

## UN Commission on Human Rights: 39th session

MARCH 1983

The 39th Session of the UN Commission on Human Rights (CHR 39) concluded on 11 March after six weeks' deliberations covering a broad agenda of human rights issues.

As the paramount UN body concerned with human rights, CHR's authority flows directly from the UN Charter itself. Pursuant to Article 68, the UN Economic and Social Council adopted a resolution establishing CHR in February 1946. CHR met for the first time in 1947, and has since continued to meet annually in the early part of the year. CHR's activities are underpinned by the expert and independent work of the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, which also meets annually, in August-September.

As at past CHR sessions, debates about serious human rights violations in individual countries provoked the most controversy. Australia supported resolutions adopted by CHR 39 condemning human rights violations in Poland, Chile, Guatemala and Iran. After unsuccessful Canadian attempts to introduce a moderately-worded resolution on El Salvador, a French-Mexican draft resolution on this question was adopted in the last week of the session. A number of Western countries, including Australia, abstained on the resolution, taking issue with the insertion of controversial political elements into the text. Earlier in the session the general question of East Timor was dealt with by CHR for the first time in its public proceedings. On 16 February, a resolution on East Timor was narrowly adopted. Australia opposed the resolution.

While CHR consideration of such situations has provided an important means of applying pressure on governments to improve their human rights performance, Australia has supported efforts to develop a parallel 'thematic' approach. This approach deals with human rights violations on a category by

category basis. Its effectiveness has been demonstrated by the Working Group on Disappearances set up at CHR 37 as a result of an Australian initiative. The mandate of this group was renewed for a further year at CHR 39. CHR 39 also adopted a follow-up resolution to a Danish initiative taken at CHR 38 to appoint a special rapporteur to examine the incidence of summary and arbitrary executions.

Drafting of international conventions on the rights of the child and on the elimination of torture and other cruel, inhuman and degrading forms of punishment or treatment made some progress this year. The open-ended working group dealing with the torture convention tackled the complex implementation provisions of the convention with some success, prompting the Chairman to initiate discussion of the final clauses of the convention. There is thus some cause for hope that this task will be completed in the not too distant future. Drafting work on the child's convention made modest steps forward, notably in relation to the rights of disabled children and children of broken family units, and in reaching agreement on measures to avoid illegal removal abroad of children.

Other notable initiatives included the adoption of a Canadian-sponsored resolution proposing a more detailed study on human rights under states-of-siege and a resolution to study the feasibility of setting up a fund to enable representatives of indigenous populations to attend relevant UN meetings, and thus encouraging broader indigenous participation in the UN's growing activities in indigenous rights.

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AUSTRALIAN-INDONESIA

*Indonesian*

CANBERRA, MARCH 6 (AFP) - AUSTRALIA WOULD TRY FOR A SPEEDY RETURN TO CONSTRUCTIVE RELATIONS WITH INDONESIA, ITS NEAREST NEIGHBOUR, LABOR PRIME MINISTER DESIGNATE BOB HAWKE SAID TODAY. HE TOLD JOURNALISTS THAT AID TO INDONESIA WOULD CONTINUE ALTHOUGH SOME LABOR CRITICS HAVE SUGGESTED THAT AUSTRALIAN AID SHOULD BE LINKED TO BETTER INDONESIAN BEHAVIOUR IN EAST TIMOR. MR. HAWKE SAID THESE MATTERS WOULD BE REVIEWED.

INDONESIA ANNEXED THE FORMER PORTUGUESE COLONY OF EAST TIMOR IN 1975.

RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES HAVE BEEN STRAINED SINCE THE SEVENTIES, MR. HAWKE SAID. HOWEVER, NEW FOREIGN MINISTER BILL HAYDEN WOULD GIVE INDONESIA A HIGH PRIORITY AS AUSTRALIA RECOGNISED THE VALUE OF GOOD NEIGHBOURLINESS, HE SAID.

MR. HAWKE SAID HE HAD GOOD PERSONAL RELATIONS WITH INDONESIAN PRESIDENT GENERAL SUHARTO, WITH WHOM HE HAS HAD LENGTHY MEETINGS. HE SAID HE WAS SURE THAT PRESIDENT SUHARTO WOULD WELCOME THE NEW AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT'S SINCERE EFFORTS TO OVERCOME ANY DIFFICULTIES BETWEEN THE TWO NATIONS.

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"POLITICAL KILLINGS  
BY GOVERNMENTS"

AN AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL REPORT  
MARCH 1983.

In East Timor, which has been occupied by Indonesia since December 1975, there have been numerous reports of people being executed after surrendering to, or being captured by, Indonesian armed forces. In September 1981 as many as 500 people, among them non-combatant women and children, were alleged to have been killed after capture by Indonesian forces in Lacluta in the district of Viqueque. An Indonesian official has stated publicly that between 60 and 70 people were killed in the incident including women and children. He asserted that the victims died in armed combat after refusing repeated calls to surrender. Amnesty International is not at present able to assess

# East Timor's past terror

SIR, I listened with interest to your editor P. P. McGuinness talking with Terry Lane on the ABC Melbourne 3LO morning program of February 7, in which Mr McGuinness outlined details of his recent visit to East Timor.

I have no difficulty in accepting that Mr McGuinness' remarks reflected an accurate and reliable relating of what he saw and experienced. And the gist of what Mr McGuinness had to say was that there was a lack of any apparent evidence of food shortages and no overt indications of military repression. This seemed to put the lie to reports circulated by church agencies in Australia

which have claimed hardship, famine and repression.

I am one of those people with a developmental agency which has had a continuing involvement and concern about the events in East Timor. Our agency has also been among those responsible for circulating reports about conditions in that sad country. It has been an awful dilemma for us that the information has largely been unattributable. This of course has enormously diminished the credibility of our reports. And it has been a great disadvantage to be unable to gain first-hand experience of East Timor since the invasion.

Recent Indonesian handling of the issue of East Timor has been very skilful and quite a propaganda coup. This remark is in no way intended as a reflection upon Mr McGuinness's integrity. However, Mr McGuinness himself commented that he was disadvantaged in being unable to speak the local dialect, Tetum, or Bahasa Kebangsaan and that he was reliant upon official Indonesian interpreters.

If there really has been a major process of development in East Timor, it is difficult to understand why, even given an understanding of Indonesian national pride, critical aid agency representatives have been unable to gain access to East Timor for first hand assessment of conditions.

Even were Mr McGuinness' account of the present state of affairs completely accurate, what then of the events which have led to the present? I believe it would be quite wrong simply to say "Well, it's all

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over\* now. Foreign relations with Indonesia are paramount. Let us forget the past." I say this because I have just been reading a transcript of a recent interview with an East Timorese regarding the period of invasion and Indonesian "colonisation". It is a period marked by the most brutal and horrendous crimes against the East Timorese people. It is patently clear that mass killings, torture, rape, looting and corruption have been on a scale involving the most senior Indonesian army and Indonesian civilian administrators in East Timor. There has been absolutely no acknowledgement by the Suharto government of these crimes and no attempt at even token prosecution for the most extreme outrages. As remarked by an East Timorese refugee, Carlos Alphonso, "You cannot exchange development for people. People who disappeared have disappeared for good. The Indonesians need to do some development so as to show it to people from other countries. The Timorese do not like the Indonesians, they want their freedom."

It is a pity then that Mr McGuinness did not set his remarks on the Terry Lane show in the context of the appalling background I have just described. It would also be illuminating if Mr McGuinness were to indicate whether or not he sees the Australian people as having any responsibility to speak out on behalf of a people so cruelly treated.

**HARRY MARTIN,**  
National Director,  
Community Aid Abroad.

AFR 2/13/83

One of the few areas of unqualified success of the Fraser Government has been in its liberal foreign policy, especially with regard to Black Africa. Labor, while expressing bipartisan support, has a number of policy positions which could threaten the foreign policy achievements of the Fraser Government. PETER ROBINSON reports.

# Bipartisan talk hides foreign policy gap

THE strangest feature of the present election campaign is that foreign affairs and defence are non-issues—that by some incredible alchemy, they have become “bipartisan.”

Both parties have been happy to accept this peculiarity, obviously for their own reasons. Labor has accepted it because traditionally the Liberal-National coalition has enjoyed an advantage in terms of credibility when discussing foreign affairs. This has arisen from the long-established emphasis on relations with the United States and the accompanying assumption that Labor Governments somehow have difficulty in achieving good relations with Washington—despite the obvious fact that it was the Curtin Government which originally cemented Australian relations with the US. The Liberals have accepted it because they are internally divided on foreign policy—whatever their facade may be. Few Liberals really support Malcolm Fraser on his policies toward South Africa; many Liberals are opposed to Fraser's rhetoric on the need

for lower protection: the National Party and the Liberal Party are quite widely apart on most basic issues of Australian foreign policy. In short, both sides are very vulnerable on many foreign policy issues and any serious political debate would end up in a shambles. This is why foreign policy remains the great blank in an election campaign which is amongst the most bitter in Australian history. Neither major party is prepared to take the risk of debating their differences. In his national policy speech on February 16, Bob Hawke said: “Even in times of economic crisis of such proportions as the present, the defence and security needs of Australia must remain paramount. The foundations laid after 1972 established for Australia a more independent and self-respecting role than ever before. The essential elements of Australian defence and foreign

policy have taken on a picture of bipartisanship inconceivable before then. “The great question of Australia's relationship with the United States, with the People's Republic of China, the Soviet Union, the European Economic Community, our special relationship with the Commonwealth of Nations, Papua New Guinea, New Zealand and Japan and our conduct of southern African questions now possess continuity, consistency and consensus.” These few paragraphs constitute more than one-third of the total amount of Hawke's speech devoted to foreign affairs and defence. They are obviously intended to be reassuring. What they really show is that Bob Hawke and Malcolm Fraser are bipartisan on only one thing—keeping foreign policy out of the election campaign. The proportion of Malcolm Fraser's policy speech devoted

to foreign affairs and defence is even smaller than Hawke's. His main point is the innocuous line that “Australia's stature as a middle power has increased the range of our international activities and the weight of our responsibilities.” Yet the plain fact is that if Labor wins the election this Saturday—as all opinion polls suggest it will—there will be quite a swing in the emphasis of the nation's foreign policy and in its defence stance. Ten years ago, Whitlam made foreign affairs a major election issue by arguing that “Australia must make an independent, fresh look at her neighbourhood. The Labor Party has been vindicated on all the great matters of foreign affairs for the last 20 years.” Without any shadow of a doubt, it was one of the issues that underpinned the Whitlam image—the man who could present Australia proudly abroad, who could talk on equal terms with any foreign leader



BILL HAYDEN ... as Labor's Foreign Minister could build up a sensible and workable relationship with Indonesia.

and who could move the country into a new era of independence. Because Malcolm Fraser has had his share of successes in foreign affairs, the contrast between him and Bob Hawke has been muted. Not altogether without reason, Fraser has come across to the electorate as an Australian nationalist in foreign affairs—he has hectorated and bullied the European Common Market (totally without success), he has shown rapport with overseas leaders such as President Reagan and Kenneth Kaunda and he has shown remarkable concern for the Third World in his activities in Africa. By traditional “Liberal” standards, his foreign policy

record is, well, remarkably liberal. He has dramatically altered the Menzies stance to which conservative Australians became accustomed—yet at the same time he has sustained the emphasis on relations with the United States and the concept that ANZUS is the keystone of Australian foreign policy. There is probably not a voter in Australia who has objected to the sight of Malcolm Fraser giving Maggie Thatcher an occasional kick in the backside, who has not been assuaged by his low-key but careful expression of loyalty to the Queen and who has not had a slight feeling of relief that he manages to get along with black leaders such as Robert Mugabe without in any

sense damaging his projection of unchanging Toryism. These are very real public relations achievements and Hawke's policy speech is basically a recognition of this. But whatever leftward lurches Fraser has taken—whatever deviations he has been able to impose on a reluctant Liberal and National party—there remains a hard, cold fact that there really are very substantial differences between Labor and the Government on foreign policy. Assuming that a Fraser-led Liberal Government is going to continue, concealment of this problem may be a good thing. But if, as seems highly likely, a Hawke Government with Bill Hayden as Foreign Minister is going to assume power next week, the veneer of bipartisanship which has surrounded Australia's foreign relations could readily develop into a disaster. The fact is that on both minor issues and major issues there is a wide gap between the two parties. In economic terms, Hawke and his leading shadow ministers have made it quite clear that they are devoted to a consistent policy of high protectionism. The Fraser Government, it will be remembered, was equally protectionist in its early days. Malcolm Fraser himself said he would give Australian industry all the protection that was necessary—a policy that was disastrously unhelpful and which caused serious difficulties with Australia's regional allies. The Fraser Government's weird “international civil aviation policy” (ICAP) evolved on the basis of a guaranteed protection for Qantas, but was devastated by the plain political realities of regional politics. Fraser gradually switched from high protectionism to giving at least lip service to lowering trade barriers because of the bitterly intense pressure exerted by Australia's regional friends and allies. There is no way Fraser would have relaxed his attitude if he could have avoided it. Yet, despite this obvious warning, Hawke has moved to an even more protectionist

stance and has stated, in effect: anything Australian industry needs to preserve jobs it will get. The fact that he is articulate, aggressive and spectacularly “ocker” in his political image will simply aggravate the problems to be caused by this stance. The ALP is firmly in favour of reopening aid to Vietnam and improving relations with that country. In this case it has caught the Fraser Government on the wrong foot, just as Whitlam caught McMahon on the wrong foot over China. The Fraser Government has been set for some time to upgrade its relations with Hanoi, including the appointment of an ambassador, but has clearly been nervous about making such an announcement before the elections. Labor is still firmly committed to being in a collision course with Indonesia over Timor, in contrast with the Fraser Government which has been making strong—and generally successful—efforts to smooth over the problems which have arisen between the two countries. Apart from both real and imagined differences with the US, relations with Indonesia will present the major foreign policy problem for the Hawke Government. Labor, rightly or wrongly, has an emotional hatred of military dictatorships and there is no way that Bob Hawke will be able to prevent many Labor supporters saying nasty things about Indonesia. The Fraser Government, in contrast, has been able to achieve a reasonable level of friendship with Jakarta—including a very close working relationship with the Indonesian military. A Hawke Government, with Bill Hayden as Foreign Minister, may possibly be able to build up a sensible and mutually acceptable relationship with Jakarta, but there is little doubt that it will not be the same kind of relationship that exists at present. By any standards, the plain

fact is that a Fraser Tory Government with Ian Sinclair as Defence Minister, is likely to be more attuned to the regime in Jakarta than a Hawke-Hayden Government. Moreover, there remains the ticklish problem—recognised as such by both Hawke and Hayden—that Labor Party policy still refuses to recognise the incorporation of Timor into Indonesia. Perhaps this will be worked out peacefully within the party, but it is by no means certain that it can be done without a blazing public row. In foreign policy terms, the real fact is that the Fraser Government has placed tremendous emphasis (and this has been reflected in the sheer monetary investment in CHOGM and CHOGM) on the Commonwealth connection. The Labor Party is obviously not going to oppose the Commonwealth concept, but neither does it give any sign of supporting it in the enthusiastic way advanced by Malcolm Fraser—who sees it as his own road to world status. This kind of thing like Indonesia or the Third World can be presented to the public simply as “a different emphasis.” Speaking to the Financial Review yesterday, shadow Foreign Minister Bill Hayden said that he saw the main differences between Labor and the Government as follows: ● Labor would tone down “the frenzied cold war rhetoric directed against the Soviet Union.” This did not mean a Labor Government would be “soft,” he added. ● “We would have a more actively expressed commitment to the reasonable aspirations of the Third World—even though we recognise that some of its problems are self-induced.” ● There would be a more intense focus upon our region. In particular, Hayden feels that Australia has been remiss in not paying enough attention to India. ● There would be a greater economic emphasis in foreign policy. ● There would be a greater emphasis on restructuring Australian industry to complement regional development.

Responsibility for election comment in this issue is taken by P.P. McGuinness, Jones Street, Broadway, NSW.

## FOREIGN POLICY

“THE foundations laid after 1972 established for Australia a more independent and self-respecting international role than ever before. The essential elements of Australian defence and foreign policy have taken on a bipartisanship inconceivable before then.” That assessment, from the policy speech of the Leader of the Opposition, Mr Hawke, has been tacitly accepted during the election campaign by the Prime Minister, Mr Fraser. It has suited them both to seem to be in agreement about defence and foreign policy, which has enabled them to concentrate on the domestic issues of jobs and living standards. They have judged that these are the issues on which the electors will decide what will happen to them on Saturday. So they have concentrated their minds and their voices on these issues. By doing so, they have done all Australians a serious disservice.

The truth of the matter is very different, as the Minister for Defence, Mr Sinclair, contrived to remind the electorate on Tuesday, only one month after a visit to Indonesia which included East Timor in its itinerary. He said, “We expect a deterioration in Australia’s relationship with Indonesia if a Labor Government is elected.” In the context of an election campaign, that was not unfair comment. Indeed, the man who would be Foreign Minister in a Labor Government, Mr Hayden, acknowledged last week that last year’s ALP conference resolution rejecting the present Government’s recognition of East Timor’s annexation by Indonesia would give him problems. The resolution also reaffirmed “the inalienable right of East Timorese to self-determination and independence”, and it opposed all defence aid to Indonesia until there was a withdrawal of Indonesian troops from the territory.

The difference between that point of view and the one put forward by Mr Sinclair is substantial. For example, the Minister for Defence said that arrangements had been made for joint exercises between the armed forces of Australia and Indonesia. It would be understandable if a Labor Government were to cancel these arrangements, concentrating its aid in civil areas. Such a decision would not imply any wish to damage relations between Canberra and Jakarta. It would simply acknowledge their different points of view.

This newspaper has already suggested that Australia’s two major aid programs in the Philippines should continue, but that Australia should not seem to condone the military suppression of protesting Filipinos by continuing defence aid and joint exercises. A similar approach to Jakarta, with reference to East Timor, would do justice to deep feelings within the Labor Party and enable Mr Hayden to get support for the sensible promise he made last week: “I will be working for good relations, based on mutual respect.” That will require Indonesian acceptance of strong and sincere Australian beliefs. Equally, it would require an Australian Labor Government to accept that the *de-jure* incorporation of East Timor into Indonesia has already been agreed to by Mr Fraser’s Government. It has to be respected, whatever happens on Saturday.

There is a need to know just how Mr Hawke will interpret Labor policy towards the Middle East. There is the possibility of a gap between Labor Party policy and the priority it is given by a party leader. His attitude towards the Commonwealth as a world body and, in particular, its attitudes to South Africa bear closer comparison with Mr Fraser’s enviable record in that area.

# What's in it for us?

The foreign policies of a Labor government are still not clear, but Hayden says that it would resume aid to Vietnam

Canberra: Asian leaders will be closely following Australia's general election on March 5 where the Labor Party, under former trade union chief Bob Hawke, has a strong chance of gaining power and putting a new slant on policies of key concern to the country's Asian neighbours.

The election is being fought on domestic concerns with the basic issue being economic management, but there are also differences in such areas as trade, some aspects of foreign policy and defence.

In Tokyo the questions being asked are how a Hawke-led government would handle the twin issues of trade with Tokyo and investment in Australia — mainly in natural resources — by Japanese concerns. Another question looms. How would Labor, with its support for disarmament motions, react to a boost in Japan's defence efforts, which is being sought so ardently by the United States?

Australian protectionism is a bone which has long stuck in the throats of the Asean members, now more eager than ever to boost exports to Australia as recession bites deeper into their markets in Europe and the US. Hawke and his colleagues are hawkish, to say the least, over the issue of protecting jobs in unemployment-wracked Australia, and if Hawke is to revive the economy with the cooperation of the unions he champions, then he will have at least to hold to his hustings pledge to maintain employment at existing levels. Labor has vowed to keep protection for manufactured goods at current levels as part of its prices and incomes policy.

Australia's nearest Asian neighbour, Indonesia, is watching closely to see how a Labor government would handle the issue of East Timor, the former Portuguese possession absorbed by Jakarta in 1976 — a move persistently disapproved by Australian public opinion. Labor's party platform includes a tough attitude to Indonesia, especially over East Timor. But it is likely that, once in government, Labor would accept the status quo. However, it could be expected to press hard for a stepped-up programme of family reunions for refugees from East Timor already in Australia.

Late in January Australian Defence Minister Ian Sinclair visited Jakarta with a stopover in East Timor. Sinclair's visit was widely seen as marking an upswing in bilateral ties. Forecasting the future of Indonesian-Australian links under Labor is made more difficult in that the man expected to be foreign minister under Hawke — former party leader Bill Hayden — was slow, early in the election campaign, to discuss policies with the media.

Policy on Cambodia is another point of

interest for the region. Asean has strongly supported the Democratic Kampuchea coalition led by Prince Norodom Sihanouk, and also including the Khmer Rouge. Labor says that it would not recognise any coalition in Cambodia which included remnants of the Khmer Rouge. The attitude of the current government is that Australia does not recognise any Cambodian government. It favours the emergence of a national, neutral and self-sufficient Cambodia and supports diplomatic efforts to produce a negotiated settlement.

In a rare interview published on February 23, Hayden reaffirmed that a Labor government would resume aid to Vietnam, which Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser's government halted in 1979. He also said that a Labor government would try to act as a conduit between Hanoi and Washington.

On financial matters, Labor has opposed the entry of foreign banks, though during the election campaign, Labor's spokesman on the economy, Paul Keating, has said that in government he will commission a report on regulation within the financial system. There is "an outside chance," he told the REVIEW, that this report would conclude that foreign banks could operate within the regulated environment Labor favours (Shroff, page 81). In January, the Fraser government announced that foreign banks would be allowed to operate in Australia with an initial entry of about 10 (REVIEW, Jan. 27).

Labor favours a tougher foreign-investment policy than the current government. Although it has not spelt out the details, it can be assumed that a Labor government would insist on majority Australian equity in all projects and that it would outlaw the repatriation of profits through transfer-pricing arrangements.

Looking at defence, there has been no Labor response to Fraser's election promise that he would station one squadron of the F18 fighters currently on order at Butterworth in Malaysia. Australian aircraft are stationed at the Malaysian base under the 12-year-old Five-Power Defence Arrangement among Australia, Britain, New Zealand, Singapore and Malaysia.

Labor generally does not favour Australian troops being deployed overseas and Hawke has said the Australian contribution to the United Nations peacekeeping force in the Sinai would be recalled if Labor wins. But Labor has reaffirmed its support for the Anzus treaty, which links Australia with the US and New Zealand, and supports the current regional treaty arrangements.

— ANNE SUMMERS

## Distortions in Timor reports

SIR, I have read with interest two items in the Financial Review of January 25, concerning the situation in East Timor: an article by Dr Peter McCawley, and your own editorial on the same subject.

As one who has made a detailed study of the Timor affair, I would not argue with the contentions that Indonesia has for the past year or two been spending a considerable amount of money and effort on the development of the "27th Province", and that food shortages are much less serious than they were two years ago.

However, it would be surprising if serious critics of Indonesia's seizure of East Timor were convinced by the curious play of statistics in Peter McCawley's article and the points you have made in your editorial.

In the statistic tables provided by the Indonesian authorities, let me draw your attention to examples of distortion and manipulation.

If we were to accept the Indonesian tables for grain production, we would see that in 1974, the last full year of Portuguese rule, only 11,500 tons were produced, as against more than 50,000 tons in 1979, that is three years after Indonesia's invasion.

In fact I can attest that in 1974 when I visited the territory on a fact-finding mission, there was no food shortage, let alone famine, while in 1979 visiting international aid officials repeatedly described food conditions in the Province as critical, resembling conditions in Kampuchea and the Sahel.

Yet in 1974 the Portuguese had many more people to feed and the territory was completely open to the prying eyes of the outside press. In fact grain production in that year was well over 30,000 tons.

The statistical table on school students is a clear example of manipulation. We are told that in 1976-77 there were 13,500 children in primary schools, compared with 68,700 in 1980. But 1976 was the first year after the Indonesian invasion when intense fighting was raging in many parts of the territory, and it is surprising to learn that any children were in school at all.

If the Indonesian statisticians had, on this occasion,

be as much to do with the indoctrination of the young, as they are with the altruistic aims of cultural and social development.

Dr McCawley's comments on the population census suggest an attempt to diminish the magnitude of the tragedy of East Timor. In my ex-



perience these figures were reasonably accurately collected by the Portuguese administration, with the Church officials keeping their own separate rolls.

On the eve of Indonesia's invasion the population was estimated to be somewhere between 650,000 and 688,000 and it was growing at a rate of between 1.8 and 2 per cent.

If we accept the Indonesian census figure of 555,000 for 1980, the loss of population is clearly well in excess of 100,000 people.

Dr McCawley notes some reservations about the census expressed by Dr Hull, an expert at the ANU. I too have discussed this problem with Dr Hull who has agreed that any error by the Portuguese in the past could mean that the population was underestimated, just as easily as it could reveal that it had been over-estimated.

You dismiss "Church sources" and the facts provided by the Australian Council for Overseas Aid on quite specious grounds. Of course these sources may not always be accurate, but they are much more searching and discriminating than most of the information that appears in our press. I too have read the transcript of the Senate Enquiry into Human Rights in Timor and I cannot agree with your assessment of Mr Whitlam's testimony which I found superficial, tendentious and misleading.

As for the Traill report, it was marred by the inexperience of its authors, their unfounded assumptions about the influence of Communism, and their unhelpful conclusions.

Sadly the story of the Timor tragedy is littered with distortions and disinformation, which often reflect poor judgement and lack of concern by the responsible press.

I have a sympathy for those who are trying to find a way around this problem in order to construct a better relationship with Indonesia. But shallow attempts to diminish the Timor tragedy, which, we should remember, took the lives of six Australian newsmen who, in the best traditions of journalism, tried to establish the truth of the matter, will not help that task at all.

Let us report positively Indonesia's constructive efforts in Timor, but let us not ignore the lessons of the past, nor the fact that these Timorese neighbours of ours have in effect been placed under another form of colonialism, and in such a context even good government may never be a satisfactory alternative to self-government.

