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What price Australia's principles on East Timor?

"If something similar to the 12 November event were to happen under my leadership, the number of victims would probably be higher."

— Brigadier General Theo Syafei, East Timor military commander, 13 March.



FOREIGN AFFAIRS

MARK BAKER

FIVE months after the Dili massacre, it is business as usual for the military regime that rules East Timor. Human rights monitors and foreign visitors give consistent accounts of a campaign of harassment and intimidation designed to bow the Timorese, a campaign that appears at least as bad as that prevailing before the 12 November killings.

Heavily armed troops and a fearsome network of informers maintain tight control in the towns and villages. Soldiers beat up youths in the streets and raid houses at night, carrying off suspected dissidents, some of whom disappear. The use of torture on detainees remains common.

General Syafei, the tough new commander, publicly derides his predecessor for being weak and ineffectual, for encouraging a "hearts and minds" campaign instead of rigorously suppressing all signs of dissent. "We have not been decisive enough," he said in a recent interview. "I'm only restoring ABRI (armed forces) standards."

The executive director of the

human rights group Asia Watch, Ms Sidney Jones, who spent four days in East Timor in February, told the US Senate foreign relations committee: "I was sceptical of accounts of post-massacre killings before going to East Timor. I am much more inclined to believe them now. In a place where the only checks on the military are a relatively powerless governor and a beleaguered Catholic Church, where fear prevented many witnesses from giving testimony to the national commission of inquiry and still prevents ordinary conversations on the street, I began to understand why we weren't getting proof."

DESPITE such testimony, a dangerous fiction now underpins the policy approach towards Indonesia by the Foreign Affairs Department and appears certain to guide the Prime Minister, Mr Keating, during his visit to Jakarta next week.

The Foreign Affairs line is that the Indonesian Government has taken bold steps to rectify the

excesses of its military, that tensions have eased in East Timor and that Australia should now limit itself to discreetly encouraging a process of "reconciliation" between Jakarta and the East Timorese people.

During a recent meeting with various MPs and aid agency representatives, the Foreign Minister, Senator Evans, is said to have praised Jakarta's response to the massacre as a watershed in modern Indonesian history and a big shift in the dynamics of Indonesia's internal politics.

While there is no doubt that President Suharto responded promptly and vigorously to the massacre, calling an unprecedented inquiry and taking disciplinary action against a number of key officers, there is considerable doubt about his motives and the significance of the military shake-out.

The comments of a range of senior Indonesian officials in recent weeks make it clear that those officers who have lost their jobs were disciplined not for their part in the slaughter of unarmed civilians, but for their failure to identify and eradicate dissent in Dili before it erupted into an incident which embarrassed Indonesia and revived international debate about its seizure of the former Portuguese territory.

At a private dinner attended by several Australians recently, a senior Indonesian official derided the former commander in East Timor, Brigadier General Rudolf



Mr Keating: guided by a dangerous fiction.

Warouw, as "a fool" and "a soft man" who had failed in his duty to suppress the separatist movement in East Timor (the same official denounced criticism of the massacre by "white" Australians, said Australians were afraid of Indonesia and declared: "We don't need you").

Senator Evans has applauded the Indonesian inquiry into the massacre as a positive and helpful step that was "better than expected", yet the International Commission of Jurists found the inquiry had "failed to meet internationally recognised standards of impartiality, credibility and technical competence".

While Jakarta presses ahead with the trials of 13 Timorese arrested after the massacre on charges including subversion,

which carries a maximum penalty of death, no legal action has yet been taken against any of the soldiers involved in the killings. Some Indonesia analysts believe President Suharto, who faces mid-year elections, has been more interested in using the fallout from the massacre to head off potential rivals in the armed forces than in seeking justice for the victims.

After being seen, initially, to respond to international outrage at the Dili massacre — in particular the possible threat to vital Japanese aid — President Suharto now appears again to be steering an assertive and fiercely nationalistic course. In a signal that it won't brook further foreign criticism on East Timor, Indonesia last month severed its aid relationship with the Netherlands, the former colonial power which has been a staunch critic of the Dili massacre and of Indonesia's general human rights performance.

WHILE similar signals have been sent in Australia's direction — including a crude threat by the ambassador to Canberra, Mr Sabam Siagian, that our trade could be jeopardised if we didn't shut up — Jakarta's attempts to curry favor with Mr Keating ahead of his visit indicate that they are concerned about Australia's reaction.

Various Indonesian officials have sought to ingratiate themselves with Mr Keating by praising his recent speech advocating closer ties with Asia, while drawing

unflattering comparisons with the performance of the former Prime Minister, Mr Hawke. In particular, the Indonesians have condemned Mr Hawke for his criticism of the massacre — which he described as "an appalling tragedy" — and for his insistence late last year that he could not visit Jakarta without evidence of "genuine contrition" by the Indonesian Government and a "dinkum" inquiry.

The Indonesians have wrongly portrayed Mr Hawke's stand as an attempt by a desperate politician to stave off the challenge to his leadership. Mr Hawke was, in fact, merely articulating the disgust of a great many Australians at what happened and continues to happen in East Timor — a widespread community sentiment which Mr Keating would be foolish to ignore in Jakarta.

Of course Mr Keating should urge President Suharto, as Senator Evans proposes, to commit Indonesia to a process of "longer-term reconciliation" in East Timor. But there is little reason to believe that he will heed such advice and ample evidence that the Indonesian authorities have already resolved to continue down the path of force and coercion in an attempt to bring the Timorese to heel.

If the price of standing by our principles and standing up against the continuing abuses in East Timor is the scaling back of a relationship already compromised by hypocrisy and false expectations, so be it.

Keating set to offer \$30m aid for East Timor

By MARK METHERELL,
diplomatic correspondent,
Canberra

The Prime Minister, Mr Keating, is expected to offer an unprecedented amount of Australian aid — up to \$30 million — for projects in East Timor during his visit to Indonesia next week.

The offer will underwrite Australia's call for the Jakarta Government to adopt a posture of reconciliation towards East Timor. Indonesia occupied the territory in 1975 and its troops massacred 50 to 100 protesters there last November.

Government sources say that in talks with the Indonesian President, Mr Suharto, Mr Keating will pursue the question of reconciliation. This is a sensitive issue because of Indonesia's insistence that its handling of East Timor is an internal matter.

As a first step in a proposed aid program for East Timor, Mr Keating is expected to sign an agreement next week to finance a big water supply project for the East Timorese capital, Dili, and surrounding districts.

The scheme is likely to receive \$11.5 million in Australian aid over the next five years. It is planned as one of several projects in East Timor that would involve \$25 million to \$30 million in Australian aid over five years.

The offer of large-scale, direct Australian Government aid to Timor is unprecedented. Because of previous official reluctance in Indonesia and Australia over direct Government aid, any modest Australian assistance has tended to go through channels such as Unicef.

Australian sources say they hope the Indonesian Government



Mr Keating: proposal for a leaders' summit.

will see the aid offer as a genuine attempt to help the East Timorese.

The Australian Government may see it as a way of ensuring an Australian presence in East Timor to encourage improved relations between the Indonesian Government and the local people.

An official said it was possible that Mr Keating would raise the issue of the criminal action being taken against 13 Timorese charged in the aftermath of the Dili massacre.

The water project is scheduled to start next month. It is aimed at improving supply and sanitation, and to provide health education for about 100,000 poor East Timorese in Dili and surrounding rural areas.

Among other topics for discussion with Mr Suharto will be Mr Keating's proposal for a summit of leaders in the Asian region, trade improvements between the two countries, regional security and the Cambodian peacekeeping operation.

Suharto receives secret Dili report

JAKARTA: President Suharto has received a final report on the Dili massacre but the contents have not been released.

The chairman of the national investigation team, Judge Jaelani, said the 45-page report was accompanied by five bags of documents, videos, photos and sound recordings.

Judge Jaelani said it was now up to President Suharto to decide whether the contents would be made public. The State Secretary Minister, Mr Mardiono, said President Suharto believed the document should be seen by only "a limited circle".

The investigating team, in its preliminary report to the President — made public on December 26 — said 50 people died and about 90 others remained missing after Indonesian troops shot into a crowd at a cemetery in Dili, East Timor, on November 12. Other sources have said the death toll could have topped 100.

● More than 2000 soldiers will be deployed in Jakarta for June general elections, the Jakarta Post newspaper reports.

AFP, AAP

Suharto response crucial to Keating's summit call

By foreign affairs writer TONY PARKINSON

THE Prime Minister, Mr Keating, will receive the first formal response to his call for a summit of Asia-Pacific leaders when he meets President Suharto of Indonesia in Jakarta next week.

President Suharto was one of three world leaders Mr Keating contacted in writing before launching his proposal for a regular meeting of the heads of government of the 14-member Asia Pacific Economic Co-operation group.

As South-East Asia's most formidable political leader, and an influential statesman throughout the region, the attitude President Suharto adopts towards Mr Keating's maiden foreign policy initiative will be crucial in determining its chances of success.

If President Suharto offers his support, it will provide a gauge of the likelihood of the five other members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations endorsing Mr Keating's proposal.

Australia would also require the firm backing of the United States and Japan for the summit concept.

Mr Keating has written to President Bush — with whom he discussed the future of APEC in January — and the Japanese Prime Minister, Mr Miyazawa.

Neither has formally responded, although Japan is understood to be apprehensive about the idea. The Japanese Government believes China, which was admitted to APEC last year, would be reluctant to meet at heads-of-government level with the leaders of Taiwan and Hong Kong.

Tokyo is also understood to be concerned that an APEC



Mr Keating . . . push for closer links

summit could reduce the importance of Japan's role as the only Asian nation represented at the crucial meetings of the Group of Seven industrial nations.

If there is solid support from President Suharto, who will hold formal talks with Mr Keating for two hours next Wednesday, this could add

Meeting in Jakarta

considerable momentum to the Prime Minister's proposal to elevate APEC's role.

Mr Keating's call for the summit occurred against the background of a series of speeches setting out what he saw as the necessity for Australia to become more actively engaged as a member of the Asia-Pacific community.

In the face of growing tensions in world trade, Australia is also concerned to ensure

that the US and Japan remain in close dialogue.

An APEC summit, as a peak regional forum, would serve that purpose.

Senior government sources said yesterday they had no indication of what views President Suharto would have on Mr Keating's initiative, but it is believed Jakarta is eager to make the Prime Minister's visit a success.

During his three days in Indonesia, Mr Keating will give priority to building closer economic and cultural links with Australia's largest regional neighbour.

Three agreements — on fisheries co-operation, taxation and extradition — are to be signed during the visit.

Mr Keating will deliver an important economic speech, in which Australian business is likely to be urged to assume a larger role in trade and investment in Indonesia.

He will also hold a working lunch with Indonesia's main economic ministers.

Another focus of the visit will be the future of East Timor in the aftermath of the Dili massacre on November 12 last year.

Mr Keating is not expected to allow this issue to overshadow the push for broader and closer bilateral relations but is likely to argue the case for Indonesia to find ways of achieving "reconciliation" with the people of East Timor.

The Australian Government will offer aid to help the economic development of East Timor.

The other leg of Mr Keating's first overseas visit as Prime Minister will be to Papua New Guinea, where he will hold talks with the Prime Minister, Mr Namiliu.

PM urged to act

JAKARTA: An Indonesian human rights group has urged Australia to take strong action to force Jakarta to improve human rights.

Australia should tie aid to human rights, halt military aid, end recognition of Indonesian rule in East Timor and cancel the Timor Gap oil and gas treaty, the group said ahead of next week's visit by the Prime Minister, Mr Keating.

The Indonesian Front for the Defence of Human Rights said massacres of civilians were "a common occurrence in Indonesia".

AAP

The Australian 14/4/92

The Australian 16/4/92

Keating criticised over Timor aid

AGE 18/4/92

By MARK METHERELL,
diplomatic correspondent,
Canberra

A \$30 million Australian plan for aid to East Timor yesterday prompted accusations that the Government was collaborating with Indonesia to entrench Jakarta's control over the occupied territory.

During his visit to Indonesia next week, the Prime Minister, Mr Keating, is expected to sign an agreement providing for an Australian-financed \$11.5 million

water supply project in the East Timor capital, Dili. The scheme is the first of several proposed projects amounting to \$25 million to \$30 million in Australian aid over the next five years.

In an open letter to Mr Keating yesterday, the East Timor Independence Committee said the aid plan was part of a design to foster the economic and administrative integration by Indonesia of East Timor, the territory it seized in 1975.

"We are saddened that you would commit Australia to a bilat-

eral pacification program," a spokeswoman for the committee, Ms Ines Almeida, said in the letter.

To the committee's knowledge, no formal discussions took place between the Australian Government and East Timorese representatives about the proposal "to collaborate with the Indonesian Government in extending administrative and economic control over illegally occupied East Timor territory".

Ms Almeida said the committee welcomed Australian help to East Timor, but any aid should be inde-

pendently administered by an accountable non-Government body.

She also said that repression on East Timor has worsened since the 12 November massacre in Dili.

She said her people continued to push for international support for a United Nations peace conference on East Timor within six months, an internationally-supervised act of self-determination within 12 months, the release of all East Timorese political prisoners, and for access to East Timor by human rights organisations.

The Age 18/04/92

Embassy protest replaces crosses

By JONATHAN PORTER

A GROUP of 50 East Timorese protesters replaced 121 crosses outside the Indonesian embassy in Canberra yesterday and accused the Prime Minister, Mr Keating, of "collaborating" with the Indonesian Government over the occupation of East Timor.

The East Timorese planted the crosses, representing the number of East Timorese the demonstrators said were killed by Indonesian soldiers at the Dili massacre in November last year, after the Federal Court ruled on Thursday that a Federal Government directive to remove the crosses was invalid.

The protesters, almost outnumbered by a throng of media and police outside the Indonesian embassy, marched slowly with the crosses from the East Timor Liberation Centre trailer.

East Timorese community leader Ms Ines Almeida read an open letter to the Prime Minister, which accuses the Government of taking part in a "pacification program" of East Timor.

The officer in charge of police operations at the embassy, Acting Superintendent Stewart Yorston, said the protesters were permitted to put up the crosses "because there is no longer any legal impediment".

But a spokesman for the Department of Foreign Affairs said yesterday that it was considering its position.

"We are confident that we have the authority to remove the crosses under the new regulations," he said.

Crosses returned to mark massacre

ABOUT 50 East Timorese yesterday returned 124 crosses protesting against the Dili massacre to the lawn outside Canberra's Indonesian embassy.

And they called on the Prime Minister, Mr Keating, to push East Timorese independence during his visit to Indonesia next week.

The crosses' return followed Thursday's Federal Court ruling that the Federal Government regulation which forced their removal was invalid.

About 50 men, women and children chanted the rosary in Portuguese as they re-laid the crosses and lit a remembrance candle.

Most had come from Sydney and Melbourne, and some had relatives killed in the November 12

massacre at the Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili when soldiers opened fire on mourners.

Witnesses put the death toll at more than 100 but an official Indonesian inquiry said only 50 died.

The crosses were first erected outside the embassy on December 18, but were taken down on January 26 under the Federal Government regulation.

The order followed a vigil which was marred when a scuffle saw an Indonesian car windscreen smashed and a protestor's arm broken.

East Timorese spokeswoman Ines Almeida said yesterday the protesters were peaceful and just wanted to make their point.

Herald-Sun 18/04/92

The Australian 18-19/04/92

The Asian odyssey

92

Age
18/4/92

THERE is much to applaud, and a bit to worry about, in Paul Keating's sudden and passionate embrace of Asia.

Let's deal with the positives first. It is a wholly good thing that the Prime Minister has decreed that "Asia is where our future substantially lies" — particularly when it is remembered that his trip to Indonesia next week will be his first to any of the five member states of the Association of South East Asian Nations since 1983, when he became Treasurer.

It is also good that he is telling Ausslans that they are already much more economically involved with Asia than many of us realise. In his lecture to the Asia-Australia Institute in Sydney earlier this month, he pointed out that more than 60 per cent of Australia's merchandise exports now go to Asia and that the Asean countries were our second-largest export market last year, ahead of both the United States and the European Community.

Better still, at least as a declaration of principle, was his ringing declaration that "we don't go to Asia cap in hand . . . we go as we are . . . unambivalently . . . Australia's democratic institutions and traditions (of tolerance and open debate) are non-negotiable".

Amen to all that, and bravo! Yet it seems a pity that he only arrived at this point of his speech after yet again setting up and then burning that straw man, the antipodean Colonel Blimp who wants to go into the world with "the ghost of empire about us".

