hostilities in East Timor

and “many new massacres” had increased the possibility of famine, he added.

Portuguese Ambassador Fernando Reino charged that prohibiting the people of East Timor from having self-determination — an allusion to the Indonesian takeover — constituted a violation of basic human rights.

Stressing that Portugal had no territorial claims on East Timor, which was a Portuguese colony for 450 years until annexed by Indonesia in 1976, Mr Reino called for de-colonisation to be carried out there in conformance with international law.

He also deplored that most of the international community gave too little attention to the seriousness of the people’s situation there.

On March 11, a resolution is to be presented to the commission demanding that its representatives and those of humanitarian organisations be allowed into East Timor to study the situation.

UN attacks Indonesia over Timor

GENEVA: The United Nations Human Rights Commission yesterday took up, for the first time, charges of human rights violations in East Timor, the former Portuguese colony invaded by Indonesia in 1975.

A delegate from the Catholic Church peace body, Pax Christi, which has consultative status with the Commission, denounced the treatment of the Timorese.

The Portuguese ambassador, Mr Fernando Reino, charged that prohibiting the people of East Timor from having self-determination constituted a violation of human rights.

Stressing Portugal had no territorial claims on East Timor — which was a Portuguese colony for 450 years — Mr Reino called for decolonisation in conformance with international law.

Agence France Presse

AUSTRALIAN
9/2/83

On the mend, slowly

The Australian defence minister's visit marks a high point of the gradual thaw in relations with Jakarta

By Susumu Awanohara

Jakarta: Australian Defence Minister Ian Sinclair's tour of Indonesia in January resembled any other routine and neighbourly visit by a foreign dignitary, but goodwill visits by top officials of the two countries have been few and far between in recent years. Although no dramatic agreement was reached, Sinclair's one-week visit marked an upswing in bilateral ties which had been strained by Jakarta's absorption of East Timor in 1976 and persistent public disapproval of this move in Australia.

Indonesian policymakers were happy with Sinclair's tour, which included stopovers in East Timor and Irian Jaya, but warned against complacency. Sinclair had wanted to make a visit earlier but it was officially explained that he and his Indonesian counterpart, Gen. Mohammad Jusuf, could not find a mutually convenient time. Privately the Indonesians admit that they did not bend over backwards to receive Sinclair.

But when the trip materialised in late January, Sinclair was given a royal welcome. During his stay in Jakarta, he agreed with Jusuf to continue existing joint projects and start some new ones which would cost Canberra about US\$10 million this year.

A core project has been maritime patrols, involving the provision of 18 Nomad reconnaissance aircraft, patrol boats and advisers. Australia has agreed to provide two additional patrol boats and to establish a nationwide maintenance system for the Nomads. A survey and mapping project and various training programmes will continue. Sinclair is believed to have discussed possible cooperation in the defence industry.

Judging by the lavish airport reception put on for Sinclair and the access he had in Indonesia — besides President Suharto, Sinclair met seven ministers in two days in Jakarta as well as army and navy area commanders outside the capital — the Indonesians seemed more than usually hospitable. The long private discussion which Sinclair had with Lieut-Gen. Benny Murdani, the No. 2 man at the State Intelligence Board, and head of the team overseeing development of East Timor, was seen by some as symbolising improved bilateral relations.

There were indications about a year ago that Murdani was among the Indonesian military leaders who were most incensed by Australian press reports warning of famine in East Timor. There is a widely held view in Jakarta that government-to-government relations have been good all along and that only the Australian press, church groups and some politicians, with their own axes to grind, have continued to stress the East Timor issue.

This view was challenged by some Indonesians who became increasingly impatient with supposed friends among Canberra officials. These officials stressed only that theirs was a free press which the government could not control and they did not take the trouble to balance what the Indonesians saw as distorted and malicious information about East Timor and Indonesia published in the Australian press.

Jakarta later found a worthy friend in the former Australian Labor prime minister, Gough Whitlam, who visited East Timor in early 1982 and strongly condemned the rumours of an impending

famine (REVIEW, Mar. 19, '82). Late last year, Whitlam went to the United Nations General Assembly to support Indonesia in the annual East Timor debate, Canberra has also been supporting Jakarta at the UN, albeit more quietly than Whitlam.

Another breakthrough came last December when the Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Indonesia's Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) jointly sponsored a conference on international and bilateral issues. Considered a quasi-official think-tank, CSIS has co-sponsored such conferences regularly with many countries.

Not only was the December conference the first involving Australia, but the Canberra government was directly involved in its organisation, with Australian officials participating. This implied that Canberra would make greater efforts to explain Indonesia to the Australian public. One conclusion of the conference was that common interests far outweighed differences. Australian newspaper editors who participated were invited to visit East Timor, and agreed with most of the earlier reports that conditions there were improving and that there was no famine.

Both Indonesian and Australian analysts place Sinclair's visit in the context of improving relations. After Whitlam's solo performance and the December conference, Sinclair reiterated Canberra's position that East Timor was "within the sovereign responsibility of Indonesia" and that "the border incidents that have occurred [between Indonesia and Papua New Guinea] should not be distorted" or exaggerated. The Indonesian army was accused of making repeated border incursions into Papua New Guinea last year (REVIEW, Sept. 17, '82).

