

THE AUSTRALIAN FINANCIAL REVIEW

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OIL:

By BRIAN TOOHEY

Portuguese tail-twisting could backfire

IN a move whose short-term political timing could hardly be bettered, the Australian Government yesterday formally protested to Portugal about its alleged encroachment into offshore resources areas claimed by Australia south of Timor.

The protest, however, could provide some long-term international difficulties for Australia.

Ironically, the main beneficiary of the Government's firm stand will be the Woodside-Burmah consortium which has been blasted in the past by the Minister for Minerals and Energy, Mr Connor, for having an excessive area of the North-West Shelf.

Australia's protest was revealed by the Prime Minister,

Mr Whitlam, in Perth yesterday during a torrid bout of electioneering.

The purpose of his visit was to support the Western Australian Labor Premier, who faces the polls on March 30.

One of the strong criticisms of Labor in Western Australia is that it has neglected the mining industry.

Mr Whitlam's hands-off approach to the North-West Shelf also coincides neatly with the annual dinner of the Australian Mining Industry Council, which was held in Canberra last night.

The disputed area lies between a gap in a line agreed on between Australia, Papua New Guinea and Indonesia to divide up offshore exploration rights between these countries.

The gap appears to the south of Portuguese Timor be-

tween West Irian and the main Indonesian archipelago.

In its dispute with Portugal, Australia has taken a fairly aggressive posture that its rights run up to a point about 50 miles below Portuguese Timor, which would give Australia about five-sixths of the distance between Australia and Portuguese Timor.

The argument for this hard line approach is based on the concept that 50 miles south of Timor a trough delineates clearly the Australian continental shelf from the Timor Shelf.

Australia also tried this on with the Indonesians.

The Indonesians argued, as does Portugal, that there is just the one continuous continental shelf between the countries, and that it should have been split down the middle.

However, a compromise was reached with Indonesia which approximately split the difference between the two opposing viewpoints.

If Australia gets its way with Portugal there will be a bulge in the line between West Irian and the Indonesian archipelago which will allow the benefits from any successful drilling in the area to go to Australia.

Although as a colonial power widely despised among underdeveloped countries Portugal may be an easy target, if Australia's calls for independence for Portuguese Timor are ever heeded then Australia could appear to have driven a very tough bargain with a very small and impoverished country to its north.

The most likely situation following any granting of inde-

pendence to Portuguese Timor is that it would merge with Indonesia, which already has sovereignty over part of the island.

Any bulge in the line effectively disadvantaging Indonesia could easily become a source of friction with Australia, particularly if the areas proved to be rich in resources such as petroleum.

The Portuguese claim areas already leased out to Australia first became apparent in the Portuguese Government Gazette of January 21, 1973, which the Minister for Overseas Territories was authorised to enter into concession arrangements off Timor with the Oceanic Exploration Company of Denver.

The total area involved in the dispute is not yet clear, but is estimated to run to several tens of thousands of square kilometres.

Apart from Woodside-Burmah, Shell, Mid-East Oil Arco and Esso have operations in the areas affected.

P. T. N. C. (18)

Australia protests to Portugal over oil leases

The Government protested to Portugal yesterday about the granting to an American company of a mining lease off the north-west coast of Australia.

The lease, which was gazetted by the Portuguese on January 31, covers 60,070 square kilometres (40,000 square miles) and overlaps a lease already granted, by Australia to Woodside Burmah and Esso.

It was given by Portugal to the mining exploration company Oceanic Petroleum.

The Portuguese Ambassador, Dr Carlos Wemans, was summoned to the Department of Foreign Affairs yesterday to receive the formal Australian protest.

The sea border between Australia and Indonesian undersea rights was demarcated by agreement in 1972, but there is no formal agreement between Portugal and Australia on the undersea mineral rights.

Australia regards the border between Portuguese Timor and Australia as being a continuation of the line between Australia and Indonesian Timor.

During negotiations over the border off Timor, Australia successfully pressed for Indonesian agreement that the Australian continental shelf reached to the Timor Trough, which is only 50 miles off the Timor coast.

In Canberra, an official in the Department of Foreign Affairs said Australia had no seabed agreement with Portugal, which was waiting until the next International Seabed Conference in Venezuela later this year before defining its seabed rights.

The Prime Minister, Mr Whitlam, confirmed the protest yesterday.

Mr Whitlam mentioned the incident in a pre-recorded television interview shown last night in Perth.

He said the incident illustrated how the Federal Government alone had international standing to take action in such circumstances.

The Canberra

Lines

March 26th, 1974

Australian Chamber of Commerce
and Industry
Canberra

No room for Portuguese oil on our shelf

THE AUSTRALIAN Government is patently unashamed of its nationalism. The Indonesian Government is similarly unashamed. This did not, however, prevent the two of us from coming to an agreement on exploration rights in the split continental shelf which separates our two countries.

What we agreed on, basically, is that the trough which separates the generally shallow water between us should be the dividing line. With that agreement made, it was possible for the present Canberra Government to ratify the granting of leases to various oil exploration companies in offshore waters. This was so even though the policies of the Minerals and Energy Minister, Mr Connor, have been seen as inimical to the interests of the exploration companies.

Then along came Portugal. Portugal is the colonial ruler of the tiny island known as Portuguese Timor, which lies between us and Indonesia. As a colonial power, the Portuguese are not particularly popular with the present governments in either Canberra or Jakarta. Neither Government approves of their colonial anachronisms in such places as Mozambique and Angola, but in comparison with these two African hotspots, Portuguese rule of its tiny Timor territory looks benign.

Portuguese Timor is something of an embarrassment, really, since neither we nor Indonesia have positive ideas about what should happen to it should Portugal's rule end. It is not strong enough to be independent. Indonesia does not want it, because the Jakarta ethos is that Indonesia consists only of those East Indies territories formerly colonised by the Dutch. Australia does

not want it, because our interest is in shedding dependencies rather than acquiring them.

The eventual disposition of Portuguese Timor is therefore a problem, and one which must eventually be faced. But we should not in the meantime be expected to put up with the effrontery of its present rulers. Since they remain the legal, if not the moral, owners of the island, the Portuguese have bought into the offshore resources argument, and in a very specific way.

It amounts to this. On the basis of the Australia-Indonesia accords, our Government granted oil exploration rights to Woodside-Burmah. Portugal, which was not a party to those accords because it chose not to be, has granted rights in the same area to an American company, Oceanic Exploration of Denver.

It has done this on the grounds that it refuses to discuss questions of offshore rights until a UN-sponsored convention is held in Caracas in June. In the meantime, the Portuguese are holding to a sort of Mexican stand-off — they argue that the shelf between Australia and Indonesia is one and continuous, and that it has as much right to its resources as anyone else.

They are thus the fly in the ointment of accord between the two real powers in the region. If they were doing it on behalf of a future nation of Timor, we would have to examine our consciences. But they are not. They are doing it on behalf of Portugal. We may have to take them to the World Court, and even that may not work. But one point is demonstrably clear, and it applies to both Australia and Indonesia: this is our region, not Portugal's.

For Indonesians, tomorrow is national day — the 29th since their Republic's independence was proclaimed on August 17, 1945. The celebrations in some cities here mark increasingly close contact between the two peoples. None will be more candid than a summit meeting in Java in a few weeks.

Headed 16/8/74

Soeharto waits at an out of town summit

GOUGH Whitlam is due to fly to Indonesia soon for the most exceptional international meeting of his career.

It should raise dealings between Canberra and Australia's nearest neighbor to a new level.

President Soeharto has started a fresh pattern this year of face-to-face conferences with the leaders of Indonesia's fellow Malay-race nations, next-door Malaysia and the Philippines.

Each time he met them in provincial cities away from the distracting formalities of the capitals — Tun Razak in Penang (Malaysia) and Palembang, and President Marcos in Menado.

Now Mr Whitlam becomes the first national leader outside the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) to join President Soeharto for the latest of these out-of-town personal summit meetings from 5-8 September.

Direct

Without touching at Indonesia's capital, Jakarta, the Australian Prime Minister will fly direct to the Central Java city of Jogyakarta, seat of rule of the nation's vice-president, Sultan Hamengku Buwono IX.

He and Mrs Whitlam will stay, not far from the Sultan's *kraton* residence, at the State Guest House which served as the presidential palace in days when Jogyakarta was capital of the infant Indonesian republic.

The Prime Minister-to-President talks are expected to have no agenda, no public speeches and no press conferences.

But Mr Whitlam should receive a briefing at the highest level on serious new troubles threatening the ASEAN area to our north.

ASEAN seemed to take a big step towards area stability and progress when it recently set up its first permanent headquarters in Jakarta, capital of its largest and most powerful member.

But trust has broken down because of growing friction between Filipino and Thai governments on the one side, and the Muslim minorities in the southern provinces of each country on the other.

These minorities look to Malaysia for support.

This is what gave President Soeharto's meetings with the Malaysian and Filipino leaders added meaning.

President Soeharto has persistent Muslim political worries of his own.

By JOHN HOFFMAN

Aside from this, Mr Whitlam is expected to drive from Jogyakarta to the great 1150-year-old Buddhist monument of Bobobudur, now under multi-million dollar UNESCO restoration that may take 20 years.

Australia is contributing \$200,000 spread over five years.

Meanwhile, defence co-operation with Indonesia grows.

The first group of eight Indonesian servicemen to take three-six month courses at Defence Science establishments are here.

Other service groups are due late this year and early next year.

Australian and Indonesian officer cadets are swapping training visits in groups.

Private industrial tuition programs are advancing, too.

Thirty Indonesians are studying at BHP plants and offices in Australia, and ACI has its sixth group of trainees from associated company activities in Indonesia.

Apart from the swelling tourist stream, Australian students are now going to Indonesia for special tertiary language courses.

Satya Wacana Christian University at Salatiga in Java will even offer them next year a course in linguistics applied to Australian aboriginal languages.