We know why he does it, of course. He has persuaded himself that there is political mileage to be made from trying to depict today's conservative leaders and their supporters as throwbacks to Robert Menzies, as people who "still cannot separate our interests, our history, or our future from the interests of Britain".

This is preposterous nonsense. No thinking Australian has thought like that in years.

Even those who refused to ac-

cept the lessons of World War II could hardly have failed to notice the British retreat from East of Suez and then, a full two decades ago, Britain's entry into the European Community.

INSOFAR as Mr Keating is correct in thinking that there are still Australians who really believe that "someone or something will do it for us", the legacy is not that of Menzies but of Curtin, who told us during World War II — and it was an entirely sensible view at the time — that in future we must look to America.

Our new defence policy of self-reliance today lacks credibility, not because anyone imagines the British (or, for that matter, the Americans) will leap to our aid if we get into a scrap, but because the Government, heavily influenced by Mr Keating as Treasurer, has resolutely refused to provide the sort of money that is essential if the principles laid down by Kim Beazley are to be put into effective practice.

The fact that Mr Keating has deliberately come up with a distort-

ed analysis of how Australia got to be where it is does not, of course, invalidate his prescription for where we should be going. By and large, his call for active and confident engagement in the political and economic affairs of the Asia-Pacific region makes sense, particularly at a time when the world trading system is in a dangerous state of flux.

MR KEATING is right to point to the opportunities that have been opened up by the dramatic changes of the recent past — the end of the Cold War and communist expansionism, the immense economic dynamism of the Asian dragons and tigers and the interdependence that this is creating, the progress towards resolving the conflicts in Cambodia and, perhaps, the Korean peninsula.

The worry is that he tends to talk of Asia as though it were one

huge, monolithic market instead of an immensely complex patchwork of nations and cultures at different stages of development, with differing interests, with old rivalries, with peculiar sensitivities arising from post-colonial resentments, with internal divisions and with an immense range of political structures and value systems.

The encouraging recent developments need to be offset, at least in part, by some alarming ones, notably the accelerating and competitive pursuit of larger and more sophisticated weapons systems. At least two nations at either extremity of Asia, North Korea and Pakistan, are widely believed to be developing nuclear weapons capacities.

Mr Keating may be right in arguing that Australia's commitments to democratic institutions and western values are positive advantages to us in our dealings with regional countries, but many observers are sceptical. While it is true that some of our important neighbors are moving towards greater political liberalisation, the pace of change tends to be slow, uneven and limited.

The problem for Mr Keating is not that Australians see their country as "a vicar of Europe, or as a US deputy" but that a great many Asians do. We receive constant reminders from Jakarta and Kuala Lumpur of just how difficult it is for us to remain true to ourselves without being offensive to them.

Asia is tricky territory for a tyro Prime Minister to wander in, even with the guidance of a Foreign Minister as experienced as Gareth Evans. Mr Keating would be wise to take his journey into Asia slowly for a while, avoiding the temptation to confuse activity with statesmanship, initiatives with achievements.

Court ruling leaves Evans with crosses to bear

The Age 18/04



East Timorese protesters march on the Indonesian Embassy yesterday to reinstate the 124 crosses, commemorating the Dili massacre

By MARK METHERELL
and PETER GREGORY

East Timorese mourners yesterday reinstated crosses outside the Indonesian Embassy to commemorate the Dili massacre in defiance of an Australian Government ban.

In a Good Friday ceremony attended by about 100 praying Timorese people and supporters, the protesters repositioned the same 124 wooden crosses which were removed by police last January on the orders of the Foreign Minister, Senator Evans.

Their action came a day after an embarrassing setback for the Government when the Federal Court threw out the regulations Senator Evans had specifically framed to ban the crosses.

The development came as the Prime Minister, Mr Keating, prepared for an official visit to Indonesia next week, during which he is expected to discuss the sensitive issue of East Timor in talks with President Suharto.

A Government spokesman yesterday said that the Government still had the authority to remove the crosses under regulations amended subsequent to those which were overturned by the Federal Court on Thursday.

He said the Government was "considering its position" and he could not say when or if it would act to remove the crosses.

A solicitor for the East Timorese litigants, Mr Bernard Collaery, rejected the Government's stand. Mr Collaery said the subsequent regulations were based on the original regulations rejected by the court.

"The minister's political advisers seem determined to continue paying homage to the Indonesian Government rather than the vic-

tims of the ongoing brutality in East Timor," Mr Collaery said.

On Thursday, Mr Kevin Bell, a barrister representing two East Timorese applicants in the case,

accused the Commonwealth Government of playing "dirty pool" in the crosses case.

Mr Bell made the claim after Mr Justice Olney declared invalid the regulations that allowed Senator Evans to order the removal of the crosses.

Mr Bell said the Government had relied on the validity of regulations amended in January. He said he discovered on Thursday morning, for the first time, that it was now arguing that there were other grounds to justify its actions.

Mr Bell represented Mr Geraldo Magno, whose cousin was killed in the Dili massacre last November, and Ms Ines Almeida, a spokeswoman for East Timorese demonstrators.

Mr Richard Kendall, for the Commonwealth, said it was taking reasonable steps in relying on the other justifications.

Mr Justice Olney said the applicants wanted the crosses to be put

back, and it was open to the Commonwealth to say it relied on other powers in its defence of the action.

Mr Justice Olney said the amended regulations under the Diplomatic Privileges and Immunities Act were not a valid exercise of the act's power.

He said they allowed the minister to decide if objects threatened the peace or impaired the dignity of a diplomatic mission, and if it was appropriate to remove them. However, he said, the Act did not contemplate the minister or other figures of authority being arbiters of such threats or impairments, or of appropriate steps to prevent them.

The Age 18/04/92

Indonesians will resume talks only ^{AGE} on own terms ^{18/4/92}

Jakarta, Friday

Indonesia will refuse to resume talks with Portugal over the former Portuguese colony of East Timor if the United Nations insists on including East Timorese exiles, the Indonesian Foreign Minister, Mr Ali Alatas, said yesterday.

The talks collapsed after Portuguese Members of Parliament called off a visit to East Timor last November. Jakarta had demanded that an Australian journalist due to accompany them be excluded, saying she was biased in her reporting.

"Indonesia will not accept talks in whatever form if (it includes) small groups of people staying in Portugal or other places calling themselves East Timor representatives," Mr Alatas said.

He said last night, on his return from a trip to Beijing that the UN Secretary-General, Dr Boutros Ghali had raised the possibility of resuming talks with Portugal.

Lisbon has called for self-determination for East Timor under UN auspices. Indonesia claims sovereignty over the territory, which it invaded in 1975 after the Portuguese colonial rulers left.

The UN does not recognise Jakarta's 1976 annexation of East Timor.

Mr Alatas did not say if Dr Boutros Ghali asked at their meeting for the inclusion in the talks of an East Timorese representative in exile.

He added: "Indonesia believes the true representatives of the East Timorese are those living in East Timor who decided clearly their own fate, 17 years ago, by an overwhelming majority."

Portugal has demanded that East Timorese exiles be included in the UN-sponsored talks in New York.

East Timor's most outspoken activists are now based mainly in Australia and Portugal. The Indonesian army is slowly crushing a separatist guerilla movement called Fretilin in the territory itself.

Indonesia's talks with Portugal started in the early 1980s but have failed to produce a solution. The issue again flared into prominence last 12 November when troops fired on mourners in the East Timor capital of Dili. Jakarta says 50 people were killed in the shooting, which raised an international outcry. Witnesses say up to 180 died.

— Reuter

Suharto's poll party rules, OK!

By TERRY FRIEL in Jakarta

IT has all the frenzy of grand final football fever. Bright flags in team colours flap madly in the wind, posters decorate every available space, truckloads of youths in team jumpers race through the streets yelling and singing and supporters are decked out in badges, hats and T-shirts.

This is Indonesia's national elections, dubbed by the Government "a festival of democracy".

After the 1987 campaign, the feedback from supporters was that there was too much politicking, so this time, the parties have chosen to party. The ruling Golkar has enlisted the services of 60 teams of entertainers to perform for its supporters around the country while senior ministers, many aged in their 60s, have been treading the boards, crooning old favourites and the latest hits with the biggest names in Indonesian rock.

One possible explanation for the festivities could be that elections of the House of Representatives are held only once every five years.

Another more likely reason is the result is a foregone conclusion — another sweeping victory for Golkar.

AAP

The Australian 19/05/92

HERALD - SUN 16/4/92 \$30m direct aid for East Timor

AUSTRALIA will provide up to \$30 million over five years in aid to East Timor, the first direct help to the former Portuguese colony since Indonesia took it over in 1976.

The Prime Minister, Mr Keating, will announce the first stage of the aid package — an \$11.5 million water treatment plant for Dili — during his three-day visit to Indonesia which begins on Tuesday.

In his first overseas trip as Prime Minister, Mr Keating will also spend two days in Papua New Guinea, where he will attend Anzac Day ceremonies and visit the Kokoda Trail to mark the 50th anniversary of World War II battles.

A government source said yesterday previous Australian funds for East Timor had been directed through UNICEF or the embassy in Jakarta, which had sent about \$600,000 to the area.

But relations between Australia and Indonesia had improved so projects could be funded directly, the source said.

The issue of East Timor will be raised on Wednesday when Mr Keating has two hours of talks with the Indonesia's President Suharto.

The November 12 Dili massacre of up to 100 protesters will be mentioned but Mr Keating has accepted the Indonesian Government's response to

the "great tragedy" as "credible", the source said.

But the main thrust of the talks will be a bid to examine the scope for long-term relations with Indonesia.

Meanwhile an Indonesian group has urged Australia to take strong action to force Jakarta to improve human rights.

Australia should tie aid to human rights, halt military aid, end recognition of Indonesian rule in East Timor and cancel the Timor Gap oil and gas treaty, the Indonesian Front for the Defence of Human Rights said.

The group, known as In-fight, said human rights abuses were "a common occurrence in Indonesia".

The Herald/Sun 16/4/92

Aug. 18-19/4/92
Talks threatened
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The AGE 18-19/4/92

Keating criticised over Timor aid

By MARK METHERELL, *The AGE*
diplomatic correspondent,
Canberra

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18/4/92
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"We are saddened that you would commit Australia to a bilat-

eral pacification program," a spokeswoman for the committee, Ms Ines Almeida, said in the letter.

To the committee's knowledge, no formal discussions took place between the Australian Government and East Timorese representatives about the proposal "to collaborate with the Indonesian Government in extending administrative and economic control over illegally occupied East Timor territory".

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The AGE 18/4/92

Herald Sun 20/4/92

It's Asia or

bust for

Keating

P RIME Minister Paul Keating tomorrow flies out of Canberra to Indonesia on a mission seen as a concrete symbol of his rhetoric about Australia's Asian destiny.

And he wants to turn the words and the symbol into hard cash.

During the past two months, Mr Keating has inspired emotional reactions in Australia with his insistence that it involve itself more with its near neighbors than with its traditional partners in Europe and Britain.

He has offended World War II veterans, riled British-born Australians and set off senior Opposition members in the process. But in Indonesia his words have, as he might say, gone gangbusters.

All the time Mr Keating was talking to Australians, he was hoping Jakarta was listening and approving of his repeated commitments to the economic and cultural development of the Asia-Pacific region.

He was trying to send the message that an independent Australia was coming to Asia, and no longer waiting for Asia to come to us as if by right, particularly in matters of trade.

And it worked. The visit was approved and organised with a speed which surprised Australian officials, particularly after former Prime Minister Bob Hawke had annoyed Indonesia with his comments on the November 12 Dili massacre.

Last year, Mr Hawke upset the Indonesians when he said he wouldn't visit unless satisfied with the outcome of an inquiry into the slaughter of up to 100 protesters in the East Timor capital of Dili.

Mr Hawke was told he might as well not come.

Mr Keating has not been as demanding and, with Foreign Affairs Minister Senator Gareth Evans, has accepted the "credible" Indonesian Government response to the deaths.

S O tomorrow, Mr Keating flies off for a three-day pitch, hoping to impress on a nation of 180 million on 13,000 islands with an economic growth rate of 4.5 per cent annually that the 17 million, predominately Europeans to the south really do matter.

The choice of Indonesia for his first overseas trip as Prime Minister was made because Mr Keating believes he must demonstrate symbolically that the nation is "in the front rank of our priorities", according to a Government source.

The Papua-New Guinea visit is at the invitation of its Government to help commemorate the 50th anniversary of World War 2 battles, including the horrific struggle on the infamous Kokoda Trail. The real business of the trip will be in Indonesia, where Mr Keating will spend two hours with President Suharto on Wednesday in a quest for improved and sustained relations.

Mr Keating will highlight economic ties in a speech in the industrial city of Surabaya on the day the West Australian Government opens an office there.

H E WILL also visit the ancient Javanese capital of Jogjakarta and nearby Borobudur where the emphasis will be on Indonesia's cultural attractions and attainments.

The Indonesians are extremely proud of their heritage. Acknowledging that impressive heritage is an easy and important part of building trust, just as standing in awe of Buckingham Palace used to be in an era Mr Keating wants eradicated.

And a crucial part of the trip will be the signing of bilateral agreements on double taxation, fishing co-operation and extradition.

The talks will include East Timor and the massacre, which revived the former Portuguese colony as a issue between Canberra and Jakarta and within the Labor Party.

The Prime Minister acknowledged the obvious — that "reconciliation in the province has not been successful" — in an interview on the ABC two weeks ago.

"The most important thing to recognise about the East Timor disaster is that it was not expressed state policy," he said.

"And that is the difference — it was not the policy of the Government of Indonesia that that should have happened.

"I'm sure that the Government of Indonesia now believes that it would be better for them and the Indonesian people generally to reconcile themselves more adequately with East Timor and avoid these circumstances arising in the future."

However, trade and investment prospects are expected to dominate the mission.

Indonesia's economic explosion offers some of the best prospects of the region for Australian businesses and investors, and already our exports there have increased from \$900 million in 1989 to \$1.4 billion last year, making it our 10th largest trade customer.

Indonesia's development has seen a sharp move away from primary production to manufacturing.

The nation's growth in textile output has meant a 300 per cent increase in imports of Australian cotton over five years.

A USTRALIAN business people have only limited awareness of this massive growth to the immediate north but, according to Senator Evans, many Indonesians consider us "marginal to their enormous national development effort".

"Too many Indonesians, basking in the light of their country's undeniable economic success, are inclined to write Australia off as a minor market, as economically lazy, flabby and complacent," he told a conference last October.

Mr Keating wants to project lean, keen Australian government and business sectors ready to take part in Indonesia's huge growth and to show the rest of Asia and the Pacific we are serious about striking out on our own.

He has described his aims as achieving "a genuine spirit of friendship between us, understanding about each other's contemporary circumstances and objectives and developing better trade, economic and cultural ties".

"And I think this is a distinct possibility," he said.

Bush tightens Cuba's economic noose

By PETER STEPHENS, *Aff*
Washington, Sunday *20/4/92*

President Bush, vowing to "bring Cuba to a new era of peace and democracy", yesterday tightened trade restrictions and took other steps to undermine the Cuban economy.

In a statement fiercely critical of Cuba's human rights abuses and opposition to democracy, Mr Bush encouraged all other governments to back its isolation and

that of President Fidel Castro.

"Aid to the Castro regime will prolong Castro's hold on Cuba and prolong the misery and suffering of the Cuban people," Mr Bush said. "Today, we are closer than ever to returning freedom to Cuba."

He said that withdrawal of Russian support and trade privileges had cost Cuba as much as \$US5 billion a year. He was moving to close loopholes in the trade em-

bargo that allowed Cuban goods to be sold in the US after being shipped to another country. Ships calling at Cuban ports would not be allowed into US ports.

Mr Bush affirmed a ban on supplying medical and food aid to the Castro regime while allowing it to ordinary Cubans. American residents will be able to use a Miami-Havana air charter, which will reduce freight costs and allow expatriate Cubans to help their families.

The Age 20/04/92

Crosses stay as PM prepares for tour

AUSTRALIAN 20/4/92

CROSSES used as symbols of protest outside the Indonesian embassy in Canberra are likely to remain in place at least until tomorrow, when the Prime Minister, Mr Keating, is scheduled to fly to Jakarta on the first leg of his Indonesia-Papua New Guinea visit.

More than 100 crosses representing victims of the November 12 East Timor massacre were replaced outside the Indonesian embassy on Friday.