While welcoming the thaw, analysts on both sides warned against euphoria. An Indonesian analyst rejected the view held by some Australians that Jakarta was suddenly worming itself into Canberra's favour because of anxiety over coming economic difficulties. The sense of superiority that many Australians feel vis-a-vis Indonesia will not disappear overnight and the danger that "the Australians



Sinclair, Murdani: after a slow thaw, a royal welcome.

would take us for granted again" persists, some Indonesians say.

The Australians cannot entirely wipe out fears of a hostile and aggressive Indonesia. Officially the Australians would like to see a strong Indonesia because a "[hostile] approach to Australia from the north necessarily would need to embrace Indonesia," as Sinclair put it. Suharto reportedly reassured him that Jakarta had increased its security preparedness. But a takeover of Indonesia by communists or extremist Muslims, or by a leader with adventurist inclinations — however low the probability — must surely be included in the spectrum of contingencies envisaged by Canberra.

A more immediate worry is a change of government in Australia. There will be an election not later than November, and the Labor Party, whose platform still includes opposition to Indonesia's integration of East Timor, has a chance of winning. If Labor takes power and recognises the integration, bilateral relations would be damaged for a whole generation, both Indonesian and Australian observers in Jakarta say. Sinclair's visit can be seen as a small step to avert any such damage and also to improve Indonesia's image among Australians so that even a Labor victory in Canberra will not sour bilateral ties. □

THE AMBASSADORS

By John Bryant

MIXING IT IN THE INTERNATIONAL ARENA

Co-operative relations with neighbours 'vital'



Mr Woolcott: We don't want to be regarded as a European outpost in Asia — we need to be the odd man in, not the odd man out.

IN FORMER days, as a young man in Victoria, and Canberra, Mr Richard (Dick) Woolcott used to play representative football in the 'Australian Rules' code; for many years now he has played Australia's game in a much tougher league, as a senior Australian diplomat.

At the moment he is mixing it in the international arena with the representatives of 156 other countries, as Australia's recently appointed Ambassador to the United Nations.

In the past he has not been free of controversy, as when in 1976 confidential cables sent by him to the Government when he was Ambassador to Indonesia were leaked to the Press.

The cables related to Indonesia's military takeover of East Timor in 1975 and suggested that this incorporation be accepted as inevitable, that the dust be allowed to settle and the future looked to.

Mr Woolcott said in Canberra this week that he stood by his assessment of that time, although he deplored the leaking of confidential communications and the selective nature of what was published.

The ambassador maintained that he had always sought to give the government of the day the best and frankest advice he could in the context of Australia's interests.

He rejected suggestions occasionally made at the time that he had adopted a pro-Indonesia position.

"My views have always been determined by how I see Australian interests. I'm an Australian first, second and third."

The present Government had taken the view since January 1978 that East Timor was part of Indonesia, he said. This view was accepted by all Australia's regional neighbours and many other nations.

Indonesia's position on the matter had increasingly strengthened at the United Nations.

The question had been very nearly removed from the UN agenda at the last session when a resolution sponsored by Mozambique, Angola and Portugal opposing Indonesia's position had got through with only 50 votes for and 46 against (including Australia, Japan and all Asian and Pacific nations except Vanuatu).

"I expect that this year a similar resolution would be lost.

"The main emphasis now should be on how best to assist Indonesia develop East Timor and how to assist the East Timorese as people."

Mr Woolcott said he had always believed that any country must have as a major foreign policy priority its relations with its neighbours.

"For us, this is the countries of South-East Asia, Papua New Guinea, New Zealand and the South Pacific.

--- Cont.

"My experience in the Australian foreign service has convinced me that the development of friendly, co-operative relationships with these countries is a vital and permanent Australian interest."

He had served in four of the five countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations, the last one being the Philippines immediately before his posting last August to the United Nations.

On his way home for briefings this time he had visited a number of them again, in particular going to the Philippines with his wife Birgit for the marriage of their daughter Anna to a Filipino economist working with the Bank of America.

Mr Woolcott said he had gained the impression in recent years that while there was a good, strong public constituency in Australia in support of a close and developing relationship with Japan and China, the constituency and support for our relations with immediate neighbours in South-East Asia had tended to diminish.

"I think it is very important that this tendency be reversed — to a large extent Australia's future lies in its adjustment to the South-East Asian and Pacific regional environment.

"Obviously there are substantial cultural and other differences, but I would hope Australians would see this as an exciting challenge rather than something to be afraid of.

"We don't want to be regarded as a European outpost in Asia — we need to be the odd man in, not the odd man out."

ASEAN countries had much higher growth rates than did OECD nations at present and this gave Australia increased opportunities for export markets and joint venture investments.

He had visited Indonesia "our largest and closest neighbour" on his present trip and had seen clear signs that relations with Australia were improving.

While regional relations were of great importance, so was Australia's multi-lateral diplomacy particularly as reflected at the United Nations.

As the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Street, had said in the General Assembly last October, Australia would continue to seek to play an active, moderate, balanced and constructive role in the United Nations.

"The UN is often criticised as ineffective and wasteful, but it remains the only true international forum in a troubled world; we should not turn away from it in disillusionment, but increase our efforts to make it more effective.

"The objectives of the UN still remain, essentially, as the establishment of the conditions for world peace, the promotion of disarmament and of economic development.