The director of the Australian Cultural Centre, Mr Ken Farnham, is working in Jakarta although the building bought for the centre is not ready to occupy yet.

Library

Language courses for Indonesian students coming to Australia have started, and a growing library of 2500 Australian titles is in the charge of an Australian librarian.

Regular awards to travel and lecture in Australia are being made to Indonesian scholars and artists.

Direct regional contact with Australia becomes more frequent. The governor of East Java was here recently, and the governor of West Sumatra will be later this month.

Interchanges, including growing numbers of school groups who want to brush up their Indonesian on the spot, are leading to the opening of an Indonesian consulate in Melbourne later this year.

Melbourne will also be on the itinerary of a 45-member Indonesian group presenting a week of singing, dancing and *gamelan* music here late in October.

Big copper find in Timor

JAKARTA, August 29.—Big copper deposits estimated at eight million tons have been found on the Indonesian island of Timor, East Java.

A group of Indonesian and Japanese mining experts found the deposits recently in the West Tasi Foto district, near the border with Portuguese Timor.

The State mining company, Pn Aneka Tambang, is carrying out further exploration with a view to exploiting the deposits.

The Age

30/8/74

Timor: a colonial question that has to be settled

Age
4/2/74

THE winds of change blowing across Portugal's colonial empire have confronted Indonesia and Australia with some invidious dilemmas.

How should they respond now that Lisbon has unexpectedly declared it is willing to relinquish a far-flung province which lies back-to-back with the Indonesian portion of Timor Island, 360 miles north-west of Darwin?

The future of Portuguese Timor—ruled by Lisbon for more than 400 years — is certain to be one of the questions discussed when Indonesia's President Suharto meets Prime Minister Whitlam for informal talks in central Java tomorrow and on Saturday.

The interests of both nations are entwined with the fate of Timor, which floats like a partly submerged crocodile on the southern edge of the Indonesian archipelago. The eastern half of the island and the tiny enclave of Oucusi in the Indonesian sector belong to Portugal.

Australia's interest derives in part from geographical proximity and in part from wide commitments, especially relations with Indonesia, its nearest and biggest Asian neighbor.

Indonesia's interest, as perceived in Jakarta, is more immediate and pressing. The forefront of Government concern is the possible impact Portuguese decolonisation could have on the republic's internal security — a concern which touches one of the most sensitive nerves in the corporate body of President Suharto's army-backed administration.

ALTHOUGH it was some time before outsiders became aware of what was happening, the overthrow last April of the Portuguese dictatorship under President Caetano sent instant shockwaves into Timor.

After initial hesitation, the provincial Government in Dili fell in behind the reformist military junta in Lisbon.

Overnight, long-established and repressive fetters were lifted. Official dispensation was given to freedom of expression, association and the Press. Skin-deep democracy was born.

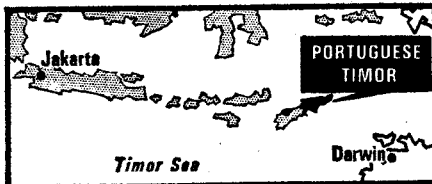
In June the Portuguese authorities came out in favor of the principle of self-determination for Timor, which they indicated would take the form of a plebiscite to be held possibly as early as next year. It would offer the islanders the choice of retaining links with Portugal, association with Indonesia or independence.

Three political parties have emerged: the Timorese Democratic Union (UDT) favoring neocolonial status; the Timorese Democratic People's Association (Apodeti) advocating integration into Indonesia as an autonomous province; and the Timorese Social Democratic Association (ASDT) which champions home rule leading to early independence.

This has forced the Indonesian Government to start giving serious thought to the implications of changes in the status quo of Portugal's backward and hitherto quiescent possession.

In recent days these thoughts have shown signs of crystallising.

MICHAEL RICHARDSON reports from Jakarta on a dilemma there for Mr. Whitlam.



The official Indonesian policy, as stated by Foreign Minister Adam Malik, is one of non-interference in the affairs of Portuguese Timor and respect for the freely-expressed wishes of the Timorese.

But in private, influential Government strategists believe that the interests of the Timorese, Indonesia and Australia would be best served by incorporation of the colony into Indonesia.

Their argument — which is believed to have swayed the President — runs along the following lines.

Retention of links with Portugal now that alternative options have been opened up is counter to the principle of anti-colonialism which Indonesia has strongly espoused in its international dealings. Moreover, Portugal is inclined to divest itself completely of its holdings in Timor, since they are likely to remain a continuing drain on its limited resources of money and manpower.

Independence, on the other hand, is seen as an invitation to instability.

It is pointed out that unless large quantities of oil, natural gas or minerals are found in Portuguese Timor, the 7400-square-mile territory will not be economically viable.

Six hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants, the bulk of them subsistence farmers or fishermen, have been ill-prepared for self-government. Neglect has been the hallmark of the colonial regime, at least until a year or two ago. Social conditions, health, nutrition and education standards are low.

Although political parties claim mass support, their roots extend only superficially into the colony's educated elite, which numbers no more than 25,000, including the Portuguese army and administration, other expatriates and a Chinese community of around 10,000.

The composition and interests of this elite are divergent, and it has no exclusive claim to exercise future political authority. Tribal and regional divisions are marked and could provide an alternative base for party alignments.

Indonesia's anxiety over the security aspects of Portuguese Timor's cloudy future has two aspects.

The first is a lingering worry that independence for the colony and the publicity that accompanies it may stimulate secessionists in Indonesia's outer islands to revive their activities.

The second is that an independent Timor under a weak, divided and aid-dependent Government will be susceptible to externally inspired and promoted subversion.

There is talk in Jakarta of Portuguese Timor becoming the soft underbelly of Indonesian security. Intelligence agencies are scrutinising the activities of the colony's 10,000-strong Chinese community which

dominates the local economy.

Most Chinese still hold Taiwan passports, but it is widely assumed in Portuguese Timor that if Lisbon established relations with Peking they would transfer allegiance to China.

Not long ago, the chief of Indonesia's State intelligence co-ordinating body (Lieut.-General Yoga Sugama) told a Parliament commission that an illegal flow of Chinese migrants was entering Indonesia from the Portuguese side of the border on Timor. He said they came to Timor from China via Hong Kong and Macao, where they obtained Portuguese passports.

While Indonesia's preference for incorporation of the eastern half of Timor is clear, it is hedged by conditions.

The Suharto Administration does not want to do anything to revive regional fears that Indonesia is embarking on a Sukarno-style expansionist exercise.

And it does not want to take any action that might erode its position of international respectability.

THE problem exercising the minds of Indonesian foreign policy strategists is how to achieve the desired goal of bringing Portuguese Timor into the republic by legitimate means — a goal that would almost certainly have to be achieved by testing popular opinion in a plebiscite.

Over the years the Portuguese have conditioned their Timorese subjects to be suspicious of Indonesia and deferentially loyal to Portugal. Many of the Timorese elite and reportedly the Chinese believe the best guarantee of maintaining economic backing and a distinct cultural identity is through the Portuguese connection.

Indonesia's leverage in this situation is limited, but a low-key diplomatic offensive is already said to be under way in Portuguese Timor to improve Indonesia's image and increase its influence.

At the same time, Foreign Minister Malik is expected to discuss the future of the colony with the Portuguese when he goes to New York for the United Nations General Assembly later this month.

Indonesia has developed a friendly working relationship with the local Portuguese leadership in Timor and sources in Jakarta claim some of these leaders are now starting to support the idea of attaching the territory to Indonesia as a province with special self-governing status.

Indonesia is also starting to take soundings about the attitude of its neighbors towards decolonisation in Portuguese Timor. Australia's response could well be crucial.

While there is no policy as such, Canberra's view reportedly favors deferring a plebiscite for at least several years — to prepare the Timorese for a genuine act of self-determination.

But privately many of those working in the fields of defence and foreign relations will probably be hoping for what looks to be the neatest and least troublesome outcome — merger with Indonesia.

Now

~~Nation Review~~
September 9-15 1974



Timorese Nationalist Mr Jose Horta talks with ACTU President Mr Bob Hawke.
(Rennie Ellis/Scoopix photo)

Visitor From Forgotten Timor

All sorts of people pass through CAA National Office — politicians, publishers, farmers, Indian nuns and diplomats. In August one of the most interesting visitors was Mr Jose Horta, Secretary of the Social Democratic Party in Portuguese Timor.

Mr Horta was on a three-week visit to Australia to canvass support for an independent Timor, which he hopes will be a reality within five years. In Melbourne he met with ACTU President Mr Bob Hawke, and in Canberra he spoke with Mr Andrew Peacock (Lib. Vic.), the Opposition foreign affairs spokesman.

But the Australian government — anxious not to become identified with any particular Timorese faction — gave Horta the cold shoulder. The Minister for Foreign Affairs, Senator Willesee, did not meet with him.

Horta almost didn't come to Australia at all. He was to be exiled only two days before the coup in Lisbon on May 25. But the coup saved him from going into exile for the second time in his life. The first time was four years ago, when he was sent to Mozambique after jumping on the table at a party where Portuguese Army officers were present and making an impassioned anti-colonialist speech.

In Mozambique he found himself working as a journalist covering the fighting between the Portuguese Army and Frelimo troops along the country's northern border. An unlikely kind of activity, it would seem, for a political exile. Horta returned to Timor one year later, more determined than ever to work for Timorese independence.

Jose Horta is a quick-witted, intelligent man, one of ten children born to a Timorese mother and a Portuguese father who was exiled to Timor in 1937 for being involved in an abortive coup attempt against the Portuguese President of the time, Dr Salazar.

Although an ardent Nationalist, Jose Horta insists that his country is not yet ready for independence. "Independence will take time. The people need educating first," he says.

Horta is hopeful that Australian voluntary and government aid agencies will provide his country with

educational aid (e.g. college and university scholarships) as well as assistance for agriculture.

