

EAST TIMOR

DOWN BUT NOT OUT

Nearly fifty years ago, Sir Robert Menzies sold Australian pig iron to Japan. He earned himself the nickname 'Pig Iron Bob'. He, like many others before World War II, believed in appeasing an aggressive power to halt its advance. The policy of appeasement was a disaster. World War II was the result. But, tragically, today it is an ALP Government, and not an arch conservative government, which is appeasing the two most expansionist powers in our region: Vietnam and Indonesia.

These two countries know that they have much in common. Of all the ASEAN nations, Indonesia is the weakest in its condemnation of the Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea. Vietnam in turn has accused Western nations of hypocrisy because they accept Indonesia's attempted annexation of East Timor, but balk at Vietnam's occupation in Kampuchea. This formulation clearly and correctly equates the two invasions. However, it is not with Vietnam that this article is concerned; it's Indonesia and East Timor...

In July an Australian parliamentary delegation visited East Timor. A week earlier two high ranking Fretilin officials, Abilio Araujo and Roque Rodrigues, visited Australia. It's old news now that the Australian delegation did not go to Fretilin held areas. It's also old news that Bob Hawke refused to receive the Fretilin delegation. This was in line with Bob Hawke's apparent determination to support the US position and recognise the Indonesian invasion of East Timor as a fait accompli.

Truth in East Timor...

In 1975, during the initial invasion, four Australian pressmen were murdered by Indonesian troops. There has never been an inquiry into this, and Indonesia has denied all responsibility. The refusal of Indonesia to allow our press to freely investigate the situation in East Timor, or to allow independent interpreters to accompany the parliamentary delegation is part of the same campaign to murder the truth in East Timor.

In contrast Abilio Araujo stated in Sydney,

'We Fretilin, we the people of East Timor, have nothing to hide. We invite the foreign press, we invite international representatives to go to East Timor to see the situation.'

'The Indonesians said already in 1977 and 1978 that Fretilin was destroyed, Fretilin was a spent force, Fretilin was reduced to some bandits in the mountains. From 1975 to 1978 Fretilin forces succeeded to control about 80% of the territory and in this area lived 90% of the population.'

The Indonesian government went to several Western countries to seek (and received) military and economic aid, and in 1978, for the first time the Indonesians used, massively, a new element in the war of aggression. It was the airforce.

Genocide

The Indonesians carried out genocide against the people of East Timor. They dropped massively on my country napalm bombs and defoliants. As a result 200,000 people died.

We changed from positional war and started to develop guerilla warfare. On the other hand, the Fretilin leadership told the population to come down from the hills and to go and live in the Indonesian concentration camps. Of course it was very hard for us, very sad for us to ask our people to live under Indonesian rule, but it was our last attempt to save the lives of our people. But we knew that our people would maintain their spirit of resistance.

When we arrived in 1979 Fretilin forces were reduced to a very low level. 90% of our armed forces were destroyed. The leadership of Fretilin, the Central Committee, was reduced to two members... but in spite of this, the spirit of resistance was strong. In the Eastern part of our country our forces were still strong.

1981 was considered the year of re-organisation. 1982 was called the year of the strategic counter-offensive. A clandestine network was set-up throughout the country.

This year, two years after holding our national conference, the Indonesian military commanders were forced to look for negotiations with Fretilin, but, from the point of view of our leadership, they are trying to get some points in the diplomatic field because they lost on the battlefield. This is the reason why diplomacy, international support, is very important for us.

Australia's Debt

'In the second world war at least forty thousand citizens of East Timor died preventing the invasion by the Japanese army against Australia. Today we are facing a genocide war, and we are saying to the Australians and particularly to the Australian Government, that they have a role to play in East Timor. We are not calling on the Australian Government to send troops to East Timor to kill the Indonesian soldiers. This is not the case. Our people are well organised and due to the organisation, we were able to impose a military defeat. We are inviting Australia to play a vital role, a crucial role, in bringing about peace to the territory of East Timor'. What they are asking for is diplomatic support in the international arena.



Television reporter Greg Shackleton paints 'Australia' on a house in Balibo two days before his death, October 1975.

Australian soldiers in East Timor during the second World War.



Australia must stand up to Indonesia. Before 1975, East Timor appeased Indonesia. Roque Rodrigues stated, 'The results are obvious'. Obvious, too, they seemed to New Guinea's Defence Minister who stated that Indonesia would invade New Guinea in the next ten or twenty years. Or should I say former Defence Minister, as he was sacked within a week of making his statement.

If a stand is not made over East Timor, and if Indonesia's shoddy story that the military road in West Irian which three times crosses the New Guinea border is 'a costly and embarrassing mistake' - is accepted, then Rodrigues is convinced that New Guinea, 'will be the next domino'. Given another crisis in Australia like that of November 1975 which tied down the Australian response to the invasion of East Timor, and we'll have the scene set for an Indonesian invasion of our very nearest neighbours.

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How right they were

11/11/83
N.M.

SIR, May I congratulate Bill Hayden on his moves to bring representatives from South-West Africa (SWAPO) to Australia.

It may add a little more sincerity to our anti-apartheid foreign policy.

Also, as an aside, while a university student in the early '70s it was stated by the Australian Union of Students that an invasion of Timor (which seemed imminent in 1975) by Indonesia would result in a stalemate because of the nature of Fretilin and their capability to carry out an extended guerilla war over a number of years.

How correct they were at the time.

**Peter Ewen,
Darwin.**

EAST TIMOR

Indonesian soldiers 'burning villages'

From JILL JOLIFFE, in Lisbon

INDONESIAN soldiers are burning villages in the East Timor mountains, according to refugee sources in Lisbon. Red Beret commandos are leading the operation and forcing Timorese to assist them.

Since the new Indonesian offensive began in the former Portuguese colony in August there has been almost blanket censorship, but a few refugees have reached Lisbon and some letters have been smuggled out.

Witnesses have said that from August 13 many arrests were made in Dili. Other long-term prisoners were transferred from the Comarca prison and Atauro Island, allegedly to an internment camp in Bali. But there has been no information about their whereabouts since and Amnesty International has issued an urgent appeal for their safety.