A lawyer acting for the East Timorese community, Mr Bernard Collaery, said the staff of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Senator Evans, had contacted him soon afterwards to indicate the minister did not want the protest action to continue and that "he would think very seriously on his options".

A department spokesman said yesterday the situation was under review but no immediate action was contemplated.

At this stage, the department did not anticipate the forced removal of the crosses before Mr Keating flew to Jakarta, the spokesman said.

Their restoration on a grass verge outside the embassy grounds comes three months after the Federal Government ordered their removal following Jakarta's criticism of their presence.



Senator Evans . . . considering his options

The crosses are hammered into the ground and bear the names and ages of those allegedly killed in the massacre in the East Timor capital of Dili on November 12 last year.

An Indonesian inquiry found that 50 people died in the massacre and more than 90 people were missing. Witnesses have put the death toll at more than 100.

The Australian Federal Police removed the crosses in January after the Federal Government introduced new regulations and directed police to do so.

AAP

PM's road to Jakarta: experts' pocket guide

TOMORROW Paul Keating leaves on his first overseas trip as Prime Minister, to Indonesia and Papua New Guinea. The Indonesian leg will test Keating as leader and diplomat.

The Indonesian connection is, for Australia, one of its most important bilateral relationships and, because of East Timor, one of the most difficult. Political and cultural differences and Indonesian breaches of human rights have made the relationship volatile and sensitive.

The Keating visit is expected to bring relations between the two countries back to an even keel after the strains produced by the Dili massacre. All the signs are that the Indonesians are very anxious for the visit to go well.

But on his trip Keating must perform a delicate balancing act — playing up the positives of the relationship, without sacrificing the deep concerns Australians feel about Timor and human rights violations, concerns strongly fanned by the massacre.

'The Age' spoke to two experts about the relationship and the trip. Jamie Mackie is emeritus professor at the Australian National University's research school of Pacific studies; he is one of Australia's leading academic observers of Indonesia. Richard Woolcott, Australia's ambassador to Indonesia in 1975-78, recently retired as secretary of the Foreign Affairs and Trade Department; he soon takes over as chairman of the Australia-Indonesia Institute, set up by the Hawke Government to facilitate people-to-people contact.

ASKED how he would write a brief for the PM for his Indonesian visit, Jamie Mackie advises:

"One: listen more than you talk.

"Two: don't go overboard in praising President Suharto. His record stands for itself — you don't need to embellish it. He will go down as the man who transformed the country from a basket case.

"Three: play up for all its worth your visit to East Java (Keating goes to Surabaya) and the flourishing sister-state relationship between East Java and Western Aus-



MICHELLE GRATTAN

tralia — it's an idea whose time has come.

"Four: on the East Timor issue — try to say, 'Look, let's maximise our agreements and minimise our disagreements', without conceding any major points of principle."

Australia, Mackie says, is always going to be in a bind on East Timor, because "it is likely to remain a running sore in the relationship for several generations. But it's no good plugging the self-determination line — they won't listen. So it's better to play that down and concentrate on the improving of human rights — on promoting aid programs for Timor. This gets some foreigners into East Timor, which is likely to make the army more careful in how it treats the people. It's the most we can do — even though it may not seem much."

Mackie says what is important in this visit is for Keating to establish a good personal relationship with Suharto, as Gough Whitlam did. It's also possibly the one opportunity Keating will have to do so, even if he is re-elected. "It is likely to be difficult to entice the Indonesian leader to visit Australia, because of the likelihood of embarrassing demonstrations." To maintain some "symmetry" the Australian PM cannot return to Indonesia too frequently.

At government-to-government and business levels, there are steadily strengthening links between the two countries. "But something like the Dili massacre triggers gut anti-Indonesian prejudices in Australians — it ultimately goes right back to old feelings about 'the Asian hordes'. Simply tidying up the relationship at the top won't change that overnight," Mackie says.

He believes anti-Indonesian feeling in Australia is "as bad in some ways as in the 1960s. It's

very dismaying to find how much of this sentiment there is among those under 30. They tend to hear most about Timor, the West Irian border, and human rights abuses, and think the Indonesians a bunch of bastards. They get a simplistic view. There is an element of truth in all that. The record is bad in Timor and on human rights. But it's nowhere near as bad as the caricature portrays. What Australians see on television confirms the adverse stereotypes, rather than making them aware how complicated it all is."

RICHARD WOOLCOTT stresses how central Indonesia is to Australia's stated objective of becoming "comprehensively engaged" in Asia. He gives some recent examples.

When Australia was seeking to get the Cairns group of "fair trader" nations under way to promote trade liberalisation, it was very important that Indonesia became a member, which it did. Indonesian cooperation was also vital for the success of Australia's blueprint for the Cambodian peace process. And when Australia was promoting its initiative for the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation forum, it was crucial to get Asean support — and Indonesia was fundamental to that.

Woolcott sees the fact that PM Keating is going to Indonesia on his first trip not only as a statement of the priority the Government puts on the relationship but "also sending a message to those who don't comprehend the importance of the relationship — and to the small but vociferous anti-Indonesian group in this country."

Paul Keating will want to do what he can to cement the very substantial trading and commercial opportunities Indonesia presents since deregulating its economy in recent years. "The Indonesian economy is going through a boom. The Indonesian middle class is now larger than the population of Australia," Woolcott says.

On political questions, it is a matter of avoiding the "two cardinal sins of international diplomacy in dealing with Asian societies par-

ticularly: excessive self-righteous moralising, and intrusion into domestic affairs.

"Obviously Mr Keating will need to address human rights, but he would be better advised to do so in private conversations rather than in a public declamatory way. The former course is likely to be more effective.

"We have to keep East Timor in perspective. It's close to us and it has become a domestic political issue. In Indonesia, Timor is seen as one of 27 provinces — all with some problem or another."

The different styles of the two countries and their peoples add to the problems of mutual understanding. "We tend to be open, direct, frank — at times blunt. Indonesians often take this to be rude. They are polite, courteous, respectful to people in prominent positions. This is often taken by Australians to be obsequiousness.

"We also tend to see Indonesia through the prism of our own experience rooted in Western liberal democracy, a benign transition from colonial rule, and possession of a relatively isolated, stable, prosperous continent of our own. Indonesia's recent history is infinitely more turbulent. So the Indonesians place an enormous premium on national unity and stability that we don't quite understand. Indonesia is changing and liberalising but it's a slow process. It will be well into the next century before we could expect to see the sort of Indonesia many Australians would like to see."

Like Mackie, Woolcott places much importance on establishing good leader-to-leader contact. "The Indonesian style is based very much on personal contact. Gough Whitlam certainly established a strong relationship with President Suharto — through a series of private meetings in addition to a formal state visit — which no Australian prime minister since has been able to establish. Mr Keating has an opportunity before him. He's new. And the Indonesians are interested in him. It is not going to be easy, but the opportunity is there to do what his two immediate predecessors did not do."

Closer links

with Indons

By MICHELLE GRATTAN,
chief political correspondent,
Canberra

Australia and Indonesia are expected to agree on establishing a ministerial forum to promote closer ties between the two nations, during this week's visit to Indonesia by the Prime Minister, Mr Keating.

The forum, chaired by the respective foreign ministers, would meet regularly to discuss bilateral and regional issues. The shape and name of it were still being finalised yesterday.

Mr Keating leaves for Jakarta this morning, set to encourage more business and commercial links with Indonesia while preparing to walk a fine line on East Timor and human rights.

His first overseas trip as Prime Minister has him out of Australia for less than a week and takes in only Indonesia and Papua New Guinea, where he will spend Anzac Day.

Senior Government sources do not expect a definitive response from the Indonesian Government this week to the initiative Mr Keating floated earlier this month for regular Asia-Pacific heads-of-government meetings.

Sources said yesterday they expected the idea would take some time to promote. Mr Keating has already written to the Indonesian President, President Suharto, about the proposal which, the Australian Government is anxious to stress, would not clash with ASEAN.

Timor will be the most delicate political issue for Mr Keating in Jakarta. He is caught between diplomacy, which that demands he does not make too much of it,

and domestic politics, which insists that he is seen to express adequate concern about human rights. He has already been under fire from the Australian Council for Overseas Aid for making it clear that he will not link human rights and aid.

The re-erection of the crosses outside the Indonesian embassy last week in protest against the Dili massacre is embarrassing for the Australian Government.

This is the first visit to Indonesia by an Australian Prime Minister since Mr Hawke went there in 1983. The visit is being welcomed enthusiastically in Jakarta.

The Australian ambassador in Jakarta, Mr Phillip Flood, said last night: "The Indonesians are especially pleased this is the first time in their history that an Australian Prime Minister has made his first

SAULWICK

AGE POLL

A Saulwick Age Poll has found that the majority of Australians neither see themselves as part of Asia nor believe that Asians see Australians as part of the region. The poll was taken just before a speech by the Prime Minister, Mr Keating, early this month to the Asia-Australia Institute in Sydney, during which he said that Asia "is where our future lies".

PAGE 4: Report.

overseas stop in Indonesia." Mr Hawke went to Indonesia on his first trip as PM but it was his second stop, after Papua New Guinea.

Mr Keating's nationalist push has been widely reported in the Indonesian papers and has gone down well. The Indonesians also see the visit as an opportunity to smooth the relationship after the problems caused by the Dili massacre, and have been drawing a contrast between Mr Keating and Mr Hawke, whose tough talking after the massacre displeased them.

The highlight of Mr Keating's trip will be a two-hour meeting with President Suharto tomorrow. The talks are due to cover the bilateral relationship, ways to improve commercial relations, East Timor and human rights, including the Australian aid program there, regional developments including the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation forum, regional security, and Cambodia, and Mr Keating's views about Australia and its place in the region.

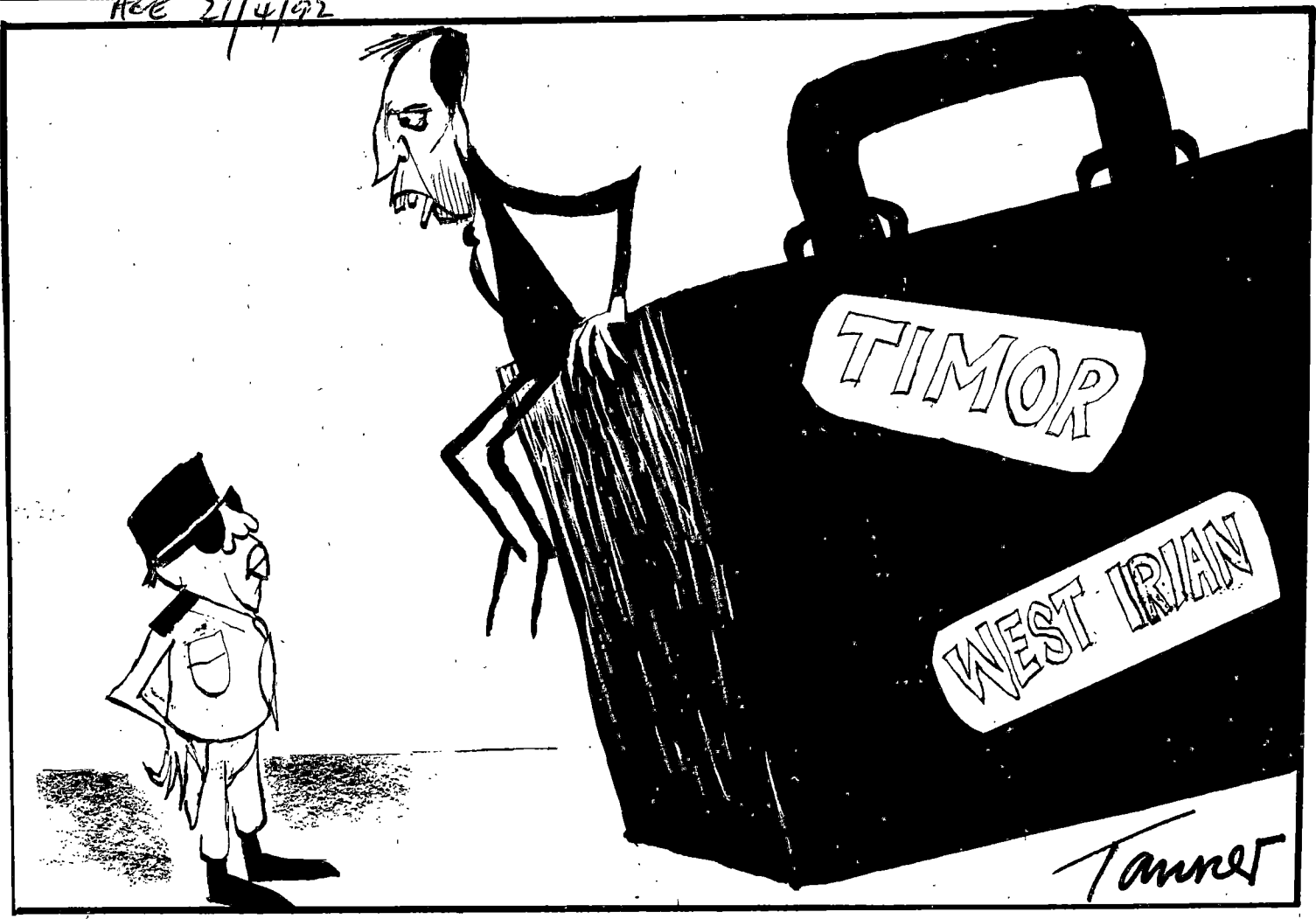
Mr Keating will also have talks with the Foreign Minister, Mr Alatas, and the the Defence Minister, Mr Murdani, during his visit.

Among the specifics due to come out of the trip will be a \$25 million to \$30 million five-year aid program for East Timor, including a \$11.5 million water supply project, signature of agreements on extradition, fisheries and double taxation, and conclusion of an agreement on collaboration in science and technology.

President Suharto is personally witnessing the signing of the extradition, fisheries and double taxation agreements — an unusual

Continued: PAGE 4
PAGE 11: Tanner's view.

ACE 21/4/92



"I'm here to discuss the human rights of Timor Sea oil."

Jakarta puts ban on rally

Jakarta, Monday *ACE 21/4/92*
 Indonesian security authorities banned a meeting of a pro-democracy forum yesterday, less than an hour before it was due to start, press reports in Jakarta said.

Several policemen arrived late yesterday at a gathering of the Forum for Democracy to tell organisers and more than 100 guests who had turned up early that the meeting was illegal, the 'Jakarta Post' reported.

"The event has been forbidden without an official document and by (police) staffs of the lowest level. It proves the false notion that there is democracy in Indonesia," the Forum for Democracy chair-

man, Mr Abdulrachman Wahid, was quoted as saying.

Police said the gathering, at which 500 people were expected, could violate public order, the 'Post' said.

The forum, set up in April last year, groups some 45 leading scholars from a wide spectrum of society and aims at promoting democracy in Indonesia.

Indonesian authorities have banned all mass gatherings, as of a week before the parliamentary election campaign, starting 10 May, until a week after polling, on 9 June. Permits are ordinarily required for all mass gatherings.

— AFP

AGE 21/4/92

Asian role rejected, poll finds

By DENIS MULLER

Australians' perspective on Asia is still very much that of outsiders looking in: the pull of history and culture remains stronger than that of geography and economics.

A Saulwick Age Poll shows that the majority of Australians neither see themselves as part of Asia nor believe that Asians see Australians as part of the region.

The poll was taken just before a speech by the Prime Minister, Mr Keating, early this month to the Asia-Australia Institute in Sydney, during which he said that Asia "is where our future lies" and that Australia needed to throw off the remnants of the old British shackles.

In doing so, he took the opportunity to reinforce some of the messages he sent out controversially during the Queen's visit about republicanism and Australia's long-term future. "I am pleased, though not surprised, by the positive reaction in South-East Asia to the recent surge of independent and republican thinking in Australia."

He criticised what he said was an attitude in Australia that "still cannot separate our interests or history or future from the interests of Britain".

"This attitude has long been, and remains, debilitating to our national culture, our economic future, our destiny as a nation in Asia and the Pacific.

"We're talking about cultural changes, new ways of thinking and new ways of doing things."

On the evidence of this poll, he may be somewhat ahead of public opinion on some of these matters.

The Saulwick Poll, taken nationally, asked voters whether they thought of Australia as basically separate from Asia or part of Asia. Nearly seven out of 10 voters said they saw Australia as separate. They were also asked how they

About the poll

Date: 1, 2 & 3 April 1992

Sample: 1000 voters

Coverage: National

Method: Telephone

Questions: 1. Do you think Australians should welcome or not welcome European investment in Australia? (Repeated for Asian and American investment).