But eastern Timor is still a Portuguese colony, and such aid would have to pass through the official channels. The Portuguese authorities have long pursued a policy of isolating the colony from its neighbours. (Foreign journalists, for example, are rarely admitted.) The government in Lisbon — preoccupied with its African colonies and beset by internal power struggles — would probably prefer Timor to remain a forgotten country.

The Age

9/9/74

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PM backs Timor claim

JOGJAKARTA, September 8. — The Prime Minister (Mr. Whitlam) and President Suharto are believed to agree that Portugal's colony on Timor Island should become part of Indonesia in the interest of regional stability.

Both are said to be insistent that this should only come about if the Timorese vote in favor of union with Indonesia through an internationally acceptable act of free choice.

This consensus is understood to have emerged during two days of informal talks between the Australian and Indonesian heads of Government which ended here late yesterday.

From MICHAEL
RICHARDSON

Australian officials were reluctant to comment on the reports last night on the grounds that the discussions were confidential. But they did not deny the speculation was substantially accurate.

The future of Portuguese Timor — which shares a common border with Indonesia and lies less than 400 miles northwest of Darwin — was one of the most important questions discussed by Mr. Whitlam and President Suharto.

The Prime Minister will brief the Foreign Minister (Senator

Willesee) and his Cabinet colleagues on his talks when he returns to Australia tomorrow morning.

He is believed to be anxious to have a clear-cut policy on Portuguese Timor in order to give Australia a legitimate influence in the diplomatic negotiations which inevitably will precede the act of self-determination promised by Lisbon.

Both President Suharto and Mr. Whitlam are said to be very conscious of the need to avoid any actions which would amount to interference in the internal affairs of the colony.

● Suharto wins assurance—6.

Age 9.9.74

Timor claim

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Tidier than thou in Timor

THE SUN
10.9.74

TIMOR, that tiny left-over of Portuguese empire, only 400 miles north of Darwin, is to be incorporated in Indonesia — by hook or by crook.

It suits both Jakarta and Canberra to tidy up a potential no-man's-land before it is exposed to big power subversion.

Merger of the territory's 7400 square miles with Indonesia would save Australia the embarrassment of having to intervene, and be accused of neo-colonial adventurism.

In return Indonesia will look favorably on Australia's search for off-shore oil in the area.

That's the deal which Mr Whitlam is reported to have made with President Soeharto during their talks.

In terms of Kissinger-style diplomacy it was good thinking by Australia's Prime Minister.

Only carping critics will complain that it has yet to be squared off against the high-falutin idealism which Australia so often brings to the "third world."

Only cynics will recall that a much-advertised purpose of Mr Whitlam's mission was to gain clemency for tens of thousands of political prisoners still held in Indonesian jails.

SHORT

SHRIFT

Instead, if reports are true, his main achievement has been to open the way for a transfer of 650,000 Timorese to Indonesian rule — including 10,000 local Chinese whom Jakarta regards as a security threat, and who'll get short shrift after an Indonesian take-over.

As a face-saver it will be stressed that the merger of Portuguese Timor with the Indonesian Republic will be sought only after a fair testing of public opinion in a plebiscite.

But 95 per cent of Timorese are illiterate subsistence farmers or fishermen, incapable of deciding their own destiny by informed debate.

Timor's political "elite", numbering at most 30,000, is divided among Portuguese officials and a handful of native agitators who've come out into the open since the change of regime at Lisbon — plus those Chinese.

There are three main parties.

One favors continued links with Portugal. The second favors an autonomous province, integrated with Indonesia. A third "socialist" party wants home rule as a preliminary to full independence New Guinea style.

Canberra's rejection of the socialist alternative is "realistic."

It is evidence of a contrast between our foreign policy as applied to Australia's vital strategic interest, and our foreign policy as applied to propa-



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● DOUGLAS
WILKIE

ganda support for remote black African states whose chances of making a go of independence are no better or worse than those of Timor.

The Portuguese eastern half of the island, like the Indonesian western half, is desperately poor.

It has progressed very little since the Portuguese looted its silver deposits four centuries ago.

Lisbon used Timor as a dumping ground for unpopular army officers and bureaucrats.

The colony was a dead loss economically, and became even more of a burden in recent years as Portugal felt obliged to justify its "empire" with a modicum of improvement in health and educational services.

Now Lisbon wants to be rid of Timor — given the face-saver of a fair deal for its former subjects.

Ethnically the Timorese do not "belong" to Indonesia. But neither do the West Irians.

WRONG

IDEAS

And since Jakarta already rules half the island it would be much "tidier" if Portugal's Timorese would forget all about independence.

Jakarta cannot afford even a semi-autonomous Timor, such as might encourage wrong ideas among other secessionist groups in Indonesia's "outer islands."

Stability is the first consideration, as Jakarta sees it. And as Australia sees it.

This doctrine of stability was extended during the Whitlam-Soeharto talks, according to reliable reports, to draw from Mr Whitlam a promise that Australia would retain control of the Cocos Islands, and keep Christmas Island out of the clutches of Singapore.

Mr Lee Kuan Yew has not protested. He, too, has a vested interest in stability.

CHART Digital

Who decides the fate of Timor?

TREADING softly around the perimeter of that speck of the ancient Portuguese empire which lies at Australia's back door, the Prime Minister (Mr. Whitlam) and President Suharto of Indonesia appear to have reached a very gentlemanly agreement, which is also highly pragmatic. There shall be no interference in the internal affairs of the eastern part of the island, with its quaint little port of Dili, nor with the tiny enclave of Ocussi Ambeno and its off-shore islands. The inhabitants, under

EDITORIAL OPINION

the rules laid down by the new Portuguese Government, should have freedom to choose their future. But since they could not survive as an independent State, it would be better if they tidied up the island's affairs by deciding to join the Republic of Indonesia.

There is little doubt that they will, with the correct formalities. When India mopped up Goa and the other two small Portuguese enclaves on its coast, the "aggression" received its due measure of denunciation in the United Nations, but no blood was shed. Things will be done more correctly in Timor, where the 600,000 nominal Portuguese citizens are left with nowhere else to go except their mighty neighbor. Foreign experts were puzzled that the fiery President Sukarno left the Portuguese territories in peace and chose instead to take on the Commonwealth in a foolish and frustrated bid to confront Malaysia. But President Suharto is a mild-mannered ruler, who believes in maintaining international proprieties. To remain friends with Mr. Whitlam, he will have to behave correctly.

If the absorption of West Irian (now Irian Jaya) into Indonesia is any guide, the Portuguese territories would be absorbed into the republic with due formalities, and the vote would be unanimous. If it is less than that, it will be a clear indication that Mr. Whitlam has properly insisted on a democratic vote and not an "act of free choice" ("pepera") which was sarcastically called an "act of no choice" by international correspondents in Irian. Independence remains a possibility for Portuguese Timor, but it can only be regarded as a remote one. The Americans pressured the Dutch into conceding Irian; it is unlikely that the Australian Government has put any pressure

on Lisbon to follow suit. It would be unprincipled to do so. The influence we now appear to have in Jakarta must be exerted for the ultimate benefit of the Timorese.

The Age

11/9/74

Canberra aim for Timor: go Indonesian



Timorese girls . . . a decision to make.

From HUGH ARMFIELD, in Canberra

AUSTRALIA is expected to take a significant step in the next few weeks towards ensuring that the tiny Portuguese enclave on Timor, with a population of only 650,000, becomes part of Indonesia.

Australia and Indonesia are likely to make a joint approach to Portugal urging that this is the only practical solution for its 450-year-old colony.

The approach is expected to be made, on an informal basis, at the United Nations General Assembly meeting which begins in New York next week.

It will probably be made by the Prime Minister (Mr. Whitlam) and Indonesia's Foreign Minister (Dr. Adam Malik) at a meeting with the Portuguese Foreign Minister (Mr. Soares). If not, Mr. Whitlam, it will almost certainly be the Minister for Foreign Affairs (Senator Willesee).

It is understood that this move was agreed on during Mr. Whitlam's brief but important visit to Indonesia last weekend.

In the world climate towards decolonisation, a decision must be reached soon about the fate of Portuguese Timor.

Portugal is in the process of decolonisation but its small and relatively backward possession on Timor is of low priority. The African colonies are the ones in the international spotlight.

There are three options for the decolonisation of Portuguese Timor:

- Association with Portugal.
- Independence.
- Association with Indonesia.

The problem is which is best for the people of Portuguese Timor and also in the best interests of the region.

All three countries vitally involved — Portugal, Indonesia and Australia — agree that the decision should be made by the people of the colony themselves.

Within the colony there is organised support for each of the possibilities. But it is limited and poorly informed about the result of each. At present, association with Portugal has most local support and association with Indonesia the least.

Indications are that Portugal itself is happy to accept the wishes of the Timorese, but at the same time it is responsive to international attitudes towards the management of decolonisation.

And that is why Australia and Indonesia want to talk to the Portuguese at the General Assembly forum.

Mr. Whitlam and President Suharto agreed last weekend that the best and most realistic future for Timor was association with Indonesia.

But this is not a universal view among Australian Government advisers.

Certain areas of the Defence Department are understood to be strongly opposed to Timor becoming associated with Indonesia. They would prefer to see it independent.

These Defence, people and For-

eign Affairs are believed to have had a considerable hassle before Mr. Whitlam accepted the brief on association with Indonesia.

This Defence argument for independence is understood to have two bases: The significance of Timor in World War II and the future of Indonesia itself.

The Defence people point to Portuguese Timor's closeness to Australia and to the fact that it was used by Japan in the last war for reconnaissance and other flights over Australia and could again be of strategic importance.

They also believe that Indonesia is not as stable as other people (particularly Foreign Affairs) think and that there is a possibility of a Government hostile to Australia emerging in Jakarta, which would make Portuguese Timor of vital importance.