Dr Moises Do Amaral, a

leader of the Conservative Timorese Democratic Union Party said that letters smuggled from Timor had told of a district-by-district operation led by a commando regiment. Commandos were encircling villages suspected of harbouring Fretilin guerillas and burning everything within the encircled areas. Local Timorese had been conscripted.

Diplomatic sources in Jakarta said earlier that 20,000 Indonesian soldiers were involved in the sweep, but this figure has been disputed by both the Indonesian Government and Australian defence officials monitoring the situation. Whatever the number, refugees who arrived in Lisbon after the operation began said they saw thousands of soldiers pass through Dili from mid-August, along with tanks and munitions.

2/11/83

The AGE 2/11/83

Villages burned: refugees

RECEIVED 20 NOV 1983

LISBON, 1 Nov. — Indonesian "red beret" troops are putting villages to the torch in the East Timor mountains, according to refugee sources here.

Since the new Indonesian offensive began in the former Portuguese colony in August, an almost total censorship blanket has descended, but a few refugees have reached Lisbon and some letters have been smuggled out.

Witnesses have said that from 13 August, many arrests were made in Dili and other long-term prisoners were transferred from the Comarca prison and Atauro Island. They were transported by closed cars to the airport, allegedly to an internment camp in Bali. But there has been no information about their whereabouts since. Amnesty International has issued an urgent appeal for their safety.

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The Australian 4/11/83

Timor war reports ring alarm bells in Canberra

By MARSALI MacKINNON and ELIZABETH JOHNSTON

THE Federal Government is concerned at fresh reports of heavy fighting between Indonesian troops and Fretelin rebels in East Timor, and is investigating the claims.

The reports, carried by the ABC yesterday, said Fretelin had killed a number of Indonesian troops in a counter offensive, including a company of the elite "red berets".

The latest reports came from Timorese living in Darwin, who monitor Dutch radio broadcasts. They claim Indonesian troops are torturing Timorese suspected of collaborating with Fretelin.

The reports were supported by an ALP candidate in the Northern Territory, Mr Robert Wesley-Smith, who said the Fretelin attacks were an attempt to counter an Indonesian "mopping-up operation" planned to take advantage of the present dry season.

Foreign Affairs sources said they were not yet able to validate the reports, but were "naturally concerned if they are true".

In August, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Hayden, expressed concern about similar reports of an outbreak in fighting in Timor.

At the time, Mr Hayden said the Government had conveyed its concern to the Indonesian Government, after learning "with deep regret" of attacks on Indonesian troops by Fretelin.

"The Australian Government urges restraint so that the process of peaceful restraint can be given a chance to succeed," Mr Hayden said.

The reports yesterday sparked another clash between the leader of the all-party parliamentary delegation which went to Timor in July, a senior Labor MP, Mr Bill Morrison, and a member

of his delegation, Senator Gordon McIntosh, a left-wing Labor representative.

Mr Morrison said reports of fighting since August 8 were true.

But the fighting was "part of a pattern" that occurred every year before the United Nations vote on self-determination for the East Timorese.

He did not know of the latest claims, but denied they cast doubt on the claim in the majority report of the parliamentary delegation that the situation in East Timor seemed stable and that Fretelin forces had lost control of most of the island.

Senator McIntosh, speaking from New York where he is attending the United Nations General Assembly sitting as a member of the Australian mission, said the reports proved his predictions "had been right all along".

Meanwhile, the Australian Ambassador to Indonesia, Mr Rawdon Dalrymple, has claimed Australia and Indonesia are over the worst of their differences on East Timor.

He said it seemed likely the issue would settle down after deferment of its consideration by the UN.

Mr Dalrymple, who was speaking on the Gold Coast at a meeting of the Australia-Indonesia Business Co-operation Committee (AIBCC), said it was inevitable there would be differences between the two countries on issues such as East Timor and Kampuchea.

But he said neither Governments was likely to impose trade sanctions as a result.

"I think there is a strong awareness in Indonesia and in Australia in areas where it matters, that trade is important to both our countries," Mr Dalrymple said.

"There is nothing to be gained by having other issues spill over into the trade area."

Hayden outlines relationship with Indonesia

CANBERRA. — If Australia cannot work effectively and co-operatively with Indonesia then it has little chance of doing so with South East Asian countries as a whole, Foreign Affairs Minister, Mr Bill Hayden says.

Mr Hayden said Indonesia epitomised the challenge Australia faced in dealing with the countries of the region.

"The futures of our two countries are irretrievably intertwined," he said.

Mr Hayden told a meeting of the Australia-Indonesia Business Co-operation Committee in Coolangatta on the

Fighting in Timor steps up

JAKARTA. — The Indonesian army has stepped up counter-insurgency operations against Fretilin guerillas in East Timor during the past month.

There have been daily air strikes against guerilla positions in mountain areas of the former Portuguese colony, catholic Timorese sources said here today.

Indonesian troops, now estimated at 10 000 men, launched a massive sweep in East Timore last August, after talks with Fretilin — the Revolutionary Front for the Independence of East Timor — aborted, and following a six-month period during which no major incidents had been reported, observers here said.

Queensland/New South Wales border that East Timor had been the most intractable issue between the two countries in recent years.

"The East Timor problem has cast a decided shadow over the political relationship between our two countries," he said.

"It has been a subject of concern to individuals and groups in both.

Necessitated

"But, we should never lose sight of the many points of agreement between our two countries or the mutually beneficial exchanges being carried out in the areas of trade, aid, civil aviation, defence co-operation, tourism and cultural exchange."

He said while Indonesia's proximity necessitated good relations, that proximity

would also mean that "we will inevitably step on each other's toes from time to time."

"We should not allow ourselves to get overly excited at this, but decide instead that when differences occur we will strive to discuss and resolve them as neighbors and friends," he said.

"We should not shun differences, but rather face them squarely and confidently."

Mr Hayden said that while formal government to government relations were important, the relationship needed to be underpinned by a wide range of other institutional and less formal contacts.

Two-way trade between Australia and Indonesia had increased in recent years from \$230 million in 1976/77 to \$933 million in 1981/82.

Ban lifted on journalist

MANILA. — The Philippine Government has lifted a ban on Australian correspondent Michael Richardson entering the country, the presidential palace announced today.

It said President Ferdinand Marcos lifted the ban on the recommendation of Information Minister, Mr Gregorio Cendana and Acting Foreign Minister, Mr Manuel Collantes.