**JAMES DUNN,**  
Weetangera, ACT.

checked the school figures for 1974 they would have discovered that there were more than 60,000 children in the colony's primary schools.

Of course it needs to be acknowledged that the Indonesians are now spending a lot on education in East Timor, but their motives may



# Asean uneasy over Labor policy

AGE 4/3/83

From MICHAEL RICHARDSON

SINGAPORE, 3 March. — Australia's closest neighbors in Asia are preparing for serious strains in their relations with Canberra if as seems likely Labor wins Saturday's general elections.

The five members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations — Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore and Thailand — are all concerned that their interests will be adversely affected.

A well placed source in Jakarta warned last night that Australia's relations with Indonesia would be "set back for the next 20 years" if a Labor Government applied party policy on East Timor. This warning is known to have been relayed to the Opposition Leader, Mr Hawke, by a close aide who recently visited Indonesia.

## Deterioration

The source said that, with ties between Australia and Indonesia on the mend after sharp deterioration in the wake of Indonesia's military occupation of East Timor in 1975 and the territory's subsequent incorporation as a province of the republic, nothing should be done by either side to disrupt the process of rapprochement.

He cautioned that it would be damaging if Labor implements any of the points in its Timor policy. Australia would lose its relatively few friends here, and that includes President Suharto.

He was referring to a resolution on East Timor carried overwhelmingly at the Labor Party conference last year.

The resolution says the ALP recognises the "inalienable right of East Timorese to self-determination and independence", "condemns and rejects" the Australian Government's recognition in January 1978 of Indonesia's "annexation" of the territory and opposes all defence aid — currently worth about \$A10 million a year — until there is a "complete withdrawal" of Indonesian troops.

In a newspaper interview published in Australia late last week, Mr Hayden, Labor's Shadow Foreign Minister and former party leader, said he found no problems with this policy, although he admitted it would create some difficulties "in our diplomatic relationships with Indonesia".

He added that he was keen to "enter into fairly early consultation" with the Indonesians about the policy.

Mr Hayden also confirmed that a Labor Government would resume economic aid to Vietnam — and encourage other Western nations to follow suit — without insisting that there be a prior withdrawal of Hanoi's estimated 180,000 troops in Kampuchea and a negotiated settlement of the conflict within the framework of United Nations resolutions.

This would put Australia at loggerheads with ASEAN which has been campaigning hard to prevent resumption of aid to Vietnam by non-communist countries. ASEAN argues that denial of aid is one means of putting pressure on Hanoi to come to the negotiating table.

Mr Hayden said that by restoring aid to Vietnam, Western nations could help Hanoi "escape from the stifling total dependency that has been established with the Soviets".

Mr Hayden said in another interview published last Thursday that Labor opposed the coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea "backed by ASEAN, as it is dominated by the Khmer Rouge".

Official sources say other areas of potential contention between a Labor Government and ASEAN members include:

- Mr Hayden's statement that RAAF Mirage jet fighters stationed in Malaysia-Singapore under the 1971 Five-Power Defence Co-operation Arrangements linking Australia, New Zealand and Britain with the two regional Commonwealth countries would be brought back to Australia and not replaced — as promised by the present Prime Minister, Mr Fraser, in his campaign policy speech — by a squadron of advanced F-18 Hornets.

## Protection

- Protectionism. ASEAN Governments, especially those, such as Singapore, that have a strong free trade position, fear that a Labor Government might be susceptible to union pressure for imposition of more measures against foreign imports and ships to protect Australian jobs.

- Human rights. Labor is likely to be more outspoken in public than the Fraser Government over alleged human rights abuses, including treatment of political detainees, in ASEAN countries, although it may try to balance this by criticism in the same area of communist regimes in Indo-China.

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# Indonesian relations to get ALP priority

CANBERRA. — Labor yesterday pledged to give top priority to relations between Australia and Indonesia if it wins today's poll.

But the ALP's shadow Foreign Affairs Minister, Mr Hayden, said there could be initial problems.

He would have to overcome the East Timor resolution — carried overwhelmingly at the last ALP national conference — which is starkly anti-Indonesian.

It would be binding on a Hawke Government unless it was allowed to lapse quietly at the next party conference in June. Mr Hayden said in a recent interview he would be "less than honest if I pretend that the (resolution) presented no problems to a Labor Government".

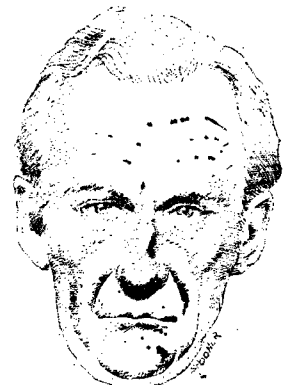
"But I will be doing everything I can, as Foreign Minister, to minimise or avoid problems in the region," he said.

"I am sure there are ways to solve any differences. Unlike many people, I don't go for this line that Indonesia is more im-

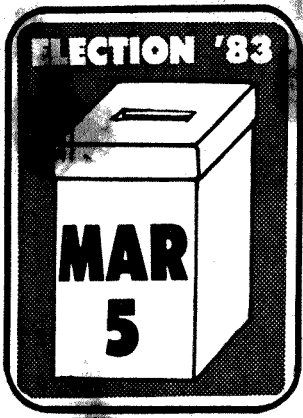
portant to Australia than Australia is to Indonesia."

Party sources say the party is preparing to send a senior delegation to Jakarta if Labor wins the election.

Its mission would be to explain the new Government's attitudes on East Timor, particularly the question of self-determination and independence. But Mr Hayden said he was unaware of such plans.



Mr Hayden: pledge



# On foreign policy, a resounding silence — from both sides

By JOHN BRYANT

C. TIMES 4-3-83

**A**N AREA that has been so inadequately canvassed in this election that it has been a non-issue is the foreign policy of Australia in the coming years.

There seem to be various reasons for this non-stirring of the foreign-policy possum, even apart from the concentration on domestic issues, red herrings and dubious cults of personalities.

One leading reason is no doubt plain old inertia — Australia has been going down basically the same foreign-policy track since World War II, so why change anything — why even raise the question of possible changes, of the relevance of present policies, of the changing world structures that might call for policy modifications?

The political face of inertia is the so-called bipartisan nature of Australian foreign policy. If the two main contending parties are in basic agreement on foreign-policy objectives, priorities and methods, what is there to discuss, let alone change? Perhaps a little tinkering here and there for the sake of appearances, but, for the rest, a resounding silence.

The Liberal-National Party coalition foreign policy revolves around the Western alliance almost exclusively, in particular the alliance with the USA as manifested in the ANZUS Treaty.

***“To the extent that there is no change, Australia can be seen to have stable policies unaffected by changes in government; but where this is accompanied by lack of debate on the issues and reluctance to examine anything that might disturb existing policies and alignments, we can be seen to be less than independent and less than willing to be self-reliant. “Australians . . . deserve better.”***

It could be said that all else is Fraserism — the fervent, if only verbal, opposition to the apartheid policies of South Africa, the Third Worldism of support for the developing countries, again a good deal of it rhetorical, the less than distinct or positive development in relations with South-East Asia, the friendly, if often curious and contradictory, relations among the members of the Commonwealth of Nations.

And except for China, the socialist segment of the world — the Soviet Union and its satellites — might just as well not exist in Liberal and National Party eyes — except for the sale of commodities to them.

In specific areas, the policies of the coalition can be seen to tail along uncritically in the wake of the American alliance, even where national and regional interests make a second look obligatory.

Such a case, for instance, is the Indian Ocean and the efforts by non-aligned and littoral States to secure it as a zone of peace, free of militarisation.

Australia, a relatively weak power, has gone along with its power-

ful ally in the steps that are making this ocean just another theatre of military presence, with all the connotations of confrontation.

The US Diego Garcia base in mid-ocean, the visiting rights in Western Australia of US warships, the North West Cape US communications facility, are examples of the militarisation of the Indian Ocean.

This is purportedly to oppose Soviet military presence.

But it is the US and Australia that hold back from a United Nations effort to get a conference next year on the Indian Ocean, and it is the Soviet Union and non-aligned States such as India that support such a conference.

Next week, in New Delhi, a summit of the non-aligned nations will again have this question high on the agenda.

It is arguable, and should be publicly debated, that Australia's national interest would be in a verified zone of peace in the great ocean off our western shores.

The Soviet military action in Afghanistan is cited as a reason for not taking part in an Indian Ocean con-

ference. But the US base at Diego Garcia preceded the Soviet intervention at Afghanistan.

Talks on the Indian Ocean would seem to be a practical way to bring political and diplomatic pressure to bear on the Soviet Union to withdraw from Afghanistan and to encourage that unhappy country to resume its non-alignment. It would also be an international forum in which to test the intentions and good faith of the Soviet leaders.

The Opposition has not made any electoral noises about the Indian Ocean proposition, although the Deputy Leader, Mr Lionel Bowen, who was spokesman on foreign affairs before Mr Hayden got the job, is on record as solidly supporting the idea of a zone of peace and, indeed, of the southern hemisphere as a nuclear-free zone.

On relations with South-East Asia, it is open to doubt about the extent to which a Labor government would stop the creeping erosion.

Certainly, the countries of the Association of South-East Asian Nations, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, Malaysia and Indonesia,

would be watching closely to see what effect was given to a trend in the Labor Party to take a softer line on Vietnam.

Labor may find that drawing Vietnam back into international life and getting its troops out of Kampuchea will take more than simply the resumption of aid.

And how far Labor could approach Vietnam before losing the friendship of China is problematical.

A positive attitude has been expressed by Labor's nominated Foreign Minister, Mr Hayden, towards Indonesia.

While acknowledging the problem of East Timor, Mr Hayden says he would want to enter into early discussions with Indonesia about policies and perceptions between our two nations. The Australian Labor Party and the Australian unions were, after all, helpful midwives at the birth of Indonesian independence as World War II ended. Confidence between our nations needs to be rebuilt and, for a start, Australian journalists could be allowed back into Indonesia.

Another priority for a Labor government would need to be reassurance of our major trading partner, Japan, which is also the third-largest capital investor here.

Japan, in fact, would be one nation to benefit if Labor's policies of national consensus led to fewer strikes and hold-ups in the raw-material industries on which Japan largely depends.

Labor has said nothing in this campaign to indicate that there would be any change in foreign policy, although it is likely there would be some shifts in emphasis.

To the extent that there is no change, Australia can be seen to have stable policies unaffected by changes in government; but where this is accompanied by lack of debate on the issues and reluctance to examine anything that might disturb existing policies and alignments, we can be seen to be less than independent and less than willing to be self-reliant.

Australians, soon to celebrate the bicentenary of European settlement, have paid their international dues, in war and peace, and deserve better.

AGE 8/3/83

# Indons want no change on Timor

JAKARTA, 7 March. — Commenting on Saturday's election victory by the Australian Labor Party, Indonesia's Foreign Ministry says the country hopes to maintain its good relationship with Australia.

Asked about an eventual change on Australian foreign policy over East Timor, the sensitive issue in the bilateral relations, the Ministry official, who declined to be named, said only: "I hope there will be no change."

The Foreign policies of the Liberal and Labor Parties do not differ in substance but in style, the big independent daily newspaper, 'Kompas', said today in an editorial.

Commenting on the election and its implication on foreign policy, 'Kompas' said that the differences "lay only in stress, color and style".

'Kompas' went on to say: "The Labor Party under (Gough) Whitlam used to pay more attention and give more sympathy to Indonesia, ASEAN, Asia and the Third World. Bob Hawke, as the new Prime Minister, can be expected to pursue the same stress and color."

The newspaper view reflects the general view, strengthened by Mr Hawke's recent statement favoring a constructive relationship with Jakarta, that the change of Government will not alter by much the bilateral relations.

However, some officials here privately have voiced fears that the Left wing of the ALP might pressure Mr Hawke to take a tougher line toward Jakarta on the human rights issue in East Timor — the former Portuguese colony annexed by Indonesia in 1975.

— AAP-AP.

# Labor moves to reassure Jakarta

By WIO JOUSTRA

THE new Government is moving swiftly to stave off any deterioration in Australia's relationship with Indonesia that might flow from the ALP's stand on East Timor.

The Prime Minister-elect, Mr Hawke, told a press conference yesterday that the first overseas visit by Labor's spokesman on foreign affairs, Mr Hayden, was likely to be to Indonesia.

ALP sources confirmed that Mr Hawke was keen on reassuring the Indonesian Government that the Labor Government wanted strong and constructive bilateral relations with Jakarta.

In an attempt to appease the Indonesian authorities, Mr Hayden is believed to be planning a separate visit to Indonesia and not in the context of a tour of Association of South-East Asian Nations capitals.

Mr Hawke said on Sunday he had good personal relationships with much of the Indonesian leadership and that he had had lengthy meetings with President Suharto.

But he also said that in his discussions Mr Hayden would "obviously refer to our concerns about East Timor".

"I have no doubts that we will be able to re-establish between a Labor Government and Indonesia effective relations as is appropriate for this country and its near and very populous neighbor," Mr Hawke said.

He refused to comment on

the question of military aid being tied to the annexation of East Timor.

"We have had a tortured relationship since those events in the middle of the 1970s."

In an exclusive interview with *The Australian* last month Mr Hayden said he favored an increase in non-military aid to Indonesia.

But he said he acknowledged that the ALP's policy in relation to East Timor would create some problems in diplomatic relations with Indonesia.

According to its foreign policy platform:

**THE ALP** recognises the inalienable right of the East Timorese to self-determination and independence and condemns and rejects the Fraser government's recognition of the Indonesian annexation of East Timor.

**THE ALP** opposes all defence aid to Indonesia until there is a complete withdrawal of occupation forces from East Timor.

**AID** to East Timor should benefit the East Timorese but should not support Indonesian integration processes or military strategy.

**THE ALP** supports the principle of free migration of East Timorese, including refugees, and believes Australia has an obligation and ability to assist East Timorese to come to Australia.

**THE ALP** will seek out and publish information on all aspects of the East Timor issue.

# 'Timorese killed Australians' claim

**JAKARTA:** Five Australian journalists were killed seven years ago by East Timorese nationalists who suspected them of collaborating with pro-communist guerillas, the governor of East Timor said yesterday.

Guerillas of the nationalist United Democratic Party of East Timor, then fighting for independence from Portugal, killed the journalists in an attack on a leftist-held town, the governor, Mr Mario Carrascalao, said in an interview.

The Timorese announcement came as the Hawke Government moved to stave off

any deterioration in relations with Indonesia (See Page 6).

The Indonesian Government has for years said the Australians were killed in a crossfire between guerillas of the United Democratic Party and leftist Fretilin forces.

Foreign reports have said the journalists were killed by Indonesian soldiers fighting to annex East Timor from Portugal. East Timor became Indonesia's 27th province in August 1976.

The journalists killed were identified as Melbourne television reporter Greg Shackleton, 29, his cameraman Gary

Cunningham, 27, soundman Tony Stewart, 21, Sydney television reporter Malcolm Rennie, 28, and cameraman Brian Peters, 29.

United Democratic Party guerillas attacked the Fretilin-held village of Balibo on October 16 1975 and "found five Australian journalists in a house where heavy fightings were taking place, and shot them dead", Mr Carrascalao said.

The hamlet lies about 2035km south-east of Jakarta.

Mr Carrascalao said the UDT, which eventually favored the Indonesian takeov-

er, at the time suspected Australian nationals of providing information to the Fretilin under a "claimed Red Cross cover".

"The Timorese belonging to the UDT had vowed to kill any Australian they would find on the island," Mr Carrascalao said.

"There were no Indonesian soldiers in East Timor in October 1975," he said. The governor, then a UDT leader, said he based his account of the killings on reports from UDT forces, and did not take part in the attack.

*United Press International*

# ELECTION COMMENT

From INDONESIA

*N.S. News  
8/3/83*

## Hawke thanked for Timor statement

JAKARTA. — General chairman of the Indonesian Labor Federation, Mr Agus Sudono, yesterday told the Daily Sinar Harapan that Australian Prime Minister-elect Mr Bob Hawke deserved thanks for his clear-cut campaign statement saying that East Timor, the former Portuguese colony annexed by Indonesia in 1975-76, was an integral part of Indonesia.

Member of Parliament Mr Amin Isakandar also singled out a campaign pledge by the Australian Labor

Party to recognise East Timor's integration with Indonesia as conducive to closer links between the two countries.

Meanwhile, East Timor Governor Mr Mario Carrascalao, here to attend a session of the consultative General Assembly, told the daily that the two main Australian parties contending the elections were actually not far apart on the East Timor issue.

"But whatever the attitude of any party in power in Australia, it could not in any way change the fact that East Timor's integration into Indonesia has become an "established and completed fact," he said.

# Relations with Indonesia

Sir, — I refer to John Bryant's published interview with Mr Richard Woolcott, Australia's Ambassador to the United Nations, in *The Canberra Times* of February 13.

I agree that "the development of friendly co-operative relationships with South-East Asian and other neighbouring countries is a vital Australian interest, but feel that in the case of Indonesia these must be tempered by the following realisations:

(1.) That there are important expansionist elements in the Indonesian power structure, and that these are likely to become stronger as Indonesia improves its economic position and assumes its place as "the natural leader" of the region. The separate events of confrontation, West Irian, and East Timor are not unconnected, and it is dangerous for us not to view them in this frame.

(2.) That with respect especially to (1), the Australian policy of "co-operation at any price", which generally appears to have been followed by both Labor and Liberal governments and seems to be reflected in the comments of Mr Woolcott, is an inadvisable one. There are points, such the occupation of East Timor, where it would seem better advised to exercise diplomatic counter-pressures along with the many other countries which oppose Indonesia in this act.

(3.) That the most effective long-term basis to co-operation lies in the development of many-faceted relationships with Indonesian peoples and groups outside the realm of government. Much of the recent strain in our recent relationship may be attributed to its narrow inter-governmental base, and to the suspicion with which government officials appear to regard the activities of unofficial groups interested in

mutual dialogue. Such a development would help to insulate the Australia-Indonesia link from temporary shocks caused by high-level governmental disagreements.

I believe that a closer recognition of these aspects would in fact make for more effective and better long-term understanding between our two countries.

COLIN BARLOW

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# Governor throws new light on death of Aussie newsmen

JAKARTA, Tues. — Five Australian journalists were killed seven years ago by East Timorese nationalists who suspected them of collaborating with pro-communist guerillas, the government of East Timor said yesterday.

Guerillas of the Nationalist United Democratic Party of East Timor, then fighting for independence from Portugal, killed the journalists in an attack on a leftist-held town, Governor Mario

Carrascaloa said in an interview.

The Indonesian government has for years reported the Australians were killed in a crossfire between guerillas of the United Democratic Party and leftist Fretilin forces.

Foreign reports have said the journalists were killed by Indonesian soldiers fighting to annex East Timor from Portugal. East Timor became Indonesia's 27th province in August 1976.

United Democratic Party guerillas attacked the Fretilin-held village of Balibo on Oct 16, 1975, and "found five Australian journalists in a house where heavy fighting were taking place and shot them dead," Carrascaloa said.

The hamlet of about 60 houses is about 2,035 km (about 1,265 miles) south-east of Jakarta.

## Evidence

Carrascaloa said the UDT, which eventually favoured the Indonesian takeover, at the time suspected Australian nationals of providing information to the Fretilin under a "claimed Red Cross cover".

"The Timorese belonging to the UDT had vowed to kill any Australian they would find on the island," Carrascaloa said.

"There were no Indonesian soldiers in East Timor in October 1975," he said. The governor, then a UDT leader, said he based his account of the killings on reports from UDT forces and did not take part in the attack.

"Some UDT people said the Australian journalists were armed, possibly to defend themselves but I have no evidence of that. The journalists were not wearing uniforms but they went to Balibo with the Fretilin troops," he said.

The journalists killed were identified as Melbourne television reporters Greg Shakleton, 29; his cameraman Gary Cunningham, 27; soundman Tony Stewart, 21; Sydney television reporter Malcolm Rennie, 28; and cameraman Brian Peters, 29.

Carrascalao said the ill feelings against Australian nationals were triggered by a series of incidents that aroused suspicions that Australians were providing Fretilin with information on the UDT.

In one such incident, an Australian hotel owner and a Swiss national identified as a Red Cross official offered to arrange for medicine to be dropped by plane to a UDT position, Carrascalao said.

"The plane never came. Instead, the next day, Fretilin troops came by boat and attacked our position," he said. — UPI

MM 10/3/83

# Reunion expected for East Timor families

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from East Timor who fled to Australia during fighting between rival factions in 1975 and the subsequent Indonesian invasion.

By the end of last year only about 350 of the 600 had arrived in Australia. Most of them were of Chinese descent and reports in Australia claimed many had to pay bribes to Indonesian authorities of up to \$3,000 per person to secure travel and exit papers.

Delays and difficulties were the result of a combination of factors, including East Timor's remoteness, poor communications, bureaucratic red tape and the reluctance of the Indonesian military authorities to sanction the departure of people whose stories might lead to further adverse publicity in Australia.

The new arrangement for handling the East Timor family reunion program were applied early this year following a marked improvement in relations between Australia and Indonesia.

The group of about 100 people from East Timor identified as eligible to leave for Australia under the new arrangements — is expected to be last under the 1978 program.

Indonesian sources say the balance of about 100 people from the original list of 600 have decided either to stay in East Timor because they have jobs or are married there, or have died from natural causes.

In addition to the final group of about 100 in the family reunion program, Indonesia has reportedly

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# First Timorese reunited soon

The first Timorese destined for Australia under a rearranged programme by Canberra and Jakarta to reunite divided families could leave Bali by air as early as tomorrow.

Indonesian sources said security authorities had given final clearance for the first seven of an agreed group of 100.

Sources believe that the timing of this move should be helpful to the Australian Prime Minister-elect, Mr Hawke, who believes that differences over East Timor should not be allowed to sour the new Labor Government's relations with Indonesia.

**PAGE 9: report**

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AGE 10/3/83

SMM 10/3/83

# Reunion expected for Timor families

From MICHAEL RICHARDSON,  
of The Age

JAKARTA, Wednesday. — The first Timorese are expected to leave Indonesia soon for Australia under new arrangements between Jakarta and Canberra for finishing a slow-moving program to reunite divided families from East Timor.

Indonesian sources said security authorities here yesterday gave final clearance for the first seven of an agreed group of about 100 Timorese to depart.

The Immigration Department is now processing their exit permits and they may be able to leave by air from Bali for Australia as early as Friday or Sunday.

Indonesian sources, who want to see recent momentum towards stronger links between the two countries continue, believe the timing of this move should be helpful to the incoming Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, and others in the Labor Party who believe that differences over East Timor should not be allowed to sour relations.

Mr Hawke hinted on Sunday that his government would not feel bound to apply points in the July 1982 ALP National Conference policy on East Timor that would cause grave offence to Jakarta and disrupt ties between Indonesia and Australia.

The platform says Labor should refuse visas to Indonesian military and civilian officials until all 600 people on a list, agreed by the Fraser Government and Jakarta in July, 1978, arrived in Australia.

The 600 are immediate family members — including wives, husbands and children — of refugees

from East Timor who fled to Australia during fighting between rival factions in 1975 and the subsequent Indonesian invasion.

By the end of last year only about 350 of the 600 had arrived in Australia. Most of them were of Chinese descent and reports in Australia claimed many had to pay bribes to Indonesian authorities of up to \$3,000 per person to secure travel and exit papers.

Delays and difficulties were the result of a combination of factors, including East Timor's remoteness, poor communications, bureaucratic red tape and the reluctance of the Indonesian military authorities to sanction the departure of people whose stories might lead to further adverse publicity in Australia.

The new arrangement for handling the East Timor family reunion program were applied early this year following a marked improvement in relations between Australia and Indonesia.

The group of about 100 people from East Timor identified as eligible to leave for Australia under the new arrangements — is expected to be last under the 1978 program.

Indonesian sources say the balance of about 100 people from the original list of 600 have decided either to stay in East Timor because they have jobs or are married there, or have died from natural causes.

In addition to the final group of about 100 in the family reunion program, Indonesia has reportedly agreed to give favourable consideration to "first degree humanitarian cases," mainly close relatives, especially dependants, of Timorese in Australia who were not on the original list of 600.

It is not clear how many people may fall under this special category.

# First Timorese reunited soon

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**PAGE 9: report**

## WORLD NEWS

# Timorese set for reunions in Australia

From MICHAEL RICHARDSON

JAKARTA, 9 March. — The first Timorese are expected to leave Indonesia soon for Australia under new arrangements between Jakarta and Canberra for finishing a slow-moving programme to reunite divided families from East Timor.

Indonesian sources said security authorities here yesterday gave final clearance for the first seven of an agreed group of about 100 Timorese to leave. The Immigration Department is now processing their exit permits and they may be able to leave by air from Bali for Australia as early as Friday or Sunday.

Indonesian sources, who want to see recent momentum towards stronger links between the two countries continue, believe the timing of this move should be helpful to the new Labor leader, Mr Hawke, and others in his party who believe that differences over East Timor should not be allowed to sour relations.

Mr Hawke hinted on Sunday that his Government would not feel bound to apply points in the July 1982 ALP national conference policy on East Timor that would cause grave offence to Jakarta and disrupt ties between Indonesia and his Government.

One of those points says the ALP opposes all defence aid to Indonesia — currently worth about \$A10 million a year — until there is a complete withdrawal of Indonesian "occupation" forces from East Timor.

Asked at a Press conference to what extent future aid to Indonesia was going to be tied to the question of Indonesia's intervention in East Timor in 1975, Mr Hawke said he felt he shouldn't

"go into details" until discussions were held with Indonesia.

His Foreign Minister to-be, Mr Hayden, is expected to visit Jakarta in the next few weeks. But Mr Hawke added: "We have had a tortured relationship since those events in the middle of the 1970s. The obvious point of agreement I believe amongst all Australians, would be that we want to get those relationships back to a constructive basis."

Two other points in the ALP platform on East Timor could arouse an even more hostile reaction in official circles here than halting military aid.

One is the suggestion that Labor should veto the Fraser Government's 1978 de jure recognition of East Timor as part of Indonesia.

The other is the implication that an ALP Government should revert to voting against Indonesia over East Timor in the United Nations.