So they favor the colony becoming independent, or in some way strongly linked with Australia. Such a concept would seem to be a pipe-dream. As an independent nation with no resources — except possibly oil — Timor could not develop into anything like a viable State.

Most people in Canberra agree, with the Indonesians that an independent Timor would be so weak, economically, politically and militarily, that it could not resist external influences from some other source which would not be in Indonesia's, Australia's or the region's best interests. And

that excludes the interests of Timor itself.

Australia also sees an independent Timor as of possible concern to Papua New Guinea.

Although both Australia and Indonesia say the decision must be for the Timorese themselves, they agree that Portugal, because of its considerable influence in the colony, could do much to "persuade" locals that it is in their long-term interests to become associated with Indonesia.

Australia has doubts that the Timorese, because of the rudimentary stage of their political development, understand what is involved.

It is felt that with a process of local education (for want of a better word), it could be demonstrated that association with Indonesia is the one viable choice.

But the Federal Government does not want to do anything that might make it appear the locals were being pressured into a decision.

It believes that preparation for the act of self-determination — however it is carried out — should be careful and gradual, lest an ill-formed decision be made.

Australia has already begun discussions in Lisbon on the issue.

It has also been suggested to Indonesia that it would be easier for it to talk with Portugal if it reopened its embassy in Lisbon. Such a step would be helpful in the overall process.

But, these moves apart, the most significant step in the near future will certainly be at the United Nations.

The Age

13/9/74

'Special claim' of Timor

SIR — The reports of discussions in Indonesia between the Prime Minister and President Suharto on the future of Portuguese Timor make it necessary to recall a special claim the people there have upon Australians.

During World War II an Australian Army force fought on in Portuguese Timor, for months without communication or help from Australia, at a time that was possibly the worst for the allies.

The activities of this small force caused the Japanese high command to divert into the area an experienced army division of some 15,000 troops, which could have been used much more effectively against Australia elsewhere.

I write not to recall the efforts of the Australians but that their survival and effectiveness were dependent entirely upon the loyalty and sacrifice of the Portuguese, both European and Timorese; some of them died heroically for us and all suffered greatly.

The Australians who were there learned to think and to speak in the Timorese language and many have revisited friends and places they knew well; all would feel betrayed by any Australian government that made a facile political decision on the future of these friendly, loyal and courageous people.

All of us were impressed in 1942-43 and since by the loyalty of the Timorese to the European Portuguese and Australia should not ignore the 450 years of European history in Timor.

In addition to a proper concern for the short and long-term peace and prosperity of 600,000 people close to our north-west, Australia has a debt of gratitude to both the European and Timorese people there.

Our Government should ensure that at least ample time and facilities are given them in their time of uncertainty to determine and express freely their desires for their future.

B. J. CALLINAN
Melbourne, Vic

The Australian
18/9/74

It was announced that the inhabitants of the half-island would be enabled to determine their future by a plebiscite — whether to stay with Portugal, adhere to Indonesia, or become independent.

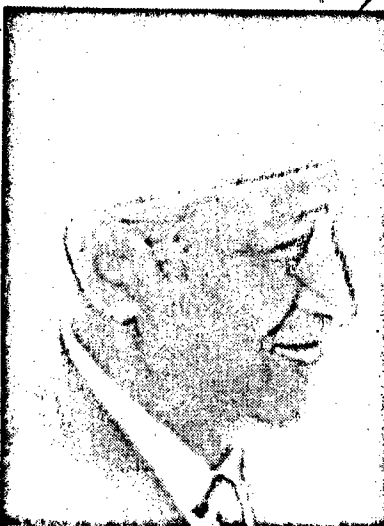
Three new parties have emerged favoring these different choices.

But it seems unlikely that Indonesia will refrain from exerting her influence — and, if postwar history and the current attitude of the Whitlam government are any indication, Australia will back Jakarta, in any plans its rulers may have of taking over Timor, as Goa was grabbed by India.

No resistance

Portugal's government is unlikely to resist this process, seeing its willingness to dump the large, rich African colonies.

If Timor were to become independent, there is an issue of economic viability, falling the dis-



INDONESIA'S SUHARTO

covery of oil, natural gas or minerals.

Most of its 650,000 people are poor fisher folk and small farmers.

The educated elite of soldiers, administrators and others, Portuguese and Chinese, is calculated to be about 25,000.

Tribal divisions and regional differences could be significant in the development of independent political life.

What worries the government in Jakarta is that the spirit which produced the great secession of the Moluccas in the 'fifties is by no means dead.

If Timor became independent, it might become a centre of secessionist activity and subversion.

The Chinese mostly hold Nationalist Taiwan passports at present, but this may change.

Already, too, an illegal flow of Chinese into Indonesia has continued by way of Hong Kong, Macao and Timor.

Indonesia under Suharto, however, is anxious to avoid doing anything violent to secure the adhesion of Timor, which might awaken memories of the Soekarno era in the region.

Can the thing be done by plebiscite?

It seems doubtful; the Timorese are attached to Portugal, which has ruled their country for 400 years, and suspicious of Indonesia.

The Chinese believe that some link with Portugal is their best hope of surviving as a successful cultural community — Indonesia has a badly stained record, so far as her Chinese citizens are concerned.

Indonesia has been moving cautiously to win friends and influence people in Timor, and the Government has a friendly working relationship with the Portuguese authorities.

It is said that some of them now favor linking the territory to Indonesia, as a kind of protected autonomous province.

In Canberra, opinion apparently favors putting off a plebiscite until the state of opinion in Timor and the situation generally is clearer.

But the simplest solution is held to be an arrangement with Indonesia.

News Weekly 18/9/74

TIMOR

Indonesian take-over?

THE overthrow of the Caetano government in Portugal has placed the future of a small territory next door to Australia — Portuguese Timor — in considerable doubt.

The provincial government in Dili had no choice but to fall in with the changes in Lisbon, and "democratic freedoms" were proclaimed.

Allow Timor

to decide:

newspaper

JAKARTA, Monday (AAP-Reuter). — The influential Indonesian newspaper Kompas urged the Government today not to interfere in the internal affairs of Portuguese Timor.

Indonesia should leave the future of the Portuguese colony to the people there themselves, the paper said in an editorial.

It recalled Friday's demonstration against a merger between Indonesia and the colony in Dilli, the colony's capital.

The Foreign Minister, Dr Malik, has said Indonesia has no claim on Portuguese Timor but the Home Minister, General Amir Machmud, stated that the Government would be prepared to accept the Territory if it was the wish of the people there.

The Canberra Line

24/9/74

SMH 17/10/74

Timor's future causes jitters

CANBERRA, Wednesday. — Portugal's Overseas Territories Minister, Dr Antonio D'Almeida Santos, left Canberra tonight after talks with Australian ministers on Portuguese Timor's future.

Dr Santos included Australia in an extensive, informal tour of Asia to explain decolonisation progress by the new Government in Portugal.

It is understood that the future of Timor was a major topic in talks yesterday and today with the Prime Minister, Mr Whitlam, and the Foreign Minister, Senator Willesee.

The Australian ministers repeated Australia's view that the question was one for the people of Timor to decide.

MICHAEL RICHARDSON writes from Singapore: Indonesia, which shares a common border with Timor, is showing uneasiness in the top echelons of the armed forces over Timor's alleged slide towards the category of "national security risk."

Last Friday, the Indonesian Army newspaper "Berita Yudha" reported that Communist activities were growing in the colony and guns had been smuggled in.

In a front-page report the paper said Communist

INDONESIA 'UNEASY'

newspapers and magazines from Lisbon had flooded into the colony and were being distributed by the party advocating early independence.

This party last month charged its name from the Timorese Social Democratic Association to the Liberation Front for East Timor (Fretilin) just before its leaders organise an orderly rally of several thousand people in the administrative capital, Dili, to demonstrate against a proposal for merger with Indonesia.

The newspaper alleged that a Portuguese national of Chinese origin had given military training to some of the colony's Chinese who are estimated to number more than 10,000 and who constitute the most economically powerful and socially cohesive

group in a population of 650,000.

Several influential figures in the Indonesian Government and armed forces are known to be strongly opposed to independence for Timor under a leftist Government which they believe might be sympathetic or vulnerable to revolutionary pressures, particularly from elements linked to China and other sources.

While western diplomats in Jakarta are inclined to play down these expressions of concern in the army and the security intelligence services, the could prove embarrassing for the Australian Prime Minister, Mr Whitlam, if they lead to any attempts to apply high pressure on the Timorese from the Indonesian side.

The Sydney man

17/10/74

Timor free to choose: Lisbon

DILI (Portugese Timor), October 20. — The Timorese won an assurance yesterday that they would be able to decide their own future.

The Portuguese Overseas Territories Minister (Dr. Almeida Santos) gave the promise when he arrived in Dili after talks in Australia and Indonesia.

He said if Timor voted to remain with Portugal, the Lisbon Government would be quite happy.

Dr. Almeida Santos said Portugal would soon elect a new law legalising the colony's political parties.

There would be either a referendum or a national assembly formed to draw up a new constitution.

The Minister said he would prefer a national assembly.

Observers saw this as recognition of the immense difficulties of staging a referendum among the colony's 600,000 people, about 90 per cent. of whom are illiterate.

There are also 12 native languages and 35 dialects.

—AAP-Reuters.

The Age 21/10/79

EDITORIAL OPINION

Touch of Timor horse trading

IT is all very well for Australians to go to the United Nations to talk about idealism and to reject colonialism: then come the hard practicalities. One which may soon concern us is the future of Timor, the island a Sydney-Melbourne hop away from Darwin off Australia's north-west coast. It is in Australia's sphere of influence in one natural sense: eucalyptus trees and other Australian-type flora grow there. It was also a Japanese base. That bears thinking about. Indonesia inherited the western end of Timor from the Dutch. The eastern enclave has been a Portuguese colony. But Portugal is in political turmoil. President Spínola has downed monocles and as the procession of generals there continues, currently with a strong Left-wing element, the colonies disintegrate.