Richardson, based in Singapore is South East Asia correspondent of the Melbourne Age and Sydney Morning Herald.

The announcement said the ban, which was never enforced, was issued on the grounds of "consistently derogatory, inflammatory and exaggerated reporting, if not outright distortion . . . of past and current developments in the Philippines."

It said the case had been reconsidered and Richardson was now free to travel unhindered to Manila on news assignments.

Australia's silence 'shameful'

Australia's silence on the renewed fighting in East Timor was described yesterday as shameful and inexplicable.

Independent MLA, Ms Dawn Lawrie, said military aid to Indonesia should be stopped until it withdraws from East Timor.

"I have asked Senator Ted Robertson (ALP) to raise the issue as a matter of urgency in Caucus," she said.

NT News 8/11/83

INDONESIA CT. 12/11/83

Seven more 'executions' to cut crime

JAKARTA, Friday (AAP). — At least seven known or suspected criminals had died in execution-style killings in Indonesia this week, apparently the victims of a paramilitary campaign against crime, the *Jakarta Post* reported.

The campaign, unofficially said to be the work of military-backed death squads, began in East Java last year and has left an estimated 1,400 dead.

Most of the seven killed this week had been shot several times in the head and chest. Two had nooses around their necks and their hands had been tied. Several had tattoos, a feature common to most of the victims.

One of this week's victims had been shot by two masked men in front of his wife while he was asleep on the living room floor, the newspaper reported.

Sources close to the Indonesian military say the campaign is the work of paramilitary squads of four men in civilian clothes, working from a list of some 4,000 known or suspected criminals.

It is supported by numerous officials who have publicly praised the killings as a necessary evil to fight crime, but has been condemned by reformist groups such as the Jakarta Legal Aid Institute as judicial murder.

Reports of the discovery of bullet-ridden bodies have reappeared in the Jakarta Press despite a government ban in August on media coverage.

NT News 17/11/83

Grimes promises debate over Timor

CANBERRA. - Social Security Minister, Senator Don Grimes, has promised a full debate today on the Government's response to a Senate committee report on the sensitive East Timor issue following pressure from a Labor Senator.

Senator Cyril Primmer said the Government had undermined the whole committee system by failing to consult the Labor Party Caucus before making its response which was tabled yesterday.

However, Senator Grimes rejected the suggestion that there had been some sort of conspiracy by the Government.

He said he had understood the matter had gone to Caucus but he would follow it up with Foreign Affairs Minister, Mr Bill Hayden.

The Senate report condemned Indonesia's actions on Timor while the report of an all party delegation to East Timor

under Labor MHR Bill Morrison recommended putting the Timor issue in the past and encouraging good relations with Indonesia.

The Government, in its response, said it believed it could best help the East Timorese by work-

ing through the Indonesian authorities.

It said the reports of the delegation and the Senate must be considered together because they were prepared at about the same time and dealt with the same subject.

Threat not Catholicism

SIR, In the article entitled "Lisbon's E. Timor exiles face a bleak Christmas" (NT News, December 24), Horatio Henriques and his family were featured and described as combining "devout Catholicism with passionate nationalism."

Whatever the rights

Indeed, every Chris-

TERS

The Editor
GPO Box 1300

Catholic and other government ministers are Christians of various kinds.

In the spirit of *Pancasila*, a definitive text on the Catholic Church in Indonesia, published in 1979 by the Dutch priest M.P.M. Muskens, is titled Partner in Nation

Similarly, the true Christian has an internal solidarity with all men and women of good will prepared to take a stand against the dehumanising anarchy that stems from atheism, whether of the left or of the right.

G.R. Fallon,

Change in Timor vote

NT News
22/11/83

JAKARTA. — Western Samoa will change its vote on the East Timor issue at the United Nations next year in favor of Indonesia, Minister of State Lieutenant General Sudharmono said today.

General Sudharmono said visiting Western Samoan Prime Minister Tofilau Eti Alesana assured President Suharto during talks that Western Samoa, which until now has abstained, would next year vote against the resolution which calls for self-determination for the former Portuguese colony.

Indonesia annexed East Timor in 1975.

Indonesia has been lobbying intensively to reverse the anti-Indonesian vote at the United Nations, especially with the Pacific and African countries.

While this year's vote has been postponed, last year's resolution had 50 countries in favor,

Bronco used in Timor fighting

N.T. News 24/11/83

By TIZIANA
ZERONI

Indonesia is using sophisticated OV10 Bronco aircraft as part of its massive new military offensive in East Timor, a British newsletter, Tapol, has claimed.

Tapol says the counter-insurgency aircraft which caused so much devastation in the 1977 and 1978 aerial bombardments, are in action again.

They have been seen going on sorties to the eastern part of the

country where resistance is particularly strong, it claims.

Tapol believes the 20 000 troops deployed are being supported by combat aircraft, helicopters, tanks and a variety of weapons.

"The military build-up in preparation for the offensive commenced in early August, immediately after the departure

from Dili of the Australian Parliamentary mission," Tapol says.

"On August 16, Indonesia's Armed Forces chief, General Benny Murdani declared that ABRI (Indonesia's Armed Forces) would wipe out Fretilin if they refused to surrender: "This time, no more fooling around. We are going to hit them without mercy. If this call goes unheeded, the government will use its armed forces and all its

arsenal to clean up the remnants of Fretilin rebels."

Tapol says NT Senator Ted Robertson drew attention to the alarming reports of a large scale build-up of Indonesian troops and equipment in early September.

The newsletter goes on to say the army is in complete control of government administration of East Timor and the territory has been plunged into a state of war.

THE GOOD WEEKEND

The UN: it says what it means but doesn't do what it says

From JENNI HEWETT
in New York

DICK Woolcott, Australian ambassador to the United Nations, is talking patiently about the reality of UN life as well as its rhetoric.

Once something gets on the UN agenda, he says with a slight smile, it usually takes more than a year to get it off.

The Australian ambassador to UNESCO has popped into the Friday morning staff meeting of the Australian mission to the UN.

"Is he talking about Timor?" whispers Gough Whitlam. Dick Woolcott clearly is not.

What Gough Whitlam clearly is doing is having a slight dig at Senator Gordon McIntosh, sitting on the opposite side of Dick Woolcott. Gordon McIntosh is one of two Australian parliamentary advisers sent to New York to attend the General Assembly.