2. Do you think of Australia basically as separate from Asia or as part of Asia?

3. And would you imagine that Asians see Australia as separate from Asia or as part of Asia?

Saulwick Age Poll is conducted by Irving Saulwick and Associates, who hold the copyright.

imagined Asians saw Australia. Again, nearly seven out of 10 said they imagined Asians thought of Australia as separate.

Labor voters were slightly more inclined to see Australia as part of Asia, but generally there was little difference between Labor, coalition and Democrat voters.

There was also little difference between men and women on this issue, although men were a little more inclined to see Australia as part of Asia.

The poll also asked about attitudes to investment in Australia. Here too historical biases endure.

Australians are more welcoming of European or American investment than of Asian investment: while 70 per cent said Australia should welcome European and American investment, only 54 per cent said Australia should welcome Asian investment.

This pattern is consistent with long-standing attitudes to foreign sources of investment. In 1988, a

SAULWICK AGE POLL

AUSTRALIA AND ASIA

Are we separate from, or part of, Asia?							
	Total	Men	Women	18-24	25-39	40-54	55+
Separate	69	63	74	79	70	64	65
Part Of	29	34	24	18	29	34	32
Unsure	2	2	2	2	2	2	3

Do you think Asians see us as separate from, or part of, Asia?							
	Total	Men	Women	18-24	25-39	40-54	55+
Separate	67	69	65	66	71	68	60
Part Of	23	21	25	20	21	25	26
Unsure	11	10	10	15	8	6	14

All percentages rounded to the nearest whole number.

ATTITUDE TO FOREIGN INVESTMENT

Should we welcome investment from:							
	Total	Men	Women	18-24	25-39	40-54	55+
Europe							
Yes	70	76	65	61	73	73	72
No	24	20	27	35	23	20	21
Unsure	6	4	8	5	4	7	7
Asia							
Yes	54	62	47	49	59	57	51
No	40	35	45	49	37	36	43
Unsure	6	4	7	3	5	7	7
America							
Yes	70	75	66	69	71	68	72
No	23	21	27	26	23	26	20
Unsure	6	4	8	4	5	6	8

All percentages rounded to the nearest whole number.

Saulwick Poll showed that people had a more positive view of British and American investment than Japanese investment in Australia.

Women tend to be less welcoming of foreign investment no matter where it comes from: in 1988, as now, fewer women than men were prepared to say they welcomed investment, be it from

Europe, America or Asia.

There is little difference between intending Labor or coalition voters on this question. However, Democrat voters, while as keen as any other group on European investment, are more antagonistic to American and Japanese investment than other voter groups.

The Age 21/04/92

Jakarta halts democracy rally

JAKARTA: Indonesian security authorities banned a meeting of a pro-democracy forum yesterday, less than an hour before it was due to start.

Several policemen arrived late yesterday at a gathering of the Forum for Democracy, held to mark the end of the Muslim fasting month, to tell organisers the meeting was illegal.

The chairman of the forum,

Mr Abdulrachman Wahid, said: "The event has been forbidden without an official document and by (police) staffs of the lowest level."

Police said the gathering, which attracted 500 people, could violate public order.

The forum, set up in April last year, groups about 45 leading scholars from a wide spectrum of society.

AFP

The Australian 21/04/92

Aust 21/4/92

Probe of five E Timor officers ending

AGE
22/4/92

Jakarta, Tuesday

The Indonesian Army has completed an inquiry into the conduct of five officers during the Dili massacre in November in which scores of civilians died.

"The investigation has been completed and (we) are now in the documentation phase," the 'Tempo' weekly reported, quoting Major General Suryadi.

General Suryadi heads an army team charged with investigating five officers identified by a military council that probed the role of the army in the November massacre in East Timor.

Army Chief General Eddy Sudrajat, announcing the council's findings in February, said three officers were discharged and three permanently or temporarily transferred.

Four other officers and four soldiers face court martial for the shooting, in which troops fired on a crowd of protesters.

The council also recommended that five Dili-based officers be investigated to define whether they had acted as their rank and position required.

— AFP

PM pursues Asia

role for nation

Mr Keating . . .
attack on Menzies

Kokoda blazed trail to liberty

By foreign editor
GREG SHERIDAN

AUSTRALIANS saved their country from invasion during World War II and the heroic deeds of our troops in New Guinea should be honoured accordingly, the Prime Minister, Mr Keating, says.

Mr Keating, continuing his push for a more "independent Australia", has said in an exclusive interview with *The Australian* that this country's campaign in New Guinea served as a useful reminder of its need to be able to defend its vital interests without relying on powerful friends.

Thwarting the Japanese plan to invade Port Moresby overland from the north was "exclusively an Australian thing".

"It was there that Australia was saved, in turning that back. I think that's important to highlight."

Mr Keating again attacks Britain's role during World War II and bitterly criticises long-serving former Liberal prime minister Sir Robert Menzies, who he says was "unable to distinguish Australian interests from those of Britain".

The Prime Minister says the British Government came to the conclusion early in the war that it would secure Britain and its interests in the Middle East and India, but that the Far East was expendable.

THE Prime Minister, Mr Keating, has stepped up his drive to integrate Australia economically with the Asia-Pacific region and away from Europe.

On the eve of his departure today for Indonesia and Papua New Guinea, Mr Keating upped his rhetoric on Asia, saying Australia should not be content with sharing in Europe's "1 or 2 per cent growth a year" or with trying to knock down trade barriers in the United States but should go where the "growth is greatest" — the Asia-Pacific region.

He said his decision to make his first overseas visit since taking office to two regional countries was a conscious decision to send a message about foreign policy priorities under the Keating Government.

"If anyone wants to see what I think, watch what I do," he said.

Mr Keating also vigorously restated his pro-republican views and bitterly attacked the record of conservative politicians in impeding Australia's development towards full nationhood and independence.

In an exclusive interview with *The Australian*, Mr Keating said he expected to get a response from Indonesia's President Suharto to his proposal for regular heads of government meetings based on the membership of the Asia Pacific Economic Co-operation group.

Mr Keating also revealed that he had given advance notice of the proposal, made in a recent speech in Sydney, to President Bush, the Prime Minister of Japan, Mr Miyazawa, and President Suharto.

He also signalled a new emphasis on APEC as a central institution in tying the US to the Asia-Pacific region; in seeking to defuse trade tensions between the US and Japan; and in providing an institutional framework for Australia to deal with the region.

Mr Keating said that while some within the Association of South-East Asian Nations had always regarded APEC "with some sort of suspicion", they had been deeply involved in its development "and none more so than Indonesia".

He said his heads of government meeting proposal was not just concerned with getting processes right but was about liberalising trade

within the Asia-Pacific region.

"It's about saying the Asia-Pacific is where the future is," he said.

"Europe's the old order, this is the new order."

"The more we can involve the greatest of our liberal democracies, the US, and the more the US can leave its imprint on the institutions of the Pacific, the better off we'll be."

In his first extended interview on foreign affairs, Mr Keating said he thought the US lacked institutions in the Asia-Pacific region, where its policy had been dominated by security considerations and its numerous unilateral treaties.

"US policy in the Pacific is the policy of the US navy, basically," he said.

"Most of US trade is in the Pacific but all of the institutions are in the Atlantic."

Mr Keating believes it is here that APEC can be important, providing the institutional framework for the US and the Asia-Pacific region.

"APEC's got everything going for it," he said.

"Because I think APEC will be a trade-liberalising body, having the US and Japan work their problems out in the APEC context can be very important."

Mr Keating also called for Japan to play a bigger role in the world.

He said Japan sought to have others understand its hesitancy and inexperience in international affairs at the

same time as it was able to devise and implement the most sophisticated international strategies in highly competitive industries around the world.

Thus Japan's claim of inexperience in international affairs "doesn't ring true".

Japan should not leave it to the US to press for international trade liberalisation. Rather, Japan should play "a role commensurate with the opportunities given to it and its size".

Mr Keating believed the US administration understood the importance of the US-Japan relationship and said there had been no closer bilateral co-operation than that between the US and Japan during the 1980s.

However, some industrialists blamed Japan unfairly for the problems of US industry.

He said the Japanese, in an enlightened government policy, had funded the US current account and Budget deficit, which had allowed it

The Australian 21/04/92

Keating's overseas odyssey

THE Prime Minister, Mr Keating, departs today for his first overseas trip since becoming Prime Minister. He will travel to Indonesia and Papua New Guinea. The choice of these two near neighbours for the new Prime Minister's first sortie abroad is well advised. It is designed to send a message to the region that the new Prime Minister is giving his highest priority to regional relations in Australian foreign policy and to Australia's view of its place in the world. This is somewhat akin to the practice of new American presidents making their first overseas visits to Canada and Mexico. It is a regional courtesy and more than that, a statement of identity.

The most important substantial business on the Prime Minister's trip will be his attempt to put the bilateral relationship with Jakarta on a sensible and stable basis. Very few relationships are more important to Australia than that with Indonesia. Mr Keating will be keen to establish some rapport with President Suharto. The last prime minister to achieve this was Mr Gough Whitlam. Neither Mr Malcolm Fraser nor Mr Bob Hawke ever succeeded in establishing much of a personal relationship with the reserved Javanese leader.

Mr Keating is scheduled to have three separate meetings with the Indonesian President as well as holding talks with the Foreign Minister, Mr Ali Alatas, the Defence Minister, General Benny Murdani, and a variety of provincial leaders. Although a number of bilateral agreements will be signed during Mr Keating's Indonesian visit, the real purpose of the trip is twofold: to symbolise the importance of the relationship and to set up a new dynamic of dialogue.

Mr Keating will of course raise Australia's concerns about human rights in East Timor. The Indonesians will expect him to do this and will not react adversely. Australia's practical concern for improving the welfare of the East Timorese is demonstrated by new aid allocations specifically for East Timor.

The Government's approach to East Timor has been sensibly balanced. It satisfies completely neither those who would like to see Canberra leading an international crusade for East Timorese independence (an exercise that would inevitably be futile) nor those who believe that human rights considerations should never impinge on international trade. Rather, the Government has sought to convey strongly Australia's condemnation of the massacre in East Timor, encourage reform and reconciliation, recognise the unprecedented strength of the political and judicial response to the killings within Indonesia and encourage further the trends towards liberalisation, within East Timor itself and within Indonesia more widely. At the same time, it has sought to protect Australia's vital interest in a stable and sensible relationship with our nearest sizeable neighbour. The Prime Minister should continue this measured approach.

In Papua New Guinea, Mr Keating will attempt to highlight the contribution Australian troops made in the

Milne Bay and Kokoda campaigns 50 years ago to securing the liberty of this country. He will also hold talks with the Prime Minister, Mr Namaliu, and other PNG Cabinet ministers. Attempting to help PNG overcome its horrendous law-and-order problems, while at the same time not infringing on the sovereignty of the PNG Government, is one of the most important foreign policy challenges facing Australia.

Mr Keating will not be making many overseas trips between now and the next election. This small voyage is not without some diplomatic dangers for him, but it has been well constructed and should be both useful and instructive. He is right to pay personal attention to two of the most important relationships Australia is involved in.

Proposal for regular meetings of regional leaders put on hold

Indonesians cautious on PM's plan

25/4/92
The Age

The Age 23/04/92

By MICHELLE GRATTAN and LINDSAY MURDOCH, Jakarta, Wednesday

The Indonesian leader, President Suharto, today endorsed in principle a proposal by Australia for regular meetings of regional leaders — but he put on hold indefinitely its implementation.

The Prime Minister, Mr Keating, met President Suharto for two hours today and forthrightly set out Australia's views on East Timor. But he made it clear that the Australian Government would not allow the Timor issue to cloud the relationship.

The two governments have decided to set up a new ministerial forum, meeting every two years, chaired by their foreign ministers and including at least two economic ministers from each country, to promote a closer relationship.

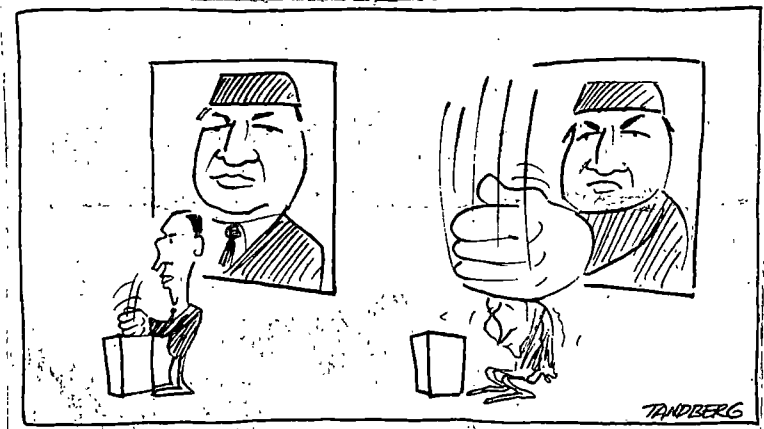
In another sign of strengthening ties, Mr Keating has called for stronger defence relations.

At a news conference today, Mr Keating enthused about the reception he had received in Jakarta, declaring: "It doesn't get much better than this."

Senior Indonesian officials said Mr Keating's meeting with President Suharto signalled a new era in relations.

Indonesia's Foreign Minister, Mr Ali Alatas, described Mr Keating's visit as a powerful and important confirmation and strengthening of the at times troubled relationship.

But he ruled out the possibility of President Suharto making a reciprocal visit in the near future and dismissed a complaint by Mr Keating that East Timorese demonstrators were being prosecuted as criminals.



The Indonesians have been cautious on the Keating proposal to have regular regional heads-of-government meetings based on the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation forum.

President Suharto told Mr Keating it was inevitable that such meetings would happen eventually.

President Suharto was also reluctant to support the idea without first discussing it with the leaders of regional countries. They said the idea was unlikely to be supported by Malaysia.

Mr Keating told his news conference that his proposal was "not a prime ministerial initiative"; but just a sensible expression of what he thought was an inevitable development. "But we're not setting any deadlines, nor are we beating a drum about this issue."

He said the key factors in the Australian-Indonesian relationship were that the two countries were neighbors, without territorial designs on one another, and that

President Suharto's New Order Government — which had provided regional stability and held the archipelago together as a nation for a quarter of a century — had been one of the most significant and beneficial events in Australia's recent strategic history.

Mr Keating, who discussed East Timor with President Suharto and Mr Alatas; told his news conference he had said that last year's Dili events were tragic, but the Indonesian Government's follow-up was credible.

"I said I thought that the long-term future between our two countries would certainly be enhanced if a basis of longer-term reconciliation could be established between the Government of Indonesia, Indonesia generally and the people of East Timor."

In the keynote foreign affairs speech of his visit to Indonesia, Mr Keating called for closer defence links between Australia and Indonesia, through more high-level visits and consultations, combined exercises, training and other exchanges between the countries' armed forces.

Mr Keating also said that Australia's continuing concern about Timor focused on what practical help Australia could give to the local people.

PAGE 6: More reports.

ly, but it was important "that we prepare for such an eventuality".

Mr Alatas said later: "Eventually we see a need to move towards such an arrangement . . . to have this mechanism where heads of state can bring further weight to bear on the cooperation in this dynamic region."

"As far as we are concerned it is not a matter of whether, but when. We believe that perhaps we should mull it over some more."

Mr Alatas said any decision on a heads-of-government meeting should wait until the outcome was known of deadlocked world negotiations on trade liberalisation.

Asian diplomats speculated that

"The Foreign Minister told me that there had been attempts in the past on the part of the Government to establish a dialogue, which had failed. But (he) took on board our view."

● Mr Keating tonight repeated his criticisms of the Australian flag. "I'm sure in this part of the world people wonder about Australia representing themselves with a British flag in the corner of our flag. That must change and it should change."

KEATING URGES DEFENCE LINKS

Keating calls for closer defence ties with Indons

By MICHELLE GRATTAN,
chief political correspondent,
Jakarta, Wednesday

The Prime Minister, Mr Keating, today called for closer defence links between Australia and Indonesia.

Mr Keating said there was scope for building closer links between the armed forces and defence organisations of the two countries, through more high-level visits and consultations, combined exercises, training and other exchanges.

He said Australia shared with Indonesia a fundamental interest in the strategic stability of the region, and in limiting the potential for external powers to introduce tension or conflict.