Three choices now face the 600,000 people of Portuguese Timor, many of them betel-chewing tribesmen engaged in subsistence agriculture as well as perhaps 10,000 Chinese: Independence, to become part of Indonesia or retain links with Portugal. Timor's colonialist history is lesson enough of the impracticality of a power vacuum. Australians would be loth to see a kind of Cyprus or Cuba develop there. It seems that the big nations at the moment all have some vested interest in terms of their own security in opting for future Indonesian rule. Perhaps there are no islands any more, they are all part of a power bloc. The biggest problem is that, with the best will in the world, the Timorese may be totally incapable of exercising a choice — they just are not that politically mature.

After what seems to have been an extremely discreet visit to Australia, bordering on the invisible, the Portuguese Minister for Overseas Territories (Dr. Santos) is talking in terms of a possible referendum next year to determine Portuguese Timor's future. Alternatively, a national assembly might be convened, after local political parties are legalised, to draw up a new constitution. Dr. Santos apparently favors the latter solution. Australia and Indonesia both appear to favor a fairly gradual and certainly more credible transition. It might well be the most tidy arrangement for Indonesia to assume control of all the Timorese, but what do they think about it or, rather, what would they think if they were capable of grasping the options?

Australia will want to see that there is some convincing act to free choice preferably lacking the disciplined unanimity of the West Irian decision. The wishes of the people must be paramount and they will need time and some political development as well as sympathetic assistance from their neighbors in expressing them. Future oil search in the region is also a matter which could complicate Timor's future. In March this year Australia had reason to protest to the Portuguese Government over its purported granting of a permit to a Denver exploration company cutting across seven concessions granted or renewed to other companies by the Australian and West Australian Governments.

The shape of the seabed should ultimately be beyond dispute; the future is one of shifting shoals. However much Australia might welcome the simple and perhaps realistic integration of Timor with Indonesia, it will need to think hard on the defence significance of Timor. And, unless the Timorese choose freely, we will need to recognise that coldly acceding to colonialism by another power in your region is not so different from practising it yourself.

WORLD NEWS

We'll tell Jakarta: hands off Timor

From MICHAEL RICHARDSON

JAKARTA, Oct. 29. — Senior Australian officials are expected to warn Indonesia this week that the Labor Government would oppose any military action by Indonesia to "neutralise" an alleged communist threat in Portuguese Timor or to annex the colony by force.

This follows suggestions from well-placed sources here that an invasion might be considered if the small island territory — which shares common borders with Indonesia — becomes a "direct ideological threat" to the Republic.

The sources say Indonesia would be loath to take military action but they add that, as a last resort, it is an option which is not closed.

It is not clear whether the airing of these views is a deliberate exercise to gauge Australian reaction, or whether they mean that an operational contingency plan is being drawn up or already exists.

But they will certainly have shocked the Prime Minister (Mr. Whitlam) and Government representatives, who are keeping a close eye on developments in Portuguese Timor.

After more than 400 years of colonial rule, the territory — situated 580 km. north-west of Darwin — has been promised the right of self-determination by the Administration in Lisbon.

This act of free choice will probably be organised next year.

The permanent head of the Foreign Ministry in Canberra (Mr. Renouf) and several senior officers from his department are likely to state very clearly Australia's opposition to any attempt to influence events in Portuguese Timor by force or the threat of force.

Voluntary union

Mr. Renouf is leading an Australian delegation to the annual official talks between the Foreign Ministries of the two countries to review bilateral relations and regional affairs.

The talks were due to begin here today and finish tomorrow.

In private discussions last month in central Java, Mr. Whitlam and Indonesia's President Suharto reached general agreement that voluntary union of the colony with Indonesia under conditions acceptable to the international community would be the best possible outcome of any act of self-determination.

Indonesian authorities believe that independence for the territory — which is small (population

650,000), backward, and has little chance of being economically viable without continuing injections of foreign aid — could make it prey to instability and subversive pressures, which would affect Indonesian security and disrupt regional harmony.

tion with Portugal; immediate independence; or merger with Indonesia.

Of these three, the course favored by Jakarta — merger — has by far the weakest support in the colony at the moment.

The first two options — though commanding much more popular backing — are looked on with deep suspicion by the Indonesian authorities, who have effective responsibility for dealing with Portuguese Timor.

The independence movement is depicted as pro-communist and hostile to Indonesia.

The prospect of continuing ties with Portugal is also viewed with pessimism from Jakarta.

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The Age

30/10/74

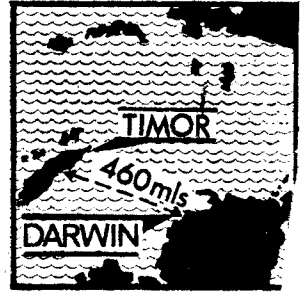
To compound the tragedy, the means to avert it are not being fully exploited by those nations the

debilities are passed on to the children born into effects of malnutrition which include the obvious real, lasting relief from the pains of hunger or experience of the world's starving. For them, the in the course of our affluent lives, we are not being fully exploited by those nations the

Herald 2-11-74

Tiny Timor leaps into politics

Herald 2/11/74



From a Special Reporter: Dili, Portuguese Timor

The suave, dapper minister from Lisbon promised his people, in a language many of them did not understand, that they could choose their own future.

The main square of Dili, a normally tranquil town of 80,000, was packed to overflowing with a multi-racial throng which included a large contingent of bare-chested, befeathered mountain tribesmen.

Warriors clutched huge poles flying the Portuguese flag as Lisbon's Overseas Territories Minister, Antonio de Almeida Costa Santos, reminded them of their 400-year link with the mother country, and promised that Portugal would stay on at the island east of Java in the Timor Sea — if that was what the people wanted.

But away from the carnival atmosphere of Dili, where the Timorese

were enjoying their first leap into politics, other countries are watching developments with more than a trace of concern.

For self-determination raises the prospect of a politically independent, but economically dependent country emerging in a relatively stable area, a possible future satellite for other countries, or a base for insurgency operations in the region.

There is little doubt that Indonesia, which administers the western half of Timor as part of its straggling republic of 3000 inhabited islands, would like to take over Portuguese Timor for security reasons alone.

Australia, which is less

directly concerned with the colony's fate, has already made it clear it would not be against this solution, provided a majority of the Timorese people wanted this.

It was significant that the Portuguese minister visited both Indonesia and Australia before coming to Timor.

The Indonesians have pledged to pour \$100 million into developing the colony — compared with the \$7 million Portugal ploughed into development last year.

Indonesia is also giving encouragement to one of Timor's three political parties, Apodeti, which is pressing for integration with Indonesia.

PRESENCE

While Apodeti's leaders claim the backing of 70 per cent of the 800,000 population, evidence suggests their support is minimal and Indonesian influence virtually nil.

Apart from Portugal, Australia has much more of a presence through the boat-loads of supplies from Darwin and a steady stream of young tourists passing through on their way to the beaches of Bali.

The two other choices open are immediate independence, followed by a handover of power within five years, as proposed by the Revolutionary Front for Independent Timor East (Fretilin), or continued links with Portugal until the colony can stand on its own feet, as urged by the Democratic Union of Timor (UDT).

The parties have been put together from scratch by a handful of activists from Timor's tiny elite.

They are bidding for a large imponderable, the great majority of the population who live in virtual seclusion in the hills, their way of life unchanged for centuries.

DECOLONISATION

The uneasy question of Timor's future

From COLIN McINTYRE, in Dili

THE prospects of decolonisation in Portuguese Timor, 16,000 kilometres from Lisbon, has sent slight tremors of anxiety through its neighbours.

Until last April's coup in Portugal, Timor, a remote outpost of 600,000 people was just a colonial anachronism propped up by regular injections of Portuguese aid, where wine flowed freely and a telephone call to Lisbon cost the same as one to the other end of the island.

Now its neighbours Indonesia, which administers the western half of Timor and Australia, 550 kilometres to the south, are faced with the prospect of an unknown quantity emerging to disturb the balance of a relatively stable region.

Portugal's Minister for Overseas Territories, Dr Santos, has just visited Timor after first going to Canberra and Djakarta, and told crowds that it was up to the Timor people to decide their own future.

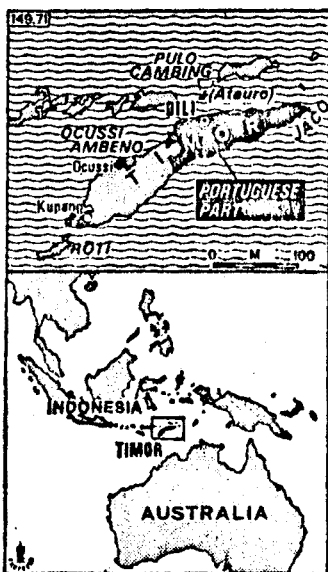
In a country where only about 10 per cent of the people understand Portuguese, the official language, this is not going to be easy to bring about.

When the April coup in Lisbon breathed political life into Timor, three parties were formed, virtually from scratch. Their aims cover the three possibilities open to the colony — the status quo, with the possibility of independence at some future date, immediate independence, and integration with Indonesia.

The party leaders come almost exclusively from the educated elite of Dili.

While the activists think up political catch-phrases or borrow them from the other parties, the reality of Portuguese Timor lies in the beautiful rolling hills of the colony where ties with Portugal are not just deep-rooted they are positively sacred, with the Portuguese flag embedded in their rituals.

Another factor in the com-



plex situation is the influence of the local hereditary chiefs who in most cases command the unswerving loyalty of their subjects and could therefore swing their whole region behind one or other candidate or proposal.

Early in its colonial rule here, Portugal gained their allegiance and this would appear to give an almost unfair advantage to the Democratic Union of Timor (UDT), which wants the colony to stay with Lisbon in a federation until it can stand on its own feet.