Two parliamentarians are sent every September for three months. Senator McIntosh feels very strongly about Timor — more strongly than his Government believes he, or it — should publicly feel.

He had hoped to ask the 39th General Assembly to speak on the subject. He could not. The issue of Timor had finally dropped off the UN Agenda as well as the ALP's.

He gave instead a stirring speech on disarmament and development. Even then, they watered it down a bit, said the senator. It was a bit too hard hitting, apparently.

That's what this diplomacy is all about.

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WHAT this diplomacy is all about does not usually make much immediate sense outside the huddle of buildings on the East River and the missions of the 158 nations that now make up the UN.

The problem is most certainly not the lack of speeches or votes. It is their significance. The vote and speeches on Timor, had they come up, would have had precisely the same effect as those on Grenada and Kampuchea did. Nothing.

Whether Australia pushed a yel-

tion there. Yet the choices created a domestic furore in the case of the Grenadan vote that led to Australia instructing its delegation to the UN to formally change its recorded vote from support for the resolution to an abstention.

It was an awkward and embarrassing switch based largely on the fact that Australia's traditional friends, like Britain and Canada and New Zealand, had voted to abstain.

The Australian Government felt too isolated, despite the overwhelming number of countries — 107 — who had voted the same way it had originally.

In the Kampuchean debate, Australia underestimated the strength of the ASEAN resentment of its decision not to co-sponsor the resolution as it had previously done. The resulting bitter brawl with ASEAN is continuing to reverberate in Australian relations with its neighbours — a result that Australia had studiously tried to avoid in the real world of its diplomatic efforts outside the UN.

Similarly, a vote on Timor would have created either enormous problems with Indonesia or within the ALP, no matter the rest of our policies.

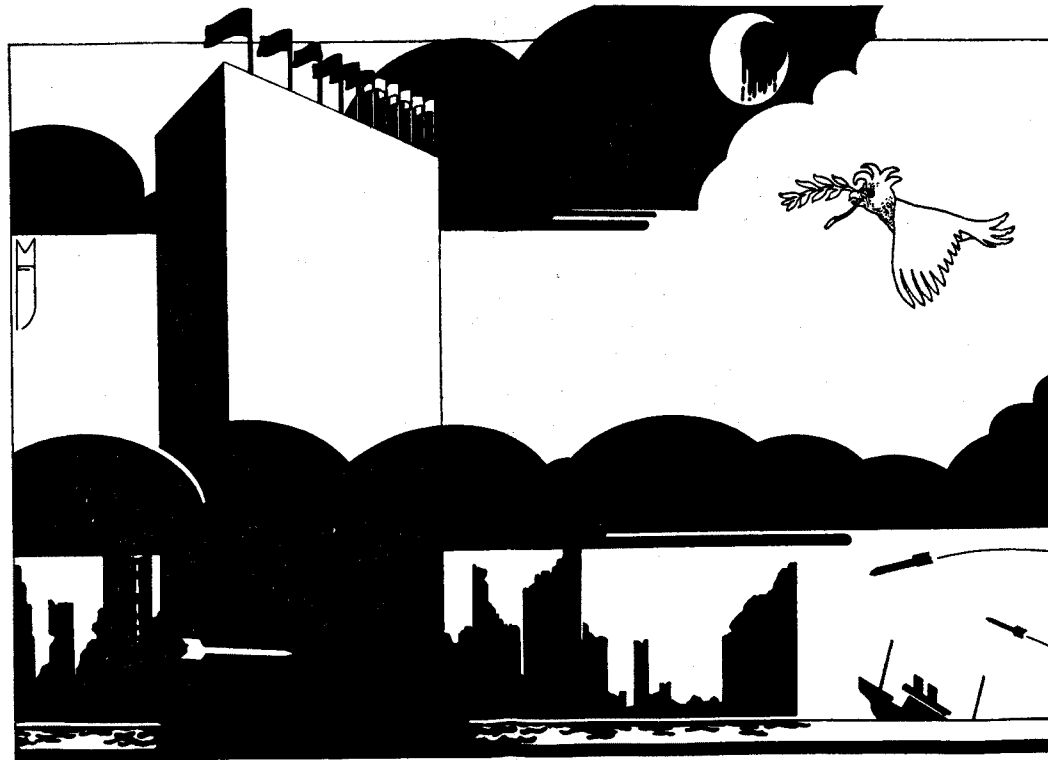
It demonstrates the contradictions of the UN as well as the essential absurdity that hangs over its deliberations. It is pathetically impotent in its efforts to shape the stronger forces of a sharp reality.

The Australian mission to the UN reflects those same contradictions. It is regarded as one of the better postings in foreign affairs. The fact that it is in New York obviously helps the attraction.

What it achieves is one of the larger questions that becomes overwhelmed by the amassed welter of detail and committees and acronyms. The work is not just in the endless debates on resolutions like Kamuchea or Vietnam.

Pick an issue. Just about any issue. The UN will have a body on it or a study on it. The UN Directory is the new esperanto, the language of the twentieth century spread out from New York to other UN capitals, such as Geneva and Vienna.

WIPO turns out to be the World Intellectual Property Organisation. ICISD is the International Centre for the Settlement of Investment



quarters provides the political direction, the mandate, the words.

In the Australian mission, the work on words is frantic. Meetings, meetings and more meetings. The mission is usually open late into the evening reporting the events of the day to Canberra so that new instructions can be issued overnight if necessary.

The generation of paper puts rabbits to shame. Position papers to be prepared, proposals to be understood, resolutions to be drafted. Life in a perpetual motion of negotiation. Compromise and conflict in search of the great god consensus.

□ □ □

AND for what? Does it matter so much? Does what happens at the Australian mission on the 16th floor of one Day

form, well above anti-uranium mining. But Bill Hayden spent his first speech to the General Assembly describing the UN as "debilitated".

"We must act with a genuine sense of urgency to re-establish the vitality and authority of this organisation," he declared. "It is true that millions around the world have better lives — and lives to live — because of the work of the United Nations' agencies. It is equally true, and we must accept the consequences, that in these past 38 years a very significant proportion of the world's people have

table speech just to show we care. Waiting to see what everyone else says — just in case it relates to Australia. Waiting just in case a waving of the Western flag is needed.