"With 157 member countries, it reflects all the differences in the international community.

"It is also founded on what might be called a geopolitical fault line insofar as it will always reflect tensions between East and West, particularly between the USA and USSR.

"Therefore there are natural limits to what the UN can be expected to do in any given situation.

"Some of the disillusionment about the UN is due to excessive expectations about what it can achieve.

"The recently appointed Secretary-General, Mr Perez de Cuellar, has brought a new concern to the need to arrest the erosion of both the effectiveness and standing of the UN."

A positive development had also been the tendency of moderate Third World countries to avoid irresponsible actions. An example of this had been the defeat of an attempt to reject Israel's credentials.

Mr Woolcott identified several major issues of particular concern to Australia which would be considered at the 38th session of the UN beginning in September.

These are disarmament, the Cocos islands, East Timor, North-South issues, Cambodia, the Indian Ocean, southern Africa, including apartheid and Namibian independence, the Falklands, human rights and multi-lateral aid.

Given that there was hardly time to develop each theme in a limited interview, Mr Woolcott essayed a summary view of Australia's approach to these issues.

On disarmament, he said the main issue would be a comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty, which was sponsored by Australia, New Zealand and others but which was regarded with reservations by the USA.

The alleged use of chemical weapons by the Soviet Union or its proxies in Afghanistan and Indo-China would be scrutinised.

The growing international concern over the level of armaments would also be on the agenda.

On Australia's move for an act of self-determination in the Cocos islands, the UN Committee of 24 (on decolonisation) had been kept informed and had been responsive to

Australia's actions, particularly the progress made in such areas as education.

If East Timor remained an issue, Australia would again need to take a position on it.

North-South issues remained very important because of the present global economic situation and the increasing pressure on countries with few resources.

The Prime Minister, Mr Fraser, was a strong advocate for global negotiations on this and Australia would continue its positive stand on tariffs, protection and access of developing countries to markets.

On Cambodia, the lines had been drawn up. While Australia had derecognised the Democratic Kampuchea regime of Pol Pot, the approach of the ASEAN countries supporting the credentials of this regime, plus moves for the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops, had been gaining ground.

Australia also sought the withdrawal of Vietnamese forces.

In southern Africa, Australia continued to oppose apartheid and support Namibian independence.

Australia was committed to provide an engineering and transport group of 300 people for the UN Transitional Advisory Group in Namibia when it was possible to send them.

On the Falklands, Australia supported the British position on an act of self-determination and against the use of force. Australia also took the position that talks should be held between Britain and Argentina in the future and the Falkland islanders should take into account their geographical position.

UN had tended to develop an imbalance in its concentration on Latin America over human rights issues.

It was, of course, more difficult to pursue such issues in totalitarian countries; consequently those authoritarian States that still gave access came under disproportionate attention.

While regional bilateral aid was usually fairly easy to justify in the public's eye, it was important that Australia should continue to give multi-lateral aid to such bodies as the UN Development Program, the World Food Program and UNICEF.

Difficulties at present being experienced by the ad hoc committee on the Indian Ocean, working towards a 1984 conference on a zone of peace for that region, were exacerbated by the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan.

This had led some countries to consider whether the time was ripe to go ahead.

Australia was of good repute at the United Nations, Mr Woolcott said. It was regarded as a moderate, co-operative and balanced contributor.

After seven immediate past years engaged in bilateral diplomacy with Australia's close neighbours, he found the UN to be a new challenge.

His other postings had included two stints in Moscow (he speaks Russian), to South Africa and black Africa, stationed in Ghana with responsibility for 10 West African countries.

In South-East Asia he had been in Singapore, Kuala Lumpur, Jakarta, and Manila.

He joined the service in 1951 after education at Geelong Grammar and Melbourne University.

In 1964 the then Foreign Minister Sir Garfield Barwick had asked him to set up the public information section of the Department of External Affairs.

Since 1974 he had been a deputy secretary of the department.

A son, Peter, who had been at the Bar in Sydney, had followed him into the foreign service recently and was at present third secretary in Kingston, Jamaica.

Another son, Robert, works in advertising. He was an assistant director in the film 'Year of Living Dangerously'.

On Australia's current election and possible changes in foreign policy emphasis, Mr Woolcott would not offer a comment. He said, in general, he felt that Australia's foreign policy was likely to be regarded overseas as more stable if, as far as possible, it was bipartisan.

Australian-Indonesian relations

Sir, — I was interested to read your series of three articles on Australian-Indonesian relations (January 25-27). I have an attitude towards Indonesia which I believe to be a fairly common one in Australia, at least in most respects. Your articles have not done much to alter it.

To begin, in my view it is not so much "Indonesia" as the Javanese Empire. This empire masquerading as a republic was taken over as a going concern from the Dutch in 1949, and from then on run by a largely Javanese Empire. Like all empires, it follows a logic of internal repression and external expansion, always in the name of "stability". The ruling military junta in Jakarta is very concerned about "stability".

The expanding Javanese Empire has already taken over western New Guinea (Irian Jaya), and East

Timor, and both are being vigorously planted with settlers from Java and Sumatra, regardless of the wishes of the indigenous inhabitants. Should "instability" continue to grow in New Guinea, the junta may move in there as well, with much the same explanations and methods as they used in Timor.