The platform also says Labor should refuse visas to Indonesian military and civilian officials until all 600 people on a list agreed by the Fraser Government and Jakarta in July 1978 arrived in Australia.

The 600 are immediate family members — including wives, husbands and children — of refugees from East Timor who fled to Australia during fighting between rival factions in 1975 and the subsequent Indonesian invasion to crush the Fretilin Independence Movement.

By the end of last year only about 350 of the 600 had arrived in Australia. Most of them were of Chinese descent and reports in Australia claimed many had to pay bribes to Indonesian authorities of up to \$A3000 each for travel and exit papers.

The new arrangements for handling the controversial East Timor family reunion programme were applied early this year following a marked improvement in relations between Australia and Indonesia.

The International Committee of the Red Cross in East Timor is continuing to trace relatives of Timorese in Australia, but the processing of those eligible to leave under the family reunion programme is now being handled by the Indonesian Red Cross.

However, the sources concede that the Indonesian Red Cross is short staffed in East Timor and that hopes of achieving an exit rate of 30 people a month may not be realised unless its operation there is made more efficient.

# Whither wilt thou swoop Bob Hawke?

JAKARTA: As the campaign posters of an election which barely touched on foreign affairs are torn down in Australia, neighbouring Southeast Asian countries have begun weighing the implications for them of a socialist Government in Canberra.

Reaction to the Labour Party's sweeping victory in last Sunday's general election has so far been cautious in the five capitals of the non-communist Association of Southeast Asian Nations (Asean).

But two member States, Thailand and Singapore, have already voiced concern that the new administration of Labour leader Bob Hawke might resume direct economic aid to Vietnam.

Such a move could harm Australia's ties with Asean which is seeking the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from neighbouring Kampuchea, the Thai Foreign Ministry said.

Other concerns for Asean, which also includes Indonesia, the Philippines and Malaysia, are the possibility of curbs on foreign investment and trade union pressure for greater protection of the Australian home market against Asean exports, according to officials in the five countries.

Labour's proposed policy of restoring links with Vietnam in an attempt to wean it from dependence on the Soviet Union has caused concern in several Asean capitals.

## Imply

Officials in Thailand, Singapore and Malaysia said resumption of aid to Vietnam would harm Australia's ties with all five Asean countries and hamper their efforts to make Hanoi withdraw its estimated 180,000 troops in Kampuchea.

Vietnam made clear yesterday that it expected a major shift in Australia's relations with communist Indochina and said the Labour Party victory gave rise to hope.

By  
**ROBERT MAHONEY**

During the election campaign, Labour's foreign affairs spokesman Bill Hayden, the former party leader, not only pledged that a Labour Government would resume economic assistance but would also vote against seating the anti-Vietnamese Kampuchean coalition, led by Prince Norodom Sihanouk, at the United Nations.

A Thai Foreign Ministry spokesman said that to "de-recognise" the coalition, which also includes the Peking-backed Khmer Rouge and an anti-communist group led by former Prime Minister Son Sann, would imply that Canberra was ready to condone Vietnam's invasion of Kampuchea.

But one of the most immediate and thorniest problems for the new Government is the smouldering issue of East Timur which for seven years has bedevilled relations with Indonesia, Australia's nearest and most populous neighbour.

Ever since Indonesian troops swept into the former Portuguese colony in December 1975, Jakarta has been under fierce attack from sections of the Labour Party and the Australian Press.

## Asean nations weigh what Labour rule in Canberra holds for them

A key plank of the party's election platform was a call for a vote to allow East Timurese to decide whether to accept rule from Jakarta. It would also halt military aid to Indonesia until such a referendum was held.

Canberra recognises Indonesia's sovereignty over East Timur and since 1978 has supported its attempts in the United Nations general assembly to block calls for Timurese self-determination.

So far, Mr Hawke has trodden warily through this potential minefield in bilateral relations and has been careful not to commit his new Government to any particular course of action.

## Cautious

At a Press conference immediately after the election, he admitted that relations with Indonesia had been tortuous since the mid-1970s but stressed his wish to re-establish strong and constructive ties.

Mr Hayden, as Foreign Minister, would go to Jakarta, Mr Hawke said, and obviously concern over East Timur would be raised.

This appeared to go down well in Jakarta, where members of parliament expressed optimism that election of a Labour Government would not harm relations between the two countries and talked of Mr Hawke's support for the annexation of East Timur.

"We will see whether

harm the island's trade and investment with Australia.

But generally, Asean's response to Labour's win has not been uniform. Rather, it has reflected each country's own preoccupations.

## Redress

Officials in Singapore, for example, were worried about how Mr Hawke, a former trade union chief, would handle pressure from organised labour for greater protectionism, which could

change it."

Malaysia, however, is keen to know Mr Hawke's intentions for the Australian Air Force base at Butterworth, in the northern State of Penang. — Reuter.

Officials in Singapore, for example, were worried about how Mr Hawke, a former trade union chief, would handle pressure from organised labour for greater protectionism, which could

AGE 10/3/83

# Anxious eyes on Labor's actions

The Labor Government's first economic and diplomatic forays are being closely watched around the world. Today correspondents report from Washington, Jakarta, London and Tokyo.

## United States

**T**HE first thing to be said is that the Reagan Administration, and American investors, would have preferred a win by Malcolm Fraser.

The second point is that nobody in Washington is ringing the alarm bells.

Indeed, one can detect more concern about the prospect of having Bill Hayden as Foreign Minister than Bob Hawke as Prime Minister. There is a lingering suspicion that he is either indifferent, or actually hostile, to the United States.

More specifically, there is concern that Mr Hayden may subscribe to some extent to the conspiracy theory that the CIA played a role in the 1975 overthrow of the Whitlam Government — a point upon which the US Administration has shown considerable sensitivity of late.

This is one reason why the new Foreign Minister and — as soon as he can get away from his domestic preoccupations — Mr Hawke himself should come to Washington.

In the meantime, the new Government would be wise to watch its rhetoric: Americans, and the Reagan Administration in particular, can accept differences over policy with Australia, but they will react very badly to being publicly lectured or abused.

There are specific bilateral issues which the Americans will be watching carefully.

It would be exceedingly hard

to persuade anyone in official Washington that a precipitate Australian withdrawal of its modest contribution from the multinational Sinai force was either necessary to meet some national imperative or in the interests of Middle-East peace.

The Americans would be no less unhappy if the new Labor Government either resumed aid to Vietnam or recognised the Vietnamese-backed regime in Kampuchea.

Refuelling of the argument with Indonesia over East Timor would be seen as a retrograde step.

While the US would be ready to discuss the issue of joint communications and intelligence facilities with the Labor Government, it would bitterly resist any fundamental change in the present arrangements. It will also look askance at any cutback in Australian defence spending. Canberra's attitude towards the F-18 aircraft, currently the subject of controversy here, will be closely watched.

If Mr Hawke, Mr Keating and their colleagues succeed in being reassuring in deed and word, foreign money should make its way back to Australia.

But the new men in Canberra would be wise to remember that Australia is today an optional market for scarce capital which could as easily, and profitably, be placed in Canada and a number of other places. Ostentatious economic nationalism could prove awfully expensive.

PETER COLE-ADAMS

## South-East Asia

**I**N one of the few things he had to say about foreign policy in his campaign policy speech, Mr Hawke pledged that an ALP Government would "seek even closer relations with ASEAN neighbours".

On Sunday, after winning the election, he returned to this theme, saying Australia must have co-operative dealings with its closest and biggest neighbor in South-East Asia — Indonesia.

Those were soothing, sensible words. But they have not adequately reconciled the goals Mr Hawke is setting for his Government's regional policy and the actions Canberra appears committed to take as a result of the ALP platform and statements made by his Foreign Minister-to-be, Mr Hayden.

These contradictions must be dispelled urgently — especially here in Indonesia. Otherwise the links Mr Hawke says he wants to strengthen will be seriously strained.

In several interviews before polling day, Mr Hayden reaffirmed that ALP policy on East Timor would be applied by the Hawke Government, although he said he wanted early consultations on the issue with Jakarta.

The party platform says Labor "condemns and rejects the Fraser Government's 1978 recognition of Indonesia's 'annexation' of East Timor and should cut off defence aid (worth some \$US10 million a year) until Indonesian troops are withdrawn to pave the way for a genuine act of self-determination".

Indonesia's President Suharto and a number of other influen-

tial figures apparently do not believe Mr Hawke will allow his Government to confront Jakarta in this way.

Mr Hawke is fanning these high expectations by his conciliatory comments. But if the expectations are frustrated it will be very damaging to relations between Australia and Indonesia, which have been slow to mend after the Timor rupture.

Mr Hayden's pre-election statements on Kampuchea, resuming Australian economic aid to Viet-

nam and withdrawing the RAAF presence under the 1971 five-power defence arrangements from Malaysia-Singapore, all have the potential to bring Australia into conflict with ASEAN.

One thing is clear: the Indonesian Government and those of its partners in ASEAN would welcome an early visit from Mr Hayden — provided he comes with an open mind and a willingness to take account of their concerns.

MICHAEL RICHARDSON

## Europe

**S**UGGESTIONS that Australia's new Government will be more protectionist than the Fraser administration have made European Governments and newspapers guarded in their reaction to last Saturday's election.

English newspapers in particular, but also the serious French and German Press, have given extensive coverage to Mr Hawke's ascent to power, highlighted his frankness about past personal indiscretion and his determination to act as a national conciliator.

The British financial Press and the serious European newspapers have sounded a reassuring note for companies with Australian investments in their predictions of the Hawke Government's likely attitudes to State ownership.

Fleet Street financial editors have given a cautious welcome to the devaluation of the Australian dollar.

The City Comment column in the Daily Telegraph yesterday said:

"Mr Hawke has chosen to act at once and create some room for manoeuvre for expansionary policies. Devaluation will help rebuild the export earnings of Australia's drought-stricken farmers and the country's recession-hit sales of coal, iron ore and minerals."

In the Financial Times, the Lex column said that with the boost of the 10 per cent devaluation, the Australian stock market had shot back to within a whisker of where it was before the general election was called in early February. But it had reservations.

In Brussels, the European Economic Community's bureaucracy is watching warily to see what the new Government's policies will be in the area of international trade, particularly in primary commodities.

The growth in highly subsidised European agriculture production

is leading to a trade war with the US, in which Australia may increasingly be involved.

As Europe seeks to dispose of its butter mountains, wine lakes and sugar mounds, it is venturing into markets traditionally held by Australia and the US. Europe itself is becoming increasingly protectionist so that Australia cannot look forward to any greater penetration of the European market in most areas to make up for markets lost elsewhere.

The flood of money out of Australia ahead of the 10 per cent devaluation of the dollar, allied with fallen share prices and fears about exchange controls, has further battered the image of Australia as a place for portfolio investment.

But a number of London unit trust managers are continuing to stress to their clients excellent medium-term prospects for Australia. One of the largest, Gartmore, is forecasting a return to strong profitability by major Australian mining groups as a world economic recovery develops.

Britain's first reaction to Mr Hawke's election was largely protectionist — cries of anguish at the swift ending of hopes for an aircraft carrier contract.

The links between Europe and Australia depend largely on people, not on money. Because of previous immigration, millions of Europeans and Britons are bound to Australia through family ties. This means that there is a great reservoir of goodwill towards the country, not necessarily reflected in inter-Governmental wrangling over trade matters.

In addition, there is for Britain the monarchy issue. The Prince and Princess of Wales will fly shortly to an Australia politically transformed. A key part of Prince Charles's duties on this tour will be to report to the Queen his estimate of republican feelings within the new Government and the country overall.

PETER SMARK

## Japan

**T**EN years ago an Australian Labor Minister for Resources looked out over the amazing neon panorama of Tokyo at night and greedily marvelled: "All those kilowatts".

Memories of the late R. F. X. "Strangler" Connor and his intervention in resource deals still linger in Japanese steel companies and trade offices. But a new ALP face has been showing towards Japan.

As good a symbol of this came coincidentally when the successor to Connor in his Wollongong seat, frontbencher Stewart West, spent part of the last New Year break quietly exploring Japan, talking to steel and power companies, and riding country trains on his own.

To Saburo Tanabe, the veteran resources man at Nippon Steel Corporation who had to face Connor, the difference is sharp and welcome. "I think the Hawke Government will be softer than Whitlam," he said yesterday.

Naohiro Amaya, until recently head of the Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI), says Labor will be "more realistic", although there was some apprehension in Japan about Labor's record of "rather nation-

alistic and protectionist policies".

The one sector not to feel a continuity of policy is banking, where Japanese banks had expected to get three of the 10 places in Australia promised by the Fraser Government.

Although Labor spokesmen have talked of tightening Australian equity requirements in resource projects and co-ordinating export marketing, to Japan this is not too alarming, in part because the Liberal Government also stuck to the 50 per cent equity rule — if a little more flexibly — and because Australian coal companies are working more closely in sales.

The big difference is that Connor arrived in the last of the pre-oil shock boom years, just ahead of oil embargoes and anti-Japanese riots in South-East Asia. After the Ayatollah, a Paul Keating, Lionel Bowen or Tom Uren are just mosquitoes.

The tough news for people in Wollongong is that steel industries overseas are also in recession, if not all in the same bad shape as BHP. Flexing muscles now would drive consumers here and in the Asian new industrial countries to the South Africans and Americans, who are slashing prices with zeal.

HAMISH McDONALD,  
Sydney Morning Herald

'A.M.', A.B.C. Radio, 11th March, 1983

Q: What's your view of our relations with Indonesia since their takeover of East Timor, and what kind of moves do you see your government taking in that relationship ?

Hawke: Well, the honest statement obviously is that the events of the end of 1975 and into '76 damaged the relations - it would be quite futile to say otherwise and it is also true to say that they have not fully recovered. Having said that, I believe that the correct thing to say, not to say, but what the realities are, is that it would be quite inappropriate for Australia to not have good relations with such a populous, economically and strategically important country such as Indonesia - right on our doorstep. Therefore, my government and Bill Hayden, my Foreign Minister, will be moving to try and reestablish, on the best possible basis, those relations. It must be remembered, and indeed our friends in Indonesia remember, that it was the Australians - and if I may remind you the Australian trade union movement - which played such a significant part in helping the Indonesians achieve their independence. We as a country have foundationally good relations therefore with the government and the people of Indonesia, and personally, I have good relations with much of the leadership, including the President.

Q: What are some first moves that Australia might do there ? Would you yourself go there and see President Suharto ?

Hawke: I think as a first step Bill Hayden, my Foreign Minister, should be going there in the reasonably near future and I will be talking with him about this.

# Non-aligned group rejects move for independent Timor

NEW DELHI, 10 March. — A working group of the non-aligned summit's political committee today rejected an amendment to the draft declaration, seeking self-determination for the people of East Timor, which is part of Indonesia, conference sources said.

The amendment, moved by Angola and co-sponsored by 10 other countries, including Vietnam and Mauritius, called on the summit to reiterate the "inalienable rights" of the people of East Timor for self-determination and independence, in accordance with the United Nations charter.

The sources said that 42 delegations spoke during the debate in the working group. Nineteen of them were for inclusion of the amendment, while 23 were against. India and Indonesia were among those who opposed the amendment.

AAP-Reuter.

## IN BRIEF

miners had voted "no". The vote was the third rebuff for Mr Scargill in miners' ballots in just over a year. He campaigned hard for a national strike.

## Rebel nun shot

MANILA. — A former Roman Catholic nun alleged to have joined communist rebels, was captured in a raid by Government security forces in the southern Philippines last month, a military spokesman said today.

He said Maria Bargomento was now at a military hospital for treatment of a bullet wound she got in a brief gun battle with Government soldiers in southern Cotabato province about 960 kilometres south-east of Manila.

## Mock war

KUALA LUMPUR. — Malaysia and Australia will hold a week-long joint



# Indons likely to call for Hayden visit

From MICHAEL RICHARDSON

JAKARTA, 10 March. — Australia's Foreign Minister designate, Mr Hayden, is expected to be invited to visit Indonesia soon for talks on broadening co-operation between the two countries. The invitation is likely to be issued by the Indonesian Foreign Minister, Dr Mochtar, soon after he returns at the weekend from the Non-aligned meeting in India.

Foreign Ministry sources here believe mid-April could be a mutually convenient date for the first Ministerial discussions between Indonesia and the Labor Government.

A Press release issued yesterday by the Ministry said that President Suharto, on behalf of the Indonesian Government and people, had sent a congratulatory cable to Mr Hawke hoping that more friendly relations between the two countries could be fostered in the near future.

There is an expectation in official circles here that when Mr Hayden comes to Jakarta he will be prepared to play down the East Timor issue which has caused severe strains in bilateral relations in the past.

It is expected that the Labor leadership will not press points in the ALP platform on East Timor that would anger and alienate Indonesia.

One Foreign Ministry official told 'The Age' that discussions Mr Hayden intends to have here should range over regional, political, economic and security questions as well as the full gamut of bilateral relations.

"It would be wrong to have an overdose of talk about East Timor at the expense of other areas of constructive mutual interest.

"We must end the pre-occupation with East Timor. We have been focusing too much on the few problem areas in our relations rather than exploring opportunities for deepening and expanding links between our two countries and peoples. We believe there are plenty of those opportunities."

Meanwhile, in LISBON, the Portuguese Foreign Ministry has said it hopes Australia's new Government will support efforts to bring about self-determination in East Timor.

A Ministry spokesman said Portugal wants "a comprehensive settlement of the situation". He described the attitude of the previous Government to Portuguese initiatives on Timor as hostile.

Portuguese policy in recent times has been based on active lobbying in international forums to win the right of self-determination for East Timor. After a diplomatic offensive by Portugal last year, the UN General Assembly narrowly approved a resolution calling for self-determination for East Timor.

AGE 11/10/83

# Hawke must not abandon people of East Timor

from G. Preston, convener of the East Timor Support Group

Pressure is already mounting to persuade the incoming Labor Government not to implement its Timor policy. Before the new Cabinet was sworn in there was speculation in the media that "Mr Hawke and others in his party believe that differences over East Timor should not be allowed to sour relations" with Indonesia ('The Age', 10/3).

Mr Hawke's primary concern, it was suggested, was that implementation of policy will "cause grave offence to Jakarta and disrupt ties between Indonesia and his Government".

The primary concern of ALP

Timor policy is the right of the people of East Timor to self-determination and independence. It was framed as a rejection of the Fraser Government's provision of military aid and diplomatic support to Indonesia — aid and support which contributed to the illegal occupation of East Timor which has resulted in the deaths of more than 100,000 people.

The right of peoples to self-determination and independence is regarded by the United Nations as a fundamental human right (Resolution No. 1514). It is one of the underlying principles of ALP foreign policy.

For Labor to forgo the principle of self-determination for the sake of "good relations" with In-

donesia would be a sell-out of the Timorese people. It would also be unwise in realpolitik terms. Acquiescence by Australian Governments to an Indonesian takeover of East Timor will be taken as a sign that Australia will not intervene in response to aggression in the region (such as an invasion of Papua New Guinea).

For the sake of the people of Timor, Labor's policy must be implemented. The generals in Jakarta will have no grounds for offence when they are politely informed that Australian Timor policy is no longer "made in Jakarta".

GEORGE PRESTON.  
18 Overend Street,  
Brunswick.

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# Letters

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# How Hawke won Jakarta over a

From MICHAEL RICHARDSON  
of The Age

JAKARTA, Friday. — A lunchtime promise in a Geneva restaurant seven years ago helped Bob Hawke win trust and respect in Indonesian Government circles.

Mr Hawke, then ACTU president, went off to lunch in the Mandarin Chinese restaurant in the Swiss city with the Indonesian he knows best, Agus Sudono, general chairman of the All-Indonesian Labour Federation.

Both union leaders were in Geneva for a meeting of the International Labour Organisation (ILO) — a forum which, as the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, enabled Australia's new Prime



Mr Sudono: "Bob kept his promise."

Minister to build up a wide network of contacts in Asia and elsewhere.

In an interview yesterday, Mr

Sudono recalled his Chinese lunch with Mr Hawke.

Indonesia's 1975 military occupation of East Timor was still a "boiling issue," especially in Australia. Mr Hawke was critical of Indonesia's action and under pressure from the left wing of the labour movement to be more militant.

"After we sat down, I said: 'Look Bob, we are good friends and our countries are neighbours.'"

"If we have a difference of opinion on East Timor don't bring it to the ILO, otherwise I must reply and there will be a clash."

"He thought about it for a moment, then agreed. He said the ILO was a body for discussing the social and economic problems of workers. Political issues such as East Timor should

be handled in the United Nations.

"Bob kept his promise and East Timor was never raised by Australia in the ILO. He never hid his criticism over Timor. But he knew the limits and where it should, and should not be, discussed."

Mr Sudono also recalled flying to Melbourne in 1976 in an effort to persuade the ACTU to get waterfront unions to lift their Timor protest boycott of Indonesian ships.

He met Mr Hawke in his office in the ACTU headquarters.

"After we started talking, Bob's secretary came in to tell us there was a big demonstration outside of unionists and other groups."

"I looked out the window on to Lygon Street and there were

## Chinese lunch

banners saying 'Sudono go home' and 'Sudono government stooge'.

"Bob said: 'Agus I think it's better you go back to your hotel. I'll take you down'."

"So he escorted me out through the back entrance and sent me back to the Southern Cross in his car. A couple of months later the union boycott of our ships was lifted. Bob convinced the workers involved to do it."

Mr Sudono said he first met Mr Hawke in 1973 when the ACTU leader visited Indonesia as the member of an industrial relations mission.

"He come to my house one evening and we had a long talk."

The house was built in Dutch colonial times and is spacious, with a large garden. One source

Continued Page 11

# How Hawke won Jakarta over a Chinese lunch

From Page 1

here says Mr Hawke — beer in hand — surveyed the property and exclaimed: "Jesus Agus, are you really a union leader?"

Asked whether the story was true or apocryphal, Mr Sudono laughed and said Mr Hawke phrased his question somewhat differently.

He described Mr Hawke, as "warm, honest and frank."

"That's what I like about him. If he disagrees with me he always says so in front of me, never saying one thing to me and another behind my back."

"He is also very fast to understand another person's point of view and react to it."

Mr Hawke's second visit to Indonesia was in 1976 as head of a three-man union fact-finding team on East Timor.

Mr Sudono says he made arrangements for the Australians to see the then Foreign Minister, Mr Adam Malik, who has just ended a five-year term as the country's Vice-

president, General Ali Murtopo, then deputy head of the State Intelligence Co-ordinating Agency (BAKIN) and now Information Minister, and a third Cabinet member.

Other sources say Mr Hawke also met President Soeharto for about two hours.

Mr Hawke told a press conference in Canberra on Sunday that he had "good personal relationships with much of the leadership of Indonesia, including the fact that I have had lengthy meetings with the President."

The President is reliably reported to regard Mr Hawke as someone in the Whitlam mould — a friend of Indonesia's who can be trusted.

Mr Sudono said Mr Hawke was basically sympathetic and friendly to Indonesia and did not believe it was an expansionist power posing a threat to Australia or any other neighbours, including Papua New Guinea.

He claimed Mr Hawke believed a strong Indonesia could become a kind of buffer for Australia in facing the danger of Communism from

the north, either from China or the Soviet Union.

He had never regarded Australia as an extension of Europe, believing instead that it should forge close links with South-East Asia.

One person who was helpful to Mr Hawke on his 1976 visit to Jakarta was Australia's Ambassador to Indonesia at the time, Mr Richard Woolcott.

The ambassador arranged a dinner for Mr Hawke who — wine in hand after the beer — startled some of the guests by embedding his fork into the teak-topped dining table to emphasise a point he was making.

Mr Sudono, who has known Mr Hawke in his wilder days, says he admires the Labor leader's self-discipline and was always convinced he would become Prime Minister of Australia.

"We were at dinner one night with some Asian friends in Geneva during an ILO meeting. I think it was in 1978. Bob told me he would stop drinking to get to the top. I didn't believe him at the time. Now I do."

C. TIMES

12/3/83

# Amendment on East Timor rejected

NEW DELHI, Friday (AAP-AFP). — A working group of the Non-aligned Summit's political committee rejected yesterday an amendment to the draft declaration seeking self-determination for the people of East Timor, which is part of Indonesia, conference sources said.

The amendment, moved by Angola and co-sponsored by 10 other countries, including Vietnam and Mauritius, called on the summit to reiterate the "inalienable rights" of the people of east Timor for self-determination and independence, in accordance with the United Nations charter.

The sources said that 42 delegations spoke during the debate in the working group. Nineteen of them were for inclusion of the amendment, while 23 were against.

India and Indonesia were among those who opposed the amendment. □ Zimbabwe's Prime Minister, Mr Mugabe, led a concerted African attack on South African and US moves to link Namibian independence with the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola.

He said lack of progress toward independence for the South African-administered territory was "an international scandal and a shame".

The Lebanese President, Mr Gemayel, criticised the proposed summit resolution on Lebanon saying his country needed "real and direct" help from the movement.

Mr Mousavi called on rich oil producers to pull their wealth out of Western banks and put it into a proposed "non-aligned bank" to lend to poor countries.

C. TIMES 12/3/83

# Government hopes to heal relations with Indonesia

The Government would be moving toward re-establishing good relations with Indonesia, Mr Hawke said yesterday.

It would be "quite futile" to pretend that the takeover of East Timor had not damaged relations, he said on radio.

"It is also true to say that relations have not fully recovered," he said.

"But . . . the realities are that it would be quite inappropriate for Australia not to have relations with such a populous, economically and strategically important country as Indonesia, right on our doorstep.

"Therefore my Government and [Foreign Minister] Hayden will be moving to re-establish those relations on the best possible basis."

As a first step, Mr Hayden would be going to Indonesia in the reasonably near future.

Mr Hawke said he believed his own close personal relationships

with the leaders of Israel, Egypt and Jordan might give him a role in helping to bring peace to the Middle East, which he hoped to visit before too long.

But he did not want to exaggerate his capacities or the role that a country the size of Australia could play.

He reiterated that the Australian contingent in the Sinai peace force would not be withdrawn precipitately.

Australia's relationship with the United States would remain "fundamentally important".