Gough Whitlam's brief presence could best be described as an optional extra. On the morning he dropped in, Dick Woolcott was in a hurry to finish the staff meeting so that everyone could rush off into the flurry of diplomatic activity.

The ambassador's next appointment was at 11 am to chair the

sufficient number of UN members that this is worthy of that organisation's study.

Given the arcane intricacies of any UN study, it is impossible to predict just where this will lead — except nowhere in the short term. But Woolcott's comment at the meeting about the long lifespan of items at the UN indicated Australian concern that this will eventually lead to demands for full international control.

In the meantime, there was an official lunch to be attended to at the ambassadorial residence — a

fairly confident of being elected next year. But lunches certainly help.

This one couldn't be of the long lunch variety. Dick Woolcott had to leave to deliver a speech on Australia's actions in the Cocos Islands and the Australian vision of the brave new world.

It was predictable enough. But without UN pressure, the Australian action on Cocos could have been even longer coming. It now felt entitled to report its achievements. Afterwards came brief ambassadorial appearances at the Angolan National Day reception and the reception of the Independent Commission on Humanitarian Issues.

Dinner was with the ambassador of Guyana to talk about the Security Council and Grenada.

Dick Woolcott's other recent appointments have been as ambassador to Indonesia and then the Philippines.

The Australian mission divides its various officers' work into areas that correspond to the various UN committees in areas such as disarmament, economics, human rights and social issues, decolonisation, legal matters and administration.

It is not just that the mechanics of such vital standards as international aviation or health regulations owe their existence to the UN and its agencies.

The Australian Government has also based some of its most significant challenges to the States on UN covenants and treaties. The victory over the Queensland Government last year in its treatment of Aborigines was based on the Australian ratification of the UN Convention barring all forms of racial discrimination.

The Franklin Dam case relied heavily on the concept of a world heritage listing established by a UN body.

"I vividly recall the Maltese delegation touting a draft resolu-

No breaths should be held for results.

"It is still a very significant achievement," argues Mr Butler firmly. And how can he be wrong? To argue against any small steps in arms control is to argue against motherhood. But where is the evidence of the lusty infant? It is more like a perpetual pregnancy — a remarkable experience to be protected and cherished, but needing delivery.

□ □ □

IN its early days, the hope was for a body that could prevent war in a new world order of peace that was universally supported.

There were some successes. But, increasingly, even the limited aims of peacekeeping forces have seemed beyond the reach of the UN.

The Middle East is the most conspicuous example of repeated failure. The UN forces sent into Lebanon in 1978 no longer are part of the equation. The peacekeeping forces that do exist in the region are because of agreements of countries outside the forum of the UN, including the Sinai Force, of which Australia is part.

The UN plays no role in the Iranian-Iraq war which hovers forever on the edges of disaster.

As Syrian and anti-Arafat Palestinian forces were bombing the Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon, the General Assembly was voting on yet another condemnation of the Israeli air attack on the Iraqi nuclear reactor in 1981.

A discreet silence was maintained on more recent events. In the Security Council, a debate scheduled on the UN peacekeeping force in Lebanon turned into an indignant Israeli attack on the fact that its delegation's speeches had not been treated with sufficient respect by Jordan.

If it is a poor refuge, it is at least a place to be heard, to be seen to be doing something.

"That body has voted against us 100 times and it has never upset my breakfast," said President Reagan after the Grenadan vote.

He is to be taken at his word. America, far more than Australia, has always treated the UN with

"It is still a very significant achievement," argues Mr Butler firmly. And how can he be wrong? To argue against any small steps in arms control is to argue against motherhood. But where is the evidence of the lusty infant? It is more like a perpetual pregnancy — a remarkable experience to be protected and cherished, but needing delivery.

CHART DIGITAL

button to support a resolution condemning the invasion of Grenada made absolutely no difference to an invasion that had already happened. Whether Australia decided to co-sponsor a resolution condemning the Vietnamese occupation of Kampuchea – or simply to support it – would not suddenly result in a withdrawal of forces.

Just as an Australian vote on Indonesia's takeover of Timor would not have affected the situa-

tion on the floor of the Dag Hammerskjold Plaza alter the course of the world, or even of Australia?

What does all the effort produce outside the UN, with its often uncomfortable resemblance to a theatre of the absurd? Where do all those resolutions, debated and argued over so desperately each year, go to except back to the agenda for the next year?

Much of the detailed work in fact goes on in these specialised agencies of international bureaucracy outside New York. The UN head-

quarters are on the floor of the Dag Hammerskjold Plaza alter the course of the world, or even of Australia?

What does all the effort produce outside the UN, with its often uncomfortable resemblance to a theatre of the absurd? Where do all those resolutions, debated and argued over so desperately each year, go to except back to the agenda for the next year?

Support for the concept is enshrined high up in the ALP plat-

form. The ALP platform is a document grown up judging the UN by what it has not been able to do."

Such worthy sentiments without practical solutions sink without much trace in the tight schedule of the UN and the Australian mission.

The mission usually has a diplomatic staff of eight, from ambassador level down. During the General Assembly, from September through to December, this is doubled.

Much of the work is waiting. Waiting to give an entirely predic-

tion round the corridors in the mid-1960s which would have the UN set up an authority to create a body of law controlling the exploitation of all the resources of the world's seabed," says one former UN diplomat. "At first, it wasn't taken seriously."

Yet it was, finally. The US under the Reagan Administration has pulled out and is unlikely to return. But the Carter Administration was in favour of the treaty and there is hope at least that increasing pressure will eventually force even the US to bow to an international regime. Perhaps.

Arms control reflects the best hopes and worst realities of the UN. At the time of the greatest and most dangerous impasse between the US and the Soviet Union in arms control since the Cuban missile crisis, the Australian Labor Government has appointed a new ambassador for disarmament, Richard Butler, as part of its attempt to influence the world environment.

The Australian delegation was delighted with its efforts to help persuade the US to abstain on the resolution, demanding a comprehensive test ban treaty, rather than to vote against it.

This, in turn, is supposed to help the tortuous course of negotiations on the test ban treaty in Geneva, as well as encourage other nations to support the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty when it comes up for review the following year.

splendid apartment also overlooking the East River.