Since 1975, the cause of Timorese independence has been drowned in blood and racked by starvation. If the Fraser Government has not been an outright military-aid-giving accomplice in this process, then at least it has been a quiet supporter. And up to 200,000 Timorese, this country's old World War II allies, have died.

This is the reality behind the obsequious remarks of H. D. Anderson to some "symposium" held in Bali in December on Australian-Indonesian relations. To quote Mr Anderson:

"In the case of Indonesia's incorporation of East Timor . . . lack of accord was reinforced by some lack of understanding and sympathy in Australia for the dilemma which the Timor problem posed for Indonesia." (*The Canberra Times*, January 27) Quite so. And it could not have been more timidly put. It is hard to show "understanding and sympathy" for the junta in Jakarta when its butchers do to the Timorese what Hitler did to the Poles and the Jews. That the junta continues to control the flow of information into and out of Timor (having cold-bloodedly killed five Australian newsmen in this process), can only add to suspicion and outrage in this country.

Diplomatic niceties and bland statements of goodwill may come easily if you are an H. D. Anderson.

No doubt it is a bit more difficult if you are a relative of one of those all-but-forgotten newsmen. Very much harder, of course, if you are one of those Timorese who has so far survived the holocaust.

But then, we must not be too hard on Mr Anderson. As a diplomat, he is merely the mouthpiece of Malcolm Fraser. And we must remember that Mr Fraser and his cabal are men of high principle.

Why, when the Russians invaded Afghanistan, Mr Fraser immediately reacted with everything short of a ban on grain exports. And of course, arms sales by Australia to the Russians are completely out of the question. For the Soviet Russian Empire, unlike the Javanese Empire, poses a strategic military threat to Australia.

Moreover, present Government

policy is not opposed by the ALP. It cannot find within itself the will to offer any real alternative policy either on Timor or on aid to the junta, because its own record on these issues when in office is only slightly less abysmal than Fraser's. So it has maintained a deafening silence, broken only by lone prophets like Ken Fry, who speak not for the party, but only for themselves, and for their memories of the help the Timorese gave to the Diggers in World War II. The ALP might just as well be saying, "Lead on, Liberal."

This is a political situation which could cost the present generation of Australians quite dearly in the not-so-long term.

IAN MacDOUGAL
Busby Street,

O'Connor.

C.T. 16/2/83

Co-operation with Indonesia

SIR, The confirmation by the Defence Minister, Mr Sinclair, that Australia will continue its so-called defence co-operation with Indonesia is a further deplorable development of our policy in this region.

In the first place, the word co-operation is a euphemism for the gift of military aid to Indonesia by Australia: there are no reciprocal gifts from Indonesia to us. The purpose is to induce in the Indonesian leaders a feeling of gratitude — a very naive idea.

The word defence is also spurious: Indonesia is not under attack except where she herself is the aggressor and has overwhelmingly superior forces. Indonesia does not require help in her own defence. The aid supplied is in fact aid to assist aggression against peoples who should be receiving our support. No attempt is made to monitor the use of this equipment in East Timor or elsewhere. In fact, no restriction upon this use has accompanied these gifts.

In the second place, the Senate standing committee on defence has not yet reported on its investigation into East Timor. The six volumes of its proceedings published so far tell a tragic story of immense and continuing suffering in the island, all of it the immediate consequence of the Indonesian occupation. There is at least the possibility that the committee will recommend that military aid should cease. Mr Sinclair should have awaited that report.

In the third place, the aid is partly clandestine. After the public reaction following the supply of 250 Land Rovers in 1980, the

Government ceased to announce the details of further aid. In particular, a question put by Mr Duffy in the House on the matter in February, 1982, was answered (eventually) only in part, and the answer omitted a direct description of the military aid supplied since 1980. Perhaps Mr Sinclair will tell us: What military aid was supplied by Australia to Indonesia in 1981 and 1982, and what is planned for 1983?

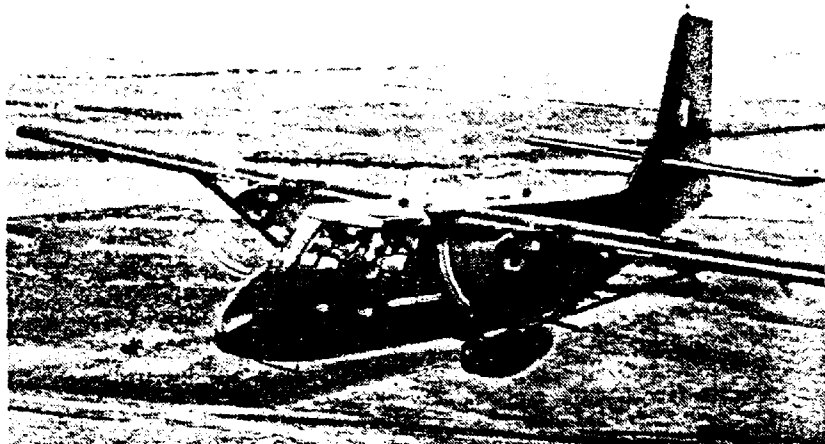
Above all, the idea that Australia should seek to ingratiate itself with an aggressor by assisting the aggression is both morally repugnant and politically stupid. Ten years of aid and appeasement have not elicited from the Suharto Government any love of Australia, but they have contributed materially to the deaths of many thousands of Timorese and the subjugation of thousands more, and they have compromised us greatly.