He would continue the spirit and attitude of African policies begun under the Whitlam Government and carried on by the former Prime Minister, Mr Fraser.

Mr Hawke said also that Australia would ultimately become a republic, but the necessary constitutional changes would come gradually.

Fretilin troops in Timor before the Indonesian invasion . . . still fighting.

# Indonesians 'losing' Timorese campaign

N.T. News 12/13/83

From GILES BERIN

**Rebels get more help from locals**

JAKARTA. — Indonesian soldiers seem to be fighting a losing battle for the former Portuguese colony of East Timor.

Since they were brought in to crush rebels over seven years ago, they have made little headway. If anything, the rebels have won increasing support for their guerilla tactics among the island's population of 551 000.

The 4000 or so soldiers have been unable to deal with Fretilin guerillas who come down from their mountain hideouts to organise ambushes with the tacit complicity of local inhabitants.

In an interview with the daily Sinar Harapan, the island's military commander, Colonel Purwanto, put their numbers at about 500, with about 100 guns between them.

Many rebel sympathisers who were interned in the nearby island of Atauro have recently been repatriated by the authorities.

There are at least a dozen other detention camps, including part of the prison in the capital, Dili, where the number of prisoners is unknown.

## Surveillance

The hundreds who have been freed from Atauro are still being kept under close surveillance by the army in villages ill-equipped to receive them, and are not allowed to travel more than 5 km without permission.

Portugal has not put any obstacles in the way of repatriation for those who hold Portuguese passports or have strong links with the old country, but Jakarta has held up the process on the pretext of "technical" problems.

A diplomat here said the authorities were afraid emigrants might make statements "harmful to Indonesia."

About 400 people have asked to emigrate to Portugal, where at least 60 have relatives. Another 200 would like to go to Australia.

Many who find their applications blocked by the authorities buy their way out. Over the past five years at least 100 people have left, more or less with official approval, by way of bribes ranging from \$1500 to \$7000.

Meanwhile, material conditions in East Timor could be worse.

There is no famine, despite the dry climate, although there are frequent shortages of rice and maize, according to an agricultural expert who recently visited the island.

But the population as a whole is resisting "Javanisation."

Most people are Roman Catholic and avoid contact with the soldiers and Javanese officials who are Moslem.

Ninety per cent of the 150 million Indonesians are Moslem, whereas half the population of East Timor is Roman Catholic and the other half practice Animism.

Several thousand people a month are being converted to Catholicism, which would appear to be their way of rejecting integration with Indonesia.

The Indonesian Government has poured vast sums of money into the region. The allocation for 1982-83 was about \$72 million, while the region's income is only about \$215 000.

The authorities have built roads, schools and launched several agricultural projects, but economic and social progress in Indonesia's 27th province is slow in coming because of widespread corruption and the ineffectiveness of local administration.

On the diplomatic level, Indonesia's lobbying for support at the annual vote on East Timor at the United Nations seems to have made no headway. In February the U.N. Human Rights Commission voted 16 to 14 in favor of self-determination for East Timor.

The return of a socialist government in the Portuguese general elections in April, which could take a harder line over East Timor, may thwart Jakarta's ambitions, diplomats here say.

Until now Indonesia has capitalised on the weakness of the Portuguese Foreign Ministry, torn apart by internal squabbles.

## Elections

Jakarta also kept a close eye on the Australian elections.

Although Labor Party leaders have given Jakarta soothing assurances of support over the integration of East Timor into Indonesia, Indonesian officials have not failed to note that certain members of the party have made mention yet again of the five Australian journalists who were killed when Indonesia invaded.

The Labor Party has changed since it was last in power in 1975.

If good relations between neighboring countries are held vital to the region's stability, it is unlikely a Labor administration would give Indonesia the same unconditional support as it did before, especially if human rights are involved.

One of the champions of Timor's integration with Indonesia, former Australian Labor Prime Minister, Mr Gough Whitlam, no longer has any influence within the party.

## ELECTION COMMENT

From INDONESIA

N.T. News 12/13/83

# Hawke thanked for Timor statement

JAKARTA. — General chairman of the Indonesian Labor Federation, Mr Agus Sudono, yesterday told the Daily Sinar Harapan that Australian Prime Minister-elect Mr Bob Hawke deserved thanks for his clear-cut campaign statement saying that East Timor, the former Portuguese colony annexed by Indonesia in 1975-76, was an integral part of Indonesia.

Member of Parliament Mr Amin Isakandar also singled out a campaign pledge by the Australian Labor

Party to recognise East Timor's integration with Indonesia as conducive to closer links between the two countries.

Meanwhile, East Timor Governor Mr Mario Carrascalao, here to attend a session of the consultative General Assembly, told the daily that the two main Australian parties contending the elections were actually not far apart on the East Timor issue.

"But whatever the attitude of any party in power in Australia, it could not in any way change the fact that East Timor's integration into Indonesia has become an established and completed fact," he said.



# East Timor still resists

Indonesian soldiers seem to be fighting a losing battle for the former Portuguese colony of East Timor.

Since they were brought in to crush rebels more than seven years ago, they have made little headway. If anything, the rebels have won increasing support for their guerrilla tactics among the island's population of 551,000.

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By GILLES BERTIN of A.F.P. in Jakarta

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Many who find their applications blocked by the authorities buy their way out. During the last five years at least 100 people have left, more or less with official approval, by dint of bribes ranging from one to five million rupiahs (about \$2000 to \$10,000). Conditions in East Timor could be worse. There is no famine, despite the dry climate, although there are frequent shortages of rice and maize, according to an agricul-

tural expert who recently visited the island.

But the population as a whole is resisting "Javanisation." Most people are Roman Catholic and avoid contact with the soldiers and Javanese officials who are Moslem. Ninety per cent of the 150 million Indonesians are Moslem, whereas half the population of East Timor is Roman Catholic and the other half practise Animism.

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The Indonesian Government has poured vast sums of money into the region. The allocation for 1982-83 was 52 billion rupiahs (about \$100 million). The region's income is only 150 million rupiahs (about \$280,000).

The authorities have built roads, schools and launched several agricultural projects, but economic and social progress in Indonesia's twenty-seventh province is slow, because of widespread corruption and the ineffectiveness of local administration.

THE PRESS CHRISTCHURCH, N.Z.

12-3-83

**WORLD NEWS**

# Popular support for guerillas increasing —Indonesia losing fight in E. Timor

From GILLES BERTIN, in Jakarta

**I**NDONESIAN soldiers seem to be fighting a losing battle for the former Portuguese colony of East Timor.

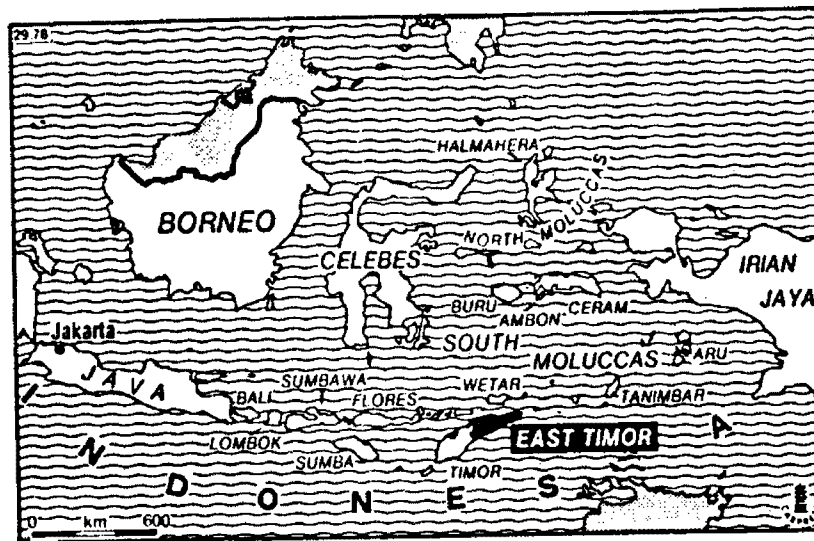
Since they were brought in to crush rebels more than seven years ago, they have made little headway. If anything, the rebels have won increasing support for their guerilla tactics among the island's population of 551,000.

The 4,000 or so soldiers have been unable to deal with the Fretilin fighters, who come down from their mountain hideouts to organise ambushes with the tacit complicity of the local inhabitants. The island's military commander, Colonel Purwanto, has put their numbers at about 500, with perhaps 100 guns among them.

Many rebel sympathisers who were interned in the nearby island of Atauro have recently been repatriated by the authorities, sources in Jakarta say. But there are at least a dozen other detention camps, including part of the jail in the capital, Dili, where the number of prisoners is not known.

The hundreds who have been freed from Atauro are still being kept under close surveillance by the Army in villages ill-equipped to receive them, and are not allowed to travel more than five kilometres without permission.

Portugal has not put any obstacles in



the way of repatriation for people who hold Portuguese passports or have strong links with Portugal, but Indonesia has held up the process on the pretext of "technical" problems. A diplomat said the authorities were afraid emigrants might make "harmful" statements.

About 400 people have asked to emigrate to Portugal, where at least 60 have relatives. Another 200 would like to go to Australia.

Many who find their applications blocked by the authorities buy their way out. Over the past five years at least 100 people have left, more or less with official approval, by dint of bribes ranging from the equivalent of \$A1,450 to \$A6,850.

Material conditions in East Timor

could be worse. There is no famine, despite the dry climate, although there are frequent shortages of rice and maize, according to an agricultural expert who recently visited the island.

But the population as a whole is resisting "Javanisation". Most people are Roman Catholic and avoid contact with the soldiers and Javanese officials, who are Moslem. Ninety per cent of the 150 million Indonesians are Moslem, whereas half the population of East Timor is Catholic and the other half practise animism.

Several thousand people a month are being converted to Catholicism, which would appear to be their way of rejecting integration with Indonesia.

The Indonesian Government has poured vast sums of money into the region. The allocation for 1982-83 was

the equivalent of \$A68.4 million, and the region's income is only about \$A200,000.

Roads and schools have been built and agricultural projects launched, but economic and social progress in Indonesia's 27th province is slow in coming because of widespread corruption and the ineffectiveness of local administration.

On the diplomatic level, Indonesia's lobbying for support at the annual vote on East Timor at the United Nations seems to have made no headway. In February, the UN Commission on Human Rights voted 16 to 14 in favour of self-determination for East Timor.

The return of a socialist government in the Portuguese general elections in April, which could take a harder line over East Timor, may thwart Indonesia's ambitions, diplomats in Jakarta.

Until now Indonesia has capitalised on the weakness of the Portuguese Foreign Ministry, torn apart by internal squabbles.

Indonesia kept a close eye also on the Australian elections. Although Labor Party leaders have given it soothing assurances of support over the integration of East Timor into Indonesia, Indonesian officials have not failed to note that some members of the party have made mention yet again of the five Australian journalists who were killed when Indonesia invaded.

— AAP-AFP

## Labor's approach to ASEAN

THE PRIME MINISTER, Mr Hawke, and his Foreign Minister, Mr Hayden, have been quick to state that they value Australia's relations with ASEAN nations and that they are determined to improve them, not least by means of early personal visits. The appointment of an inner Cabinet — an innovation for a Labor Government — composed of right-wing moderates guarantees support for this sort of policy at the top levels of Labor parliamentary leadership. We are nevertheless entitled to query the confidence of the Prime Minister and Foreign Minister that there will be significant changes. Labor is a traditionally protectionist party in which xenophobic, White-Australia sentiments are by no means dead. It has remained bitter and divided over events in Timor in 1975 — so much so that its left wing is pledged to seek to bind the Government to the short-sighted provisions of the 1982 ALP Conference resolution on East Timor requiring a Labor Government to reverse Australia's recognition of Indonesia's incorporation of East Timor.

### Cultural conditioning

There are difficulties for any Australian Government, especially a Labor one in the post-Timor era, in persuading the electorate not only to recognise the enormous differences existing between Australian and South-East Asian cultural conditioning but also the social, economic and political results that flow from those differences. It is difficult for an Australian society — predominantly white and Christian, speaking one language and broadly subscribing to liberal democratic institutions — to accept the frequently glaring inequalities and obvious injustices apparent in most South-East Asian societies or to perceive their causal relationship with the social variables of race, religion, education and caste. Indonesia's national motto, for example, Unity in Diversity, is not an accident. In a culturally diverse State of many languages and races, and of Islam, Christianity, Buddhism and Hinduism, it states that the unity and integrity of the State is of paramount importance. This clearly was the major factor in the Timor Affair in which, broadly speaking, the Australian position rested on our perceptions of the importance of human rights, that of the Indonesians on their perceptions of national security.

### Technological changes

The Labor Government will need to take note of the enormous technological and social changes which are occurring in ASEAN countries with such rapidity. The Green Revolution has lifted the agricultural targets of all South-East Asian countries except Vietnam, which remains captive to its socialist rhetoric. In Singapore, Thailand, the Philippines, Malaysia and Indonesia something of a manufacturing miracle is taking place not only in footloose industries like textiles, shoes and electronics but in those dealing with jet engines and automobile parts. These, and the rapid growth of service industries aided by computer technology, not only create an import problem for countries like Australia but create severe internal imbalances among South-East Asia's skilled and unskilled workers and its urban and rural programs.

South-East Asia has long ceased to be the colonial vacuum through which Japan's armies stormed so swiftly 40 years ago. It now comprises sovereign States and national Governments. Nevertheless questions of private and national identity remain. The politicians and intellectuals of Malaysia, Singapore and Indonesia, for example, want rapid modernisation but equally are fearful of its effects on traditional, divided societies. Therefore, Mr Lee Kuan Yew extols the virtues of hierarchic Confucianism in an age of change. In Java, half the size of

Victoria, and its population expected to reach 95 million by the end of the century, what does it mean to be a Buddhist, Moslem or Christian in a society in which increasing numbers are given to Western films and tape-recorded rock? The elites of the region do not especially favour Western liberal values. Capitalism is too permissive. Moreover the colonial experience of white ignorance and arrogance — attitudes discerned to be in rich supply in Australia — is still fresh in South-East Asian minds.

### The sins of neo-colonialism

Neo-colonialism is not merely a Sukarnoist catch-phrase. It also encapsulates a number of white sins ranging from attempted Western cultural and economic domination to attitudes of moral superiority. The expulsion of

Australian journalists from Jakarta two years ago was not simply in response to the East Timor episode. It also expressed an accumulative sense of frustration. Anti-Western attitudes are not restricted to Indonesia. They are present in different ways and in different degrees in other ASEAN countries. Dr Mahathir's spirited questioning of Western liberal values is not merely personal. It is a view shared by many politicians in South-East Asia. It represents a new mood, just as his "Look East" economic policies reflect a shift of historic importance in a region where, despite misgivings, there is a growing feeling that South-East Asian countries have more to learn from Japan, Korea and Taiwan than from Europe, America and Australia.

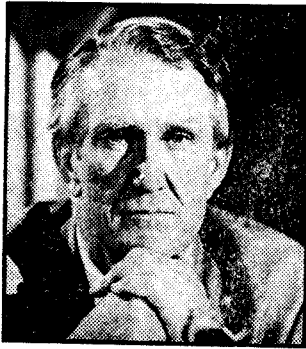
### Democratic values

It is in this broad area of differing Australian and South-East Asian perceptions of equality and social justice and of the values of democratic institutions that a Labor Government will have the greatest difficulty. Australia needs to stand by its democratic values but should it seek to force them on others? The debate over equality in this country is, first, about income distribution and, in the second place only, about disadvantaged groups like the Aborigines, the sick and the aged. In ASEAN countries debate about equality centres on how to avoid discussions of dangerous topics like domestic racial inequalities — in order not to rock the boat — while emphasising externally the difference between rich, white nations, like Australia with its tariff barriers, and poor ones like the ASEAN nations. In Australia the latter criticism is countered by Australian trade union charges of Asian cheap-labour practices accompanied by urgent calls for all to man the tariff barriers.

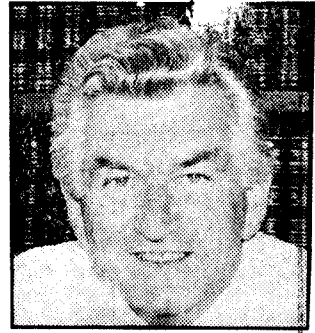
In South-East Asian countries there is now a dominant and, in many ways, increasingly anti-Western ideology. The gap in understanding between Australian and South-East Asian politicians is not diminishing. It is probably increasing. Disagreements between Australia and ASEAN over fundamental issues such as trade, tariffs, civil aviation, aid, immigration and, especially, views on human rights questions are not simply quarrels of the day which, with time and patient diplomacy, can be resolved. They reflect deep-seated differences in values and priorities. The Labor Government's expression of goodwill and good faith in its future dealings with our neighbours is not in doubt. But there is need for a great deal more than goodwill. What is required is a radical rethinking of the Australia-ASEAN relationship which takes account of the great changes taking place in the region, the fastest-growing economic entity in the world, and of Australia's future role in that region.



President Soeharto . . . describes Hawke as a friend.



Mr Fraser . . . too dour for the Indonesians.



Mr Hawke . . . a hit with ebullient personality.

# Indonesia and us: A game in our court

## COMMENT

By PETER HASTINGS,  
Foreign Editor

Mr Hawke has the ball at his feet over future relations with Jakarta provided he delivers what he promises — "closer relations with ASEAN", and provided Jakarta doesn't over-react to ALP Left-wing rhetoric.

Mr Hawke, for example, has a far more vibrant image among the elites of Jakarta than Mr Fraser ever had. In part it is due to what Indonesians perceive as the mantle of Gough Whitlam — something he may not like — but mostly it results from Mr Hawke's ebullient personality.

President Soeharto, in fact, went out of his way at a special weekend National Security Council meeting to welcome Mr Hawke's election and to describe him as a personal friend.

In some ways it is unfair to Mr Fraser who, after all, was responsible for Australia's recognition of the republic's incorporation of East Timor, the biggest single act leading to the present thaw in Australian-Indonesian relations. But that's politics. His personality was too dour for Indonesians, who, for all their formal manners, are quickly responsive to warmth and acceptance in others. They like to establish relationships.

There are reservations of course, on both sides. The ALP's East Timor resolution, which is binding until the 1984 conference, has Indonesia's Australia-watchers worried.

As it stands the resolution has unpleasant implications. It calls on a Labor Government to "condemn and reject" Australia's recognition of the incorporation of East Timor and opposes all defence aid to Indonesia until there is a "complete withdrawal" of Indonesian troops from East Timor.

Mr Hayden, shortly before the election, described the resolution as a load of rubbish but admitted

it could cause some problems with the left wing of the party while the right wing quietly devises ways and means of dumping it.

Something like 72 of the 79 members of Caucus passed the resolution at the 1982 conference in a trade-off between left and right-wing interests and when, as Mr Whitlam caustically observed "most members were half asleep as usual."

Mr Hayden's worry is left-wing pressure next October to get Australia to reverse its UN position and support the anti-Indonesian resolution on Timor, which now hangs by a thread.

In fact, Indonesia can expect this year that the resolution will be taken off the agenda through lack of support for it unless Australia votes for it, in which case Australia's relations with Indonesia would be seriously jeopardised. Is this likely?

Of the right-wing members of the ALP who voted for the resolution — Senator Gareth Evans for example, in Indonesia only recently — how many will be held to the document? Probably very few.

Nevertheless the Left can be expected to prove highly vocal on the issue at times and Jakarta politicians should not allow themselves to be unduly influenced by the fact. They will need to ignore the rhetoric and observe what the Australian Labor Government does rather than what the Labor Party says it ought to do.

They will probably find that the Australian Government will quite adroitly defuse the issue.

But the possibility of reduced, ultimately phased out Australian defence is something Jakarta may have to resign itself to.

It can live with this, although it will be quick to resent any hint that Australian defence aid was being cut back as a form of punishment for the East Timor Episode. Is punishment what Labor has in mind? It's doubtful.

There are plenty of ALP hang-ups about the value of defence aid to neighbours, excluding PNG, but Labor should think about it again. The aid itself amounts to only about \$10 million annually, and involves the provision of equipment like Sioux helicopters and Nomads

and positions for Indonesian defence force personnel at Australian defence establishments.

Its main value is the irreplaceable access it gives Australia to the Indonesian defence machine and to Indonesian defence and strategic thinking. Why throw that away?

While Jakarta shares general ASEAN apprehensions that a Labor Government means more protectionism for Australian industries it seems to take a far more relaxed attitude than, in particular its ASEAN partners Thailand and Singapore, to Mr Hayden's views on the Sihanouk coalition or resumed aid to Vietnam.

Senior Indonesian officials maintain resumed Australian aid may help to break the "log jam" over relations with Vietnam. They find encouraging Mr Hayden's coupling of resumed aid with his insistence that Vietnamese troops should withdraw from Kampuchea. They are not dismayed by his opposition to the Sihanouk coalition. They are heartened by his statement that a Labor Government will recognise neither Pol Pot nor the Heng Samrin regime.

But if the Indonesian Government is well advised to play it cool over any anti-Indonesian noises likely to emanate from the Left wing of the Australian Labor Party, it will also need to watch statements emanating from Indonesia.

A few days ago East Timor's Governor, Mario Carascalao, said that the five journalists killed at Balibo were shot by Timorese troops, not Indonesians. This is demonstrably untrue, as the world knows, and can only play into the hands of those in Australia only too anxious to foment trouble between the two countries by opening old wounds.

In ensuing months when two governments, virtually strangers to each other, are hammering out a new working relationship, the best policy for both is one of least said soonest mended.

Editorial:

Page 6 — Labor's approach to ASEAN.

# East Timorese detainees free to go abroad

**JAKARTA:** A deportation camp housing 3200 East Timorese separatist rebel sympathisers will be closed, and about 300 East Timorese will be allowed to emigrate to Australia and Portugal in the next few months, an official here said yesterday.

The Atauro Island deportation camp, about 30km from Dili, the capital of East Timor, will be closed soon, the source said. About 200 of the 300 East Timorese who have been waiting to leave the country for several years will head for Portugal in batches of 20 every month.

*Agence France Presse*

AUSTRALIAN 14/3/83 P4

# Timorese leave to rejoin families here

From MICHAEL RICHARDSON of The Age

SINGAPORE, Sunday. — Seven Timorese, including some children, leave Indonesia today to be reunited with their families in Australia.

The group is the first under new arrangements approved by Indonesian authorities to complete a program bringing together families from East Timor scattered by the conflict there in the 1970s.

Indonesian sources say steps have been taken to allow dozens of other Timorese to join their families in Australia over the next few months.

The seven leaving today on flights to Sydney, Darwin and Perth, were flown from Dili to Bali yesterday so visas could be issued by the Australian consulate.

A total of about 90 people in East Timor have been identified as eligible to leave for Australia under the new arrangements, agreed to early this year by Canberra and Jakarta after an improvement in relations between the two countries.

They are the last names on a list of 600 which the Fraser Government negotiated with Indonesian authorities in July, 1978.

The 600 were immediately family members of refugees from East Timor who fled to Australia during fighting between rival factions in 1975 and the subsequent Indonesian invasion to crush the Fretilin movement.

By the end of last year, only about 350 of the 600 on the 1978 list had arrived in Australia. Indonesian sources say the balance of about 160 from the original list decided to remain in East Timor because they had jobs and had married and taken out Indonesian citizenship. Others died of natural causes.

However, in addition to the final group of about 90 in the program, Indonesia has reportedly agreed to give favourable consideration to "first degree humanitarian cases," mainly close relatives, especially dependents of Timorese in Australia who were not on the original list of 600.

It is not clear how many people may fall under this special category. But one Indonesian source said it would probably be several dozen.

Timorese in Australia have been campaigning for parents and families of isolated Timorese children to be allowed to leave Indonesia, followed by about 2,000 more distant relatives.

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14/7/83

Tuesday 15 March 1983

## EDITORIAL OPINION

provisions of its policy on the former Portuguese colony. The diplomatic signalling has only just begun.

## East Timor and the way ahead

condemnation of the Indonesian occupation of East Timor in the mid-1970s. Whatever he achieves in the way of an improved relationship, however, must be based on the fact that Australia in all conscience cannot and should not abandon its insistence that what took place in Timor was, by all accepted international standards, mischievous. That principle must remain non-negotiable. The task before the Foreign Minister, therefore, is calmly and very politely to remind the authorities in Jakarta of Australia's moral resolve while inviting them to treat Timor as an issue on which matters of other mutual concern should not be allowed to founder. It is a question of agreeing to disagree on Timor while making progress on issues where there is common interest.

Could it be that this approach may seem too pragmatic by half? Yes, it could, unless Indonesia is prepared to add some substance to its signals. The way towards a genuine rapprochement lies in a willingness by Jakarta to acknowledge what Mr Hawke calls the Australian Government's "very real concern" about the occupation by opening East Timor to independent international inspection. Only then can the Labor Party seriously reconsider the

WHEN the Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, alludes to better relations between Australia and Indonesia, his argument is appealingly pragmatic. Clearly it is in the best interests of both nations to work towards greater understanding and co-operation in accordance with their proximity and the realities it imposes. A change of Government in Canberra, in spite of the position on Timor adopted by the ALP national conference last year, provides an appropriate opportunity. The Indonesians have responded warmly to Mr Hawke's conciliatory remarks during the election campaign by easing the way for Timorese family reunions in Australia and apparently welcoming the prospect of an early visit to Jakarta by the Foreign Minister, Mr Hayden. The first gestures have been made. What happens from now on promises to be rather harder.

Mr Hayden would be well advised to pursue his visit, with or without a ritual public

C. TIMES 15/3/82

# Hague post proposed for Whitlam

By COLIN BRAMMALL

The Government is planning to nominate the former Labor Prime Minister, Mr Gough Whitlam, for election to a nine-year term as a judge of the International Court of Justice in The Hague.

It is understood that the Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, had this in mind when he ruled out the appointment of Mr

Whitlam as High Commissioner to Britain to replace Sir Victor Garland.

The nomination would be for one of five positions falling vacant in about two years. The election will be conducted by the United Nations Security Council and the General Assembly.

Extended report. — Page 2.