Mr Keating had a 45-minute meeting with the Indonesian Defence Minister, General Murdani, who supported the Prime Minister's commitment to enhancing the Australian-Indonesian defence relationship.

General Murdani said the relationship had been through some "rocky periods" in the past. He said it was best to work step by step, as the two governments were doing now, and predicted that the relationship would develop further.

Mr Keating, in the keynote speech of his visit to Indonesia, also urged the Indonesians to think of Australia not as it was 20 years ago or even a decade ago, but as it was now, and what it intended to be in the future: "a partner in the dynamic new world of the Asia-Pacific region".

Mr Keating again dwelt on Australia's need to throw off the "residues of colonialism".

He also said Australia's continuing concern about Timor focused particularly on what practical help Australia could give the local people.

Mr Keating said there was a conservative element in Australia's

MILLIONS FOR TIMOR PROJECTS

The Minister for Trade and Overseas Development, Mr Kerin, announced the division of Australia's \$30 million aid projects for East Timor over the next five years.

The projects include a \$12 million scheme to upgrade water supply and sanitation services in Dili and the town of Sauil on the south coast.

Other initiatives in the aid package include \$10.5 million for an agricultural and rural development project, \$3 million for an agricultural planning program, \$3 million for a small activities scheme, \$1.5 million for a veterinary services project and \$600,000 to upgrade the East Timor Polytechnic.

lian society, which was still influential, that "through its attachment to the past and its anxiety about the Asia-Pacific future, tends to resist the full expression of Australian nationhood".

"It is the same element which opposed Indonesian independence in the 1940s. Attitudes are often the last things to change."

He said there should be no question about where Australia's identity or loyalties lay.

"For far too long we have measured the strength of our society, the level of our sophistication, the worth of our achievements, against Britain and Europe — and against the United States.

"At times we have done this while clinging to such vestiges of the old imperial power and culture as will, we think, earn us respect in the world.

"We think the time has come to step out of the colonial shadow and make our position clear. We are Australian. We are engaged with Asia. We are different — culturally, historically, politically — but we can handle the difference."

He said the Australian Government was "actively and unequivocally" committed to this region and to developing, in particular, a relationship with Indonesia.

Mr Keating stressed that the "disproportionate attention" that East Timor received in Australia

"does not mean that we are not interested in the welfare of the 182 million people who live in Indonesia's 26 other provinces.

"The attention East Timor receives, internationally and in Australia, is a natural consequence of the territory's uniquely troubled history, beginning with its neglect under Portuguese rule," he said.

"Australia's outlook has been shaped by the additional factors of our proximity to East Timor, the fraternal links we had with the people of East Timor during the Second World War, and the sizeable East Timorese community which now lives in Australia."

Australia had made clear its views about the tragic events in Dili last November.

"We consider the subsequent actions of the Indonesian Government, including President Suharto's public statements and the measures announced by the army Chief-of-Staff on 27 February, to constitute a credible response.

"Our continuing concern is with what practical help we might be able to give to the people of East Timor.

"Our aim as concerned outsiders is to assist where we can in measures for their welfare, and to support a process of reconciliation between them and the Indonesian authorities."

The Age 23/04/92

Keating pessimistic over Gatt

The Prime Minister, Mr Keating, was pessimistic yesterday about the likely outcome of the Gatt negotiations.

He also urged that the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation forum should become a framework in which Japan and the United States could work out some of their differences on trade.

He told a news conference that the Europeans did not show any determination to make the Gatt round succeed.

Mr Keating said it would not be in Indonesia's or Australia's inter-

PM'S ITINERARY

9 am: Farewell call to President Suharto at Merdeka Palace. 10 pm: Fly to Yogyakarta. 11 pm: Met by King Paku Alum VIII. 11.15 pm: Meeting with governor of Central Java, and tours of Borobudur and Prambanan temples. 3.45 pm: Depart for Surabaya. 8 pm: Banquet with governor of East Java.

ests to see the world form into trading blocs.

He believed the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation forum should be a mechanism not just where regional trade and political issues could be discussed but

where the two largest economies, Japan and the United States, could resolve some of their differences.

"Japan is Australia's largest trading partner. The United States is a strategic ally of Australia," Mr Keating said. "We don't want our loyalties tested between these two friendly countries and we would like to see mechanisms established where these differences can be resolved."

— MICHELLE GRATTAN

PAGE 7: Bush to tackle the Gatt farm impasse.

Alatas predicts new era of cooperation



About 70 protesters at a rally outside the post office in the Bourke Street Mall keep attention on East Timor and the Dili massacre. An East Timorese spokesman, Mr Abel Guterres, told passers-by that at the same time as the Prime Minister, Mr Keating, was drinking champagne with Indonesia's President Suharto, East Timor military operations were continuing.

By LINDSAY MURDOCH,
South-East Asia Correspondent,
Jakarta, Wednesday

Indonesia said today that the visit to Jakarta of Australia's Prime Minister, Mr Keating, ushered a new era in the two countries' relationship that would, at times, suffer "shocks and tremors".

In an indirect reference to Australia's criticism of the Dili massacre last November, Indonesia's Foreign Minister, Mr Ali Alatas, said the visit was a "powerful and important confirmation of the relationship that will not be bogged down on solely looking at negative things".

He told journalists: "We are determined to widen and broaden the relationship to develop pillars on which the structure can be built more solidly."

Mr Alatas's comments reflect a dramatic change of official attitude in Jakarta towards Australia.

Less than four months ago, in the wake of the massacre, the relationship had deteriorated to such a low point that Australia's Foreign Minister, Senator Evans, was unable to call on President Suharto and several senior ministers to explain Canberra's views.

"When you consider that Mr Keating's visit is the first of an

Australian head of state since 1983 we can say, with justification, it ushers in a new era of mutual understanding," Mr Alatas said.

Mr Alatas said the signing of five agreements with Australia today was illustrative of the way the relationship could be built "so whenever there are shocks or tremors... that structure could be solid because it is built on a wide, deep and mature relationship".

The agreements include arrangements to prevent the double taxation of some incomes. They also give the go-ahead for a \$12 million Australian aid project to improve water supplies and sanitation in Dili.

Speaking after Mr Keating complained to President Suharto about the prosecution in criminal courts of Dili demonstrators, Mr Alatas made clear that Indonesia would not change its attitude.

He said East Timor was an Indonesian province and East Timorese were subject to Indonesian laws. "Our criminal code says that if you incite publicly and forcefully and not through the legal means the overthrow of the Government or separatism or things like that, then it is a criminal offence," he said.

Mr Alatas said he was aware of

different perceptions about this issue overseas, but the policy would not change.

Demonstrators charged over the Dili massacre face long jail sentences.

With time and experience, Australia and Indonesia "will better understand each other", Mr Alatas said. "But let's face it, we have differences in economics, culture and historical experiences. We acknowledge it on both sides. We cannot wish it away. The only way is for both of us to understand. And I think we are doing this slowly."

Mr Alatas said both nations should not "give up" their basic views and perceptions. "Realistically speaking, we may from time to time get into a situation where there are difficulties because of media reporting on both sides or perceived government actions on both sides which are not fully understood... in another context."

Mr Alatas said no specific reference was made about Australia becoming a republic during the talks between President Suharto and Mr Keating.

But he said both men explained each country's goals and how they viewed their place in the region.

"These kinds of views are very important between two heads of government," he said.

Mr Alatas said: "We welcome Australia's outlook that it now sees itself as part of the region... through various actions and pronouncements Australia has already tried to identify itself more closely with the region. Whether or not it succeeds will very much depend on Australia itself."

Mr Alatas ruled out a visit to Australia in the near future of President Suharto.

Keating scores a victory on foreign soil

AUST. 23/4/92

THE fact that the Prime Minister, Paul Keating, is in Indonesia promoting an improved relationship with that country and Australia is something in which we ought all to rejoice. But it has its peculiarities.

Of course a rapprochement with Indonesia has been long under way, and has been delayed only by the enthusiastic efforts of a relatively small number of people in the media and the busybody community which does its best to interfere with Australia's international trade and diplomacy in pursuit of its own narrow objectives (prominent among these are the non-governmental organisations active in international "aid", which meddle continually in matters they do not understand).

The sustained propaganda campaign which has been waged in Australia by the media, especially the ABC, ever since the invasion of East Timor in 1975 has been odd, to say the least. It has had its comic aspects, as when recently Professor Fred Hollows was disinvited from launching a book continuing this campaign for having breached another taboo of this group.

The Dili massacre is indefensible, of course. But the Indonesian Government has not defended it — indeed as those who are expert on Indonesian politics have pointed out, the Indonesian Government has gone further along the road of explicitly disavowing the massacre and punishing its perpetrators than ever before in such circumstances.

But the events leading up to the Dili killings and the degree of provocation of the Indonesian armed forces in East Timor have yet to be clarified. At the very least, it appears the Portuguese Government and its agencies have



McGUINNESS

a lot to answer for — the Portuguese have all along been cynically exploiting the East Timor protestors in an attempt to stake a claim in the oilfields of the Timor Gap.

The truth of Indonesian policy in East Timor is that while it has often been brutal, it has never smacked of "genocide", nor has the number of deaths as a result of the incorporation of East Timor in Indonesia been anything like the wild claims of the anti-Indonesia lobby in Australia. And considerable sums have been spent on agricultural renewal, education and social services in East Timor. (All this can be confirmed by the Australian National University's experts on Indonesia.)

Hitherto, it has been difficult to get this truth through in Australia. It has not been part of the media orthodoxy. It looked as if the emotional response to the Dili killings would set back the cause of sensible relations between the two countries for years. (The Left has always loved a massacre, unless perpetrated by one of the dictatorships it favours for the time being, in which case it is denied or ignored.)

However, this time it seems that largely by accident Keating has discovered the magic formula for removing the last shaky teeth of the socialist tiger. By throwing a lot of bulldust about republicanism

and independence in the eyes of the chattering classes, he has been able to get away with a degree of conciliation towards Indonesia, which at any earlier time would have been met with howls of protest. He has cynically sold the Left, and the anti-Indonesia pro-Fretelin lobby, down the river.

Whatever the origins of this initiative, and whatever the means by which it has been sold, even to the ABC, it is a great achievement. At last Canberra seems like getting on with the kind of practicable, workaday relationship with our most important immediate neighbour which has already been established without fuss by the authorities in, for example, Darwin.

The active way in which the Northern Territory Government has been building up relationships with Indonesia (and Malaysia) has largely escaped the notice of the chattering classes in Canberra and the south-east corner of Australia — perhaps to the advantage of everybody concerned.

Not that there is much else about Keating's new-found philosophy of Australia's place in the world which has much to recommend it, as no doubt his friends in Jakarta will be informing him. Asia is very far from being homogeneous, and the old and very silly rhetoric about Australia being a part of Asia cuts no ice whatsoever. Japan and Indonesia are parts of Asia in the purely geographic sense, and that is where their common features and interests end, except insofar as they are both significant players in the global economy and polity.

Without acknowledgement of its parenthood, Keating has adopted the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation process fathered by Bob Hawke and his advisers; this too is

unambiguously a good thing, so long as it does not lead to neglect of our relations with Europe, which are important not because of any dependency on or constitutional relationship with Britain (which was finally severed in 1986 when Keating was probably not looking), but simply because there is a fair chance that Europe will be the centre of the global economy in the 21st century as a result of economic union and the demise of communism.

Nor can Australia afford to neglect relationships with the Americas, where there is a high probability that a US-Canada-Mexico free trade association will come into being before the end of the cen-

non of greater closeness and cooperation is not just a discontinuance of the sniping against the Indonesian Government (this has now been defused), but a genuine acceptance of the need for vigorous micro-economic reform in the labour market as well as the rest of the Australian economy. They are not impressed by the progress of the past decade.

Nor will they be impressed by the sight of the Keating Government teetering on the brink of playing on domestic protectionist sentiment at a time when the Australian economy should be opened up more rapidly, rather than delaying the dismantling of barriers to trade, and cossetting senile industries like clothing and footwear.

It may be that Keating, whose continued harping back to the Menzies government and its sins seems to indicate that despite his relative youth he is living in the past intellectually and ideologically, promises to emulate most closely, of all recent prime ministers, Malcolm Fraser. Fraser is now best known for having talked big when overseas, and delivered little when at home. He was a fair weather free trader, and a summer deregulator.

So far, most of Keating's statements about Asia and Australia's place in the world have been laughably naive and unoriginal, the mere pretence to have invented policies which were long since initiated by Bill Hayden and Gareth Evans under the Hawke prime ministership. When he comes home, we will see if there is anything more than this. Nevertheless, so far the success with which he has punctured the pointless hostility to Indonesia is his finest achievement.

— Padraic P. McGuinness

‘Discovered the magic formula’

tury, with close connections with many of the countries of South America.

The point is that we have no natural affinity with any part of Asia (except possibly China and the Indo-Chinese peninsula, as a result of immigration), whereas we do have with North America and Europe (and, thanks to recent immigration, with Latin America).

It is in our interests to promote active trade and economic relationships, as well as educational and cultural links, with Asia — and especially Indonesia. The closeness of two such unlike countries with totally different cultural traditions can be very fruitful for both of them.

But as the Indonesian government ministers and officials whom Keating and his entourage are meeting will tell him, the sine qua

PM puts premium on political stability

By GEOFF KITNEY

The Prime Minister, Mr Keating, has outlined the structure of a new relationship between Australia and Indonesia which puts a premium on political stability and economic growth and shifts the emphasis from issues such as human rights.

After two hours of talks yesterday with the Indonesian President, Mr Suharto, and meetings with the Minister for Defence, Mr Benny Murdani, and the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Ali Alatas, Mr Keating said it was time for Australians to give greater recognition to the importance of Indonesia to regional security and economic prosperity.

Although Mr Keating said the Australian Government would continue to be "appropriately indignant" about abuses of human rights these matters had to be put into the perspective of a broader and deeper relationship.

Responding to media questions about the way he has



Mr ALATAS

dealt with the Dili massacre issue during his Jakarta meetings, Mr Keating said he was not in Indonesia because of the East Timor situation.

Mr Keating said the key issues in Australian-Indonesian relations were:

- The two countries were neighbours bound in their destiny by their geography.
- They did not have territo-

rial designs on each other and wished to live peacefully.

□ Australia regarded President Suharto's administration of Indonesia as "one of the most significant and beneficial events in Australia's strategic history".

"These are the key points — that is why I am here," Mr Keating said.

"I'm here to deepen the relationship and provide a greater basis of strength to it.

"The deepening has to come from cultural and commercial as well as political links so that the structure has more elements to it, and if one part of it comes under pressure, the others will keep the structure together."

He said the importance to Australia of Indonesia's contribution to regional security and its economic expansion needed to be more clearly acknowledged in Australia.

"It was very quickly understood and acknowledged immediately after 1965 [after the defeat of the Communist

uprising]. But it has not been acknowledged in the years since that the importance of stability and growth in Indonesia and of holding together the archipelago has been quite profound," Mr Keating said.

To reinforce Australia's view of strengthening joint Australian Indonesian efforts to increase regional security Mr Keating proposed a further strengthening of the defence relationship.

There was scope for building closer links between the armed forces and the defence organisations of the two countries, initially through more high-level visits and consultations, combined exercises, training and other exchanges.

Mr Keating met Mr Murdani to discuss closer defence

Continued page 4

- Hewson unimpressed; Cool response to APEC plan, page 4
- The International Economy, page 59

US senators refused permission to visit East Timor

Jakarta, Wednesday

Indonesia has rejected a request from two United States senators to visit the former Portuguese colony of East Timor during their visit to Indonesia this week.

In the East Timor capital, Dili, last November troops opened fire on anti-Indonesian demonstrators, killing 50 people, according to an official report. Ninety others were reported missing and are believed to be either dead or in hiding.

"If it is not necessary for them, then for what would they go to East Timor?" State Secretary Murdiono said yesterday. "Let the East Timorese develop themselves. Don't bother them."

Senator Claibourne Pell, the

chairman of the Senate foreign relations committee, and Senator David Boren, the chairman of the Senate select committee on intelligence, are scheduled to arrive tomorrow, he said.

Major-General Murdiono could not confirm whether the senators would meet President Suharto during their visit.

The US Embassy spokesman, Mr Richard Gong, was contacted today and declined to confirm the senators' visit.

News reports quoted diplomats as saying the US senators intended to assess conditions in the country before general elections for politicians on 9 June.

Major-General Murdiono said the US Defence Secretary, Mr Dick Cheney, was also expected to visit, but he did not give the exact date.