J. B. MILLER,
Inglis Road,
Berwick (Vic).

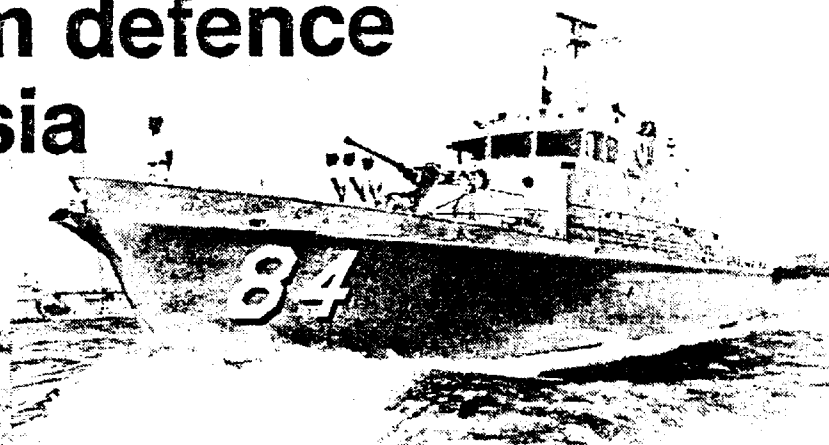
January 26

SMH 16/2/83 VICE-I

Australia's new \$10m defence project with Indonesia



Nomad aircraft



successful project, which began in 1970, Australian and Indonesian servicemen are working together to map the islands to the west and east of Sumatra over the next four years.

Anti Malarial Field Trials. A major project will begin in East Timor next month involving the joint trialling of drugs to aid in combatting malaria, a major health problem in Indonesia.

Joint Trialling of Riverine Patrol Craft. Australia will provide Indonesia with an Australian built Riverine patrol craft, together with assistance in conducting trials this year so that the Indonesian services can evaluate the vessel for possible purchase.

Indonesia has indicated that it is interested in buying 20 such craft.

The cost of the project is estimated at \$300,000.

Important step

The defence co-operation program marks an important step by the Government to cement ties with Australia's largest neighbour, which the lynch-pin of the ASEAN alliance.

Whether this continues after the Australian election will depend, in part, on the election outcome.

There is a strong section of the ALP, including the new leader, Bob Hawke, who have strongly criticised Indonesia's incorporation of East Timor, in the wake of the tragic civil war in 1975.

Through all the difficulties, the objective of alliance is nevertheless strategically indispensable.

A reminder of the necessity of grasping opportunities, whenever they are offered, occurred last November,

sia as an increasingly important nation in our region in the future".

Agreement

Mr Sinclair said that during his visit agreement had been reached on several new joint projects to be conducted this year.

The cost to the Australian Defence Budget of the program during 1982/83 would be of the order of \$10 million.

Some of the major projects are set out below.

Maritime Patrol Project. As a further contribution to the development of Indonesia's coastal surveillance, fisheries protection and anti-smuggling capability, Australia will provide two additional RAN Attack class patrol boats, *HMAS Acute* and *HMAS Bombard*, spare parts and advisory assistance.

This will bring to five the number of Attack class boats which have been provided since 1973.

Nomad Maintenance Project. In support of the 18 Nomad aircraft provided under the defence co-operation program since 1975, Australian assistance will be extended to establish a nation-wide maintenance support system for the aircraft.

Survey and Mapping Project. As a continuation of this longstanding and



The British left-wing magazine *New Statesman* has alleged that there are 100 US bases in Britain.

However investigations revealed this to be a gross exaggeration.

One alleged base turns out to be a petrol pump near London.

* * * * *

The editor of the *Times of Zambia* recently circulated a note stipulating that on no account must reporters write that talks between President Canaan Banana and other dignitaries were "fruitful".

* * * * *

when the Supreme Commander of the Thai armed forces (General Saiyud Kerdphol) called on all ASEAN nations to standardise their defence systems and to diversify the sources of their arms supplies, today being provided by one or other of the major powers.

Significantly, General Saiyud called on ASEAN to look to Australia as "a rear base and source of arms supply".

The Commander of the Thai armed forces was, almost in passing, sketching out a role for Australia which has been emphasised by the NCC since it formulated the concept of the Pacific Community at the beginning of 1960.

INDONESIA

A drought in Irian Jaya province is threatening about a million people with famine, the *Sinar Harapan* newspaper said (Feb. 4). Indonesia rejected a United Nations plan to send a fact-finding mission to East Timor, Antara newsagency said (Feb. 6). Information Minister Ali Murtopo dropped out of the vice-presidential race (Feb. 8).

FAR EASTERN ECONOMIC REVIEW

FEBRUARY 17, 1983.

Fretilin leader held

LISBON, Thurs., AAP.
— The Defence Minister of East Timor's government-in-exile is being held in an Angolan prison on charges of diamond smuggling, the Portuguese News Agency said today.

Quoting diplomatic sources, it said Rogerio Lobato had been detained in the Angolan capital, Luanda, five months ago.