# Vanuatu flexes its muscles at France over islands

By PETER HASTINGS,  
Foreign Editor

Tiny Vanuatu, 120,000 strong, achieved two firsts last week. It became the first South Pacific mini-State to join the Non-Aligned Movement which has just ended its Delhi conference. It also became the first South Pacific country to pit its navy against that of France.

At least that's what its chief Radio Vanuatu spokesman, former ABC correspondent, Bob Makin, claims. He says the Vanuatu Government dispatched Euphrosne, a one time island trader converted to a cruising yacht, to the distant islets of Matthew and Hunter to raise the Vanuatu flag.

According to Port Vila sources, Mr. Makin has claimed in a broadcast to have witnessed the event and to have photographed it.

The French in Noumea claim they dispatched a minesweeper to Matthew to prevent French interests being "jeopardised" and to have shepherded the Vanuatu yacht away from the island. They also claim to have photographs of the incident. They say that they found no sign of the green, red and yellow Vanuatu flag.

The Matthew and Hunter row between France and tiny Vanuatu abounds in unanswered questions. The islets are rocky, uninhabited

and small. They are approximately 320 km east of Noumea and about the same distance south of Port Vila.

Ni-Vanuatu (Vanuatans) claim that the islands lie in the very centre of one of the South Pacific's most important tuna migratory tracks.

If this is true, and South Pacific Commission experts are reported to believe it is, then the islands are economically important because of the 200 nautical mile exclusive economic zone, and territorial seas, each generates for its owner.

Nationalism is also an important element. Ni-Vanuatu oral tradition maintains that the two islets have been a habitual fishing ground for ni-Vanuatu fishermen from the close-by Vanuatu islands of Aniwa and Aneityum for countless generations. There is some evidence of this in the fact that the Kanak Independence movement in New Caledonia seems inclined to accept the claim as valid.

But if New Caledonia's Melanians accept the ni-Vanuatu claim, the French in New Caledonia certainly do not. How the French came to claim sovereignty is a mystery.

The story in Port Vila is that at the turn of the century and after, some maps tended to show the islands as belonging to New Caledonia while others showed them as being within the New Hebrides Condominium.

Some time in the mid-1960s, the story goes, the French Resident Commissioner in Port Vila suggested to the British Resident Commissioner that sovereignty over the islands belonged to France and should be recognised as such.

The story goes further that seven years later the Foreign Office informed the British Resident Commissioner that it recognised French claims. Certainly French maps now show the islands as French.

Moreover, the original documents relating to dealings between the British and French Resident Commissioners in the New Hebrides are no longer in Port Vila.

Whether Vanuatu will be able to get the Non-Aligned Movement to take up its claims to Matthew and Hunter in the way the Movement supported Mauritius's claims to Deigo Garcia at the Delhi meeting is doubtful.

But there is no doubt that Father Walter Lini's Government in Port Vila will use the row to cement ni-Vanuatu nationalism.

It is exactly the sort of colonialist issue — Indonesia's takeover of Irian Jaya and East Timor are others — on which Vanuatu's governing Vanuaku Pati thrives. Vanuatu, for example, was the only South Pacific State to vote against Indonesia in the UN last year on the Timor issue.

parents and families of isolated to be allowed to leave Indonesia, 2,000 more distant relatives.

S.M.H.  
15/3/83

# Timor families reunite, with no bribes to pay AGE 15/3/83

From DEIRDRE MACKEN

**SYDNEY.** — The last time Lay Quiu Langué Azevedo saw her husband, Antonio, was in 1975 when she and her two baby boys were separated from Antonio during the chaos of Indonesia's invasion of Timor.

Mrs Azevedo found herself on one side of the island waiting with her babies, relatives and hundreds of other Timorese for a boat to Australia. Mr Azevedo found himself on the other side of the island with no family, job or home. He moved

into a hotel and waited. Almost eight years.

Mrs Azevedo settled in Sydney's Campbelltown, found a job and managed to send her husband about \$500 every three months to pay the hotel bill. Their only contact was through the mail and even that was tenuous. She says: "I never really knew how he was. I only had letters from him and you never know who else sees the letters before I do."

A few weeks ago Mrs Azevedo sent her last letter to her husband. Two days ago she stopped sleeping and at 8 am yesterday, pacing the arrival lounge of Sydney's interna-

tional airport, she was ill with apprehension.

The tension of almost eight years' waiting broke when Mr Azevedo, 43, walked out of customs with three suitcases full of the family's remaining possessions from Timor.

He was composed as he greeted his weeping mother, wife, aunts, uncles, brother and in-laws, but he broke down when he saw that the two baby boys he last saw in Timor were now Australian youths, more fluent in Strine than in their father's language.

It did not seem to matter that the boys hardly recognised their father. The last of the Azevedo family had finally made it to Australia and the 15 relatives were intent on celebrating.

Mr Azevedo was one of 96 refugees who finally came to rejoin their families in Australia after an agreement between the Australian and Indonesian Governments, clinched earlier this year.

The agreement for reuniting Timorese refugees with relatives left be-

hind in 1975 was actually reached five years ago, but bureaucratic delays and Indonesian reluctance have meant long delays.

Like most Timorese families in Australia, Mr Azevedo's relatives applied for his immigration in 1977 when Mr Azevedo's case was added to a list of 2145 refugee nominations. By July 1978, the list had been whittled down to 625 approved refugees.

In the following five years, 350 of those approved made it to Australia, many with the aid of RAFT (Reunite in Australia the Families of Timor) but as Mr David Hodges of RAFT says: "Our main job over the past few years has been raising money — up to \$3000 — so these refugees could bribe their way out of the country."

Of the original list, 96 are still waiting, but Mr Hodges says: "under this scheme, we don't have to pay bribes. Antonio and the seven others who arrived today are the first to get here without having to pay a bribe."

"This encouraged a small group of generals to seize East Timor. No other country has ever counselled a neighbor to give a third territory's colonisation by means of annexation," Mr Dunn said. He said the fundamental right in all international convention and UN declarations was the right of people to determine their own lives and future.

In the case of East Timor this right was recently affirmed by the UN Human Rights Commission when for the first time it asserted the territory's right to self-determination at a meeting in February.

Even improvements in material conditions which the Indonesians claim to have effected in East Timor did not cancel the denial of a basic right of the Timorese, Mr Dunn said.

Mr Dunn disagreed that Indonesia was in East Timor stay and that calls for the self-determination of that territory were doomed. After the two addresses, meeting participants divided into four workshops to consider practical aid to the church in East Timor, public education on the issue in Australia, political lobbying and human rights in the territory.

# Indonesians remember Hawke kept his word

From MICHAEL RICHARDSON

JAKARTA, 15 March. — A lunchtime promise in a Chinese restaurant in Geneva seven years ago helped Bob Hawke win trust and respect in Indonesian Government circles

Mr Hawke, then ACTU president, went off to lunch in the Mandarin restaurant in the Swiss city with the Indonesian he knew best, Agus Sudono, general chairman of the All-Indonesian Labor Federation.

Both union leaders were in Geneva for a meeting of the International Labor Organisation — a forum which, enabled Australia's new Prime Minister to build up a wide network of contacts in Asia and elsewhere.

In an interview recently, Mr Sudono recalled his lunch with Mr Hawke.

Indonesia's 1975 military occupation of East Timor was still a "boiling issue", especially in Australia. Mr Hawke was critical of Indonesia's action and under pressure from the Left-wing of the Labor movement to be more militant.

"After we sat down, I said: 'Look Bob we are good friends and our countries are neighbors. If we have a difference of opinion on East Timor don't bring it to the ILO, otherwise I must reply and there will be a clash.'

"He thought about it for a moment, then agreed. He said the ILO was a body for discussing the social and economic problems of workers. Political issues such as East Timor should be handled in the United Nations.

"Bob kept his promise and East Timor was never raised by Australia in the ILO. He never hid his criticism over Timor. But he knew the limits and where

it should and should not be discussed".

Mr Sudono also recalled flying to Melbourne in 1976 in an effort to persuade the ACTU to get waterfront unions to lift their Timor protest boycott of Indonesian ships.

He met Mr Hawke in his office in the ACTU headquarters. "After we started talking, Bob's secretary came in to tell us there was a big demonstration outside of unionists and other groups.

"I looked out the window on to Lygon Street, and there were banners saying 'Sudono go home' and 'Sudono Government stooge'.

"Bob said: 'Agus, I think it's better you go back to your hotel. I'll take you down'.

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• He never hid his criticism over Timor but he knew the limits. •

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"So he escorted me out through the back entrance and sent me back to the Southern Cross in his car. A couple of months later the union boycott of our ships was lifted. Bob convinced the workers involved to do it."

Mr Sudono said he first met Mr Hawke in 1973 when the ACTU leader visited Indonesia as the member of an industrial relations mission. "He came to my house one evening and we had a long talk."

The house was built in Dutch colonial times, and is spacious with quite a large garden. One source here says Mr Hawke, beer in hand, surveyed the property and exclaimed: "Jesus, Agus, are you really a union leader?"

Asked whether the story was apocryphal, Mr Sudono laughed and said Mr Hawke phrased his question somewhat differently.

He described Mr Hawke as "warm, honest and frank. That's what I like about him. If he disagrees with me he always says so in front of me, never saying one thing to me and another behind my back.

"He is also very fast to under-

stand another person's point of view and react to it."

Mr Hawke's second visit to Indonesia was in 1976 as head of a three-man union fact finding team on East Timor. Mr Sudono says he made arrangements for the Australians to see the then Foreign Minister, Mr Malik, who has just ended a five-year term as the country's vice-president, General Ali Murtopo, then deputy head of the State Intelligence Coordinating Agency (Bakin) and now Information Minister, and a third Cabinet member.

Other sources say Mr Hawke also met President Suharto for about two hours.

Mr Hawke told a Press conference in Canberra recently that he had "good personal relationships with much of the leadership of Indonesia, including the fact that I have had lengthy meetings with the President".

President Suharto is reliably reported to regard Mr Hawke as someone in the Whitlam mould — a friend of Indonesia's who can be trusted.

Mr Sudono said Mr Hawke was basically sympathetic and friendly to Indonesia and did not believe it was an expansionist power posing a threat to Australia or any other neighbors including Papua New Guinea.

He claimed Mr Hawke believed a strong Indonesia could become a kind of buffer for Australia in facing the danger of communism from the north, either from China or the Soviet Union.

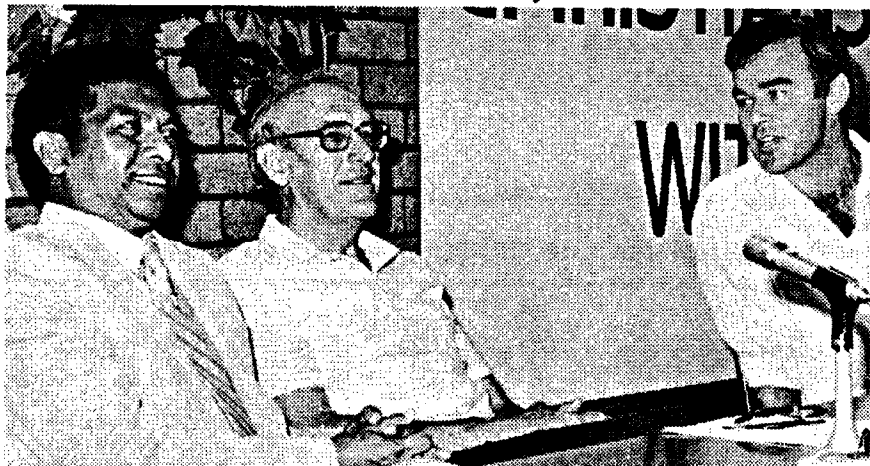
He had never regarded Australia as an extension of Europe, believing instead that it should forge close links with South-East Asia and the Pacific.

One person who was helpful to Mr Hawke on his 1976 visit to Jakarta was Australia's Ambassador to Indonesia at the time, Mr Richard Woolcott.

The ambassador arranged a dinner for Mr Hawke, who — wine in hand after the beer — startled some of the guests by embedding his fork into the teak-topped dining table to emphasise a point he was making.

Mr Sudono, who has known Mr Hawke in his wilder days, says he admires the Labor leader's self-discipline and was always convinced he would become Prime Minister of Australia.

"We were at dinner one night with some Asian friends in Geneva during an ILO meeting. I think it was in 1978. Bob told me he would stop drinking to get to the top. I didn't believe him at the time. Now I do."



Fr Francisco Fernandes (left), Mr Jim Dunn and Fr Mark Raper SJ (chairperson) seen during the meeting of Protestants and Catholics concerned about East Timor held in Fitzroy on 5 March.

## Priest urges help for East Timor

**A Timorese priest called on the support of Australian Christians in his people's "search for freedom" at a meeting of Protestants and Catholics concerned about the territory, held at the Academy of Mary Immaculate, Fitzroy, on 5 March.**

Fr Francisco Fernandes, chaplain to Timorese and Portuguese in Perth since 1978, was a keynote speaker at the meeting called by Christians in Solidarity with East Timor.

This is an interdenominational group formed last year in response to calls from the religious and clergy of that territory for support from the international Church.

Fr Fernandes spoke of the hardship and large death toll suffered by East Timorese since the Indonesian invasion in 1975. He also emphasised the sense of isolation which the Church in East Timor felt and its appeals for international support.

"If this were a Church conference on Poland, the Philippines or El Salvador, representatives would be here from the respective Churches, he told the meeting. "But the Church in East Timor has been isolated, cut off from open and direct contact with its sister Churches like Australia."

Fr Fernandes said he wanted to counter claims that the people in East Timor opposed to Indonesia's annexation of the territory were Communists.

"Over half the people of East Timor are Catholics." He called on Australian Catholics not to "fall into the Indonesian-set trap of calling our people Communist when they rise against violence and inhuman treatment."

He also criticised attempts in Australia to undermine the credibility of the leader of the Church in East Timor, Mgr Martinho da Costa Lopez. Fr Fernandes said Mgr da Costa Lopez had a history of aiding

victims of violence going back over two decades.

"In 1959, he protested to Portugal against arbitrary acts of violence against East Timorese by the colonial authorities. In 1975, he opposed the excesses of Fretilin and now he is speaking against the Indonesians."

Another speaker, Mr Jim Dunn, said 1983 would be a vital year in the fortunes of East Timor because this year Indonesia might succeed in having the territory's annexation removed from discussion by the United Nations.

### Former consul-general

Mr Dunn is a former Australian consul-general in East Timor and is presently head of the foreign affairs section of the Parliamentary Library Service in Canberra.

Mr Dunn claimed that Australia had a responsibility to support East Timor's aspirations to freedom that went back to World War II.

Mr Dunn also claimed that Australia had a responsibility to undo what was done in 1975 when the Federal Government "told the Indonesians that the solution to East Timor lay in its integration into Indonesia."

"This encouraged a small group of generals to seize East Timor. No other country has ever counselled a neighbor to solve a third territory's decolonisation by means of annexation," Mr Dunn said.

He said the fundamental right in all international convention and UN declarations was the right of people to determine their own lives and future.

In the case of East Timor this right was recently reaffirmed by the UN Human Rights Commission when for the first time it asserted the territory's right to self-determination at a meeting in February.

Even improvements in material conditions which the Indonesians claim to have affected in East Timor did not cancel the denial of a basic right of the Timorese, Mr Dunn said.

Mr Dunn disagreed that Indonesia was in East Timor to stay and that calls for the self-determination of that territory were doomed.

After the two addresses, meeting participants divided into four workshops to consider practical aid to the Church in East Timor, public education on the issue in Australia, political lobbying and human rights in the territory.

Mr Azaveanu was one of those who finally came to rejoice in Australia after a long period of uncertainty between the Australian and Indonesian Governments, during this year. The agreement for reunite refugees with relatives

# Hawkish over Timor but dovish on Cambodia

By Correspondents

There is concern in capitals from Seoul to Singapore that some loose rocks from the Labor landslide could dent Australia's relations with its Asian neighbours. Nowhere is this concern more noticeable than in Australia's closest neighbour, Indonesia, with whom relations have long been sensitive, especially after Indonesia's absorption of East Timor in 1976.

In Jakarta there are fears that Prime Minister-elect Bob Hawke could come under pressure from the Timor lobby in the Labor Party to put into effect the party's platform. They say a Labor administration should cut off defence aid — currently worth about US\$10 million a year — until Indonesian troops are withdrawn to pave the way for an internationally acceptable act of self-determination. The platform also implies that a Labor government should revert to voting against Indonesia over East Timor in the United Nations.

Other areas of concern to Asia include Labor's pre-election commitment to restore aid to Vietnam and firm signs that a Hawke government would vote against Democratic Kampuchea retaining Cambodia's seat in the United Nations.

And Hawke's debt to Australia's powerful trade unions raises the spectre of extended protectionism restricting exports from Asia. There are also worries — par-

ticularly in Japan — that Hawke may adopt a more nationalist approach to natural resources and foreign equity tie-ups.

One fear which was promptly justified concerned the future of the Australian dollar. The 10% devaluation announced on March 7 was a blow for investors in Asia who have pumped hundreds of millions of dollars into Australia. Investors may also suffer from new taxes which could be introduced to help pay for Labor's promised job-creation and welfare programmes.

The handling of the delicate Timor question and relations with Jakarta could be a good indication of how Labor will respond to the responsibilities of government. Indonesians have traditionally considered Labor to be more sensitive to the needs of the Third World and hence a closer friend than the now-ousted Liberal and National Country parties.

The government of former prime minister Malcolm Fraser formally recognised the Indonesian takeover of the former Portuguese colony of East Timor in 1978.

Indonesians have feared that implementation of the Labor platform and a possible reversal of the Australian position on East Timor at the UN could further influence the vote of small South Pacific nations.

The probable choice as foreign minister, Bill Hayden, acknowledges that "our

policy in relation to East Timor will create some problems for us in our diplomatic relationships with Indonesia." It would be "sheer humbug" to suggest otherwise, he says. But he has indicated he will talk about the policy differences with Indonesia.

The Timor lobby in the Labor party is strong and likely to protest over any move which suggests an accommodation towards the takeover of East Timor, and the issue has the potential to be one of Hayden's greatest headaches. Hawke has confirmed that Labor's policy on Timor will be one of the issues he wants raised in consultations with Jakarta.

On his first day in the job Hawke made it clear that good relations with Indonesia will be an important priority. "I have no doubt that we will be able to re-establish between a Labor government and Indonesia effective relations as is appropriate for this country and its near and very populous neighbour," Hawke said.

In Jakarta the fact that the Labor victory was probably more a mandate for Hawke the person than for the party itself, and that the party platform was adopted under Hayden's leadership was considered a positive element by some.

But even if Hawke — who is thought in Jakarta to be more sympathetic on the East Timor issue than Hayden — manages to modify the party platform for a time, he may fail to produce quick results in the hazardous economic arena and his charisma could suffer as a result. Sources in Jakarta suggest that if this happened the party caucus could assert itself again and if the caucus is heavily leftwing, it could make East Timor an issue.

Those who are interested in good relations have not stood idly by. The In-

donesia hands at Australia's Foreign Ministry, including ambassador to Jakarta, Rawdon Dalrymple (who is a personal friend of Hawke's, the two having been at Oxford together), are likely to lobby against any abrupt moves by the Labor government. In December, a Labor senator, Gareth Evans — the then shadow attorney-general — was in Jakarta and conferred with many Indonesians.

# Timor turnaround?

The new Federal Government has told Indonesia that the ALP's policy on East Timor is an embarrassment, according to Canberra sources. Page 1.

SMT 18 3 83

# Bans on Soviet Union to be dropped

From JENNI HEWETT

CANBERRA. — Australia will drop the ban on sporting and cultural exchange with the Soviet Union imposed after the invasion of Afghanistan, the Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, said yesterday.

Mr Hawke also said that aid to Vietnam would not be resumed if this "ruptured in any way" Australia's relations with the Association of South East Asian Nations or the United States.

In a major interview on foreign affairs, Mr Hawke stressed the need for co-operation and constructive relations.

Mr Hawke also said that his Government would:

- Act with greater consistency in its rhetoric and action on the issue of protection.
- Ensure that the American alliance remained fundamental to Australia's stance in international relations and the security and defence of Australia.
- Walk the line between "strutting the stage in stature not commensurate with our size and importance" and "the stupidity of isolationism."
- Give priority to our own immediate area.
- Maintain sporting bans against South Africa.
- In dealing with Japan, give more assistance to iron and coal exporters to ensure the best possible deal, encouraging the Japanese to take a long-term view on prices, and

## HAWKE ON THE WORLD

try to establish better relations in the maritime industry.  
● Improve its relations with Indonesia.

● Pursue a constructive and cautious relationship with the Soviet Union.

Mr Hawke said his Government would not expose itself to the charges of "blatant hypocrisy" that the previous Government inevitably had in relation to the Soviet Union.

"My Government will make it quite clear . . . what we think of their intervention (in Afghanistan) and our belief that they should withdraw," he said. "We will not use it for confected political pur-

poses as did the previous Government.

"We will not put ourselves into the hypocritical position of barring some athletes, some cultural relations, then trade away as busily as we can.

"Trade will go on, but so will other relations."

The Fraser Government's policy of banning cultural and sporting exchange with the Soviet Union was one of the strongest actions by any country following the invasion of Afghanistan in December, 1979.

Mr Hawke said that he had enough dealings with the Soviet Union to know that it would be unrealistic to approach it on the basis that all was sweetness and light.

"The peace of the world, which is a fundamental concern of my Government, can not be talked

about in any meaningful way in terms of not attempting to have sensible and constructive relations with that area," he said.

As a government, the ALP saw no merit in the situation where the only relationship the Government of Vietnam was likely to have was with the Soviet Union.

But Mr Hawke said that his Government would not act precipitately and would have full discussions on the ALP policy with ASEAN and the US.

The ALP policy commits it to resume aid to Vietnam, which was cut off after Vietnam invaded Kampuchea in 1978.

Although both ASEAN and the United States are opposed to the resumption of aid, Mr Hawke said that he had spoken with the Indonesia Ambassador and felt that there was an "understanding" of Austral-

ia's position.

"I believe that if we move in that direction, then it will be on a basis where we have the understanding of the ASEAN countries and the United States," he said.

Mr Hawke also said that the Chinese Premier would be visiting Australia next month and he would have detailed talks with him. China is strongly opposed to the resumption of aid or ties with Vietnam.

Mr Hawke also confirmed that he would be visiting the United States in June.

He emphasised the potential strength of Australia's relations with Indonesia. This follows the admission by Mr Hawke and the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Hayden, to the Indonesian Ambassador during the week that the ALP policy on East Timor was an "embarrassment."

AUSTIN

19/3/83  
THE WORLD

# Kampuchea move unravels

From DAVID WATTS in Singapore

THE latest initiative for negotiations on the future of Kampuchea between the Association of South East Asian Nations and the Indo-Chinese countries is well on the way to unravelling.

The Malaysian Foreign Minister, Tan Sri Ghazali Shafie, who initiated the idea of direct talks with Vietnam over the heads of the Heng Samrin regime in Phnom Penh, flew to Bangkok yesterday for urgent discussions as the plan was roundly attacked by the Philippines Foreign Minister, Mr Carlos Romulo.

Mr Romulo said the idea was a "gimmick" by Vietnam, and not a new one at that, through which it hoped to distract attention from the fact that it had invaded Kampuchea in violation of the United Nations Charter.

The Philippines, he said, was not interested in entering any talks with Vietnam unless they led to the withdrawal of Hanoi's troops from Kampuchea.

Rejecting Hanoi's suggestion that the American bases in the Philippines should also be discussed, he said Manilla had no intention of discussing the presence of American forces at any such talks be-

cause that was a purely bilateral matter between Manilla and Washington.

"The American military bases are here in order to maintain the balance of power in this area," Mr Romulo said. "Without them we will have a vacuum."

On Wednesday it became clear that Thailand was not enthusiastic about Tan Sri Ghazali's plan, which was agreed on behind the scenes at the recent Non-Aligned summit with the Foreign Minister of Vietnam, Mr Nguyen Co Thach.

Only Malaysia and Singapore have so far gone on record as favoring the talks

and it looks increasingly as though Mr Sinnathamby Rajaratnam, the second deputy prime minister of Singapore, jumped the gun with his revelation of the agreement.

The Indonesian Foreign Minister, Doctor Mochtar Kusumaatmadja, gave a cautious welcome to the talks on his way back from the Non-Aligned summit but warned that he would not be prepared to discuss East Timor as Hanoi had suggested in the past.

"East Timor is not a subject for talks like this," he said. "It's irrelevant."

But it is not irrelevant in the Vietnamese view, since

Hanoi wants to look at the question of security and alliances region-wide in order to bring in its concerns with the Chinese threat.

Hanoi has consistently said that it would withdraw its forces from Kampuchea if the Chinese threat was removed.

Apart from the obvious military threat north of its border, it is also Vietnam's way of saying that Chinese and ASEAN military support for the Democratic Kampuchea Coalition Government, which includes the Khmer Rouge, should be encompassed in the discussions.



C. TIMES 19/3/83

# Hawke lifts sanctions against Soviet Union

The Government has abandoned the remaining sanctions against the Soviet Union imposed after the invasion of Afghanistan in late 1979.

The Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, said yesterday that trade and other relations with the Soviet Union would go ahead.

Mr Hawke said the previous Government had been "incalculably flexible" and inconsistent by banning cultural and other exchanges but allowing wool and other rural products to be traded.

"Our position will be clear and it will not be hypocritical," he told journalists representing foreign media.

"We will be vociferous in our condemnation of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

"It cannot be justified on the grounds of strategic considerations, moral, economic or any other ground.

"It was an invasion of the sovereign territory of another country which was totally unacceptable.

"My Government will make it quite clear to the Soviet Union what we think of their intervention and our belief that they should withdraw.

"We will not use it for confected political purposes as did the previous Government and we will not put ourselves into the hypocritical position of barring athletes, some scientists, some cultural relations but trade away as busily as you can.

"Trade will go on, but so will other relations.

"We will convey our disturbance at what has happened in what are sensible diplomatic terms and not expose ourselves as the previous Government inevitably did to the charge of blatant hypocrisy."

Mr Hawke has moved to improve the Government's relations with Indonesia by inviting President Suharto to visit Australia.