Mr Mario Carrascalao, who stood down from the party leadership, is generally considered to be running the show from behind the new chairman Mr Francisco Lopez de Cruz.

The party stresses that its final objective is independence for Timor, but argues that the colony is too weak economically and politically to become a viable State at present.

Last year, Portugal ploughed about \$A5.3 million into developing the colony.

Timor was once a big exporter of valuable sandalwood. But that is exhausted and it now depends on coffee for foreign exchange.

The UDT wants to take over the running of domestic

affairs, leaving the colony's defence, foreign affairs and economic aid in the hands of Lisbon.

The Revolutionary Front of Independent Timor East (Fretilin), a left-leaning party, drawing its support mainly from the students and intellectuals, is pressing for immediate de jure recognition followed by a handover of all power within five years.

Fretilin also wants immediate recognition of itself as the only legitimate representative of the people.

One of the biggest hurdles Fretilin has to face is allaying fears among Timor's neighbors, particularly Indonesia, that a small left-leaning country dependent on help from outside could become a base for left-wing insurgency operations and propaganda in the region.

The third party, the People's Democratic Association of Timor (Apodeti) offers the clear-cut alternative of joining Indonesia.

Indonesia has said it has no claims on Timor, but would be prepared to accept the colony if the people chose this.

The Indonesian Government also has pledged \$A76 million to the country if it decided to join.

There is little doubt that Indonesia, would prefer to incorporate Timor for security reasons alone.

Australia, which is less concerned about the colony's future, would probably also regard this as the best solution in the long term.

Dr Santos is against a referendum because of the enormous practical difficulties. He said he preferred a constitutional assembly of elected representatives which would draw up a new Constitution.

Portugal is to give about \$A21 million to Timor's latest five-year development program, the bulk of it for road-building and communications.

A Japanese consortium is also reported to be ready to invest, about \$A4.5 million in various projects, including timber and fisheries. — AAP/Reuter.

Indonesia offers us \$500m contracts

By
VALERIE CHRISTIAN

An Indonesian army general is in Melbourne offering business which could be worth hundreds of millions of dollars to Australian companies.

Major General R. Soedarto, a civil and military engineer, is trying to put together an Australian consortium in the heavy engineering and civil engineering field to undertake projects in Indonesia, mainly in West Sumatra.

Major General Soedarto is president-director of P.T. Pancang-Suko Construction Co., which has formed an association with a small local group, C. S. Brading & Associates.

Bradings have apparently been organising Australian companies which may be given the work.

Housing

The projects include:

PROVISION of Government housing in Indonesia including a project for 1500 homes worth \$U.S.55 million and a further project for 2000 homes;

HARBOR works;
LARGE earthmoving projects;

QUARRYING projects; and
CONSTRUCTION of a power station.

The harbor, earthmoving and quarrying projects are worth about \$500 million.

A spokesman said General Soedarto was here to view and vet the people he hoped to do business with.

The group has talked with the Leighton construction group about housing projects worth millions of dollars.

Mr. C. Brading said yesterday his group had been appointed to the contracting and procurer list of Pertamina National Oil Co., the Indonesian Government owned group.

Organising

Major-General Soedarto is keenly interested in having Australian companies involved in the projects.

At present several Australian companies operate on a small basis in Indonesia.

Indonesia has been a poor country for years, but its economy has been transformed by oil. The price of Indonesian crude oil has shot up over the past 18 months, giving the country far greater financial resources.

The big projects could provide opportunities for Dr. Cairns' recently announced overseas trading corporation.

General Soedarto is a former director of the Indonesian Department of Public Works. He supervised building of the biggest mosque in Indonesia.

In his brief visit here the general has also visited Swan Hill.

Age

5-11-74

'Here in Portugal'... 1

Last of Portugal's colonies to feel the impact of the draft the homeland is Timor. Will it opt for independence or fe... How will Australia be affected? Has Mr Whitlam comm... against Timorese independence? In a series of articles by PETER HASTINGS, who has just visited Timor, looks for

natic political events in or union with Indonesia? titted his Government eginning today answers.

"HERE IN Portugal, you understand, things have greatly changed since the events of April 25," the official said primly.

He looked out of his office window to frown at the quincentenary statue of Portugal's Prince Henry the Navigator set amid rows of pink and white oleanders and flaming poincianas in the neat little park opposite.

"Here in Portugal." It happens to be here in Dili, Timor. One still occasionally hears antique phrases of this sort among older Portuguese administrators, businessmen and settlers. Symptomatic of entrenched colonial attitudes, it nevertheless reveals an ancient certainty of presence and posture. Portugal has been in Timor for nearly 400 years.

It is certainly not a phrase one hears from younger Portuguese and it's a bad joke to the bored, olive-skinned young conscripts in the burgundy-coloured shorts — 2,000 or more soldiers serve in Timor in the mysterious name of "national security" — who sit disconsolately by day on park benches, or get drunk and argumentative at night in the "Piquenique" and yearn nostalgically for Lisbon, where the action is.

To be young, and Portuguese, in Timor, is to thirst for action. It was the unknown identity of some over-enthusiastic political activist which caused my friend in the Administration to frown that morning.

On the back of the Infante Henrique's statue someone had daubed a hammer and sickle in black paint with the letters MRPP — the initials of Portugal's Maoist movement. He had scrawled the same message outside the entrance to Dili's holiest institution, the handsome Banco Nacional Ultramarino (National Overseas Bank). Who could have perpetrated such an outrage? Was it the work of a group or a single, desperate man?

Rumours flew. Pro-Indonesian sources alleged immediately that the desecration of the monument was the work of communist Timorese University students recently returned from Lisbon. They said the whole incident simply proved what Jakarta was always saying, that Timor was ripe for Maoist "guerilla" activity and that the sooner Portuguese Timor became part of Indonesia the better.

Anti-Indonesian forces counter-charged that it was

A European colony on our doorstep



The faces of Portuguese Timor . . . Malay, Papuan, Goanese, African . . .

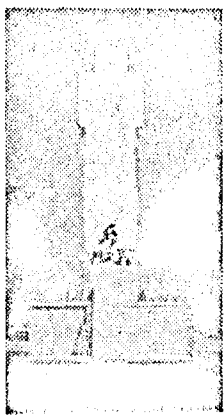
the work of Indonesian agents, a deliberate attempt to create a communist scare which Jakarta could exploit for its own ends. In fact it turned out to be the work of some frustrated young soldiers hoping to create some sort of political scandal which might hasten their promised repatriation.

The real significance of the episode was its clear indication of the true nature of Timor's nascent politics. These eventually will revolve around the struggle for the minds and hearts of the people between Jakarta's over-anxious irredentists and Dili's emerging but uncertain nationalist-oriented elite.

Uncertain is the operative word in Dili, no less than in Timor, and the small centre of 20,000 is by no means easy to come to grips with, for it is quite unlike any other town in South-East Asia. Compared with the somewhat down-at-the-heel centres in Indonesia's surrounding East Nusa Tenggara regions, Dili has a certain dusty chic. The last redoubt of Europe in Asia, it is colonial, compact and mis-leading.

Many of the town's narrow

aspects, its growing number of shanty-town squatters for example, are lost in an overall impression of neat streets, old colonial houses with wide windows, latticed stone walls and gardens full of white bougainvillea, an army of tidy, Chi-



The outcrop

nese shops and, set between two spectacular backdrops of serrated mountain peaks on one side, and Dili's stunning blue harbour on the other, the unexpected neo-classical facades of the Administration complex and the new museum.

But Dili's visual appeal no more hides its contradictions than it does its beachside hippy colony. Well-dressed children beg in the streets with insistent charm, "ton escudo, senhor . . . un . . . un." Comfortable low-tariff hotels offering the beely Darwin tourist an inexpensive choice of fair Portuguese food and good Portuguese wine cut off the water supply at 10 pm in the long dry season because engineers are lacking to build a proper town reservoir.

Out in what are called the suburbs you can pick up a telephone and call a meter taxi, usually driven by a Chinese smartly dressed with cap. The fact that you can get a taxi at all is a surprise. So is the fact that in the same suburbs you may be inflicted with a good dose of malaria simply because town authorities are too lazy to drain completely the low-lying swamp areas around effectively.

If you do get malaria, or simply ill, you can go to hospital and be treated by one of several doctors, or, if you have toothache, by one of two dentists. If you are food

them. Meanwhile, staying at our own hotel is one of Lisbon's top specialists who, because he is an Army lieutenant-colonel, is unavailable like the 20 or so other Army medicos scattered around the country, most of them bored and under-employed.

Dili's minor mysteries don't end there. Next door to an airport little better than an Australian bush strip (the main air terminal is in distant Baucau) is a compound full of sophisticated road-grading equipment. Adjacent to a handsome, new social services reception centre is a near slum full of rural migrants who wouldn't know where to start looking for a job. A sizable town possessing only one shoe-repair shop and two barbers also boasts one of South-East Asia's most modern and efficient port facilities.

Most of Dili's infrastructure including the docks, electricity supply, concrete storm-water channels, radio beacon and sealed roads is a creation of the early 1960s. In one sense, Portugal has only been in Timor since 1945 and Timor has only got what little was left over after the demands of Portugal's comparatively rich West and East African colonies had been satisfied.

Today Dili is a little like its new museum. Formerly an infantry barracks, and the only pre-World War II building to survive Allied bombing raids, its freshly painted, classically proportioned facade is a delight to the eye.

If, however, you open one of its elegant, green shutters, the interior reveals itself as a surrealist jumble of ladders, buckets, half-demolished dormitories and storerooms. The artifacts it awaits, its very role as a national museum, remain — like the sealed roads, new airstrips and schools planned for Timor — a Portuguese promise.

Next: The colonial legacy.