It gave no further details but the Angolan authorities have an-

nounced a crackdown on the smuggling of diamonds, one of the country's main exports.

Mr Lobato's late brother, Nicolau, was president of the Revolutionary Front for Independant East Timor (Fretilin) which proclaimed a short-lived republic in the Portuguese territory shortly before it was invaded by Indonesia at the end of 1975.

Nicolau Lobato was killed in a clash with Indonesian troops.

HERALD
1971/2/18

AUSTRALIAN 18 FEB. 1983

Australia opposes UN vote

GENEVA: Australia, the United States and Canada, among others, voted against an adopted United Nations Human Rights resolution condemning Indonesia for having occupied the former Portuguese colony of East Timor.

A resolution on the issue was carried by 16 votes to 14 with 10 abstentions. The Soviet Union and China voted for it, and those who

abstained included France, Britain and West Germany.

Indonesia took over East Timor in 1975, a year after Portugal evacuated the territory.

The resolution called on Portugal, representatives of East Timor, and Indonesia to co-operate with the UN to guarantee self-determination to the people of East Timor.

Agence France Presse

A.F. REVIEW

18 FEB 1983

Timor vote

GENEVA — The UN Human Rights Commission has reaffirmed the right of East Timor to self-determination and independence. In a resolution adopted by 16 votes to 14, with 10 abstentions, the Commission called on Portugal and Indonesia to co-operate with the UN to guarantee self-determination.

AFR 15/2/83

Letters

ACOA not justifying Indonesia over Timor

SIR, May we comment on the reference by R. K. R. Alston, chairman of the Australian Council for Overseas Aid (Financial Review, February 9), to our committee's report on East Timor?

Nothing could show more clearly the problems of those working for peace in East Timor than Mr Alston's charge that we seemed "interested in justifying the Indonesian takeover and criticising those Australian agencies and individuals who had expressed concern."

Our 54-page report included a summary of events since 1974 and also contained one paragraph suggesting reasons why Indonesia was gravely concerned at the prospect of East Timor passing under the rule of what it regarded, understandably, as a pro-Communist regime. It is also true that we criticised Australian agencies and individuals who, by linking the question of aid with pleas for East Timor's independence, helped to delay Indonesian acceptance of the food relief that international bodies had long been offering.

However, we were even more critical of Indonesia's acts and attitudes. We drew attention to the way the authorities in that country had previously distinguished between their claims on what was then Dutch New Guinea and their attitude to Portuguese Timor. We mentioned that as late as July, 1974, Indonesia's Foreign Minister had said that East Timor should be independent.

It is hard to debate constructively with people who describe comment of that kind as "justifying the Indonesian takeover." One must also regret their dismissing even the possibility that they themselves have contributed, unwittingly, to the tragic deprivation that East Timor experienced during the late 1970s.

The main job now is to assess critically all the evidence as to how far the needs of the East Timorese are being met, and to act appropriately on our assessment.

Another step which would help clear the air would be to obtain full information about the more than 200 East Timorese whom Amnesty International reports as missing. (Amnesty realises that some of these people may have died or moved elsewhere.)

Comarca Jail in Dili has never been visited by an international agency. A question Mr Whitlam asked about six of the prisoners there was not answered.

JOHN TRAILL, QC,
KENNETH RIVETT,
Sydney, NSW.

THE PARTIES AND THEIR POLICIES

Hayden sees Timor trouble

By PETER HASTINGS

LABOR's shadow Foreign Minister, and former Party leader, Mr Bill Hayden, said yesterday that if Labor wins government on March 5 there could be initial problems between Indonesia and Australia.

He was referring to the East Timor resolution which was carried overwhelmingly at the 1982 ALP conference. The resolution is uncompromisingly anti-Indonesian and is binding on the ALP unless it is allowed to lapse at the next conference in June.

Among other things the resolution says that the ALP recognises the "inalienable right of East Timorese to self-determination and independence," "condemns and rejects" the Australian Government's recognition of Indonesia's "annexation" of East Timor and opposes all defence aid to Indonesia until there is a "complete withdrawal" of Indonesian troops from East Timor.

Hayden said: "I would be less than honest if I pretended that the document presented no problems to a Labor Government, but I will be doing everything I can, as Foreign Minister, to minimise or avoid problems in the region.

"I'm sure there are ways to solve any differences. Unlike many

4. DEFENCE AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS

people I do not go for this line that Indonesia is more important to Australia than Australia is to Indonesia. Each is important to the other. In this context I will be working for good relations based on mutual respect."

A relaxed Mr Hayden showed none of the critical attitudes of recent years to ANZUS or to US facilities.

"I believe in the value of the US relationship," he said, "but I don't think we have to be subservient or deferential to the US. We have our own point of view. The more independent we are the better for the relationship.

"And while we remain opposed to home-porting of US ships, I can accept the B-52 training flights and the US facilities provided we are able to monitor them."

In one area Mr Hayden seems to be in possible conflict with Mr Hawke, who in answer to the question as to whether a Labor Government would bring home the RAAF squadron now stationed at Butterworth replied: "Our policy makes it clear that there is a place

for the possibility of forces abroad if they have been positioned following discussions with the countries concerned . . ."