In other efforts to better relations soured by the Indonesian invasion of East Timor, Mr Hawke said he hoped to visit Indonesia later this year.

The Foreign Minister, Mr Hayden, may also visit Indonesia, possibly before Mr Hawke.

Mr Hawke's announcements follow reports that he and Mr Hayden have told Indonesia's Ambassador to Australia, Mr Erman Harirustaman, that Labor's policy on East Timor was "an embarrassment".

The policy directs the Government to refuse defence aid to Indonesia until its troops are withdrawn from East Timor.

Mr Hawke told a press conference yesterday that Australia would give priority to strengthening the economic, political and cultural relations with its Asian neighbours.

He said Australia had to have constructive and friendly relations with its neighbours, especially such an economically and strategically significant country as Indonesia.

Mr Hawke gave only a broad indication of his talks with Mr Harirustaman.

"I've made it clear that the events of the past cannot be obliterated," he said.

"It's an exercise in futility to say that an incoming government can command the Australian people to forget what has happened.

"What we've got to try to do is to recognise what has happened in our relations with Indonesia and to try to move to a position where we can have relations which they will respect and that we will respect."

Mr Hawke also made it clear that Australia's alliance with the United States was fundamental to its security and foreign relations.

He would travel to Washington in June to meet President Reagan, he said.

# Hawke drops Soviet bans and invites Suharto to visit us

From IAN DAVIS

CANBERRA. — The Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, yesterday announced moves to improve relations with the Soviet Union and Indonesia in outlining wide-ranging changes to Australian foreign policy.

Mr Hawke lifted restrictions on cultural, sporting and scientific exchanges with the Soviet Union and said he would remove the "hypocrisy" which existed in the previous Australian Government's relations with the USSR.

Mr Hawke said he had invited Indonesia's President Suharto to visit Australia. Mr Hawke said he hoped he could visit Indonesia himself later this year and the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Hayden, would go "in the relatively near future".

In other policy statements during discussions with overseas Press representatives yesterday, Mr Hawke said that:

- In honoring Labor's commitment to resume aid to Vietnam, the Government would proceed only after consultations with ASEAN and the US. This appeared to modify the ALP's previous line.

- The Government would not close down US bases in Australia.

- He would seek improved relations with the People's Republic of China and the nations of the South Pacific, including Papua New Guinea.

- Australia would continue to play an active role in the Commonwealth.

- The Government would not take unilateral action to stop trade with South Africa.

- Australia would take a more active and tougher role in resource negotiations with Japan.

Mr Hawke also confirmed that he would be going to the US for talks with the Reagan Administration in June and that the Japanese Prime Minister, Mr Nakasone, had been invited to visit Australia.

Foreign policy was the "sleeping" issue in the election campaign with the Labor Party cooling issues as they arose and where they indicated foreign policy differences between Labor and the coalition.

On relations with the Soviet Union, Mr Hawke yesterday at-

tacked what he said was the "almost incalculable flexibility" of the Fraser Government in allowing "their own wool and wool products" to be exported to the USSR while banning sporting contacts and cultural exchanges.

Mr Hawke said that while resuming these exchanges, Australia will continue to condemn strongly the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. "My Government will make it quite clear to the Soviet Union what we think of their intervention and that we think they should withdraw. But we will not use it for some concocted political purposes as did the previous Government and we will not put ourselves into the hypocritical position of barring athletes, scientists and cultural relationships, but trading away as busily as you can."

On Labor's pledge to resume aid to Vietnam, Mr Hawke said "we will not move precipitately in that area".

## Discussions

"We will have discussions with our ASEAN friends and with the US, and we would not be moving in a way to do something which would rupture in any way those important relations with ASEAN and the US."

ASEAN has applied a collective policy of isolating Vietnam and fiercely opposing its continued occupation of Kampuchea and support for the Heng Samrin Government. However, Mr Hawke noted that in the past week there had been indications of a softening in this policy with moves for direct talks between the Government of Vietnam and ASEAN.

Mr Hawke said: "We see no merit in the situation where the only relationship the Government of Vietnam is likely to be able to have is with the Soviet Union."

In a clear reference to the Indonesian invasion of East Timor Mr Hawke said: "The events of the past cannot be obliterated."

However, he said: "We have got to try and recognise what has happened and in our relations with Indonesia try and move to a position where we can have relations which they will respect and that we will respect."

## Let's take a closer look

ELEMENTS in the Labor Party want to block all Australian military aid to Indonesia.

Perhaps they should look at what makes up a lot of this aid. Just before the election, then Defence Minister Ian Sinclair announced the Royal Australian Air Force would conduct an aerial photographic survey of Malaysia and part of Indonesia. The Indonesian territory consists of 90 islands in the South China Sea and off the west coast of Sumatra.

Australia has been mapping Indonesia since 1970 and has covered the strategic areas of West Kalimantan, Sumatra, Maluku Province (we call them the Moluccas) and Irian.

An outsider looking at this aid might recognise potential intelligence benefits for Australia as well.

# Fretilin man seeks visa

CANBERRA. — A bid by a senior representative of Fretilin, the East Timor independence movement, to visit Australia in May could embarrass the Australian Labor Government in its efforts to mend relations with Indonesia.

The Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, has nominated improved relations with Indonesia as a high priority of his Government. He said last week that both he and the Foreign Minister, Mr Hayden, expected to visit Indonesia soon and that President Suharto had been invited to visit Australia.

The visa request is from Mr Jose Ramos Horta, Fretilin's representative at the United Nations.

'The Age' yesterday received a copy of his request. A spokesman for the Department of Foreign Affairs said Mr Ramos Horta's letter had not yet gone to Mr Hayden. Mr Horta's bid

to visit Australia is known to ALP parliamentarians who have supported the East Timorese.

The Indonesians are sensitive about Australian interest in, and opposition to, the Indonesian annexation of East Timor.

Official ALP policy is to oppose the annexation in international forums such as the UN.

Mr Ramos Horta is likely to be allowed to visit. If his visa were refused the Government would be open to attack. Last August Mr Hayden, as Opposition Leader, strongly attacked the Fraser Government for refusing Mr Ramos Horta entry.

The Fretilin spokesman had sought to address a Senate committee inquiry on East Timor. Mr Hayden said that in refusing his visa the Government was making a humiliating concession "to exaggerated Indonesian sensibilities".

WASHINGTON

# What's Going On?

By James Reston

WASHINGTON, March 22 — The Center for Defense Information is a think tank in Washington that keeps a box score on the wars, rebellions, and other violent uprisings going on in the world. Its latest report reminds us of some things we're inclined to forget:

- In the last three years, six new wars have started while only two have ended — with over four million people engaged in combat.

- Forty-five of the world's 164 nations are involved in these wars and even the C.D.I. can merely estimate that the number of people killed ranges from one million to five million.

- About 500,000 foreign combat troops are involved. There are ten conflicts in the Middle East/Persian Gulf, ten more in Asia and Africa, seven in Latin America, and three in Europe. Five are conventional wars and 35 are internal guerrilla struggles.

- The United States and the Soviet Union and its satellites are the major suppliers of military arms to 13 nations now at war, and in 1981, the 45 nations involved in 40 conflicts spent over \$528 billion on their armed forces.

These, of course, are only rough estimates, and cannot take into account the suffering of families or the loss of property, but they may remind us of the madness and cost of violence in a world where half the human race is going to bed hungry every night.

We need to be reminded. The facts being debated now in Washington are important: How much for missiles, how much for El Salvador, how much for education and unemployment relief and food-stamps?

It's a hard call for the Ways and Means Committee in the House and the Finance Committee in the Senate. Secretary of Defense Weinberger tosses around not billions but trillions for the Pentagon, and President Reagan delivers sermons about the importance of religion and prayer in the schools.

All this is worth debating. But very little is added to this debate about what's going on in these wars and rebellions, what can be done to get at the causes of these conflicts — except to vote more money for more military weapons.

As the Center for Defense Information points out, over 50,000 Soviet troops invaded Afghanistan in December of 1979; over 10,000 Libyan troops intervened in the civil war in Chad in December of 1980; around 100,000 Israeli troops went into Leba-

non in June, 1982, and the cost in human life there and elsewhere is staggering.

According to the Center for Defense Information, between one million and four million have died in Cambodia since 1970. In East Timor, it has been 100,000 to 250,000 since 1975. In Afghanistan, 100,000 since 1978. In the conflict between Iran and Iraq, 80,000 to 100,000 since 1980. In Lebanon, nobody knows.

And this, of course, is not all. In past centuries, we had religious wars between believers in conflicting faiths; now we have "religious" wars between people who believe more in fighting than anything else. See Ireland, the Indian subcontinent, etc.

Obviously, the United States Government cannot be expected to grapple with all these human and political tangles all over the world — it's having a tough enough time dealing with them at home — but when you look at the spread of nuclear knowledge, the outbreaks of terrorism, rebellion and war, you have to think more about the causes of wars, rather than how to fight them or survive them, the issues that tend to preoccupy the debate here now.

There is general agreement in Washington these days about the "interdependence" of the world, and endless talk about economics and statistics and the world balance of trade, and what to do about the consequences of world turmoil but very little about the causes of that turmoil.

President Reagan talks a great deal about the gross national product and about religion, but very little about the sanctity of individual life — except when he's arguing against abortion.

"We are," said Archibald MacLeish, "the best informed people on earth. We are deluged with facts, but we have lost or are losing our human ability to feel them . . . We know with the head now, by the facts, by the abstractions. We seem unable to know, as Shakespeare knew, who made King Lear cry out to blinded Gloucester on the heath: 'You see how this world goes' and Gloucester answers: 'I see it feelingly.'

"Why we are thus impotent," MacLeish added, "I do not know. I know only that this impotence exists and that it is dangerous: increasingly dangerous."

This apparently is what also troubles the people at the Center for Defense Information. They monitor the facts of contemporary wars because they think we don't know the facts, let alone feel them, and they may be right.

# Hayden plans Timor switch

From IAN DAVIS

CANBERRA. — The Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Hayden, has told his department that Australia will change its United Nations vote on East Timor.

According to departmental sources, Mr Hayden has said that Australia will change its vote from support of Indonesia over East Timor to abstention, a change that will create fresh tensions with Indonesia on the issue.

Mr Hayden told his departmental officers that ALP policy obliged the Government to abstain. But such a move will be an obstacle to the Labor Government's announced intention to improve relations with Indonesia.

The Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, said last Friday that his Government would be "moving to try and place our relations with Indonesia on a friendly and constructive basis".

"It is just out of the question that Australia can move into a position of not having good relations with a country on its immediate doorstep, a country of vast population, economically significant, strategically significant," he said.

As the first step in improving relations, Mr Hayden proposes to visit Indonesia from 6 to 9 April and hopes to hold talks with Indonesia's President Suharto and the Foreign Minister, Dr Mochtar. Mr Hawke has said he hoped to visit Indonesia later in the year.

The Age' told Mr Hayden's senior adviser that it was planned to publish this report and asked for comment from Mr Hayden.

The Age' submitted a question in writing.

But Mr Hayden, who has refused to talk to the Press since the election, did not reply to the question.

Mr Hayden told his department this week that the change in the UN vote was necessary because of ALP policy. This policy says: "The ALP will continue to support United Nations resolutions which promote the rights of East Timorese."

Australia has voted with Indonesia on UN resolutions on East Timor for several years. Last year Australia increased its level of support for Indonesia by actively lobbying countries over which it has influence, including several South Pacific States, to persuade them to support Indonesia.

Mr Hayden is likely to have considerable difficulty in explaining to Indonesia how the Australian Government reconciled a change in its UN vote with its desire for improved relations.

Mr Hayden is believed to have told departmental officers that the East Timor policy did create problems for improved relations.

But he believed that objective could be achieved without repeating what he said was the unduly subservient policy the Liberal Government adopted to Indonesia.

In reply, departmental officers

One officer described the new policy as "anti-Pol Potism" and said it amounted to tipping the balance away from the Sihanouk-led coalition (which includes elements of the Pol Pot regime) and towards the Heng Samrin regime.

warned him of the dangers of sending "confused signals" to the Indonesians.

Another difficulty in relations with Indonesia could flow from the proposed visit to Australia in May by Mr Jose Ramos Horta, a senior representative of the East Timor Independence movement, Fretilin. The Age' reported on Wednesday that Mr Horta had written to Mr Hayden saying he planned to apply for a visa to visit Australia in May.

The Indonesian Government would regard any such visit, especially if it was widely publicised, as an unfriendly gesture. But Labor policy says the ALP will "demand that Fretilin representatives be allowed into Australia".

Mr Hayden is also believed to have told the department that Australia will continue to abstain on who should occupy the Kampuchean seat in the United Nations.

But he signalled that as part of Labor's policy of better relations with Vietnam, Australia would privately seek greater accommodation with the Vietnam-imposed Heng Samrin Government.

SMH 25/3/83

# Hayden off to fix fences in Jakarta

By PETER HASTINGS,  
Foreign Editor

The Foreign Minister, Mr Hayden, hopes to visit Jakarta from April 6 to 9 to mend fences between the Labor Party and Indonesia over East Timor, and to discuss common regional problems.

The meeting's timing depends on the availability of Indonesia's Foreign Minister, Dr Mochtar, who is in Bangkok.

Mr Hayden hopes to arrange the trip early next month or he might not be able to get away from Australia until June when he plans to visit other ASEAN countries.

According to Jakarta sources the Indonesian Government is also giving favourable consideration to visits to East Timor by an Australian Parliamentary delegation and by more Australian journalists.

But it is understood from Mr Hayden's office that the Parliamentary delegation would only be welcome if it did not regard itself as an "investigative tribunal" which would be politically as offensive in Indonesia as an Indonesian Parliamentary delegation in Australia demanding access to an Aboriginal reserve for the same purpose.

In Canberra Mr Hayden refused to comment on the planned trip,



Dr Mochtar . . . the man Hayden wants to see.

beyond saying that the Indonesians "understood quite well that there is room for a frank exchange of views over the past. We know that there are certain realities to be faced after seven years. Indonesia will not be changing its mind over incorporation, but I think there is room for discussion on related issues."

Mr Hayden said he had several priorities in foreign affairs, including renewed aid to Vietnam. "We have a clear commitment on the resumption of aid, although the matter has yet to be fully aired in

Cabinet. But the commitments there in principle.

But I must stress that resumption is very much a matter of consultation with the ASEAN countries, with the US and with China. We have also to bear in mind that Vietnam's Foreign Minister, Nguyen Co Thach, seeks a meeting with the ASEAN countries plus Laos and Vietnam. That is something we must be careful not to obstruct in any way.

"But Co Thach's suggestion that Canberra might serve as the venue for such a meeting is not on. It's a horse that is not even in the starting stalls.

"However, if projected talks between Vietnam and China leads to a lowering of pressure on Vietnam and loss of support for the Sihanouk coalition on the part of China, we could have a very fluid situation in which it would be a tragedy if a Labor Government refused to seize initiatives.

Mr Hayden rejected criticisms that the new Government wanted ANZUS rewritten. "I want to sit down with the Americans and get a clear definition, a clear interpretation of how they see it.

"In my views ANZUS would apply if there was a superpower threat but not otherwise. In lesser situations the Americans would have to assess their interests, use diplomacy. They would be silly to do anything else.

HAYDEN RESPONDS TO REPORTS

C. TIMES 26/3/83

# 'Vote on Timor Cabinet matter'

By JOHN BRYANT

It would be unreasonable to assume what Australia's vote on the East Timor question at the United Nations would be before next week's Cabinet meeting in Canberra, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Hayden, said yesterday.

Mr Hayden was replying to reports that Australia would change its vote from one supporting Indonesia to one abstaining on the question, which revolves around the legitimacy of Indonesia's incorporation of East Timor.

The East Timor problem was one of a number of foreign-policy matters discussed at the Department of Foreign Affairs since the Labor Government had come into power.

"Distorted" reports had been leaked on a number of matters and he had "put a rocket" through the department yesterday over the leaks.

The first effect in the department was to withdraw the instruction issued earlier this week that

cables should be disseminated to middle-ranking officers.

Mr Hayden confirmed that he would visit Indonesia from approximately April 6 to 9, depending on the schedule of commercial flights. He would not be travelling by RAAF.

The Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, has told foreign correspondents in Canberra that his Government would be "moving to try and place our relations with Indonesia on a friendly and constructive basis."

The ALP's policy was that it "will continue to support United Nations' resolutions which promote the rights of East Timorese".

Mr Hayden said that reports that the East Timorese independence leader, Mr Jose Ramos Horta, had written to him for a visa to visit Australia were incorrect.

The Australian Government was also looking at overall relations with South Africa, in relation to the Labor Government's anti-apartheid policy, according to officials.

The Department of Foreign Affairs is studying transcripts of speeches delivered by the new South African Ambassador, Dr Denis Worrall, in Sydney and Melbourne this week.

In his speeches, copies of which were issued by the embassy to the media, Dr Worrall said Australia's policy towards South Africa was "confrontational, prescriptive and intrusive."

Australia seemed to want "nothing short of black-majority rule" in South Africa, he said.

He spoke of Australia's "less than perfect record in race relations" and its "restrictive immigration policies".

Dr Worrall prefaced his remarks by saying that he wanted to approach the subject of South African-Australian relations warily because there had been a change of government in Australia and the new Prime Minister and Foreign Minister had not expressed themselves in any detail on these matters.



# Govt seeks loophole on East Timor

From JENNI HEWETT

CANBERRA. — Federal Cabinet wants to find a loophole in the ALP's hardline stand on Indonesia's takeover of East Timor, before the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Hayden, visits Indonesia next month.

The ALP policy supporting the right of self-determination for East Timor is a major stumbling block to the express intention of the Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, to establish better relations with Indonesia.

One crucial issue of great concern to the Indonesians will be whether Australia will change its vote of support for Indonesia in the United Nations.

A report in *The Age*, Melbourne, yesterday said that Mr Hayden had told his department that ALP policy obliged the Government to abstain on the resolution on East Timor.

Mr Hawke said in earlier interviews that it was "out of the question" that Australia could move into a position of not having good relations with a country of such significance on its doorstep.

According to *The Age* report, Mr Hayden told departmental officers that the policy did create problems for improved relations but that the objective could be achieved without the unduly subservient attitude of the previous Government towards Indonesia.

Neither Mr Hayden, nor the department, would comment on this aspect yesterday.

Mr Hawke and Mr Hayden have both told the Indonesian Ambassador, Mr Erman Harirustaman, in separate private meetings earlier this month that the ALP policy was an embarrassment and expressed their regret about it.

They said that the Indonesian Cabinet should pay attention to what the Labor Government did over East Timor rather than what the ALP's policy said it would do.

The ALP policy commits the party to continued support for UN resolutions promoting the rights of the East Timorese, condemns and rejects the Australian Government's recognition of the Indonesian annexation and opposes all defence aid until there is a complete withdrawal of troops.

A refusal by the Government to implement this would be certain to provoke strong and public criticism from particularly the left-wing sections of the party.

Another problem area is the ALP's policy commitment demanding that representatives of Fretilin be allowed into Australia. The senior representative of Fretilin,



Mr Hayden . . . needs a way out.

Mr Jose Ramos Horta, has already written to Mr Hayden saying that he planned to apply for a visa for a visit to Australia in May.

Mr Hayden will visit Indonesia from April 6 to April 9 to have talks with President Soeharto and the Foreign Minister, Dr Mochtar.

The Herald's Foreign Editor PETER HASTINGS, writes from Port Moresby: Papua New Guinea officials last night discounted Canberra rumours that Australia will reverse its vote in the UN General Assembly in October and abstain on the anti-Indonesian resolution on East Timor.

At the last UN assembly, PNG and Australia voted in favour of Indonesia.

The resolution calls for a withdrawal of Indonesian troops from East Timor and the plebiscite. In effect it rejects Indonesia's incorporation of East Timor into the republic.

The resolution was nearly defeated in the UN last September following a spirited debate in which Mr Whitlam made a dramatic statement in favour of Indonesia. The resolution now hangs by a thread and Indonesia hopes that at this year's assembly the resolution will be dropped.

If Australia abstains — a tacit vote against Indonesia — the resolution would be up for debate and would undoubtedly place enormous strain on Australian-Indonesian relations. It would also embarrass Australia's neighbours. Currently Vanuatu is the only South Pacific country to vote against Indonesia on the resolution.

Officials here say that PNG would continue to vote in Indonesia's favour but would be severely embarrassed by a change of attitude in Australia.

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'Concentration-camp conditions'

# Thousands of Timorese 'held on island'

From JILL JOLLIFFE, in Lisbon

The first team of Portuguese journalists to visit East Timor since the 1975 Indonesian invasion has reported that thousands of East Timorese are being held in concentration-camp conditions on the offshore island of Atauro.

The program 'Grande Reportagem' made by journalist Rui Araujo also featured an interview with the recently appointed Governor of Timor, Mr Mario Carrascalao, who criticised conditions on Atauro and said there had been problems of food shortages in the territory last year.

The film made a deep impact in Portugal, where the public has had little exposure to direct information about Timor since the Portuguese administration withdrew in August 1975. Its main impact stemmed from the over-riding atmosphere of fear among Timorese who spoke to the Portuguese team. Mr Araujo complained that he was accompanied by Indonesian security police throughout his week-long stay, and many sequences showed a bulky Indonesian official standing behind interviewees with a poorly concealed microphone. Several people interviewed on Atauro constantly looked off-camera before answering questions, which they did with great reluctance.

The Timorese administrator of Atauro, Mr Eugenio Soares, told the reporter that there were 3,000 people "not native to Atauro" on the island.

A Timorese prisoner who was interviewed said he was arrested because members of his family

were still fighting in the mountains. He and another prisoner said they had been held for two years. Groups of children were filmed among the prisoners.

The television team visited the towns of Dili, Aileu, Metinaro and Liquica in the border-to-central zone and Baucau and Ostico in the east, apart from Atauro Island.

In Aileu they filmed mass graves which they were told were the result of Fretilin executions in December, 1975.

They were refused permission to visit the eastern town of Lospalos — where refugees say a "hot war" is still in progress — on the grounds that a helicopter was not available. Mr Araujo was told in an interview with the Indonesian military commander, Colonel Purwanto, that there were only three helicopters in the territory but he counted 10 different military helicopters during their flights around the territory.

The team also was refused permission to visit the Comarca prison in Dili, listed by Amnesty International as a prison in which political detainees are held in degraded and overcrowded conditions.

Governor Carrascalao said that he disagreed with the situation on Atauro. He said the concentration of prisoners there had two objectives: "Military and humanitarian", and that while he agreed with its military objectives he thought it did not meet its "humanitarian" goals because "it leaves a mark on all who pass through it,

including children". He said there was a situation of "neither war nor peace" in Timor, but contended there was liberty, despite some wrongs. He read a statement on the poor food situation in the territory which he said resulted from low rainfall in 1982 and "stressed that all food aid comes only from Jakarta".

The Portuguese team also interviewed the Acting Bishop of Dili, Monsignor Martinho Lopes da Costa, who has earned a reputation as an opponent of the Indonesian occupation. However Monsignor Lopes denied that the Roman Catholic Church was acting as an instrument of passive resistance and said he sought reconciliation with the Indonesian church and was principally concerned with the salvation of the individual.

Outside the Acting Bishop's residence the television team met with a group of protesting Timorese, who included the mother of Fretilin leader Mr Jose Ramos Horta. They said they were denied the right to work because they had refused to take Indonesian nationality, retaining Portuguese citizenship. They made a nervous but dramatic appeal to be allowed to leave for Portugal and criticised the Portuguese Government for abandoning them.

Cabinet is expected to decide this week whether to change Australia's stand on East Timor at the UN from supporting integration with Indonesia.

28/3/83 AGE

# Timor battle still raging: refugees

From JILL JOLLIFFE

LISBON, 27 March. — Heavy fighting between Fretilin rebels and Indonesian troops is continuing around the East Timor town of Lospalos, according to Timor refugees.

The battles prevented a Portuguese television crew from visiting the area for a documentary just shown in Portugal.

The crew was refused permission to visit Lospalos, at the eastern end of the island, on the grounds that there was no helicopter available.

The journalist with the crew, Mr Rui Araujo, said he was told there were only three helicopters in the territory. He counted 10.

The film made a deep impact in Portugal, where the public has had little exposure to direct information about Timor since the Portuguese administration withdrew in August 1975. Its main impact stemmed from the overriding atmosphere of fear among Timorese who spoke to the Portuguese team.

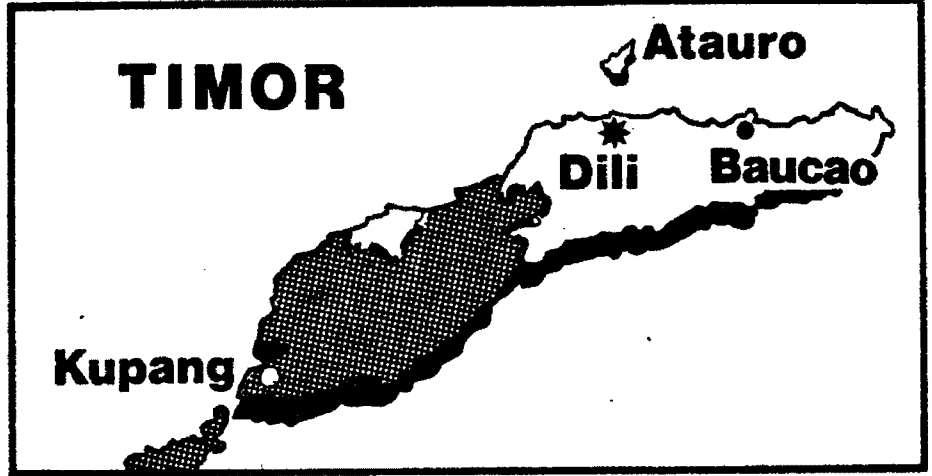
Mr Araujo said he was accompanied by Indonesian security police throughout his week-long stay; many sequences showed a bulky Indonesian official standing behind interviewees with a poorly concealed microphone.

Several people interviewed on Atauro — an island off the capital, Dili, where thousands of political detainees are being held — constantly looked off-camera before answering questions, which they did with great reluctance.