Financial Review
23/04/92

Chief Minister of NT attacked over Dili video

AGE 24/2/92

By CHIPS MACKINOLTY

East Timorese representatives in Darwin have condemned the involvement of the Northern Territory Chief Minister, Mr Perron, in a 30-minute video about the Timor massacre released by the Indonesian Government.

The video, released two weeks before the delivery of the Indonesian commission of inquiry report on the 12 November Dili massacre, gives the Indonesian version of the incident.

According to the video, entitled 'New Era of East Timor', "a number of foreigners were involved inciting the demonstrators", including foreign journalists.

The video says that idle and impressionable young people were involved in Dili. The narration says that "on the way to the cemetery the demonstration became very out-of-control and one officer and one soldier was stabbed". There is no reference to civilian deaths.

He said the video was a complete whitewash of East Timorese history and the November massacre.

Mr Perron features in the video as a leading supporter of closer relations with the Indonesian Government.

Mr Alfredo Ferreira, a Fretilin representative in Australia, said yesterday that Mr Perron was a hypocrite.

"He is quite happy to be seen as a very good and reliable friend of Indonesia, but we see him as being as guilty as the generals who ordered our people shot. He should stand trial alongside those generals. He has condoned the Indonesians' actions against our people and he is encouraging them," Mr Ferreira said.

The video was produced and narrated by a Darwin cinematographer, Mr Mike Atkinson, in conjunction with Indonesian National Television. It concentrates on anti-

Indonesian demonstrations in Australia, suggesting that they were the work of "left-wing politicians and trade unionists" with negligible support from Australia's East Timorese community.

Mr Perron is described in the video as one of "many people in Australia who are keen to keep good relations between Indonesia and Australia".

The video shows the Chief Minister standing in front of a map of Indonesia's eastern provinces and being interviewed late last year by Indonesian television journalists.

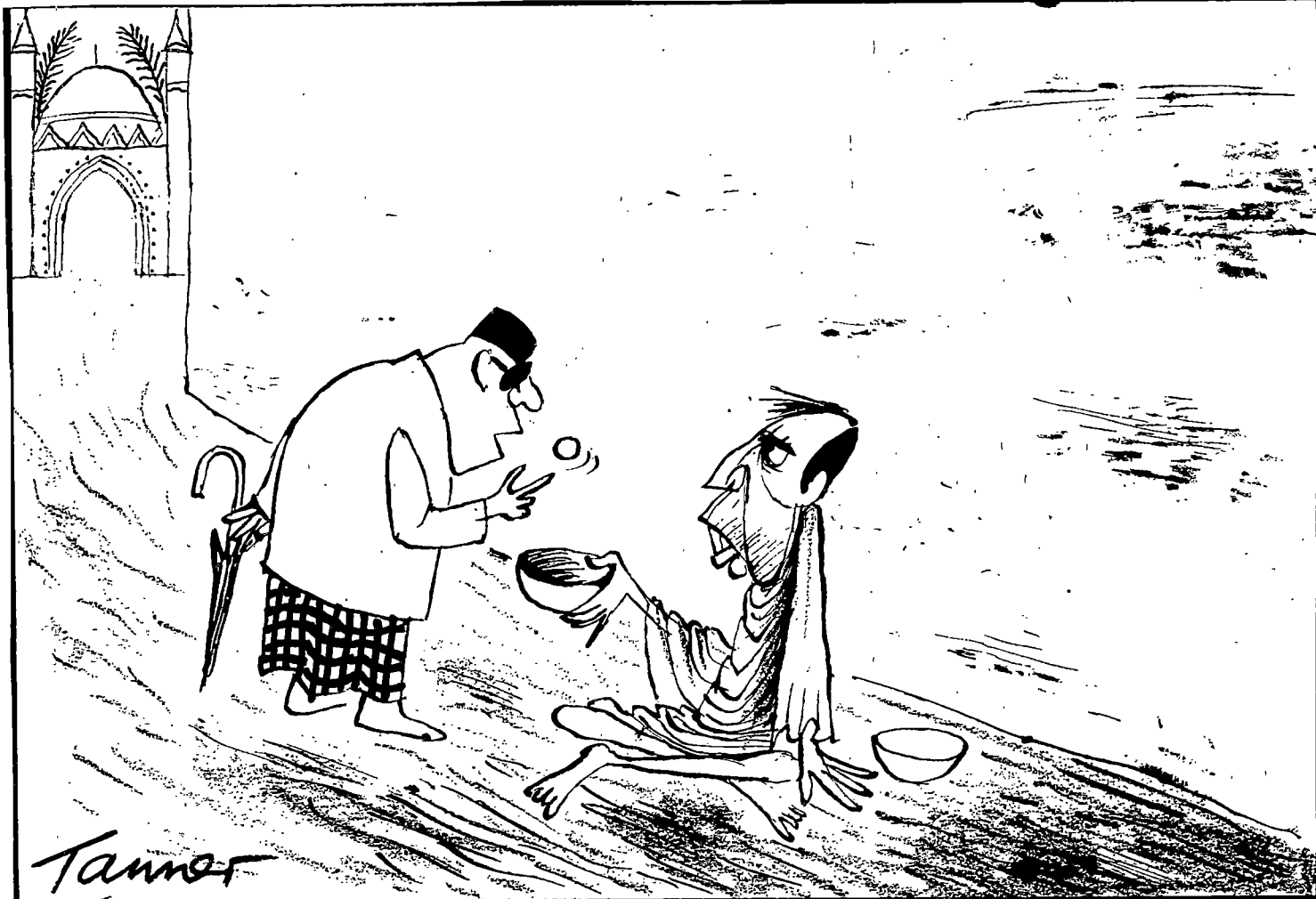
In the context of the interim report of the commission of inquiry being welcomed in many parts of the world, Mr Perron is filmed saying: "We will do what we can within the Australian federal policy in the Northern Territory to try and foster the good relationships that we have built up so far and try and further them so that we develop more trade between our two countries, between the

Northern Territory and Indonesia, and we see a very great and long future between ourselves providing we can, as it were, keep the whole procedure on the rails."

Mr Perron was quoted yesterday as saying that he did not realise that the interview was to be used in a documentary and thought the interview was for a news story, but that he did not object to what had happened. Mr Perron visited Indonesia last month to sign a trade agreement with the Indonesian Foreign Minister, Mr Alatas.

Mr Atkinson could not be contacted yesterday for comment.

The Age 24/02/92



Tanner

AGE 24/2/92

"And which part of Asia did you wish to become part of?"

Keating hails closer ties with Indonesia

AUST- 24/3

From Page 1

clear that Indonesia is in the top order of Australian priority, to say that we are serious neighbours, that we have, obviously, in the longer term, to live together and we want to concentrate on issues of substance.

"I think we've got the balance right in talking about those issues and at the same time making clear our views on some of the matters which have been controversial in the past.

"So we said: 'We come as neighbours, we've got much to do together, we can develop each other's economies, we can come closer together culturally.' And as well as that

Human rights

downplayed

we've been able to say the things that we feel strongly about and put our point clearly.

"I think that's been understood and received well by the Government of Indonesia."

Mr Keating denied that President Suharto's failure to embrace fully his proposal for a regular summit of regional heads of government based on the Asia-Pacific Economic Co-operation group constituted any sort of setback.

President Suharto endorsed the idea in principle but cautioned that more work would have to be put in with other regional countries to bring them to the table.

"I came here to make this a

visit which would bring us basically closer together," Mr Keating said.

"To focus on the fundamentals, not to come here looking for any particular support for initiatives or ventures, but simply to say: 'We're here as friends, we take you seriously and we want to be part of your development and we want you to be part of ours.'"

He said Australia's re-orientation towards Asia would require a virtual "revolution" in the way Australians did things and the way they thought about themselves and the world.

"When you have been for so long a branch office of empire there is a tendency to go on expecting special treatment long after head office stopped opening the mail.

After saying goodbye to President Suharto yesterday, Mr Keating and his wife, Anita, visited the ancient Buddhist temple of Borobudur at Yogyakarta, built in around 800 A.D.

At the temple, Mr Keating touched the hand of a stone statue of Buddha — traditionally meant to bring wishes true.

Mr Keating said he had wished for good relations between Indonesia and Australia.

Mr Keating leaves Indonesia today for Port Moresby, where he will hold a round of talks with senior Papua New Guinea figures, including the Prime Minister, Mr Namaliu, before celebrating Anzac Day on the Kokoda Trail.

The Australian 24/04/92

Keating hails closer ties with Indonesia

By political correspondent GLENN MILNE in Surabaya

THE Prime Minister, Mr Keating, last night claimed his visit to Indonesia had established a new and correct balance in the bilateral relationship that concentrated more on economic and strategic fundamentals but still allowed Australia to voice its proper concerns over human rights.

But in a sign that tensions over East Timor continued to dog the relationship, Mr Keating conceded that any reciprocal visit to Australia by Indonesia's President Suharto could be marred by demonstrations.

The Prime Minister revealed yesterday that he had invited President Suharto to visit Australia. However, he acknowledged the concerns of the Indonesian Foreign Minister, Mr Ali Alatas, that protests during any visit by the President could have the effect of weakening new and stronger ties between the countries.

"That's a possibility," Mr Keating said. "But again it would be the substance that matters."

Mr Keating said President Suharto had replied that if he had the opportunity to visit

Australia, he would think about it.

The Prime Minister described this as the normal response to such invitations but added that no timetable had been set.

"It's a matter for him and his schedule," Mr Keating said.

He did not expect any visit this year because of Indonesian elections.

Mr Keating said Indonesia had accepted that Australia's desire to enmesh with Asia was no longer tokenistic.

On the third and final day of his visit, Mr Keating rejected domestic critics who felt he had downplayed Australia's concerns on human rights in East Timor.

"I put my views firmly," he said.

"I repeated them at a press conference. Everything I said to the President, you know, because I've said it to you and I've made our position clear about where we stand on human rights questions.

"I'm very happy with the visit. It's gone well. It's been a friendly and, I think, successful one.

"We came here to make it

Continued — Page 3

Indonesia warning

JAKARTA: The military commander in Jakarta, General Harseno, yesterday warned left-wing and right-wing extremists not to provoke trouble during campaigning for the June 9 election, saying he had 13,400 troops to maintain peace.

The Australian 24/04/92

Keating unlikely to strain ties on Jakarta visit

SYDNEY (Reuter-Kyodo) Prime Minister Paul Keating is unlikely to put at serious risk Australia's relationship with Indonesia when he visits Jakarta this week despite calls for a stronger stance on human rights, political analysts said.

Australia's leading nongovernment overseas aid agency Sunday urged Keating to make human rights the focus of his first overseas trip as prime minister, starting Tuesday.

But the analysts said that while the situation in East Ti-

mor, in particular, would come up during his talks with President Suharto, Keating is unlikely to jeopardize Australia's overall relationship with its big northern neighbor.

He has made Australia's economic integration into Asia the cornerstone of his foreign policy and has said he will seek Indonesian support for a regular regional economic summit.

Indonesia is the No. 2 recipient of Australia's overseas aid after Papua New Guinea, receiving about A\$100 million (\$76 million) a year.

Austrade, Australia's trade promotion agency, has described Indonesia as "one of the brightest spots on Australia's economic horizon."

Australian investment in Indonesia is worth A\$1 billion (\$760 million) and involves about 130 Australian companies.

But the Australian Council for Overseas Aid, the coordinating body for 95 nongovernment aid groups, said Keating's views that human rights and overseas aid should not be linked are out of date and out of step with the rest of the

donor community.

Keating told lawmakers this year that aid and human rights were not linked and should not be, and that he would not tie the two during his Indonesian visit.

"We totally reject Mr. Keating's view that there is no link between aid and human rights," ACFOA's executive director, Russell Rollason, said Sunday.

He said Keating's views were widely reported in Indonesia and welcomed by the Indonesian government and military.

JAPAN TIMES

4/21/92

22/4
Attention: Russell for w.

PM's mix of friendly chemistry and gloss

Alc
2/4/92

WHEN Paul Keating and Indonesian Defence Minister, Benny Murdani finished their 45-minute meeting on Wednesday, Murdani told the PM: "We have got something in common — we both married air stewardesses."

It was a bit of trivia that, to the Australians, seemed typical of the friendly "chemistry" of Keating's get-to-know-you visit with the Indonesians this week.

From all accounts, the new boy on the regional block seems to have acquitted himself quite well on his first foray out of town.

One Indonesian observer trained in watching the nuances of the presidential face says that President Suharto looked "very happy" after Wednesday's two-hour meeting with Keating.

So he should have. Keating made all the right noises. His speech at Tuesday's state banquet could hardly have heaped more praise on the President, whom he lauded as the region's "undisputed elder statesman". Suharto was already under the impression that the new, young leader (everything is relative: Keating's 48 compares with the Suharto's 70) wanted to learn from him. The atmosphere was right for what the diplomats classify as a "successful visit".

Still, there was the odd sharp message, just so things were clear. Suharto's banquet speech contained a reminder to Australia and other countries that Indonesia won't tolerate interference in its domestic affairs. Australian officials anxiously stressed that the speech was the standard Suharto line. But, delivered in the presence of the PM, it was significant — though the Indonesians regard the press as the main interferers.

Keating never had the slightest intention of "interfering" on the sensitive East Timor issue, beyond what decency and Australian Government policy demanded.

He struck a reasonable balance. He put the Australian line, quite strongly. He told the Indonesians a more "benign" process needed to be found to work towards reconciliation with East Timor — a reconciliation that should involve recognition of the cultural and religious distinctiveness of the province,



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and perhaps some special regional status for it. Keating also criticised Indonesia's dealing with demonstrators under criminal legal processes. At his news conference, Keating was reasonably forthright.

However he was at pains to make it clear that the Australian Government has no intention of letting Timor sour the relationship, now that the Dili massacre is receding into history. The two governments, not the media, determined the agenda of issues between the countries, he told the news conference. The Australian Government has found the Indonesian response on the massacre "credible", and that is more or less that.

Keating's Indonesia visit, which ends when he flies out this morning for Papua-New Guinea, has had two broad objectives. One has been to consolidate and strengthen a bilateral relationship that the massacre had put under stress. The second has been to promote Keating's Asian thrust.

Bilaterally, all the signs are that the relationship is now back on an even keel. It's convenient for both governments that Bob Hawke's enforced departure happened when it did. It makes it easier to push into the past the difficulties in relations created by the massacre. Keating came to Indonesia as a fresh voice — not the one who had to say harsh things last year.

ON this trip, Keating has constantly reiterated his theme that Australia must be more involved in Asia — that it must "strip itself down psychologically" and throw off the last shackles of old colonialism. He has played up again the need for a new flag — without giving any sign he was going to do anything about it.

Keating's emphasis on Asia is

commendable. But his presentation contains some glosses that flaw it.

First, he is in fact intensifying Australia's push into Asia, not making an initial foray, though his rhetoric usually leaves the latter impression. Australia has been going in this direction for quite a while: it is a matter of accelerating and broadening.

In particular, Bob Hawke constantly urged and worked for Australia's "enmeshment" with Asia. And Hawke was the initiator of the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation forum, which Keating wants to upgrade.

But Keating, trapped by the politics of differentiating himself from Hawke, makes no reference to his predecessor's role, either to put his own thinking into some historical context, or to give Hawke credit where credit is due. As a result, the Keating line sells Australia's past efforts short.

However, it is true there is a very long way to go, when one considers the Saulwick Age Poll published this week, which shows that the majority of Australians neither see themselves as part of Asia nor believe that Asians see Australians as part of the region.

Keating's nationalist drum also sounds a touch loud. His trying to draw some parallel, even vaguely, between Indonesia's colonial past and Australia's was really stretching a point.

Maybe Keating's strident nationalism goes down well electorally at home and attracts a sympathetic ear abroad. But he is seeming a trifle obsessed with his constant repetition of Australia's need to get rid of the last vestiges of colonialism. Indeed, many of us did not realise the vestiges were there: we thought they had been dispatched some time ago.

Like most travelling leaders, Keating came to Indonesia with an idea in his bag. This was for regular regional heads-of-government meetings based on Apec.

The Indonesians were never going to give a final yea or nay. As it was, they said more, and, the Australians insist, were more positive, than had been expected. They ex-

pressed support in principle, but reluctance in practice to do anything right now.

It's impossible to say whether the proposal has a future. Maybe it could eventually grow into something, as Apec did. Or maybe the Indonesians are just being polite and regional suspicions, especially from the Malaysians, will stymie further action.