Mr Hayden told the Herald yesterday that a Labor Government would "certainly" bring back the RAAF squadron. "I'm against the stationing of Australian forces overseas. I don't think it at all desirable. But we would not be precipitate about it. We would allow time for adjustment."

Was he worried that the squadron might become involved in hostilities? "No. But it is possible that in a hypothetical internal security situation Australian airmen on the base might be subject to attack and have to respond. I would regard that as undesirable."

Mr Hayden said that he had very clear views on Israel and the Arab states. "Israel has a right to exist behind secure borders. But it is behaving in an expansionist fashion over the West Bank and the Gaza strip through Arab settlements. This must stop. If Israel has a right to a secure existence so then have the Palestinians, either as a

separate, independent state or as part of a Jordanian federation, whichever they choose."

And Australia's withdrawal from the Sinai force? "I think that a Labor Government would not want to commit itself to some precipitate action which could in any way have an adverse effect on Middle East stability at this time."

Mr Hayden made it clear that he accords the region the highest priority. He said a Labor Government would immediately resume aid to Vietnam while seeking a referendum for the people of Kampuchea. "Australia can definitely help here," he said. "The US cannot. It is saddled with the past. But there is much Australia could do to help Vietnam and at the same time arrest its growing undesirable dependence on the USSR. We oppose the coalition now backed by ASEAN as it is dominated by the Khmer Rouge.

"Last but not least," he said, "a Labor Government would give attention to PNG's economic plight. In common with other developing countries, PNG is having a hard time. But its political stability is of concern to Australia. Provided that PNG ministers put up a well detailed case, they don't have to prove everything. I would be sympathetic to a request to leave Australia's aid at its present level for the time being. We would not reduce it."

Style differs more than substance

THE campaign speeches of Mr Fraser and Mr Hawke prove two things about their approach to external issues. Foreign policy and defence are clearly regarded as not being of any greater electoral concern than at most previous elections. There is little to choose between the two policies.

In fact, Mr Hawke got away to an engaging start by claiming that the essential elements of Australian defence and foreign policy "have taken on a quality of bipartisanship" in recent years.

He is perfectly right, of course, and it is a tribute to his ability, and that of Mr Hayden and others on the Right of the ALP political spectrum, that they have been able so to control the party's Left as to come up with a foreign policy that is essentially pretty much what the Government is offering.

A Labor Government will nevertheless face some problems over foreign policy from left-wing members. The most serious of them is undoubtedly the 1982 conference resolution on East Timor which binds a Labor Government to

overturn the Fraser Government's recognition of Indonesia's incorporation of East Timor, to demand a plebiscite for East Timorese and to refuse defence aid until all Indonesian troops leave the province.

The resolution remains in force until the 1984 conference, at which it is likely to be dropped. In the meantime a Labor Government will have to distract the Left while effectively abandoning the policy. It can be done but may prove tricky.

On most other issues there is little difference between the parties.

Despite past rhetoric there is no evidence in Mr Hawke's campaign speech, or in statements made by Mr Hayden as shadow Foreign Minister, of any significant difference in the attitude of a Labor or conservative government towards the ANZUS relationship or the US facilities.

Differences are more likely to be those of style than substance. It is doubtful that a Hawke Government would be any more openly critical than the Fraser Government has been over US attitudes towards Law of the Sea, for instance, nuclear

disarmament proposals and a wide range of global economic issues, or more at variance with US policies than the Fraser Government has been over, say, southern Africa.

Mr Fraser's speech emphasised a number of foreign policy areas with which he has long been associated — the Commonwealth link, regional organisations, aid programs and multilateral peace-keeping organisations.

Labor has to feel its way anew in all this. Mr Whitlam's innovatory touch is gone. Labor will view cautiously at first the Commonwealth and other commitments but in the end will probably adopt similar policies on most issues of substance.

There will be some differences of emphasis. Mr Hawke's real views on how to handle the Arab-Israel crisis are still unknown. Mr Hayden is determined to renew aid to Vietnam and to seek more actively than the present Government ways of entering into dialogue with Hanoi. But in their policy statements the Prime Minister and Leader of the Opposition do not appear all that different in views.

Mr Hawke's only foray into regionalisation was to emphasise that a Labor Government would seek closer relations with ASEAN, the fastest growing economic region in the world. Mr Fraser's only reference to it was to say that Australia would replace the Mirages at Butterworth with F-18s when the time came. Mr Hayden said that a Labor Government would bring the RAAF Squadron home, at a trot, not a gallop.

Defence, as such, occupied little of the two leaders' speeches and has scarcely surfaced since. Mr Fraser reiterated support for the Five Power Arrangement. Mr Hawke said Labor would not squander \$1.4 billion on a replacement for the aircraft carrier Melbourne. Neither will Mr Fraser's Government, if truth be known.

So, if you're really looking for guidance on what the two parties are offering by way of alternative foreign and defence policies, you will do better by reading a good book.

Peter Hastings is foreign editor and a leader writer for the Herald.

AUSTRALIAN 25/2/83

Timor a block to better Asian ties

Q What should be our position on the Indonesian occupation of East Timor?

A Our party policy is clear. It lays down a number of obligations, including no military aid to Indonesia while the criteria we have laid down aren't met.

I find no problems with that. In fact I would seek to have a Labor government increase its aid to Indonesia generally within the context of our aid obligations and our declared objective of providing a greater level of aid – dependent on our balance of payments improving.