The purpose, over the passing of the salt, was to lobby support among other countries for Australia's bid to become a member of the Security Council next year. Australia's last turn on the Security Council was during the days of the last Labor Government.

The coincidence of timing is right again under this Labor Government, and Australia remains

America, far more than Australia, has always treated the UN with great suspicion, born of a long tradition of isolationism and a fierce belief that what is good for the US is good for the world and should not be questioned.

This anti-UN sentiment has only grown as the increasing numbers of developing countries admitted to the UN have swung the balance against the US. The idea that the vote of Nicaragua carries the same weight as that of the US is treated with bewildered contempt for its meaninglessness. Even this contempt can, however, suddenly shift if the US senses an advantage.

In the uproar after the Korean air disaster, the US seized on the UN to press its case for a public relations – and therefore a political – victory of the benefits of freedom over the evils of communism.

Ian Hutchens, the third-in-line at the mission, oversees the Security Council as well as other committees, ranging from the committee on the peaceful uses of outer space to the council on Namibia.

"Sure, you get frustrated by some of the phoniness of what happens here," he says. "Sometimes, late at night, you're sitting listening to the Security Council or a committee and wondering what in the hell you're doing there.

"But you do realise you enjoy the process that gets you to that point. And that it can be important. I won't be leaving the UN a starry-eyed idealist. But then I didn't arrive one, either."

COME TO THE WEA

N.T. NEWS 7/14/83

East Timor invaded eight years ago

EIGHT years ago today Indonesia invaded East Timor.

And "PORTUGAL IN BREAK WITH JAKARTA" were the headlines in The NT News on Monday, December 8, 1975.

A report from Lisbon published that day said Portugal had broken off diplomatic relations with Indonesia and appealed to the UN Security Council to bring about an immediate end to the Indonesian invasion of East Timor.

The Portuguese vehemently condemned Indonesia's military aggression against Lisbon's last colony and accused Jakarta of landing troops in the capital of Dili and shelling the city from the sea.

Early that Monday, Portugal withdrew its last troops from East Timor following the collapse of Dili to Indonesian forces.

A Portuguese frigate, the Joao Robin, carrying paratroopers from the island of Atauro, was headed towards Darwin where it was due the next day.

A second frigate, the Afonso Cerqueria, also left the island but its destination was unknown.

The withdrawal of the troops marked the end of Portuguese presence in the colony which it had ruled for nearly 100 years.

The troops, including a naval communications unit, began boarding the two ships only 16 hours after Indonesia launched an all-out attack on Dili.

Four Indonesian warships had entered Dili harbor just before dawn on Sunday, December 7, and began shelling the city. They were joined later in the morning by three more warships.

As Indonesian marines were being ferried ashore, aircraft in the first of two waves, dropped more than 1000 paratroopers on the city.

Radio reports monitored in Lisbon said the invaders met with little or no resistance from Fretilin forces, which until then had controlled most of the island.

It was believed that Fretilin forces, aware that an invasion was imminent, had retreated to the mountains taking with them a large stockpile of food and ammunition.

Since Fretilin's successful counter-coup in August that year, its president, Francisco Xavier do Amaral, had said on several occasions it would fight to the last man if the island was invaded.

Early on the morning of December 8, President Xavier made radio contact with the International Committee of the Red Cross in Darwin.

The Red Cross refused to reveal the contents of the report and a secretary said its liaison officer Mr Alan Werner, "would not be speaking

to members of the press."

However another message, monitored by the Darwin Post Office, said Indonesian troops were killing "mainly Chinese people."

The message was sent to Mr Warwick Neilly, spokesman for the Campaign for the Independence of East Timor, by Fretilin's Vice-President Nicolau Lobato.

It said: "Indonesian forces do not respect life. Forces now marching into the mountains, need urgent help for evacuees."

The Indonesian attack came at a time when Fretilin's Defence Minister and military commander, Rogerio Lobato, and its Foreign-Affairs Secretary, Jose Ramos Horta, were overseas.

The two men had left Australia on the Saturday for Lisbon and New York where Mr Horta planned to seek membership of the newly proclaimed Democratic Republic of East Timor in the United Nations.

In Darwin early on that Monday afternoon a small, orderly demonstration was held outside the Indonesian consulate in Bennett St.

From Jakarta the Indonesian Foreign Minister, Adam Malik,

said Indonesian troops would be withdrawn from East Timor as soon as peace and order had been restored there.

Mr Malik said the Indonesian troops were in East Timor at the request of the Timorese Democratic Union (UDT), Apodeti, Kota and Trabalista political parties to help them maintain security in Dili, capital of the Portuguese colony.

The fall of Dili to pro-Jakarta forces had opened the possibility of carrying out the decolonisation of East Timor in an orderly and peaceful way, he added.

JAKARTA. — East Timor's Carrascalao has called for more than 25 per cent of the government assistance.

Reporting on his address to government officials in Dili this week, the official news agency Antara said: "The Governor said that as the result of upheavals in East Timor, there were now many social problems such as poverty, health, special education for school-age children, orphans and widows.

"He said more than 25 per cent of the East Timorese still needed serious attention from all government agencies to overcome the difficulties they faced," said Antara.

The former Portuguese colony, ravaged

JAKARTA. — East Timor's Governor Mario Carrascalao has called for the restoration of order in the Indonesian province where he says more than 25 per cent of the population need urgent government assistance.

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"He said more than 25 per cent of the East Timorese still needed serious attention from all government agencies to overcome the difficulties they faced," said Antara.

The former Portuguese colony, ravaged by civil war in 1975, has since suffered intermittent famine and almost eight years of sporadic fighting between Indonesian troops and Fretilin independence guerillas.

Security

More than 10 000 Indonesian troops, backed by A-4 Skyhawk and Bronco aircraft, are currently engaged in the protection of villages and the pursuit of Fretilin guerillas, estimated to number up to 500 armed men, according to reliable sources here.

Governor Carrascalao urged government officials to work to restore security and order which he said were vital to East Timor's economic and social development.

Referring briefly to the current fighting, he said the armed forces had achieved what Antara called "meaningful progress" in tackling "disturbances and security problems."

NT News
From LEIGH
MACKAY
8/12/83

Governor Carrascalao said last July that economic recovery in the province required several years of peace and continued economic and food aid from the Indonesian Government and international relief agencies.