The Timorese administrator of Atauro, Mr Eugenio Soares, told Mr Araujo that there were 3000 people "not native to Atauro" on the island.

A Timorese prisoner who was interviewed said he was arrested because members of his family were still fighting in the mountains. He and another prisoner said they had been held for two years. Groups of children were filmed among the prisoners.

The television team visited the towns of Dili, Aileu, Metinaro and Liquica in the border-to-central zone and Baucao and



Ostico in the east, apart from Ostico Island.

In Aileu they filmed mass graves which they were told were the result of Fretilin executions in December 1975.

Mr Araujo also interviewed Mario Carrascalao, the new Governor of Timor. He criticised certain aspects of Indonesian behavior but asserted that "there is liberty in Timor" and denied the description of Atauro as a prison island. Mr Carrascalao is the first Governor appointed from the formerly pro-Portuguese UDT Party. His two predecessors were from the pro-Indonesian Apodeti Party.

The team was also refused permission to visit the Comarca prison in Dili listed by Amnesty International as a place in which political detainees are held in degraded and overcrowded conditions.

Mr Carrascalao said he disagreed with the situation on Atauro. He said the concentration of prisoners there had two objectives: "military and humanitarian", and that while he agreed with its military objectives he thought it did not meet its "humanitarian" goals because "it leaves a mark on all who pass through it, including children".

The United Nations Secretary-General, Mr Perez de Cuellar, is due in Portugal soon. He will discuss means of implementing standing UN resolutions on East Timorese self-determination.

PAGE 13: Indonesia, the first foreign headache.

# Indonesia, the first foreign headache

IT is much easier to be principled in opposition. The new Government is uncomfortably aware of that as it contemplates the policy the party has hung around its neck on relations with Indonesia.

The tough resolution on Timor approved by the ALP national conference last July is dramatically opposed to the demands of real politik.

It will be the first test of Labor's foreign policy — and an extremely difficult one — and it is almost certain to be the Government's first exercise in wriggling out of the demands made by the party's supreme policy-making body which are, in theory, supposed to be binding.

What is at stake is the future relationship between Australia and one of its most important neighbors. What has to be risked is a row with that section of the party which regards the Timor policy as a test of ALP good faith.

Between now and when the Foreign Minister, Mr. Hayden, goes to Jakarta in nine days, the Labor Government must decide, at least in a preliminary way, how far it will compromise on the impossible position into which the national conference resolution has placed it. Cabinet's foreign affairs committee discussed the meeting last week, and Cabinet is due to consider the matter tomorrow.

Under the long conference resolution, the ALP is committed to:

- Recognise the "inalienable right of the East Timorese to self-determination and independence" and reject the Fraser Government's recognition of the Indonesian annexation.
- Oppose all defence aid to Indonesia until there is complete withdrawal of Indonesian occupation forces from East Timor.
- Support the principle of free migration of East Timorese, including refugees, especially to Australia.
- Support United Nations resolutions which promote the rights of East Timorese.
- Support the entry of Fretilin representatives into Australia.
- Press for free access to East Timor for the Australian news media and for a parliamentary delegation to visit East Timor on a fact-finding mission.

Although this was a resolution of conference rather than a part of the platform, it has the same force as platform. It is widely recognised within the Government, however, that key sections of the policy are untenable as they stand.

Not surprisingly, there is an extraordinary amount of sensitivity in Government circles, especially since Ian Davis of this newspaper reported that Mr Hayden had signalled to his department that the Government was likely to abstain on the UN vote. Ten days ago, Mr Hawke fudged the Timor issue at a Press conference for the foreign Press. An incoming Government could not "command the Australian people to forget what's happened", he said. "What we have to try and do is to recognise what's happened and in our rela-

tions with Indonesia try and move to a position where we can have relations which they will respect and that we will respect." He said he hoped to visit Indonesia later in the year.

The conference policy cannot be formally changed until the next conference in 1984. Neither can it be implemented as is, because the cost would be too high.

The Fraser Government gave de facto recognition to the incorporation of East Timor early in 1977 and de jure recognition in 1978. Any attempt to retreat from that position would cause a sharp deterioration in relations with Indonesia.

The Fraser Government also changed from abstaining on the pro-Timor resolution in the UN to supporting Indonesia. If Labor followed its policy, it would have to vote against Indonesia. Mr Hayden's discussions with the department indicate he is already setting a middle course.

In the last Budget, there was \$10 million military aid for Indonesia. Presumably, a possible compromise could be to cut military aid but compensate by increasing non-military aid.

Before the election, Mr Hayden admitted "I would be less than honest if I pretended that the (policy) 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 am sure there are ways to solve any differences. Unlike many 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."

Last week, he said that the Indonesians understood "quite well that there is room for a frank exchange of views over the past. We know there are certain realities to be faced after seven years. Indonesia will not be changing its mind over incorporation, but I think there is room for discussion on related issues."

The first challenge to implement policy comes in a letter to Mr Hayden from the unofficial Fretilin representative at the United Nations, Mr Jose Ramos Horta, who has given notice that he intends to apply for a tourist visa.

Mr Horta says: "I have been barred from entering Australia by the Government of Mr Malcolm Fraser. I would like to visit Australia in the near future to discuss with my many friends in the ALP, trade unions, universities, media, &c., the problem of East Timor."

In their desire to minimise problems with Indonesia, neither Mr Hayden nor the Foreign Affairs Department will be enthusiastic about having Mr Horta in Australia to give fresh impetus to the debate.

But Mr Hayden is on record attacking the Fraser Government for excluding him when he ap-

plied last August to enter to address a Senate inquiry. Mr Hayden then said the Government was making a "humiliating concession to exaggerated Indonesian sensibilities".

The Labor Government will have little option but to allow Mr Horta in, unless it wants to buy real trouble within the party.

How difficult it will be to put aside or heavily compromise the harsher aspects of the Timor policy will depend on the reaction of groups within the party, notably the Left in general and the Timor lobby, and whether pro-Timor activists can mobilise public opinion.

One Left-wing member of the Ministry, Senator Getzelt, said yesterday: "The Labor Party policies are laid down by conference — I see no reason at this stage why these policies have to be changed. I see no sign of any attempt to change the Timor policy."

But the Left is aware it cannot fight every issue and must pick its targets: a number of its members appear to accept there will be a modification in practice of the Timor policy. For the Left as an entity, the Timor issue could be less important than, for example, the resumption of aid to Vietnam or Middle East policy.

The Timor lobby, including backbenchers Mr Fry (ACT) and Senator McIntosh (WA) is likely to make a good deal of noise.

Both the Left in general and the party's Timor lobby will be put under pressure by reports — such as that from the first team of Portuguese journalists to visit East Timor since the invasion — which say thousands of East Timorese are being held in concentration camp conditions on the off-shore island of Atauro.

The Indonesian issue will provide the opportunity for Mr Hayden to show his paces as Foreign Minister.

In his portfolios under the Whitlam Government, Mr Hayden tended to reign supreme, first as Social Security Minister and even as Treasurer. This time, he has to share his area with a Prime Minister for whom he has no great love — unless Mr Hawke abandons the practice of both Mr Fraser and Mr Whitlam in taking a high profile on foreign affairs, which is unlikely, and works out some demarcation.

What Mr Hayden now must do about Labor's policy on Indonesia is somewhat at odds with his own Left-liberal approach on human rights issues. He has already jumped in to condemn the Philippines Government over the trial of the Australian missionary, Father Gore.

But he and the Government recognise that future policy on Indonesia cannot deny the realities of history and the concessions Australia has already made on Timor — and that it would be counter-productive to try to do so, simply worsening our relations with Indonesia and making things more difficult with ASEAN, which is already uneasy about the proposal to resume aid to Vietnam.

The new Government is faced with the recurring dilemma in Australian-Indonesian relations: how to achieve a satisfactory relationship with a Government whose political values and sensitivities make it totally unable and unwilling to comprehend the strong feelings that the invasion of Timor aroused in Australia.

# 'Arms aid' under review

By GARY O'NEILL

**CANBERRA. — The Defence Minister, Mr Scholes, has ordered a review of all Australia's international military aid commitments.**

However there has been no decision to cancel or curtail any of the major aid projects.

Australia's military aid is targetted heavily towards the ASEAN countries, Indonesia, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and Malaysia and consists mainly of providing training facilities, the forward air base at Butterworth and the occasional gift of military hardware.

But the question of continued military aid, particularly to Indonesia, is one which is likely to be raised during the visit there next week by the new Foreign Minister, Mr Hayden.

The main controversy surrounding the Labor

Party's policy towards Indonesia centres on the rights of the East Timorese to self determination and a rejection of the Indonesian annexation of the island. The Labor Party's platform, confirmed at last year's national conference, commits a Labor government to oppose all defence aid to Indonesia until there is a complete withdrawal of Indonesian occupation forces from East Timor.

This year Australia will spend more than \$10 million in military aid to Indonesia covering a wide cross section of projects. Australia will provide helicopters and a patrol boat, and develop an engineering maintenance service for the 18 Nomad patrol aircraft which Australia has given Indonesia during the past eight years.

There will also be training in Australia of more than 60 Indonesian military personnel bringing the total number of service personnel involved in the project to more than 1200.

Australia also provides extensive aerial mapping and surveying for the Indonesian armed forces and at present is concentrated in the troubled Irian Jaya province.

There will also be continued technological and communications assistance and an English language program for international airline traffic.

At this stage Mr Scholes plans to continue military aid projects to the country.

A spokesman for Mr Scholes said today the question of cancelling the aid had not been raised.

But the whole of the party's policy on East Timor is likely to provide some awkward moments for Mr Hayden during his talks next week.

Cabinet is expected to decide today what views Mr Hayden should put to the Indonesians next week notwithstanding the strict directions laid down in the party's policy documents.

# Chinks in the armor of Hawke's defence policy

IT IS one thing to be an acknowledged master in the field of public relations. It is an entirely different matter to govern a country.

The latter involves clear-cut and coherent objectives and sufficient supervision of detail to ensure that neither ministers nor bureaucrats destroy the objectives by pursuing conflicting policies.

No one pretends that defence and foreign policies are of such concern to Australians that the Hawke Government will be judged by its performance in these fields. Yet these are the fields in which the policy of the administration has already begun to unwind.

Hawke's chosen style in forming his Government was to sustain the image of continuity with the main themes of Australian foreign policy which — with the exception of Vietnam and despite many pressures from the Labor left — have remained undisturbed under every administration since the days of Curtin, Chifley and Menzies.

In particular, Mr Hawke stressed that Australia's obligations under ANZUS would be observed, that the American connection would be maintained and would be emphasised by his forthcoming meeting with President Reagan, while the closest relationships would be pursued with Indonesia.

In attaching himself to these policies, Mr Hawke diminished some of the disquiet occasioned by the quite contrary policies pursued over the years, with frenetic anti-American and anti-Indonesian zeal, by the Labor left. When Mr Hawke largely excluded the left from Cabinet and ministry, there was reason to believe that the announced policies were the real policies.

There is no similarity whatsoever between Mr Hawke's main themes and the detailed policies since announced by some of his senior ministers including Mr Hayden (foreign

## Politics

A personal viewpoint  
**B.A. SANTAMARIA**

affairs) and Mr Scholes (defence).

These comprise:

**THE** decision to reduce the navy to little more than a force to police territorial waters, by phasing out its carrier component and obviously preparing to dispose of its fixed-wing flying capability. When it was announced that carriers would become a thing of the past, it was said that reliance would be placed on submarines, patrol craft and airpower.

Now "for reasons of economy", it is forecast that the submarine force will face a 50 per cent cut in its fuel allocation, and that some RAAF units will face similar cuts.

**THE** discussion to seek a nuclear-free zone in the South Pacific and, by logical consequence, the Indian Ocean.

## Ensuring ultimate isolation

**THE** decision (if it is one) to resume economic aid to the Hanoi Government. This, despite its record of internal proscription of political opponents, and its continuing aggression in Cambodia. The specious pretext that Australian aid will diminish Hanoi's dependence on the Soviet Union faces the fact that the USSR finances Hanoi at the rate of between \$4 million and \$6 million a day.

**THE** decision to "distance" Australia from the coalition headed by Sihanouk in Cambodia, because it includes the horrifying Pol Pot.

**THE** decision to alter our vote in the UN on the question of

Timor, from one which accepts the Indonesian occupation, to one of abstention.

The first decision deprives the Australian forces not only of any operational capability but of any rational purpose.

During the past three years expenditure on health, social security and welfare has grown from \$10,000 million to \$20,000 million. If defence is the only area to bear the brunt of the Government's economies, we might as well shut up the whole shop. What remains not only lacks any capability to participate with the US in the joint defence of the Indian and Pacific oceans — the responsibility of today — it could do nothing to defend Australian shores, the problem of tomorrow.

The second decision invites the US to remove its nuclear cover of the Middle East oilfields leaving the Soviet with overwhelming conventional superiority to occupy them at will.

The decision on aid to Vietnam is not only an absurd over-estimation of Australia's influence, it conflicts with the policies of Peking, ASEAN and Washington. To send aid to Vietnam is doubly mischievous at a moment after the Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister, Kapitsa, has assured ASEAN that he is bringing pressure to bear on Hanoi over its occupation of Cambodia.

The fourth decision, once again antagonises Jakarta by re-opening the old sore over East Timor.

The cost of pandering to the Labor left in the field of foreign policy is to ensure the ultimate isolation of Australia.

They tell the story of the president of a minuscule Central American republic who, having unwisely over-indulged in Mexican tequila, declared war on the US, NATO, the Soviet Union and China in quick succession. Mr Hawke's two ministers appear to have equalled his performance without his excuse.

AUSTIN 29/3/83

MARCH 29, 1983

# Indonesian human-rights group reports political disappearances

JAKARTA, Monday (AAP-APF). — A belated report by an Indonesian human-rights group which has popped up without notice in bookstores in Jakarta mentions for the first time "political disappearances" in the country.

The report by the Legal Aid Institute also mentions openly for the first time the question of East Timor, urging Jakarta to respect human rights in the former Portu-

guese colony, annexed by Indonesia in 1975.

The institute's 220-page report for 1981, which came out a year late, says Indonesia suffers from political repression, a lack of social justice, infringement of universal liberties, a muzzled Press and worker exploitation.

The book by the 12-year-old institute, comprised of about 10 intellectuals and Indonesia's principal human-rights group, appeared

without publicity on bookshelves just a few days after President Suharto's re-election early this month.

It was put out in Indonesian by the Sinar Harapan (Ray of Hope) publishing house, the only editor to dare handle the report which its authors say is in danger of being banned. An English-language edition may follow, the institute said.

The report, the third and most comprehensive evaluation of hu-

man rights in Indonesia, backs up its accusations with a more than 50-page chronology of alleged violations in 1981.

It does not specify how many people vanished for political reasons but speaks of "political disappearances" after the March, 1981, hijacking of a Garuda Airlines DC9 in Bangkok by five young Moslem extremists.

The hijackers, the aircraft's pilot and an army officer had been killed

during an attack on the hijacked aircraft. A wave of arrests followed and legal proceedings are still under way.

Mr Imran Mohammad Zain, leader of the radical band the hijackers belonged to, had been condemned to death and the institute estimated that at least 400 Moslems from various groups had been detained.

"We appear to be facing a new form of judgment, political disap-

pearances," the institute said. "We are in danger of going from that to political murder."

The institute protested also against what it called the arbitrary detention of Moslem separatists in Aceh, north Sumatra, and Irian Jaya, the former Dutch colony integrated into Indonesia in 1963. It said the prisoners "must be able to be judged and freed if their guilt cannot be proved".

# E. Timor policy in limbo

The Government's East Timor policy will remain publicly in limbo, at least until the visit by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Hayden, to Indonesia next week.

The Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, made this clear at a Canberra press conference yesterday.

Mr Hayden leaves on April 6 for a three-day visit to Jakarta, billed as a first step in attempting to improve relations between Indonesia and Australia.

The ALP policy, supporting the right of self-determination for East Timor, is seen as a major stumbling block to that intention.

Mr Hawke, when asked yesterday if the policy would be modified, replied, "I don't want to say anything which is going to make the visit by Mr Hayden to Indonesia any more complex than it obviously will be."

Under a resolution passed at the Labor Party national conference last July, the Labor Government is committed to:

Recognise the "inalienable right of the East Timorese to self-determination and independence".

Oppose all defence aid to Indonesia until there is complete withdrawal of Indonesian oc-

cupation forces from East Timor.

Support the principle of free migration of East Timorese.

Support United Nations resolutions which promote the rights of East Timorese.

Support the entry of Fretilin representatives into Australia.

Press for free access to East Timor for the Australian news media and for a parliamentary delegation.

The Australian Council for Overseas Aid called on the Government yesterday to stand firm on the central aspects of its policy on East Timor in order to establish a gradual and durable future relationship with Indonesia.

C. TIMOR

29/3/83



# Hawke will not be drawn on Timor

29/3/83  
AGE

From MICHELLE GRATTAN

CANBERRA. — The Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, yesterday refused to say whether his Government would implement or modify the Labor Party's policy on East Timor.

Mr Hawke said he did not want to say anything that would make the visit to Indonesia by the Foreign Minister, Mr Hayden, next week "any more complex than it obviously will be".

"It would be totally irresponsible of me in terms of the interests of this country if I were to make any statement now which could make more difficult the delicate task which Mr Hayden has in front of him," Mr Hawke told a Press conference in response to questions about how the Timor policy now stood.

Government sources said Cabinet was expected today to discuss the views which Mr Hayden would put during his trip to Jakarta.

The party's policy, laid down by the national conference last July, commits the ALP, among other things, to:

- Recognise the "inalienable right of the East Timorese to self-determination and independence" and reject the Fraser Government's recognition of the Indonesian annexation.

- Oppose all defence aid to Indonesia until there is complete withdrawal of Indonesian occupation forces from East Timor.
- Support United Nations resolutions which promote the rights of East Timorese.

The Government recognises that the policy would badly strain relations with Indonesia if implemented in its present form and is trying to find some compromise.

Mr Hawke said it would be "premature" to answer the question of whether the policy would be fully implemented or whether it needed some modification in practice.

He said the Federal Government would not make up its mind on which way to vote in the United Nations before the Hayden visit to Indonesia.

"The vote in the United Nations can't be taken before about October. It would be a very ridiculous Government which made a decision before 6 April (when Mr Hayden's visit starts) in terms of the vote it was going to take in October."

The Australian Government has supported Indonesia in the UN vote. Last week Mr Hayden signalled to his department that the Labor Government was likely to abstain when the matter came up again, although the decision rests with Cabinet.

# Hawke side-steps Timor questions

A.F.R.  
29/3/83

By GREGORY HYWOOD

THE Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, yesterday backed away from any implementation of the ALP's tough policy on the right of East Timorese self-determination.

Asked yesterday if the Timor policy as laid down in the Labor Party's platform would be fully implemented or needed modification, Mr Hawke refused to commit either himself or his Government.

"I think it's premature to answer that question," Mr Hawke said.

"I don't want to say anything which is going to make the visit of Mr Hayden (Foreign Affairs Minister) to Indonesia any more complex than it already is," he said.

What to do about the Timor policy has become the Labor Government's first foreign affairs headache.

Party policy calls for the "unalienable right of the East Timorese to self determination," opposes defence aid to Indonesia until there is a complete withdrawal of Indonesian occupation forces, and supports the United Nations resolutions which promote the rights of the East Timorese.

Yet there is a recognition within the Government that the policy is unattainable without severely damaging relations with Indonesia.

This emphasises the sensitivity of Mr Hayden's visit to

Jakarta from April 6 to 9. Mr Hayden acted on another sensitive front yesterday when he called in the South African Ambassador, Dr Worrell, to the Department of Foreign Affairs to complain about the contents of a speech the ambassador delivered in Sydney on March 22.

Mr Hayden said yesterday it was not appropriate that foreign diplomatic representatives criticise the policies of the Australian Government and had Mr Ray Greet, a senior officer of his department, deliver this message to Dr Worrall.

Last Tuesday, Dr Worrall told an Apex meeting in Sydney that Australia's policy towards South Africa was "confrontationist, prescriptive and intrusive."

He said Australia seemed to want nothing short of black majority rule in South Africa.

But Mr Hayden's more immediate concern is Indonesia and yesterday's formal announcement of his trip to Jakarta indicates the Government's priority.

Mr Hawke also left open Australia's vote in the United Nations over East Timor.

# Hawke blasts Foreign Affairs

EXCLUSIVE

By IAN PERKIN and WIO JOUSTRA

THE Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, yesterday accused sections of the Foreign Affairs Department of having no concern for Australia's welfare and warned he would crack down on leaks from the Public Service.

He said the Government was prepared to take strong disciplinary action against the bureaucrats involved, if it could identify them.

The unprecedented attack surfaced in an exclusive interview with *The Australian*, on the eve of an important visit to Indonesia by the Foreign Minister, Mr Hayden.

The leaks - suggesting that Australia might change its vote on the East Timor

issue in the United Nations and thereby implicitly criticising Indonesia - are seen as endangering relations with our nearest neighbor.

Mr Hawke tried to defuse the issue by suggesting that no decision had yet been made on the vote.

The Prime Minister said both he and Mr Hayden were seriously concerned and annoyed "about the incapacity of sections of the Foreign Affairs Department not to act like a sieve".

"It is a very serious reflection on the integrity of some people in that department," Mr Hawke said.

"They obviously have no concern about the welfare of this country. If we were able to identify the people re-

sponsible they would have reason to be concerned."

The leaks, apparently from departmental sources, had quoted Mr Hayden as saying Australia would change its vote from support of Indonesia over East Timor to abstention - which amounts to a tacit vote against Indonesia.

The report has severely embarrassed the Government and Mr Hawke, who has stated publicly that he will be seeking better relations with Indonesia, just before Mr Hayden's official visit next week.

Mr Hayden effectively denied the report last week saying the decision was a matter for the Cabinet to decide and that the Cabinet

had not yet discussed the issue.

Yesterday, Mr Hawke told a press conference in Canberra that the UN vote was not until October and "it would be a ridiculous government that would make a decision now".

It was an obvious attempt by the Prime Minister to defuse an issue which is a potential source of great future tension.

Mr Hawke refused further comment on the report saying he did not want to make "the delicate task Mr Hayden has in front of him any more complex".

Earlier, Mr Hawke had told *The Australian* he was "not hassled about the present situation, and Mr Hayden and I find ourselves at one on the sorts of considerations that are relevant".

"I believe the visit Mr Hayden will make to Indonesia next week will be productive," he said.

Asked about both the East Timor issue and the ALP's commitment to restore aid to Vietnam, Mr Hawke said the Government would "reach a position which is in the best interest of Australia, the countries immediately concerned, our ASEAN friends and the United States."

He faces a major revolt from the left wing of his party if he moves away from the ALP's foreign policy platform supporting the rights of self-determination for East Timor.

Implementing this policy involves reversing the recognition of Indonesia's annexation of the former-Portuguese colony, support for UN resolutions promoting the rights of the East Timorese and opposing all defence aid to Indonesia until it withdraws its troops from East Timor.

The UN resolution at the centre of the controversy calls for such a withdrawal and a plebiscite, effectively rejecting Indonesia's incorporation of East Timor.

The previous government supported Indonesia in the UN, as it was one of the few western governments giving de jure recognition to the incorporation.

Through extensive diplomatic campaigning Indonesia has been able to considerably reduce the gap between the nations in favour of self-determination for East Timor and those against.

Jakarta hopes the resolution will be dropped or defeated at this year's assembly

## Hawke side-steps Timor questions

A.F.R

29/3/83

By GREGORY HYWOOD

THE Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, yesterday backed away from any implementation of the ALP's tough policy on the right of East Timorese self-determination.

Asked yesterday if the Timor policy as laid down in the Labor Party's platform would be fully implemented or needed modification, Mr Hawke refused to commit either himself or his Government.

"I think it's premature to answer that question," Mr Hawke said.

"I don't want to say anything which is going to make the visit of Mr Hayden (Foreign Affairs Minister) to Indonesia any more complex than it already is," he said.

What to do about the Timor policy has become the Labor Government's first foreign affairs headache.

Party policy calls for the "unalienable right of the East Timorese to self determination," opposes defence aid to Indonesia until there is a complete withdrawal of Indonesian occupation forces, and supports the United Nations resolutions which promote the rights of the East Timorese.

Yet there is a recognition within the Government that the policy is unattainable without severely damaging relations with Indonesia.

This emphasises the sensitivity of Mr Hayden's visit to

Jakarta from April 6 to 9. Mr Hayden acted on another sensitive front yesterday when he called in the South African Ambassador, Dr Worrell, to the Department of Foreign Affairs to complain about the contents of a speech the ambassador delivered in Sydney on March 22.

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# Chinks in the armor of Hawke's defence policy

IT IS one thing to be an acknowledged master in the field of public relations. It is an entirely different matter to govern a country.

The latter involves clear-cut and coherent objectives and sufficient supervision of detail to ensure that neither ministers nor bureaucrats destroy the objectives by pursuing conflicting policies.

No one pretends that defence and foreign policies are of such concern to Australians that the Hawke Government will be judged by its performance in these fields. Yet these are the fields in which the policy of the administration has already begun to unwind.

Hawke's chosen style in forming his Government was to sustain the image of continuity with the main themes of Australian foreign policy which — with the exception of Vietnam and despite many pressures from the Labor left — have remained undisturbed under every administration since the days of Curtin, Chifley and Menzies.

In particular, Mr Hawke stressed that Australia's obligations under ANZUS would be observed, that the American connection would be maintained and would be emphasised by his forthcoming meeting with President Reagan, while the closest relationships would be pursued with Indonesia.

In attaching himself to these policies, Mr Hawke diminished some of the disquiet occasioned by the quite contrary policies pursued over the years, with frenetic anti-American and anti-Indonesian zeal, by the Labor left. When Mr Hawke largely excluded the left from Cabinet and ministry, there was reason to believe that the announced policies were the real policies.

There is no similarity whatsoever between Mr Hawke's main themes and the detailed policies since announced by some of his senior ministers including Mr Hayden (foreign

## Politics

**A personal viewpoint  
B.A. SANTAMARIA**

affairs) and Mr Scholes (defence).