Once that improved I would want to see us provide more aid in our region and give a more substantial focus in that region instead of spreading it as widely as we do and, consequently, so thinly that it's not being really effective.

I acknowledge that our policy in relation to East Timor will create some problems for us in our diplomatic relationships with Indonesia. For anyone to say otherwise is to talk sheer nonsense and I'm not in the business of humbug.

I believe politicians should be as candid as they can in affairs affecting the public.

Nonetheless, allowing for the explicitness of our policy, I would be keen to enter into fairly early consultation with the Indonesians about the policy – about our attitudes that lead to this policy; to acknowledge the cultural and historical differences between the two countries and the way

they approach things and ask them to acknowledge the same sort of thing. I think that is sometimes lost sight of on both sides.

We are a liberal democracy with Western traditions. They have very fine Asian traditions. Somehow we have to bridge that, and I would see this as a first and very important undertaking – to try to start building that bridge of understanding.

But it takes two people to shake hands. And if we are going to make any progress, the Indonesians have got to recognise it is not just a one-sided thing.

Furthermore, it is often said Indonesia is more important to Australia than we are to them: I don't accept that. I think that leads to a servility and not a firm enough assertion of our national interest.

That doesn't mean Australia has got to drop its point of view totally, immediately, or very quickly. Foreign policy differences are something you work at ironing out.

BILL HAYDEN

(NOW AUSTRALIAN FOREIGN MINISTER)

AUSTIN 25/2/83

ELECTION '83

Street hits out at ALP on ANZUS

By ELLEN PETERSON

THE Federal Government moved yesterday to revive foreign policy as an election issue.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Street, said Labor's policies and its views of the ANZUS treaty would "effectively destroy Australia's reputation as a valued and reliable friend".

In another attack on the ALP, the chairman of the Joint Parliamentary Committee on Foreign Affairs and Defence, Mr Roger Shipton (Lib, Vic), said Labor's recognition of self-determination for East Timor would create great tension between Australia and Indonesia.

Mr Shipton told a meeting of diplomats in Canberra that Labor's commitment to self-determination for East Timor could force Indonesia to withdraw its ambassador from Australia.

Labor's foreign affairs spokesman, Mr Hayden, has said the ANZUS treaty was important, but had "serious defects".

The 30-year-old treaty is the military alliance between Australia, New Zealand and the United States.

Mr Street also criticised La-

bor's proposal to provide aid to Vietnam.

"The Labor Party also wants to reward Vietnam's invasion and occupation of Cambodia (Kampuchea) by giving them Australian aid," he said.

"Nothing could do more to damage Australia's standing in the eyes of our South-East Asian friends."

The Government suspended its \$5 million-a-year aid to Vietnam following the invasion of Kampuchea in 1979.

The Prime Minister, Mr Fraser, moved earlier this month to make the ANZUS treaty an issue when he said Labor's policies would call the alliance into question.

Mr Street said yesterday foreign relations, and particularly the treaty, were based on mutual trust and confidence that was very easy to destroy.

Mr Hayden's comment had "cast a cloud of doubt" over Australia's reliability.

"Labor's policy would directly undermine Australia's interests and those of our proven friends.

"Labor is already committed to abandoning our defence co-operation program with Indonesia, and this further undermines and casts doubt on our relations with the ASEAN countries."

Winners of Polk Award For Journalism Named

Long Island University has announced the winners of the 35th annual George Polk Awards in Journalism.

Two correspondents of The New York Times, Thomas L. Friedman and David K. Shipler, shared the award for foreign reporting for their coverage of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. And Richard Halloran of The Times won in the national reporting category for articles on Department of Defense planning for a possible nuclear war.

Established in 1949

A special award was given to Rod Nordland of The Philadelphia Inquirer for his dispatches from Southeast Asia describing the plight of the peoples of East Timor, Vietnam and Cambodia.

The awards were established by Long Island University in 1949 to honor the memory of the CBS correspondent who was killed the previous year while covering the Greek civil war.

These other awards were announced last week by the university:

Regional Reporting — Jim Henderson of The Dallas Times Herald for a series, "Racism in the South."

Metropolitan Reporting — Doug Cumming of The Journal-Bulletin of Providence, R.I., for a series, "Ticket to Ride, the Commuter Airlines."

Local Reporting — David Johnston and Joel Sappell of The Los Angeles Times for their articles on police spying in Los Angeles.

Magazine Reporting — Roger Rosenblatt of Time for "Children of War," a portrait of youngsters in five war-torn nations.

Financial Reporting — Phillip L. Zweig of The American Banker for his reports on the collapse of the Penn Square Bank.

Criticism — Stanley Kauffmann of The New Republic for his film reviews.

News Photography — Robby Castro of The Associated Press for his photograph of an Israeli soldier and a wounded Syrian soldier in Lebanon.

Network Television Reporting — CBS News for "CBS Reports: Guatemala."

Local Television Reporting — Dick Gelfman, Theresa Crawford and John Surrick of WBAL-TV, Baltimore, for "Between the Loans," a series on the victimization of consumer borrowers.

Documentary Television — Andrew Stern, writer and producer of "How Much Is Enough: Decision Making in the Nuclear Age," shown on the Public Broadcasting System.