Second in a series
by PETER HASTINGS
on the future of Timor

'Here in Portugal'—2

Timor needs aid —and looks to Australia for it

FACING OUT to sea across Dili's attractive waterfront are some very ancient cannon. One piece is so old that its embossed date and Portuguese crown are scarcely visible. Portugal has been governing Timor's 650,000 people a very long time.

The Portuguese arrived in Timor, primarily in pursuit of the sandalwood trade, about 1520, more than 250 years before the First Fleet sailed down Sydney Harbour. Forced out of what is now Kupang in western or Indonesian Timor by the more powerful Dutch, they settled in Dili and in other areas along the east coast.

Relations with the Dutch were always strained and suspicious. The Portuguese obtained Dutch recognition of Portuguese sovereignty over the eastern half of the island, over their enclave at Oecusse and over two offshore islands.

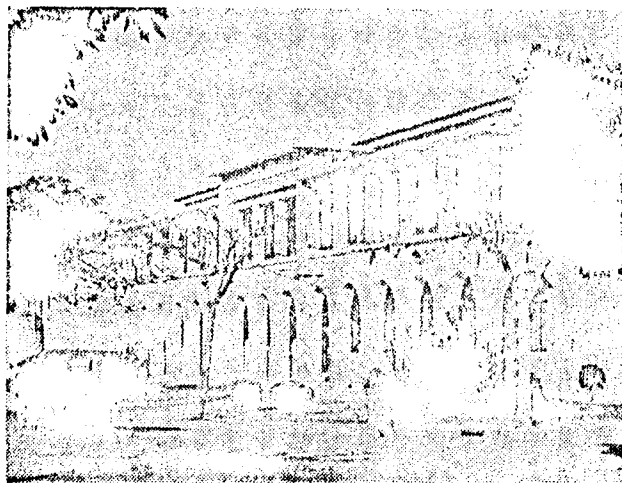
The present boundaries were settled in 1893 and confirmed in the "Luso-Hollandesa" Treaty of 1904, Article XIII of which declared that if either power wished to dispose of its part of Timor the other must have first option — a clause which Indonesia as successor State to the Netherlands East Indies might find useful to invoke if Portugal decided to quit Timor.

The Church was the first centre of government in Timor, invested with administrative powers until 1702. It was strangely lacking in evangelical fervour, probably reflecting Lisbon's desire to avoid creating an educated, Christian, Timorese elite. Today, of Timor's 650,000 people, fewer than 180,000 are Catholic — many fewer than in adjacent, less densely populated Indonesian Timor — while the remainder are animist.

Over several centuries the Portuguese established coastal settlements and pushed increasingly into the beautiful, mountainous interior. Administration was conducted by administrators (district commissioners) and *chefes de posto* (patrol officers). The administrators had very wide powers comparable with those exercised by some of New Guinea's more autocratic pre-war district officers.

The administrators exercised a form of indirect rule through the hereditary chiefs or *regulos*.

Many of the administrators were obviously men of singular capacity who built beautiful mountain centres with wide streets, wrought iron lamps, a handsome church, substantial administration posts and permanent houses



Government House, Dili. The virtues of Portuguese rule have been chiefly negative.

But ultimately, apart from the flag and a sense of historical continuity, the rationale behind Portuguese colonial rule is hard to identify. It was not a matter of defence or economic gain because Timor is distant from Portugal and poor. It was not to save souls, like Spain in the Philippines, or even to establish a new Portugal beyond the seas through colonisation.

[Even today there are fewer than 2,000 Portuguese in the colony, and while a few are individually rich, nearly all major economic activity in Timor — exporting, importing, retailing and a substantial part of estate production — is in the hands of Timor's careful, apprehensive, greedy 14,000 Chinese — an eventually explosive situation.]

It was simply to stay there, and until relatively recent times the Portuguese governed Timor through a classical policy of divide and rule. No loyal *regulo*, for example, no matter how despotic, lacked Dili's support while their Timorese subjects were discouraged if not forbidden to travel from their home *concelho* (district) to another for the quite explicit purpose of maintaining traditional tribal enmities and distrust.

The Portuguese in fact did very little for the Timorese

rule have been chiefly negative. There has been little interference with indigenous custom, there has been very little alienation of indigenous land (Timorese smallholders produce more coffee than all others put together), and while there has been a social bar to Timorese advancement it has not been based on colour.

Throughout Timor, particularly in older mountain centres like Maubisse and Ermera, one meets the most exotic racial mix of original Melanesian (Papuan faces abound), later Malay migrants and the other "children" of Portugal — Goanese and East and West Africans. Four hundred years is a long time.

In that period by a process of sheer continuity of presence and cultural seepage the Portuguese have created an administrative structure which, if Lisbon will spend the money, could be indigenised fairly rapidly.

Since a new deal for education was introduced in 1969 some 450 primary schools, admittedly of low standards, have been established with more than 50,000 pupils. There is only one high school or lyceum (in Dili) with 250 pupils, most of them Timorese, but there are plans for another eight. Probably about 30,000 Timorese speak and

extent. The rest speak regional languages of which one, Tetum, is the most widespread.

The pressing need at the moment is for medical assistants, veterinary aids and agricultural extension workers for the education of whom a new and badly needed technical school is planned in Dili.

The country could become reasonably prosperous if its economy were properly organised. Good land is available and population pressures are not great, but dams and reservoirs and proper agricultural management are urgently needed.

Timor's traditional "slash and burn" agricultural system needs replacing if it is to realise its potential for export of good quality copra, coffee and beef or to raise its internal production of rice, sweet potatoes, vegetables and maize. There is always the hope of a substantial onshore or offshore oil strike.

But the general atmosphere which encourages economic management, exploitation and investment is lacking. Annual GNP per capita income is about \$33. Portugal contributed about 55 per cent of last year's tiny, colonial budget of \$5 million over and above its modest contribution to the current Five-Year Plan.

Next year Lisbon will increase its contribution over the period to \$24 million (about all it can afford), which is earmarked for a new, all-weather road system and permanent bridges, a telecommunications system — surprisingly, Dili is linked to all *postos* throughout the country by telephone — and new schools.

But if Portuguese Timor is to become self-governing and eventually independent it will need aid, and there is only one place to which the new political elites of all persuasions are looking and that is Australia which, rightly or wrongly, they feel is indebted to the Timorese for help and assistance rendered Australian forces in World War II.

NEXT: Indonesian aims

SMH 19/11/74

Whitlam was given an unsophisticated briefing on Timor

POLITICS MAY move faster in Portuguese Timor than many think. Timor's first elections — for a constituent assembly — will take place probably next March.

Problems are considerable, not least the fact that, anxious to redress the years of political repression, Portugal will now force the pace in an electorate with no experience of national politics.

The promised elections also force the pace for the two major parties or movements to emerge after the April 25 coup in Lisbon — the slightly left-leaning Fretilin, which advocates "independence soon," and the right-wing Uniao Democratica Timor (UDT), which advocates continued association with Portugal followed by independence. Both parties are aware of Jakarta's aspirations.

The third party to emerge, Apodeti (Popular Democratic Association of Timor) is pro-Indonesian and has very close links with the Indonesian Consul in Dili. Its numbers are few and its support is mainly among Catholics who have links with Catholics across the border.

Neither of the two major political movements yet have a true popular base either in the city or in the countryside. Fretilin (the similarity to Frelimo in Mozambique is unmistakable) is run by Francisco Xavier, an English-speaking former Timorese priest, and the bearded, intelligent and somewhat romantic Ramos Horta, part Timorese, who visited Australia recently. He received his political education in exile in Mozambique.

Fretilin's support comes mainly from the Timorese evolves, high school and returning university students, the semi-literate of the towns and centres and the Timorese in government administration. Scratch a hotel employee anywhere in Dili and you will find a Fretilin supporter.

Australia should wait and see, says
PETER HASTINGS
in his fourth and final article on the
Portuguese colony on our doorstep.



The political innocent . . . the process of politicising the masses could begin soon.

justice, free elections and eventual independence.

They differ from Fretilin's leaders on timing, but both agree that if Indonesia is to be circumvented the two parties must merge. This invokes enormous problems of leadership and also of emphasis.

Much will now depend on the determination of the new Portuguese Government not only to spend money and seek aid but to see things through. Portugal's charming and earnest Overseas Territories Minister, Dr Almeida Santos, had a tremendous welcome in Dili and in the mountain centre of

which both Canberra and Jakarta eagerly claim he left behind in his Indonesian and Australian visits.

In Dili, in Maubisse and to a surprising extent in other parts of the country (where the Portuguese flag is deeply involved in popular religious rites), his speeches have been accepted, even by those who haven't the faintest idea of what they really mean, as confirming Portugal's intention not only to stay until people make up their minds, but also to protect them from undue external pressures. Well, perhaps . . . Timor is distant and Portugal is poor.

But if Dr Santos did not mean what he said in his speeches and conversations in Timor then he and his Government are helping to create a very genuine tragedy because, while Portuguese Timor may be backward, traditionalist and undeveloped, it is not, after 400 years, simply a colonial vacuum.

The process of politicising Timor's masses could begin fairly quickly in towns and rural centres. The results could be unpredictable. But they will almost certainly be initially anti-Indonesian unless Jakarta is prepared to undertake a very expensive program of persuasion and that introduces difficult political problems.

It is the distinct possibility that Portuguese Timor may not be a political vacuum for the taking that worries Jakarta and should have worried those in Canberra who furnished the Prime Minister with such an unsophisticated briefing before he left for Central Java to give away, without being asked, what was not his to give away.

It may well be that incorporation of Portuguese Timor into Indonesia is the neatest solution on all grounds including those of regional stability. It may not be the most practicable and anything but the most democratic.

The trouble with such a solution is that it is too neat and too premature. Quite apart from the woeful effect on all mini-capitals from Port Moresby to Suva of Mr Whitlam's

The Fretilin stands for
revolutionary — about as

Maubisse. He promised
placed that a Portuguese

Portuguese Timor draws Woodside-B

By **ROBERT MURRAY**

WOODSIDE - Burmah Oil NL, has strengthened its commitment outside Australia by exercising its option to drill a well in Portuguese Timor area.