Interview

He said that since 1974 up to 100 000 East Timorese had died as a result of civil war, military action and famine.

In a further interview in October he said the current fighting, in which up to 20 civilians had died, had not yet seriously affected economic and social programs.

Australia's silence 'shameful'

Australia's silence on the renewed fighting in East Timor was described yesterday as shameful and inexplicable.

Independent MLA, Ms Dawn Lawrie, said military aid to Indonesia should be stopped until it withdraws from East Timor.

"I have asked Senator Ted Robertson (ALP) to raise the issue as a matter of urgency in Caucus," she said.

NT News 8/11/83

"The Australian Government urges restraint so that the process of peaceful restraint can be given a chance to succeed," Mr Hayden said.

The reports yesterday sparked another clash between the leader of the all-party parliamentary delegation which went to Timor in July, a senior Labor MP, Mr Bill Morrison, and a member

But he said neither Governments was likely to impose trade sanctions as a result.

"I think there is a strong awareness in Indonesia and in Australia in areas where it matters, that trade is important to both our countries," Mr Dalrymple said.

"There is nothing to be gained by having other issues spill over into the trade area."

observers here said.

SPECULATION was also quelled about the Government's Timor policy. Although Mr Caesar's considered advice to the Indonesian Government to "go for it" was in apparent contradiction of ALP policy, Mr Caesar pointed out that the ALP wasn't in office, he was. Nothing could be more natural than the incorporation of all nearby islands smaller than Australia into the Indonesian family of nations. Foreign Apologies Minister Will Winkie, currently exploring the varied bowel disorders attendant on visitors to the region, was especially briefed to draw the attention of the Indonesian military to the existence of Tasmania and its many hillsides, suitable for the cultivation of rice.

"Tasmanians helped many Australian soldiers during World War II particularly in respect of the provision of warm socks and peculiar jams, but we cannot let outdated sentimentality stand in the way of what's best for everyone," he said.

NOT THE NEWS

NAT T. 9/12/83

By PATRICK COOK

exiles face a bleak Christmas

N.T. News
24/12/83

LISBON. — Christmas in a refugee camp is now a familiar experience for the East Timorese, but it doesn't prevent them from wondering why they are there.

Story: JILL JOLLIFFE
Pictures: PEDRO LETRIA

The hundred or so refugees at Vale do Jamor camp outside Lisbon have been living in shanty houses since 1976. Each winter brings

bitter cold and a sea of mud to their flimsy homes, which have only a sporadic electricity supply and poor sanitation conditions. Several hundred other Timorese live in overcrowded apartment houses dispersed around the suburbs of Lisbon.

There were originally 600 refugees in Vale do Jamor camp, most of whom have now emigrated to Australia under a special humanitarian scheme begun in 1980, which liberalised the guidelines for their acceptance as immigrants.

Unemployed

Those that are left fall into three categories:

THOSE who have fallen through the immigration net because they have absolutely no family living in Australia.

OTHERS, such as Mr Fernando Santos, who has a large family to support and has been unemployed since he arrived in Portugal, who do have family in Australia but have been excluded because

they do not meet other immigration requirements.

THOSE who have opted to remain in Portugal because they have secure employment here or because their children have scholarships. They remain in the refugee camp because they do not have alternative housing. Many have been promised decent houses by the Portuguese Government but have been on the waiting list for years.

Problems

Gregorio Henriques, 44, a male nurse, has had a typical refugee experience.

He was separated from his wife and child by the Timorese civil war in August, 1975. His wife Imaculada was evacuated to Portugal in 1976, after a year in a camp in Indonesian Timor, while he remained behind Fretilin lines until he was captured by Indonesian soldiers at the end of 1978.

He experienced the worst of the war in various parts of Timor, travelling ahead of it to keep alive. He cannot forget the terrible bombardments he witnessed on the south coast in 1976 and then in the mountains of Matebian



Refugees who were left behind: This family is not eligible to go to Australia, and faces another cold winter in Portugal.

shortly before his capture.

The memory of a group of villagers who were burnt alive trapped under rocks where they sought shelter from the Indonesian bombardment still haunts him. The recall of the sound of artillery fire and bombardment still rob him of sleep.

Common

His war-caused psychological problems are becoming increasingly common

among Timorese refugees.

In 1979 when his wife Imaculada heard he was still alive she immediately lobbied International Red Cross and Amnesty International to assist his departure from Timor.

Separation

Early this year their long separation ended. They now have a new baby which is being raised in the squalor of Vale do Jamor.

Gregorio's family combines devout Catholicism with pas-

sionate nationalism. Their ideal is to return to an independent East Timor, but their most immediate concern is to leave the refugee camp and live in a proper house.

Remain

Imaculada has a good public service job, and Gregorio is hoping for work, so they will remain in Portugal for the time being — waiting and hoping, like refugees everywhere, and conveniently forgotten like refugees everywhere.



Timorese refugee Gregorio Henriques: Devout Catholic, ardent nationalist.

1983

DEC

24H

1976 and then in the mountains of Matebian

Threat not Catholicism

SIR, In the article entitled "Lisbon's E. Timor exiles face a bleak Christmas" (NT News December 24), Horatio Henriques and his family were featured and described as combining "devout Catholicism with passionate nationalism."

Whatever the rights and wrongs of the East Timor struggle may be,

... suggestion that there had been some sort of conspiracy by the Government.

He said he had understood the matter had gone to Caucus but he would follow it up with Foreign Affairs Minister, Mr Bill Hayden.

The Senate report condemned Indonesia's actions on Timor while the report of an all party delegation to East Timor

Indeed, every Christian and non-Christian sect is guaranteed freedom under the national policy of *Pancasila*, as long as it promotes belief in "the one supreme God" and cooperation in nation-building.

As a result, Christians — along with Moslems, Hindus, Buddhists and others — are to be found in important positions in every sector of Indonesian society. The current Defence Minister is a

LETTERS

The Editor
GPO Box 1300

Catholic and other government ministers are Christians of various kinds.

In the spirit of *Pancasila*, a definitive text on the Catholic Church in Indonesia, published in 1979 by the Dutch priest M.P.M. Muskens, is titled Partner in Nation Building.

The threat in East Timor was not "devout Catholicism" but militant communism, spilling over from the rot that had surfaced in Portugal and threatening to drag that nation's overseas dependencies into the same cess-pool.