AUSTRALIAN officials say much will depend on the Americans, who are likely to be on hold until the presidential election. If the Americans eventually took up the idea, that would attract support from other countries. Keating is now adding another layer to his call for regular regional leaders' meetings. At first he was concentrating on the argument that this was the only region without a heads-of-government meeting. Now he also suggests this would be the way to keep the Americans engaged in the Asian Pacific area.

With the end of the Cold War, the Americans' military role in Asia contracts. Australia is starting to be concerned about the relationship in the post-Cold War era. Will Australia still get its traditional special access, now it is no longer needed so much as the reliable ally? And how to augment American interest in the region, which is desirable for trade and other reasons? Keating believes the best way to do this is through tying in the Americans institutionally.

Hence his interest in basing regional heads-of-government meetings on Apec, which already includes both the Americans and the Japanese.

Keating is wisely adopting a low-key approach on his idea, which has such a chancy future. He said last night that he had no plans for advancing it further at the moment. The serious promotion of it will probably have to wait until after the election, if Keating survives. If he doesn't, it would be up to John Hewson whether to run with the initiative or let it die a natural death.

Michelle Grattan filed from Surabaya, where she is travelling with the Prime Minister.



THE WEST AUSTRALIAN 25/04/92

THE WEST AUSTRALIAN 25/04/92

From Kokoda to the 'big picture'

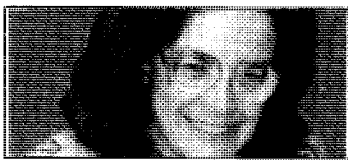
PAUL KEATING ended his first foreign trip as PM with a weekend dominated by ceremony and remembrance, into which he injected the now-standard breath of nationalism.

Kokoda, which the Keating party visited yesterday, symbolises Australia's most dreadful encounter with what might be dubbed "old Asia", the aggressive thrust from the North that Australia has feared for most of its history, often without justification, but in those years with the best of reasons.

For Keating, PNG was very much a secondary stop of the trip. For one thing, the contact between the two countries, bound close by former colonial ties, is easier and more informal than in the case of Indonesia, the first stop, so there is less "specialness" about a prime ministerial visit. Second, PNG has an election imminent which somewhat circumscribed the talks.

But of course PNG is vitally important to Australia. While Keating made much of how crucial was Indonesia's present and future stability, the same might be observed in a different, somewhat more modest, but hardly less important way, of PNG.

The country stays loyal to the democracy it inherited from Australia. But it is faced with tremendous problems. Bougainville re-



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mains unsolved. The breakdown of law and order takes a heavy toll on economy and society — and was a main topic in Keating's talks with Prime Minister Rabbe Namaliu. Australia stands ready to give more aid for internal security, but there is some Australian impatience that PNG has not yet finalised a more detailed indication of what is to be done.

The extent of PNG's internal security difficulties is a salutary reminder that if, in the longer term, PNG went seriously off the rails, that would have profound implications for Australia.

As a sidelight: in the category of the trip's ironies was the fact that although PNG has relatively recently emerged from colonialism, Namaliu spoke as if that era were the distant past, while Keating talks of Australia's colonial experience as though it were yesterday. Keating's Anzac Day speech drew some private PNG criticism because it was seen as anti-British.

A significant outcome of Keating's trip is that it has fleshed out what we know of his views of the region.

In foreign policy, Keating is taking — to borrow his old phrase from another context — the broad picture.

He is focusing on long-term likely strategic and economic changes in the region, and how Australia should position itself in light of them.

His desire to rebalance Australia's relations with Indonesia to put maximum stress on the positive reflects his perception that Indonesia is vitally important for Australia directly and through its Asean role. Thus the relationship must be structured so that it is not over-influenced by East Timor and human rights.

More widely, Keating believes that while the United States administration may be committed to maintaining its strategic engagement in Asia, American domestic pressures are likely to push for less interest, now the US's political rationale for the engagement — the Cold War — is gone.

The US has a series of treaties with individual countries. It is also a huge export market for Asian nations. But Keating believes these ties may not be sufficient to keep the engagement at a satisfactory level.

Why is the high level of US in-

volvement needed? Keating believes the region will be better politically and economically for having the world's most powerful liberal democracy staying engaged in it.

He is also concerned to avoid a falling out between the Japanese and Americans, that would force Australia to choose between its biggest trading partner and its most significant ally.

Keating differs somewhat from the view Bob Hawke took of Japan's expanding role. Keating believes in Japan having a peace-keeping role, but not a wider military participation. Hawke did not oppose the latter if the Japanese wanted it.

Keating also believes that, in the non-defence area, the Japanese should be more active in pulling their weight in shaping international institutions.

KEATING'S commitment to using institutional structures to promote international interests emerged clearly on the trip.

Bilaterally, this was evident in the proposal, accepted by the Indonesians, for a new Australian-Indonesian ministerial forum.

Regionally, it is reflected in Keating's proposal for regular regional heads of government meetings based on the Asia-Pacific Eco-

nomic Cooperation forum.

The exact origins of this idea are unclear. Some sources say it had been canvassed in discussions between the Hawke private office and the Prime Minister's department. The department's brief to Keating for the Bush visit pointed out Australia was disadvantaged by not having access to a major heads of government meeting — neither the South Pacific forum nor the Commonwealth fit the bill. Keating, according to sources, added the Apec idea to this general reference. He canvassed his proposal with Bush.

Despite Indonesia's caution, the Australians are encouraged by the fact that recently a US visiting official was warm about the idea, canvassing the possibility a meeting might even be tacked on to the Apec ministerial gathering the US will host next year. While that timetable looks a bit quick, the suggestion has been taken as showing a degree of American interest.

Other sources say the Americans have been tossing around, separately, such an idea.

The last big message from the Keating trip is the degree to which his foreign and domestic agendas are interwoven.

The Asia thrust is not only a foreign and economic policy objective, but also part of the nationalism he is using for domestic

purposes.

Keating's trip has sent useful and positive messages to the region.

However, there is a risk that some of the signals may backfire. The emphasis on the colonial vestiges and the flag risk suggesting to the Asians that Australia has much less of a robust national identity than is the case.

IF Keating talks big but does not tangibly advance the cause of a republic and a new flag, it raises the prospect of having suggested to Indonesia and other countries that we have a problem — without finding a solution.

Keating's commitment to a relationship with Indonesia that takes some weight off human rights is fine and desirable so long as things go well. If there happened to be some fresh incident in relation to Timor, however, Keating would face all the same problems that emerged last year in responding, when the Government was caught by caucus pressures on the one side and the calls of the "relationship" on the other. He would have to play up human rights, whatever the Indonesians might now expect.

For the sake of both the relationship and his domestic political needs, Keating can only hope there is no fresh human-rights blip.

Distrust of Asia slowly gives way to recognition of its importance

AGE 27/4/92

By DENIS MULLER

Australians sit with palpable unease, and a sense of displacement, on the southern rim of Asia.

Fifteen years of public opinion polling of attitudes to the Asian region and Australia's place in it provides persuasive evidence that there is widespread realisation of the importance of Asia (especially Japan) to our economic future, but a long period of adjustment lies ahead if Australians are ever to feel they genuinely belong to the region.

Our history suggests it is an adjustment we perhaps do not want to make.

There has long been a deep distrust of Asian people among Australians of European descent. It came out violently on the goldfields; it was integrated into the fabric of the early Labor Leagues, precursors of the Labor Party, principally because of concern to prevent sweated labor.

This was eventually elevated to the status of a national racial projection in the form of the White Australia policy. Although now discarded for nearly two generations, it may yet influence the thinking of people in their 50s and older. A constant pattern in the polls is that their views on questions relating to Asia are generally more reserved than those of younger groups.

Another potent influence on this group was World War II, during which the Japanese were seen as the only potential invaders, and the Cold War, defined in this part of the world very much by the domino theory of aggressive expansion through South-East Asia by communist China.

In these circumstances, it may not come as a surprise that the first article arising from a Saulwick Poll on attitudes to Asia carried the headline "Australians view eight major neighbors with a high level of distrust". That was published in April 1977.

In the poll, taken nationally from a sample of 2000, voters were asked about their attitudes to eight countries: Japan, Indonesia, China, India, Vietnam, the Philippines, Papua New Guinea and Thailand.

The respondents were asked which

ATTITUDES TO ASIAN COUNTRIES

	Japan %	Indonesia %	China %	India %	Vietnam %	Philippines %	PNG %	Thailand %	None %
Important to Australia	87	38	51	16	11	19	49	14	3
Democratic	43	6	6	8	2	8	34	4	30
Aggressive	11	36	33	5	27	5	4	6	21
Trustworthy	30	6	12	12	4	14	31	9	36
On the way up	43	15	35	8	8	10	31	6	13
Possible threat to Australia	20	34	41	4	15	4	3	4	23

Percentages have been rounded to the nearest whole number
Tables do not add up to 100 per cent, either across or down

FIRST CHOICE FOR SOURCE OF IMMIGRANTS

Country of preferred nationality	Total sample (2000) %	Male (997) %	Female (1003) %	Aged 21-24 (216) %	Aged 45-59 (473) %	University educated (190) %	Primary educated (243) %	White collar (154) %	Blue collar (559) %
Britain	41	39	42	23	43	22	54	26	51
Northern and Western Europe	25	30	21	30	30	33	17	35	20
Southern Europe	6	6	6	5	6	5	8	9	6
Asia	6	6	6	11	5	6	5	5	4
Southern Africa	2	2	2	4	2	4	1	2	1
Middle East	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	1
Wherever they come from	18	16	21	26	12	30	13	22	14

Percentages have been rounded to the nearest whole number

they would describe as important to Australia, democratic, aggressive, trustworthy, on the way up, and likely to be a threat to Australia. They were allowed to name as many or as few countries as they wished.

A remarkably high 36 per cent considered none of the eight countries trustworthy, and there was a marked falling off in the level of trust among the middle-aged and older groups.

Later in the same year, another Saulwick Poll asked people about their attitude to immigration. There was a general reluctance to encourage immigrants from anywhere, but if we had to have them we wanted them from Britain and northern and western Europe.

Asia, southern Europe, southern Africa and the Middle East were unpopular as sources of immigration.

Among people over 45, support for Asia as a source was less than half that of people under 25.

The question was repeated 11 years later, in 1988. Asia was still much less preferred as a source of immigrants than Britain or Western Europe, but the generational difference had reversed itself. People over 55 were by then more willing to encourage immigrants from Asia than were people under 24.

Murray Goot, an associate professor of politics at Macquarie University, recently published a review of Australian opinion polls on immigration covering the period 1984 to 1990.* He says that not since the Vietnam War has a single issue in so short a time generated such a rash of polls.

"Not only have most of the polls indicated majority opposition to the

general rate of immigration, most have also indicated majority opposition to the rate of Asian immigration," he wrote. "In four of the 13 polls conducted since 1984, at least twice as many have said the number of Asians coming to Australia is too great as have said the number is about right or too few."

He qualifies this by saying that not all the polls point in the same direction, and that the wording of the questions and the context in which they are asked can make a real difference to the response.

The final measure of Australian attitudes to the region that has been frequently used by the Saulwick Poll is attitude towards different sources of foreign investment.

Here Australians' preferences are clear. In 1988, and again last month, European and American investment was preferred to Asian

investment. It is little wonder, then, that as about the big picture — do we see ourselves as part of Asia or separate — nearly seven out of 10 say so. This sense of displacement is reinforced by the finding from a companion question that showed that nearly as many Australians imagine that Asians see us as separate to

But despite these well-documented attitudes, Australia's ties with the region and with Asian people have grown considerably in recent years. More Australians take holidays in Asia; there is a growing body of Asian language teaching in our schools; trade with Asian countries has grown more than with any other region there has been a strong growth in Asian tourism to Australia.

Finally, Australia has absorbed a substantial number of Asian immigrants in recent years. While this has been accompanied by sometimes vigorous debate, it has been accomplished, despite high levels of unemployment, with little evidence of racial tension.

* *Opinion as Paradox: Australian Attitudes to the Rate of Immigration and the Rate of Asian Immigration 1984-1990. International Journal of Public Opinion Research, Vol. 3 No. 3.*

Keating's

pitch a

117

qualified

winner

Michael Gordon travelled with the Prime Minister this week to Indonesia and New Guinea. Here he assesses the success of Mr Keating's tour.

THE accused wore a check shirt and an impassive expression. He took notes with a black pen on white legal paper and spoke in a soft, measured tone. Like another blue-jeaned defendant two courtrooms down the hall, he was fighting for his life.

Fernando de Araujo's composure was all the more remarkable given the steam-bath atmosphere of the Jakarta Central Court.

Periodically, the prosecutor interrupted his monologue to wipe the lather of perspiration from his brow and neck. Mr de Araujo, a 26-year-old student from Bali, seemed impervious. He stands accused of being a member of a clandestine pro-East Timor organisation. The charge is subversion.

Down the hallway, Joao Freitas da Camara was facing the same charge. They say — and he doesn't pretend otherwise — that he organised a demonstration in Jakarta to protest at the massacre at Dili last November.

The unfolding drama on the third floor of the Jakarta Central Court was one element of the East Timor backdrop to Paul Keating's first overseas visit as Prime Minister, a visit that, despite some impressions to the contrary, should be considered a qualified success.

Qualified, because Mr Keating did not win any concessions on East Timor (in truth, he had not expected any). Qualified, too, because he gained only luke-warm backing for his idea for regular meetings of regional leaders.

But a success nevertheless, even on the issue of human rights. The Prime Minister *did* unambiguously reflect Australian concerns without undermining his primary goal in making Indonesia his first destination — achieving closer ties that will produce mutual economic benefits.

Along the way, he even managed to make his own, distinctive mark as a diplomat, expressing some rather pointed views without causing offence. Consider this one to a gathering that included senior Indonesian politicians and diplomats: "Freedom of expression should never be anything for people to fear. Not in Indonesia. Not anywhere."

This freedom, however, is at the very heart of the cases before the Jakarta Central Court.

The day 'The Sunday Age' visited the courtroom Paul Keating spoke for two hours with President Soeharto.

The maximum penalty in the two subversion cases is death. The more likely prospect appears to be a hefty prison term — 10 years, 20 years or even life. The five cases in Jakarta, and another eight involving similar charges in Dili, are one side of the aftermath to the incident of 12 November.

The other is the side Mr Keating refers to when he praises the Indonesian government's "credible" response — "dinkum" was the adjective Bob Hawke used. It has seen two inquiries and resulted in the sacking, suspension or court martial of 13 military officers, including two generals, and an undertaking to account for the 90 people who are still listed as missing. It remains incomplete.

Both sides were canvassed in some depth during Mr Keating's talks with President Soeharto on Wednesday.

Mr Keating expressed concern that political demonstrators involved in non-violent political protest were

being dealt with under the criminal code. He expressed the hope that they would be dealt with fairly and humanely and appealed for reconciliation.

Mr Alatas replied that attempts to win over the "hearts and minds" of the East Timorese had been interpreted in the past by independence supporters as signs of weakness. On the issue of criminal sanctions for non-violent political protest he conceded nothing, noting the "dichotomy" between attitudes of the Indonesians and Australians. Those who broke the Indonesian law would be punished, he said.

Mr Keating did not, even during a briefing with the Defence Minister, Mr Beni Murdani, ask about the state of the official inquiry or about progress in locating the missing 90.

But the very strong view in Jakarta was that the Prime Minister pushed the issue as hard and directly as he could without being counter-productive. As one well-placed observer remarked: "The harder you push, the less likely you are to succeed. If you want to know what really happened in Dili, applying pressure will not get you the answers. The more embarrassing you make it for the Indonesians, the less likely it is that any progress will be made."

Understandably, the Keating thrust has been to pitch forward, to seek more economic opportunity and more tolerance in East Timor, rather than to linger on an event that cannot be erased.

But, as the Prime Minister well knows, it is not that easy. As long as de Araujo, da Camara and the others remain in the dock, with a death sentence an even remote possibility, the focus will be two-way: on what has happened in East Timor as well as on what should happen.

Indonesia defends AUSTRALIAN 24/6/92 sentencing process

By foreign affairs writer
CAMERON STEWART

INDONESIA has given a lukewarm reponse to Australian concerns about the leniency of sentences handed out to military officers involved in last November's Dili massacre.

A summary of the visit to Canberra last week by a senior Indonesian minister, Mr Radius Prawiro, shows he defended the sentencing process when confronted by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Senator Evans.