Woodside-Burmah would start the well before May 16, under the conditions of the farmout agreement with Timor Oil Ltd, Timor chairman Mr Alex Dodson announced yesterday.

The well was likely to be located offshore.

The drilling decision follows an extensive seismic survey of the area, covering about 1450 line miles on and offshore, which followed the farming arrangement in April.

The decision to drill indicates

a favourable geological opinion of the concessions, which adjoins on the north Woodside-Burmah's extensive North-West Shelf leases, but is geologically distinct.

Woodside-Burmah also has an agreement with Timor stabilmate International Oil to explore on an adjoining lease in Indonesian Timor, but it has not yet opted to drill there.

Broome will be used as the port for supplies and Dili for helicopter transport for men and perishables.

The cost is expected to be between \$2-3 million, which is about the same order of cost as on the more remote sections of the North-West Shelf.

The two Timor leases, which are extensive, are the company's only venture outside Australia so far, though it has drilled one well on a servicing basis for an overseas company offshore West Irian and is planning another on the same basis offshore Philippines.

While this is a smaller commitment outside Australia than some others, notably BHP, it reflects the trend outwards.

This is based partly on the geological attractions of Timor and partly on the expectation of selling oil at world prices, after Portuguese taxes and royalty are deducted.

However, migration from country to country is the usual pattern in oil exploration and Woodside-Burmah's move does not necessarily reflect on Australian conditions, although its efforts in Australia have declined recently.

The well to be drilled, starting in middle to late autumn, will probably be the first of two, as Woodside-Burmah has the option

to drill a second. A number of attractive potentially hydrocarbon-bearing structures have been delineated in the seismic study.

One of the two wells has to be offshore.

Woodside-Burmah is paying for all the work and stands to get 70 per cent of any oil or gas production.

Part of the Portuguese Timor concession has been relinquished and it now covers about a quarter of the colony's onshore and offshore extent, but that on Indonesian Timor covers most of Indonesian Timor.

The area of the Portuguese Timor concession is 3,756 square kilometres (1,450 square miles), with the offshore section running south to the 100 fathoms mark.

The Australian Financial Review

22/11/77

Portuguese Timor has but two choices — Indonesia

JAKARTA, Wednesday.—There are only two real choices for Portuguese Timor — joining Indonesia or remaining under Lisbon's rule— according to Indonesia's Foreign Minister, Mr Malik.

Indonesia was prepared to accept the wishes of the people in Portuguese Timor, which has been promised self-determination by Portugal.

However, Mr Malik said, it would be a new manifestation of colonialism if the colony wanted to remain under Portuguese rule.

Mr Malik's statement is seen as a hardening of Indonesia's line over Timor, the western half of which is administered by Jakarta.

Indonesia has repeatedly said it has no claim on the colony but is known to be concerned that a left-wing independent Timor might become a base for insurgency operations in the area.

Mr Malik told the Foreign Press Club last week that Indonesia could not remain unconcerned at any development which might threaten stability in the region.



His fight is 400 years old

RAMOS Horta had intended seeking permanent exile in Australia only two days before the coup in Portugal on April 25 this year.

The 24-year-old leader of the radical Fretilin party is in Canberra for the second time in four months hoping to gain support for the right of his people in Portuguese Timor to determine their own future.

Last year, in Darwin he told a journalist that nothing had happened in Portuguese Timor for 400 years. When the Portuguese came, they had the Bible and the Timorese the land, he had said. After 400 years, the Timorese had the Bible and the Portuguese the land.

He was thereupon given till April 27, to leave his country. It would have been the second time. At the age of 20, he was exiled for a short time to Mozambique, where he fell into bad grace for refusing to join the Portuguese army and fight the Prelimo.

Mr Horta is one of 10 children born to a Timorese mother and Portuguese father who had been exiled to Timor in 1937 for taking part in an unsuccessful coup against Dr Salazar and who fought with the 2/2nd Australian Independent Company against the Japanese.

His party stands for independence in about five years. The other two parties in Portuguese Timor are the UDT, which seeks to keep links with Portugal, and the Apodeti, a weak pro-Indonesian party.

Mr Horta visited Indonesia this year and has a letter from the Foreign Minister, Dr Malik, recognising the rights of all nations to independence and saying Indonesia lays no claim to Portuguese Timor.

Many observers dispute that this represents a majority Indonesian viewpoint. But it was more than Mr



Mr Horta

Horta received from Canberra. On his last visit here, he was given the cold shoulder.

This time the reception is a little warmer. He spent part of yesterday afternoon with the Opposition spokesman on foreign affairs, Mr Peacock, has lunch today with Australia's Ambassador-designate to Jakarta, Mr Woolcott, and hopes to see the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Senator Willesee, next Wednesday.

He hopes the meetings might throw light on "disturbing press reports" that the PM, Mr Whitlam, had given Jakarta to understand that a Government which welcomed the independence of former colonies like Guinea Bissau favoured the integration of Portuguese Timor with Indonesia and regarded an independent Timor as a threat to the region's stability.

nor: first sign of rift

SINGAPORE, December 5. — The first public sign of a rift between Australia and Indonesia over the future of Portuguese Timor surfaced today.

The Australian Minister for Foreign Affairs (Senator Willesee) said he disagreed with his Indonesian counterpart, Dr. Malik, who declared on Monday that independence for the colony was not a practical option.

Asked to comment on this at a Press conference in the closing stages of the Colombo Plan ministerial meeting here, Senator Willesee said bluntly: "Well, I don't agree with the Indonesians".

He said the Australian Government's attitude towards the colony — which has been promised self de-

From MICHAEL RICHARDSON

termination by Portugal — was that the three broad options being canvassed should be decided freely by the 650,000 Timorese.

The options were independence, retaining some form of association with Portugal or becoming part of Indonesia, which shares common borders with the island territory several hundred miles north of Australia.

Senator Willesee said Australia took the view that it had no rights in Portuguese Timor although the colony and its future were matters of interest because it lay in Australia's geographical area.

He added: "Australia

wants to be helpful; it doesn't want to be meddling. We're certainly not going to be meddling in Portuguese Timor".

Observers see Sen. Willesee's remarks as a reflection of high-level concern in Canberra that some quarters in Indonesia may be tempted to use pressure or interventionist tactics in order to bring about what they consider to be the most secure solution to the problem of Portuguese Timor — incorporation in Indonesia.

When Prime Minister Whitlam and President Suharto of Indonesia met for informal talks in Java early

in September, they reportedly agreed that merger was in the best interests of all parties provided the Timorese themselves favored this course.

Speaking to a group of Indonesian journalists on Monday, Dr. Malik said Indonesia had no territorial claim on the colony and was prepared to accept the self-determination choice of the Timorese.

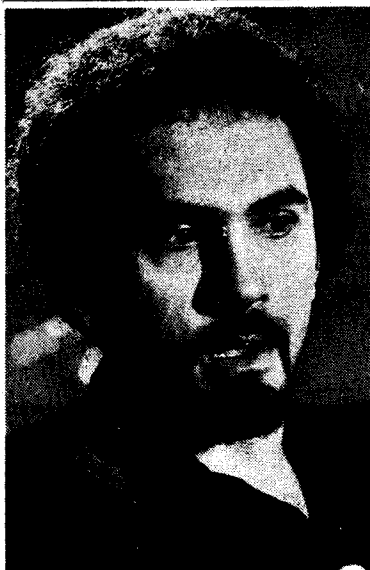
But he is reported to have said that the province was backward and could not afford to be self-reliant.

Indonesia feared an independent Timor would fall into the hands of Communists.

Last week Dr. Malik said the fastest way to develop Portuguese Timor was to have it join Indonesia.

The Sydney Morning Herald

11/12/74



MR J. M. Ramos-Horta . . . strong moral support for Timorese self-determination.

MPs ^{Just.} 8/12/74 named to study Timor freedom

By BRUCE STANNARD

AN Australian parliamentary delegation is expected to visit East Timor in January to examine moves toward independence from Portugal.

Mr J. M. Ramos-Horta, secretary of the political committee of Fretilin — the Revolutionary Front for Independent Timor — said in Sydney yesterday that the delegation could include the Opposition spokesman on foreign affairs, Mr A. Peacock, Mr D. M. Connolly (Lib. NSW), Senator Gietzelt (A.L.P. NSW), Mr M. D. Cross (A.L.P. Qld), Mr J. C. Kerin (A.L.P. NSW) and Senator McIntosh (A.L.P. WA).

Government spokesmen in Canberra yesterday stressed the need for the delegation to play a low-keyed fact-finding role which would avoid offending the Indonesian or Portuguese governments.

During the closing stages of the Colombo Plan ministerial meeting in Singapore last week, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Senator Willesee, was involved in the first public signs of a rift between Australia and Indonesia when he openly disagreed with his Indonesian counterpart, Dr Malik, who declared that independence for the colony was not a practical option.

Senator Willesee said the Australian Government's attitude toward the colony, which has been promised self-determination by Portugal, was that the three broad options being canvassed should be decided freely by the 650,000 Timorese.

The options were independence, retaining some form of association with Portugal or becoming part of Indonesia which shares common borders with the island territory 640km (400 miles) north-west of Darwin.

Senator Willesee's remarks and the support Mr Horta has received in Australia are seen as a reflection of high-level concern in Canberra that certain Indonesian generals may ignore the official government line and use pressure or interventionist tactics to incorporate Portuguese Timor in Indonesia.

The next A.L.P. Federal executive meeting will consider a motion supporting the East Timorese rights to independence and self-determination and opposing forced integration with Indonesia.

After two weeks of discussions with parliamentary leaders in Canberra and trade union and church spokesmen in Melbourne, Mr Horta said he had secured strong moral support for self-determination.

"I hope that moral support will continue through the delegation," he said.