These comprise:

**THE** decision to reduce the navy to little more than a force to police territorial waters, by phasing out its carrier component and obviously preparing to dispose of its fixed-wing flying capability. When it was announced that carriers would become a thing of the past, it was said that reliance would be placed on submarines, patrol craft and air-power.

Now "for reasons of economy", it is forecast that the submarine force will face a 50 per cent cut in its fuel allocation, and that some RAAF units will face similar cuts.

**THE** discussion to seek a nuclear-free zone in the South Pacific and, by logical consequence, the Indian Ocean.

## Ensuring ultimate isolation

**THE** decision (if it is one) to resume economic aid to the Hanoi Government. This, despite its record of internal proscription of political opponents, and its continuing aggression in Cambodia. The specious pretext that Australian aid will diminish Hanoi's dependence on the Soviet Union faces the fact that the USSR finances Hanoi at the rate of between \$4 million and \$6 million a day.

**THE** decision to "distance" Australia from the coalition headed by Sihanouk in Cambodia, because it includes the horrifying Pol Pot.

**THE** decision to alter our vote in the UN on the question of

Timor, from one which accepts the Indonesian occupation, to one of abstention.

The first decision deprives the Australian forces not only of any operational capability but of any rational purpose.

During the past three years expenditure on health, social security and welfare has grown from \$10,000 million to \$20,000 million. If defence is the only area to bear the brunt of the Government's economies, we might as well shut up the whole shop. What remains not only lacks any capability to participate with the US in the joint defence of the Indian and Pacific oceans — the responsibility of today — it could do nothing to defend Australian shores, the problem of tomorrow.

The second decision invites the US to remove its nuclear cover of the Middle East oil-fields leaving the Soviet with overwhelming conventional superiority to occupy them at will.

The decision on aid to Vietnam is not only an absurd over-estimation of Australia's influence, it conflicts with the policies of Peking, ASEAN and Washington. To send aid to Vietnam is doubly mischievous at a moment after the Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister, Kapitsa, has assured ASEAN that he is bringing pressure to bear on Hanoi over its occupation of Cambodia.

The fourth decision, once again antagonises Jakarta by re-opening the old sore over East Timor.

The cost of pandering to the Labor left in the field of foreign policy is to ensure the ultimate isolation of Australia.

They tell the story of the president of a minuscule Central American republic who, having unwisely over-indulged in Mexican tequila, declared war on the US, NATO, the Soviet Union and China in quick succession. Mr Hawke's two ministers appear to have equalled his performance without his excuse.

# East Timor policy — no change yet

CANBERRA.— Australia's policy on East Timor will not be changed before the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Hayden, leaves for Indonesia next week.

The Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, said yesterday Mr Hayden faced a "delicate" task and said nothing would be done to make his visit to Jakarta more difficult.

Mr Hawke refused to be drawn on either the possibility of a change in Labor's policy on East Timor, or a change in Australia's vote in the United Nations.

Mr Hayden will visit Jakarta between April 6 and 9 at the invitation of the Indonesian Foreign Minister, Dr Mochtar.

The East Timor issue will figure high on the agenda during discussions.

According to Labor policy, Australia should support United Nations resolutions

which promote the rights of East Timorese.

Under the Liberals; Australia voted to support Indonesia in the UN.

Mr Hawke said yesterday it was premature to answer questions about whether the ALP's policy would be fully implemented.

"I don't want to say anything which is going to make the visit of Mr Hayden to Indonesia any more complex than it obviously will be," he said.

Mr Hawke said it would be "totally irresponsible" of him if he were to comment on a question asking whether ALP policy required a change in the UN vote.

Mr Hawke said Mr Hayden had a delicate task before him.

He said he and Mr Hayden had discussed the issue amicably and were on common ground.

HOBART MERCURY  
29/3/83

P 5

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HOBART Mercury  
29/3/83 P 5

# FA leaks anger Hawke

The Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, has followed the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Hayden, who said last week he had "put a rocket through" the Department of Foreign Affairs over leaks, particularly on the sensitive issue of East Timor.

Mr Hawke attacked sections of the department yesterday over the leaks and warned that strong disciplinary action would be taken against any officer identified as being involved.

He accused some public servants of having no concern for Australia's welfare.

The leak on East Timor suggested that Australia would change its vote at the United Nations from one agreeing to Indonesia's incorporation of East Timor to one of abstention on the issue, which would be regarded by Indonesia as unfriendly.

Mr Hawke has said he is pursuing better relations with Indonesia. He said no decision on Aus-

tralia's vote would be taken until closer to October when the UN vote was due.

He and Mr Hayden were seriously concerned and annoyed about "the incapacity of sections of the Foreign Affairs Department not to act like a sieve".

He questioned the integrity of those involved in the leaks.

Mr Hayden is due to leave for Indonesia on April 6 in an effort to improve relations between Indonesia and Australia.

SMH 30/3/83

# IN BRIEF

## Human rights

JAKARTA, Tuesday. — Indonesia's leading human rights organisation, Indonesian Legal Aid Institute, has expressed concern at what it calls political disappearances and attacked President Soeharto's government for creating a "climate of fear" in journalism and academic life. In a report just published it said about 400 political suspects had gone missing after the hijacking by Moslem extremists of an Indonesian airliner to Bangkok in March, 1981. — Reuter.

## Afghan talks

MOSCOW, Tuesday. — The Soviet leader, Mr Andropov, has indicated in talks with the UN Secretary-General, Mr Perez de Cuellar, that he supports UN efforts to resolve the Afghan problem, a UN spokesman said. However, no significant change is expected in Kremlin policy. — AAP-Reuter.

## Timor visit

LISBON, Tuesday. — For the first time since the Indonesian invasion in 1976, a Portuguese television crew has been allowed into East Timor. The Timorese interviewed appeared anxious and afraid while the crew were under surveillance during their week-long stay, with officials planning their itinerary and accompanying them. — The Times.



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# Indon group attacks Suharto on human rights

AGE  
30/3/83

JAKARTA, 29 March. — Indonesia's leading human rights organisation has expressed concern at what it calls political disappearances and attacked President Suharto's New Order Government for creating a "climate of fear" in journalism and academic life.

The criticisms came in an unprecedentedly outspoken 220-page report entitled 'Human Rights in Indonesia in 1981', put out this week by Jakarta's Sinar Harapan publishing house.

The report, by the influential, privately funded Indonesian Legal Aid Institute, makes the first public mention of disappearances here and says the institute is "deeply concerned at political disappearances which may lead to political murders".

It says the institute started noticing that political suspects had gone missing after the hijacking by Moslem extremists of an Indonesian airliner to Bangkok in March 1981.

"Seen from the human rights angle, these disappearances are very distressing. It is as if we are being faced with a new kind of punishment," the report says.

It gives no figures for people alleged to have disappeared but it does accuse the Government of secretly arresting some 400 Moslem leaders in Java, Sumatra, Sulawesi and Mataram Islands.

"The exact numbers are not known but it may be more than 400. We are having difficulties in collecting data because these people are being held in scattered places," it says.

The report, which also mentions political detainees in connection with secessionist movements in Aceh, North Sumatra and Irian Jaya, adds: "People

should only be detained under due process of law. Arbitrary and limitless detentions must stop. It is the Government's duty to bring people to court and free them if not proven guilty."

In an attack on lack of Press and academic freedom, the institute's chairman, Adnan Buyung Nasution, says in a foreword that in Indonesia "a climate of fear and self-censorship is the order of the day".

Mr Nasution, a leading Jakarta lawyer, was himself a political detainee in the mid-1970s.

The institute says Government officials have launched a continuous censorship campaign by telephone calls to editors warn them not to print certain stories.

"The culture of silence is spreading. Even if there are people daring enough to speak clearly, without resorting to euphemisms, they may not find the news media ready to quote them," it says.

In academic life, the report says "even scientific meetings have to be approved by the police and plain-clothes Government agents watch them. Security officials can directly or indirectly cancel the meetings or scratch out the names of speakers."

The campus newspaper of the State University of Indonesia was banned in 1981 by then Education Minister, Daud Yusuf, it noted.

Informed sources said Mr Nasution delivered a copy of the report to the Justice Minister, Major-General Ali Said, on Saturday.

They said he told the Minister he hoped the Government would take it as positive criticism as the Legal Aid Institute's sole aim was to ensure the rule of law in Indonesia.

—AAP-Reuter.

# Don't change Timor policy, Indons urge

CANBERRA. — The Indonesian Government is "hopeful there will be no change" in the Australian Government attitude towards East Timor and the Australian vote on the issue in the United Nations.

In an interview with 'The Age' yesterday the Press and information counsellor of the Indonesian Embassy in Canberra, Mr Isslamet Poernomo, said his Government hoped Australia would continue the policy towards East Timor which the Fraser Government had pursued. Indonesia hoped Australia would continue to support its efforts to have discussion of East Timor removed from the United Nations agenda.

The comments come less than a week before the departure of the Foreign Minister, Mr Hayden, for two days of talks with senior Indonesian politicians, including President Suharto, and the Foreign Minister, Dr Mochtar.

It also follows several days of controversy after 'The Age' reported that Mr Hayden had told officials of his department that ALP policy would oblige Australia to abstain on the UN vote later this year.

Such action would both antagonise the Indonesians, with whom both Mr Hayden and Mr Hawke have said they are anxious to improve relations and also create problems within the Labor Party.

The ALP platform which is supposed to be binding on the parliamentary party, said "the ALP will continue to support UN resolutions which promote the rights of East Timorese."

Mr Poernomo said his Government hoped the new Labor Government "will pursue a bi-partisan policy" on the question of East Timor and Indonesia. He said the Indonesian Government regarded East Timor as "a domestic problem", which should not be discussed by the United Nations.

Australia first voted in 1977 to support Indonesia's efforts to have the matter removed from the UN agenda.

• Mr Hayden will visit Papua New Guinea for two days on his way back from Indonesia. He said he would talk to the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Trade, Mr Namaliu. Topics will include the PNG Government's request that Australian aid not be cut.

NNNN YHK389 31-0745 YHN33B

HAYDEN 3 JAKARTA:

MR HAWKE WOULD HAVE A BIG PROBLEM EXPLAINING TO LABOUR LEFT-WINGERS WHY PARTY POLICY WAS NOT BEING IMPLEMENTED.

BUT HE HAS ALREADY GIVEN REASONS WHY AUSTRALIA AND INDONESIA SHOULD STAY FRIENDLY, SAYING: +IT IS JUST OUT OF THE QUESTION THAT AUSTRALIA CAN MOVE INTO A POSITION OF NOT HAVING GOOD RELATIONS WITH A COUNTRY ON ITS DOORSTEP, A COUNTRY OF VAST POPULATION, ECONOMICALLY SIGNIFICANT, STRATEGICALLY SIGNIFICANT.+

MR HAYDEN HAS MADE CLEAR THAT HE WILL NOT SHY AWAY FROM THORNY ISSUES DURING HIS VISIT AND WILL RAISE THE ISSUE OF THE DEATHS OF SIX AUSTRALIAN JOURNALISTS, ALLEGED TO HAVE BEEN SHOT IN EAST TIMOR BY INDONESIAN TROOPS IN 1975.

AN INDONESIAN OFFICIAL SOURCE SAID JAKARTA WOULD BE LOOKING FOR A CLEAR STATEMENT FROM MR HAYDEN, WHO ARRIVES ON WEDNESDAY, ABOUT HIS GOVERNMENT'S INTENTIONS.

+WE REGARD HIS STATEMENT ON THE MISSING JOURNALISTS AS BEING FOR DOMESTIC CONSUMPTION AND ON ITS OWN THE ISSUE WILL NOT HARM RELATIONS.+ THE SOURCE SAID.

+HOWEVER, ANY CHANGE IN AUSTRALIA'S VOTING ON TIMOR IS ANOTHER MATTER, THAT WOULD DEFINITELY HARM RELATIONS AND HE SHALL BE LOOKING FOR A CLEAR, UNAMBIGUOUS STATEMENT OF MR HAWKE'S INTENTIONS ON THIS MATTER.+

REUTER BT/PMG/PAE

NNNN YHK392 31-0750 YHN34D

HAYDEN 4 JAKARTA:

AUSTRALIAN SOURCES SAID MR HAYDEN, WHO IS DUE TO MEET PRESIDENT SUHARTO AS WELL AS FOREIGN MINISTER MOCHTAR KUSUMAATMADJA, WOULD PROBABLY PROPOSE A PACKAGE OF MEASURES AIMED AT ALLOWING MR HAWKE A FACE-SAVING WAY OF MODIFYING HIS PARTY'S TIMOR POLICY.

THE PACKAGE MIGHT INCLUDE A SUGGESTION THAT JAKARTA SHOULD ALLOW AN AUSTRALIAN PARLIAMENTARY DELEGATION TO MAKE A FACT-FINDING VISIT TO EAST TIMOR, INCLUDING THE ISLAND OF ATAURO WHERE ALLEGED FRETELIN GUERRILLA SYMPATHISERS ARE HELD IN DETENTION.

THE SOURCES SAID THE ISSUE WAS A DELICATE ONE, SINCE THE INDONESIAN GOVERNMENT MIGHT WELL REGARD SUCH A REQUEST AS AN UNACCEPTABLE INTERFERENCE IN ITS INTERNAL AFFAIRS.

THE OUTPUT OF THE DOZEN AUSTRALIAN NEWSMEN ACCOMPANYING MR HAYDEN WILL BE CLOSELY SCRUTINISED BY THE INDONESIAN GOVERNMENT WHICH EXPELLED THE LAST RESIDENT AUSTRALIAN CORRESPONDENTS THREE YEARS AGO.

THE AUSTRALIAN PRESS HAS BEEN THE SCOURGE OF JAKARTA SINCE THE DEATHS OF THE SIX REPORTERS IN TIMOR AND IS REGARDED IN JAKARTA AS BEING VICIOUSLY BIASED AGAINST INDONESIA AND INDONESIAN ASPIRATIONS.

MORE PMG/PAE

HAYDEN:

BY PETER GRIFFITHS

*Portuguese*

JAKARTA, MARCH 31, REUTER -- AUSTRALIAN FOREIGN MINISTER BILL HAYDEN WILL UNDERTAKE A DELICATE MISSION IN INDONESIA NEXT WEEK ON A VISIT REGARDED BY BOTH SIDES AS A CRUCIAL TEST OF FUTURE RELATIONS BETWEEN AUSTRALIA AND ITS BIGGEST NEIGHBOUR.

THE VISIT WILL BE DOMINATED BY THE NAGGING QUESTION OF EAST TIMOR, THE FORMER PORTUGUESE COLONY ANNEXED BY INDONESIA IN LATE 1975 AND EVER SINCE THEN A FESTERING SORE IN RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES.

ONLY THREE MONTHS AGO, IAN SINCLAIR, DEFENCE MINISTER IN THE CONSERVATIVE GOVERNMENT, BECAME THE FIRST AUSTRALIAN MINISTER TO VISIT THE TERRITORY. HIS TRIP WAS HAILED IN CANBERRA AND JAKARTA AS A GREAT SUCCESS AND A MUCH-NEEDED BOOST TO RELATIONS.

PRIME MINISTER MALCOLM FRASER'S ADMINISTRATION RECOGNISED INDONESIA'S SOVEREIGNTY OVER EAST TIMOR AND ACTIVELY LOBBIED ON BEHALF OF JAKARTA IN ITS CAMPAIGN AT THE UNITED NATIONS TO BLOCK CALLS FOR SELF-DETERMINATION FOR THE TIMORESE.

BUT SINCE THEN AUSTRALIAN VOTERS HAVE SWEPT INTO POWER A HOSTILE LABOUR PARTY, PLEDGED IN ITS MANIFESTO TO DE-RECOGNISE INDONESIA'S INCORPORATION OF EAST TIMOR AND TO HALT DEFENCE AID TO JAKARTA.

NNNN YHK387 31-0740 YHN337

HAYDEN 2 JAKARTA:

LABOUR PRIME MINISTER BOB HAWKE, WARY OF THE POTENTIAL MINEFIELD AWAITING MR HAYDEN, HAS GONE TO GREAT LENGTHS TO GET THE VISIT OFF TO THE BEST POSSIBLE START.

HE HAS BLASTED HIS OFFICIALS OVER EMBARRASSING CABINET LEAKS ON THE ISSUE, MUZZLED THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS DEPARTMENT AND BANNED AUSTRALIAN DIPLOMATS FROM DISCUSSING THE VISIT WITH THE PRESS EXCEPT THROUGH OFFICIALLY-SANCTIONED STATEMENTS.

MOREOVER HE HAS SIDELINED HIS PARTY'S OFFICIAL POLICY ON TIMOR UNTIL MR HAYDEN RETURNS WITH A FIRST-HAND ACCOUNT OF INDONESIA'S VIEWS.

THE POLICY, LAID DOWN AT THE PARTY'S NATIONAL CONFERENCE LAST JULY, RECOGNISES THE +INALIENABLE RIGHT OF THE EAST TIMORESE TO SELF-DETERMINATION AND INDEPENDENCE.+

THIS WOULD INCLUDE CHANGING AUSTRALIA'S VOTE AT THE UNITED NATIONS FROM SUPPORT FOR INDONESIA TO ONE OF ABSTENTION OR OUTRIGHT OPPOSITION.

BUT MR HAWKE HAS CAREFULLY AVOIDED SAYING WHETHER HIS GOVERNMENT WILL IMPLEMENT OR MODIFY LABOUR POLICY.

+IT WOULD BE TOTALLY IRRESPONSIBLE OF ME IN TERMS OF THE INTERESTS OF THE COUNTRY IF I WERE TO MAKE ANY STATEMENT NOW WHICH COULD MAKE MORE DIFFICULT THE DELICATE TASK WHICH MR HAYDEN HAS IN FRONT OF HIM,+ HE SAID.

MORE PMG/PAE

NNNN YHK393 31-0753 YHN341

HAYDEN 5 JAKARTA:

THERE WERE INDICATIONS LATE LAST YEAR THAT THE POLICY ON AUSTRALIAN CORRESPONDENTS MIGHT BE REVOKED, BUT INDOONESIAN SOURCES SAID MUCH NOW DEPENDED ON THE ATTITUDE OF NEW CANBERRA GOVERNMENT.

SETTING ASIDE DIFFERENCES OVER EAST TIMOR, AUSTRALIA AND INDONESIA HAVE A HEALTHY TRADE RELATIONSHIP.

INDONESIA EXPORTED GOODS WORTH 515.90 MILLION GOODS (438 MILLION U.S.) IN THE YEAR ENDING LAST JULY, WHILE IMPORTING GOODS FROM AUSTRALIA WORTH 416.74 MILLION DOLLARS (354 MILLION US) IN THE SAME PERIOD.

UNDER AUSTRALIA'S PREVIOUS GOVERNMENT, INDONESIA RECEIVED DEFENCE AID WORTH ABOUT 11.75 MILLION DOLLARS (10 MILLION U.S.) A YEAR.

LABOUR PARTY POLICY IS TO CUT THIS AID UNTIL INDOONESIAN TROOPS ARE WITHDRAWN FROM EAST TIMOR TO PAVE THE WAY FOR A GENUINE ACT OF SELF-DETERMINATION.

REUTER BT/PM6/PAE

# A Timor visitor tells of troubles

*Perth Catholic Weekly  
"The Record" - 3/13-6/4  
783*

A Timorese priest called on the support of Australian Christians in his people's 'search for freedom' at a meeting of protestants and Catholics concerned about the territory held at the Academy of Mary Immaculate, Fitzroy.

Father Francisco Fernandes, chaplain to Timorese and Portuguese in Perth since 1978, was a keynote speaker at the meeting called by Christians in Solidarity with East Timor, an interdenominational group formed last year in response to calls from the religious and clergy of that territory for support from the international Church.

Father Fernandes spoke of the hardship and large death toll suffered by East Timorese since the Indonesian invasion in 1975.

He also emphasised the sense of isolation which the Church in East Timor feels and its appeals for international support.

"If this were a Church conference on Poland, the Philippines or El Salvador representatives would be here from the respective churches, he told the meeting.

"But the Church in East Timor has been isolated, cut off from open and direct contact with its sister Churches like Australia."

Father Fernandes said he wanted to counter claims that people in East Timor opposed to Indonesia's annexation of the territory are communists.

"Over half the people of East Timor are Catholics," he said.

He called on Australian Catholics not to "fall into the Indonesian-set trap of calling our people communist when they rise against violence and inhuman treatment."

He also criticised attempts in Australia to undermine the credibility of the leader of the Church in East Timor, Monsignor Martinho da Costa Lopez.

Father Fernandes said Monsignor da Costa Lopez had a history of aiding victims of violence going back over two decades.

"In 1959, he protested to Portugal against arbitrary acts of violence against East Timorese by the colonial authorities," he said.

"In 1975, he opposed the excesses of Fretilin and now he is speaking against the Indonesians."

Another speaker, Mr Jim Dunn, said 1983 would be a vital year in the fortunes of East Timor because this year Indonesia might succeed in having the territory's annexation removed from discussion by the United Nations.

Mr Dunn is a former Australian Consul General in East Timor and is presently head of the foreign affairs section of the

Parliamentary Library Service in Canberra.

Mr Dunn claimed Australia had a responsibility to support East Timor's aspirations to freedom that went back to World War II.

"Australia's responsibility began in the war when Australian troops entered the territory to mobilise the East Timorese against Japan," Mr Dunn said.

"They helped us despite their neutrality as a possession of Portugal which was neutral in the war.

"The East Timorese lost 70,000 dead at the hands of the Japanese because our security was at risk.

Mr Dunn also claimed Australia had a responsibility to undo what was done in 1975 when the Federal government "told the Indonesians the solution to East Timor lay in its integration into Indonesia."

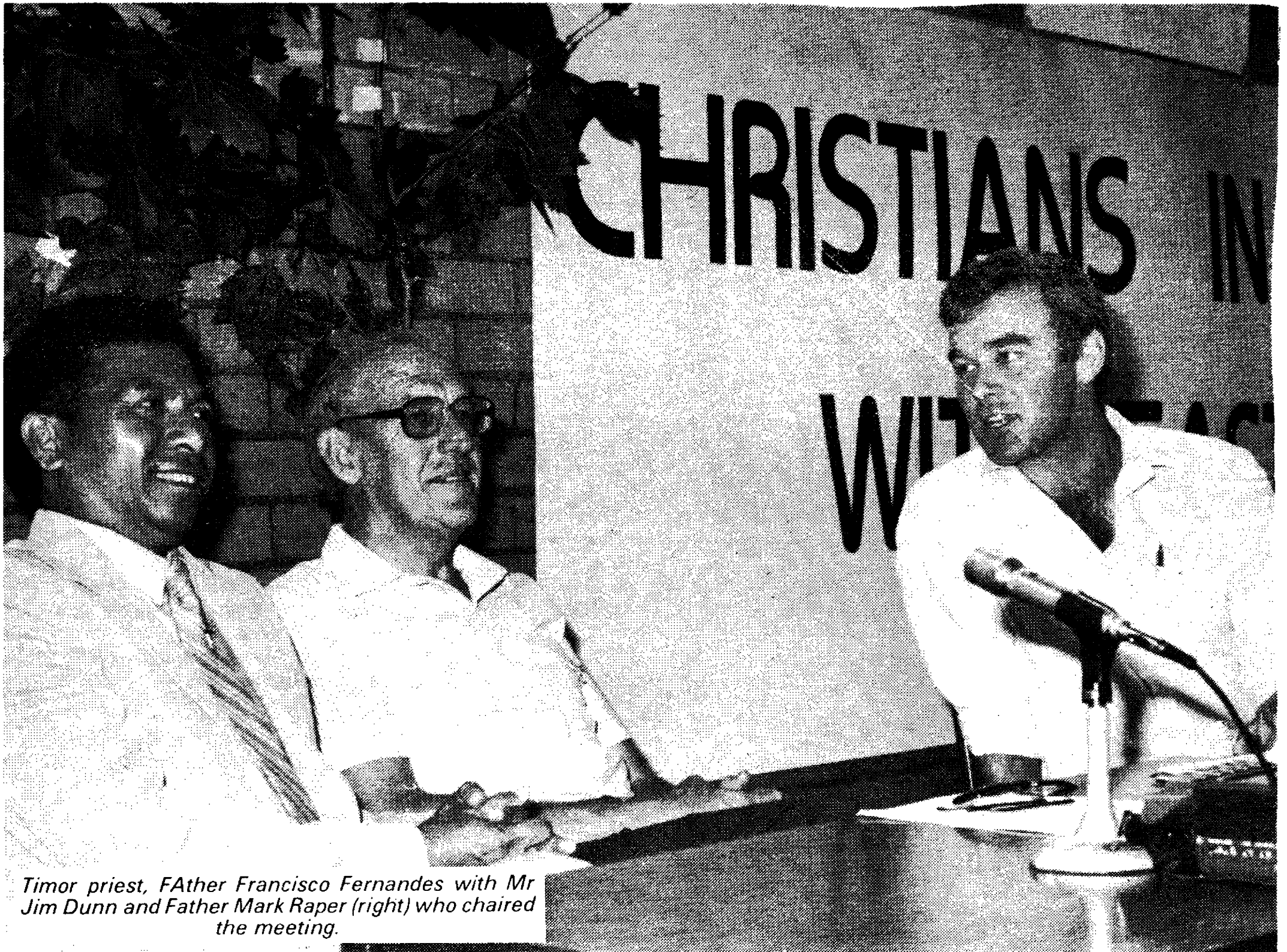
After the two addresses, meeting participants divided into four workshops to consider practical aid to the Church in East Timor, public education on the issue in Australia, political lobbying and human rights in the territory.

Christians in Solidarity with East Timor has been established in response to appeals for solidarity made to the international Church by the Catholic Church in East Timor.

These appeals cannot be allowed to go un-heeded like cries in the wilderness.

Set up in Melbourne in November 1982, CISET is inter-denominational and aims to promote the formation of similar groups throughout Australia and overseas.

*Active  
Circle if ...*



*Timor priest, FATHER Francisco Fernandes with Mr Jim Dunn and Father Mark Raper (right) who chaired the meeting.*