"Devout Catholicism" is not to be measured by superficial trappings. "The true Jew," said St Paul, "is the one who is inwardly a Jew."

Similarly, the true Christian has an internal solidarity with all men and women of good will prepared to take a stand against the dehumanising anarchy that stems from atheism, whether of the left or of the right.

G.R. Fallon,
Wulagi

29/12/83 NTN

Economic Struggle

NT NEWS 30/12/83

From
LEIGH MACKAY
AAP, Jakarta

and East Timor dominate 1983 for Indonesia

THE struggle against economic recession, and uneasy relations with Australia over East Timor captured the Indonesian headlines for much of 1983.

Australian-Indonesian rapport hinged on Prime Minister Bob Hawke's effort, assisted by Indonesia, to defuse the issue of East Timor where Fretilin (Revolutionary Front For An Independent East Timor) guerrillas continued to resist Jakarta's rule.

Mr Hawke was elected in March bearing two policies which, in Jakarta's eyes, could never be reconciled.

On the one hand, Mr Hawke and Foreign Minister Bill Hayden sought co-operative relations with this major oil producer, influential member of ASEAN (Association of South-East Asian Nations) and strategically vital neighbor of some 152 million people.

On the other, Labor's 1982 party policy rejected Indonesia's incorporation of East Timor as a province in 1976, an act which Jakarta considers "irreversible."

The policy directed Mr Hawke to change the Fraser Government's pro-Indonesian vote on United Nations resolutions urging self-determination for East Timor.

Shortly after coming to power, Mr Hawke and Mr Hayden decided to scrap the 1982 stance as unrealistic and probably disastrous for relations with Indonesia.

To help them placate their Caucus left wing, Jakarta agreed during Mr Hayden's April visit here to speed up East Timorese family reunions, and to invite a parliamentary delegation to Indonesia "to inform the debate" on Australia's UN vote, expected in October.

Jakarta also allowed Australian Associated Press (AAP) to station the first Australian correspondent here since the country's journalists were effectively expelled in 1980.

Following Mr Hawke's conspicuously friendly reception here in June, senior Labor MP Bill Morrison led a five-man parliamentary delegation to Indonesia for 10 days. He tabled its comprehensive findings in September.

The delegation's four days in East Timor had revealed a "generally satisfactory" food situation, "progress" in health and nutrition, and a "serious and sustained effort" to im-

prove education. Fretilin were barely visible, and there were "no obvious signs of security problems."

The report appeared to justify the Hawke-Hayden line that independence was a lost cause, and that the next option was to ensure East Timor's development.

Delegation member, Senator Gordon McIntosh, dissented. He said in effect that good government was no substitute for self-government, and that the report gave an inadequate account of human rights in East Timor.

But the report's remarks on security in the province had already been overtaken. A week after the delegation's departure, Fretilin ended seven months of peace, and shattered Governor Mario Carrascalao's campaign of reconciliation, by killing some 15 Indonesian troops in a surprise attack.

Since then Indonesia has raised the number of troops there from 3000 to some 11 000. Most are guarding villages and development sites against sporadic attacks by an estimated 700 armed Fretilin, whose jungle ranks have swelled with defecting Civil Guards.

Meanwhile in an anti-climax in October, the expected UN vote on East Timor, which had probably sparked the Fretilin campaign, was postponed for a year with the blessing of Portugal.

Portugal is the former colonial power in East Timor and the prime international advocate of independence. But it was now reassessing the level of support for its cause after seven years of meagre progress.

Indonesian Foreign Minister, Dr Mochtar Kusumaatmadja, had hoped to tie or win the vote, which Jakarta lost the previous year by 48-50. The postponement gave him time to lobby further among traditional abstainers, one of whom, West Samoa, recently agreed to back Indonesia.



President Suharto . . . personal apology

The delay also gave Mr Hawke and Mr Hayden time to trade with the left, to reverse the party's 1982 stance on East Timor at the policy-setting national ALP conference next July.

Until then, Jakarta's apprehension which has lessened markedly since March will remain the background to otherwise amiable bilateral relations.

This amiability was evident in Dr Mochtar's successful effort in November to calm the wrath of his ASEAN partners, Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore and the Philippines. They had rebuked Australia for not co-sponsoring their UN resolution condemning Vietnam's occupation of Kampuchea.

Australia also avoided friction by using discreet diplomatic channels to express its "concern" at continuing street executions here by "mysterious gunmen."

Police say they are gangland killings. Human rights lawyers believe they are a government-sanctioned anti-crime campaign by police-military squads.

The incursion of Indonesia's Trans Irian Jaya Highway into neighboring Papua New Guinea, the result of a surveying error, brought a personal apology from President Suharto when PNG Prime Minister Michael Somare visited here this month. The highway's course is being corrected, and bilateral rapport remains high.

President Suharto further cemented relations by assuring Mr Somare that Indonesia had no designs on his territory. This followed PNG Defence Minister Epel Tito's claim in September that Indonesia might one day invade his country.

Mr Tito was quickly moved to another portfolio. But his remark echoed suspicions from the 1960s when President Sukarno wrested Irian Jaya from the Dutch. Indonesia's resettlement of families from overpopulated Java and Bali to Irian Jaya exacerbated these fears.

Economically Indonesia spent 1983 coping with a fall in export revenue caused by OPEC's \$U.S.5-a-barrel cut in oil prices in March and falling oil demand.

Each dollar drop in the oil price costs Indonesia some \$U.S.325 million in annual export earnings.

Indonesia reacted austerely with a second annual freeze on public service salaries, reduced subsidies on fuel and fertilisers, liberalised interest rates, and a 27.5 per cent devaluation of the rupiah. It also rescheduled 48 industrial projects worth \$U.S.21 000 million.

Indonesia's overseas lenders praised the moves. Along with recent higher oil demand and production in excess of its OPEC quota, they were expected to produce a 1.4 per cent drop in 1983-84 oil earnings from the previous year instead of the 13 per cent drop originally projected.

The expansion of two refineries and further expansion in 1984 will make Indonesia wholly self-sufficient in processed petroleum.

Meanwhile non-oil exports such as rubber, coffee, tin and timber products increased in value by 19 per cent in the first eight months, as Indonesia stepped up efforts to lessen its dependence on oil revenue.