Senator Evans told Mr Prawiro, Indonesia's Coordinating Minister for Economic, Financial and Industrial Affairs, Australia was disturbed that military officials had received lesser sentences than unarmed protesters.

However, it is a sign of Indonesian concern about the issue that its embassy has provided a relatively detailed description of Mr Prawiro's reply.

He told Senator Evans that a different legal code was applied by the civilian court and military tribunals in Indonesia.

"He stressed that in the case of military personnel, some lost their careers or were dismissed," the embassy said.

"The minister also reiterated that the actions taken were in line with the instructions of the President, especially the establishment of the National Inquiry Commission and the Military Honour Council."

Mr Prawiro said the Indonesian Government played no part in determining the sentences.

"Indonesian courts of justice are independent institutions and are free from government intervention," the embassy said.

An official inquiry found that Indonesian troops overreacted to the protests in East Timor, a Portuguese colony annexed by Indonesia in 1976.

Australia has conveyed its concerns about the fact that trials for civilians involved in the massacre have resulted in imprisonment sentences of between six months and 10 years, while sentences in the military trials have ranged from only eight to 18 months.

AFP reports that the United States under-secretary of defence, Mr Paul Wolfowitz, said in Jakarta that Indonesia's response to the massacre was "a piece of unfinished business".

The November 12 firing by troops left at least 50 officially dead, although not all of the bodies have been recovered, according to an official inquiry. Independent sources say as many as 90 protesters have disappeared since.

Mr Wolfowitz said the US applauded the disciplinary actions but he declined to comment on his talks with President Suharto.

THE AUSTRALIAN 24/06/92

Watchdog CANBERRA TIMES group 24/6/92 condemns soldiers' sentences

JAKARTA: Leading international human-rights group Asia Watch has strongly condemned the light punishment handed out to Indonesian soldiers involved in the Dili massacre, saying the trials were "stage managed" to appease international criticism.

Yesterday's condemnation came a day after a Dili court sentenced an East Timorese dissident charged with subversion to 15 years in jail over the incident — the toughest punishment so far for any of the dissidents charged.

Francisco Miranda Branco, 41, received the maximum jail term for the charge.

Prosecutors accused the former civil servant of anti-Indonesian activi-

ties, culminating in the demonstration which preceded the massacre.

Asia Watch said sentences imposed on nine soldiers and one policeman over the massacre — the toughest was 18 months in jail — were very light compared to those handed out to East Timorese dissidents.

Asia Watch called on the international community to continue to push Indonesia for a better response to the November 12 massacre in which at least 50 people were shot dead by Indonesian troops.

Next month's meeting of Indonesia's aid donors provided an excellent opportunity to push the issue with Jakarta, the New York-based human-rights organisation said. — AAP

The AGE 27/4/92
Elections in E Timor
 Foreign journalists will be allowed to cover the June parliamentary elections in all Indonesian provinces, including the former Portuguese colony of East Timor. "Foreign press are allowed to cover East Timor as long as they have applied for permission before," the Antara newsagency said. East Timor had been closed to people not holding security clearances from Indonesian authorities until January 1989.
 — AFP

The AGE 27/4/92

Australian 27/4/92
Court urged to jail Timorese
 JAKARTA: A prosecutor yesterday called for 13 years' jail for an East Timorese accused of masterminding a demonstration a week after the Dili massacre in November last year.
 Joao Freitas Da Camara, 37, was charged at the central State court in Jakarta with subversion in connection with anti-government activities, including planning and holding the demonstration on November 19, which attracted 70 youths.

The Australian 27/4/92

Indonesia bans Dutch aid
 JAKARTA: Indonesia yesterday banned all organisations, including those with no links to the Government, from accepting financial aid from The Netherlands.
 The ban also covered assistance from Dutch non-governmental organisations receiving funding from their Government, the Minister for Home Affairs, General Rudini, said yesterday.
 The ban, in a ministerial decree General Rudini signed on Friday, comes a month after Jakarta rejected Dutch aid, citing The Hague's "reckless use of development assistance as an instrument of intimidation, or as a tool threatening Indonesia".
 General Rudini said: "With the Government's decision in March, all activities having the Dutch Government as their source of funding should automatically cease."
 "Therefore all non-governmental organisations should also stop (accepting) the assistance in line with the soul and spirit of the rule."
 The decree affected foundations and professional groups.
 AFP

April 28/92

The Australian 28 /4/92

Self-righteous brickbats for Asia strike close to home



GREG
SHERIDAN

put by the editor of *Quadrant*, Robert Manne, in the December 1991 issue of that magazine. Writing in response to the Dili massacre, Manne commented: "Geographically speaking, Australia is an island to the south of the Asian archipelago. Culturally speaking we are ... an island off the coast of Sussex. Our relationship with 'Asia' begins as a problem. We proclaim that Australia is a part of Asia. We know in our hearts that it is not."

To call Australia "culturally an island off the coast of Sussex" ignores the whole of post-World War II Australian

one time the British ("the wogs start at Calais") and later the Americans who, desiring to avoid entanglement in Europe's inevitable wars, prevented President Wilson from taking them into the League of Nations after World War I.

Yet when Asians do something we don't like, it is easy for some to jump to the conclusion that this is because of their "Asian-ness" and it is therefore fruitless for us to think that we could ever enjoy with them the same kind of intimacy we can allegedly enjoy with European or North American nations (plus New Zealand).

‘The two great destructive ideas were made in Europe’

cultural development. More intriguingly, it is interesting that Manne and Jenkins and others who argue that way never make a similar response to, say, the civil war in Yugoslavia, to conclude that the shocking conflicts of Europe indicate that there is an inherent madness about Europeans which makes them inevitably and irredeemably different from us.

To argue in this fashion would, of course, be ridiculous, although it was once the sort of attitude shared by at

munism is exquisitely a European ideology, born and brought forth by Karl Marx from the reading room of the British Museum.

Indeed, the two great destructive ideas of this century, communism and Nazism, are pure-bred, made-in-Europe creations. And a little over a mere century ago we were massacring Aborigines in this then very European society of our own.

All of this continental point-scoring can be fairly sterile but it is necessary to demonstrate the fatuousness of attributing things we don't like in Asia to the "Asian-ness" of the people or the cultures, or to draw from specific events permanent conclusions about the nature of the cultures of our neighbours in East Asia.

A better indication of how well societies will respect the human rights we particularly value — freedom of expression, habeas corpus, political freedom, etc — is their level of affluence. Japan's democracy is not exactly the same as ours (but then neither is anybody else's) but Japan is undoubtedly a free society.

South Korea and Taiwan are East Asian societies which have followed the classic pattern of long periods of economic growth producing a large, stable middle class that demanded and got

political liberalisation. Both those societies are now democracies. Essentially the same dynamics are at work in Singapore and Malaysia.

Indonesia's ambassador to Australia, Sabam Siagian, pointed out last week that while human rights, as we would define them in Australia, are very important to Indonesians, it is not entirely irrelevant to human rights that an impoverished, underdeveloped country has achieved food self-sufficiency.

The central point of the hugely famous but widely misunderstood Francis Fukuyama essay on foreign policy, *The End of History*, was that certain ideas, which might be called liberal ideas, about how societies ought to be run had become nearly universal and the remaining question was how they would apply in practice.

An earlier generation of Western philosophers produced a similar idea, in the now sadly neglected tradition of the Natural Law, the idea that some ethical notions are basic and fundamental to all societies.

The Prime Minister is right. Our democratic way of life does make us a "natural fit" with all that is alive and dynamic and progressive in East Asia.

Our tendency to self-righteous humbug and unsophisticated moralising — now that's another thing altogether.

WHEN he was asked this week about corruption in Indonesia, Dick Woolcott, the former head of the Foreign Affairs Department, former ambassador to Jakarta and distinguished member of the "ASEAN mafia", replied with his characteristic drollness. "Yes," he said, "I have to admit it — corruption does exist beyond the borders of Queensland and NSW."

As always with Woolcott, there was a point to the smoothness. And the point was that it is easy to exaggerate the differences between Asian societies and Australia.

The killings in Thailand have regretably been the occasion for some to argue that Asian societies are irredeemably alien to Australia, fundamentally different in a way that severely limits the fruitful interaction we can have with them.

David Jenkins in *The Sydney Morning Herald* used the killings to argue that Prime Minister Paul Keating was wrong to suggest that our liberal democratic political system will do us good rather than harm in our relations with Asia. Jenkins wrote: "There may be a trend towards pluralism in some parts of Asia. But to claim that our democracy makes us a 'natural fit' in a liberalising Asia is a bit of a whopper."

Jenkins seems to have got the point about the events in Thailand entirely

wrong. The real lesson these events have to teach is that the Thai people will not accept a system in which the military undemocratically dominates.

If we are looking for Asians profoundly committed to the values of democracy and human rights, we need look no further than the streets of Bangkok. It was precisely the commitment of ordinary Thais to democracy which saw hundreds of them sacrifice their lives to achieve that democracy.

It is rather strange then to say that "Asian" traditions set them permanently apart from us. Why not look to the tradition of extraordinary civic courage on the part of urban populations which in Bangkok and Manila have removed undemocratic governments?

A view similar to that of Jenkins was

Australian 28/5/92.

Lest we forget East Timor

121
AUST 29/5/92

MR KEATING chose to commemorate Anzac Day on the Kokoda Trail, honouring the people of Papua New Guinea who sacrificed themselves alongside Australians as part of our region's struggle against a foreign military invader 50 years ago.

To get to Papua New Guinea, he flew over East Timor. Some 40,000 East Timorese also lost their lives during the Japanese occupation of their island. Those sacrifices too should be properly acknowledged by Mr Keating and his Government.

Instead, he has chosen to align himself and his Government with Indonesia in its appalling treatment of the people of East Timor. He was heard on Australian national radio congratulating the Suharto regime for bringing "stability" to our region, and for "holding the archipelago together".

How many hundreds of thousands of killings, both in East Timor and indeed throughout Indonesia, does it take to exceed the price he believes is worth paying for the convenience of this "stability"?

A feature of his rhetoric in Indonesia was the need for Australia to be independent. And yet this important message has been rendered entirely hollow by his craven submission to the Indonesian Government on the issue of human rights. He may well have convinced the world that Australia has shrugged off its subservience to Britain, but the indelible impression he has now created

at home and abroad is that we have now assumed a similar role with respect to Indonesia.

His visit was a lost opportunity for Australia to take a principled approach to international relations, and to bring home the message to our neighbours that our commitment to the people of our region does not exclude those closest to us, and those to whom we owe so much: the East Timorese.

The human rights situation in East Timor has significantly deteriorated since the massacre last November. Although it is difficult to obtain information from Dili, the reports which are trickling out reveal how grave things have become. Beatings, interrogations, detentions, torture and even "disappearances" are being inflicted on the East Timorese on a daily basis. Several East Timorese are currently on trial and facing draconian penalties for simply having dared to participate in peaceful demonstrations.

There is still an opportunity for Mr Keating, and for Australia, to take a leading role in addressing the plight of the East Timorese now. If we fail to act, there may well never be a second chance, and we will never be able to repay the debt this country owes to the people of East Timor for the enormous sacrifices they made 50 years ago against another invading foreign military power.

R. GOLDFLAM
And 43 residents
Alice Springs, NT

THE article by Paddy McGuinness (*The Australian*, 23/4) says of the Indonesian policy of East Timor, "... while it has often been brutal, it has never smacked of genocide".

Estimates from John G. Taylor's thoroughly researched book *Indonesia's Forgotten War* indicate that of East Timor's original population of 690,000 in 1975 before Indonesian occupation, at least a quarter of that figure have been killed since by the Indonesian military, either as a result of shooting, murder, starvation or disease. Does this not qualify as genocide?

His article further says that Keating's "finest achievement is the success with which he has punctured the pointless hostility to Indonesia".

If we conveniently choose to forget the plight and just aspirations of our World War II helpers and close neighbours in favour of appeasing another aggressive neighbour for economic purposes then so be it. But from there I hope to never hear anyone who favours the economic argument ever expressing any attempt at sincerity over human rights issues anywhere, especially media favourites such as South Africa, Iraq and China.

HENRY WILKINSON
Rushcutters Bay, NSW

AUSTRALIANS who love to be told (most recently by Mr Keating) that we don't

bow and scrape to anyone should applaud Indonesian President Suharto for taking the same stand at his State dinner for our Prime Minister.

Unfortunately, we've had a long siege of trendy brain-washing on a range of issues urging us to give ground to foreign opinion regardless of our own. And, in that context, Mr Keating's latest posture is refreshing despite its ugly style.

Let us hope it will also mean there will be no more top or near-top level support for those who put rant before reason in the false belief that they can intimidate other countries into compliance with a foreign voice.

Despite media bias, I still think former prime minister Whitlam was right in recognising Indonesia's move into East Timor - left for dead by Portugal and about to become a communist vassal, via Fretilin, right on Indonesia's vulnerable border.

Those who recognise facts know how close Indonesia came to a communist takeover under Sukarno and how difficult it has been to bring to order a 12,000-island country debilitated by an unstable leader relying on charisma and hysteria to hold power. Little wonder East Timor looked like a returning nightmare, with foreign-funded border infiltration by political terrorists a certainty.

W. W. MITCHELL
Willetton, WA

29/4/92

The Australia 29/04/92

Trial soon for Dili soldiers

JAKARTA: The Indonesian military expected the court martials of armed forces members involved in the Dili massacre to begin before elections were held on June 9, the Berita Buana daily reported yesterday.

The chief executive of the military's Supreme Court, Major General Suhadi, said he had heard that legal documents concerning nine soldiers to be tried in relation to the November 12 shooting in Dili, East Timor, were now in the hands of the military prosecution office.

AUST 29/4/92

The Australian 29/04/92

Keating lowers the Australian flag

Age 1 May 92

on human rights and democracy

"I find it hard to accept that going into the world will mean compromising our democracy."
— Paul Keating, 7 April 1992

IN his now famous foreign policy speech to the Asia-Australia Institute a month ago, our new chum Prime Minister had much to say about his blinding vision of our future, how we will cast aside the old-school shackles of Europe and venture forth boldly towards our Asian destiny.

"We don't go to Asia cap in hand," he declared. "We go as we are... unambivalently, sure of who we are and what we stand for. If we are to be taken seriously, respected, trusted, that is the only way to go."

In Jakarta last week, Mr Keating might not have had his cap in hand, but he was certainly still in diplomatic short pants and, as befits the class know-all, took a bruising lesson in realpolitik from one of the neighborhood's most street-wise boys.

Mr Keating may have been sure of what he stood for in Jakarta but was not so clear to those watching back home. He may also have convinced himself that he was taken seriously by the wily President Suharto, but the evidence is that he gave away much and received precious little in return.

The Keating visit to Indonesia was, in fact, a diplomatic coup for the Suharto regime, domestically and internationally. Just two months ahead of elections in Indonesia and with international concern still strong over the Dili massacre, Mr Keating went to Jakarta apparently determined to ingratiate himself with "the region's undisputed elder statesman" — and, conversely, to accept a role as supplicant novice on our behalf — and happy to sweep East Timor, and the broader issues of systematic human rights abuse, under his welcoming red carpet.

IN his banquet speech Mr Keating made only a fleeting reference to East Timor and was rewarded with a curt declaration by President Suharto that Indonesia would not tolerate foreign interference. Mr Keating claims to have presented his views in private talks with the President, who graciously agreed to "take them on board".

Mr Keating made no mention whatever of East Timor during talks with the Defence Minister, General Benny Murdani — the man responsible for the troops who did the killing in Dili and who

warned a year before the massacre that he would "wipe out" any dissent in the territory.

Mr Keating praised the Suharto Government's 25-year success in maintaining the unity and stability of Indonesia — "one of the most significant and beneficial events" in Australia's strategic history. There was, of course, no acknowledgement that that unity had been achieved through often brutal military repression, had cost hundreds of thousands of lives and had left a single family with a financial empire with multi-billion-dollar revenues spreading throughout the Indonesian economy.

In his declaration of business as usual with Indonesia, and by his earlier decision to abandon the increasing Western nexus between aid and human rights performance, Mr Keating has certainly compromised continuing international efforts to pressure Jakarta to grant a better deal to the Timorese. If Australia has agreed to set the issue aside, Mr Suharto may now say, why should other, more distant nations persist with it?

In giving such a ringing endorsement to the Suharto leadership on the eve of parliamentary elections, Mr Keating also sent a clear message to the growing ranks of Indonesians seeking a fairer and more democratic society: while Australia, in its leader's words, will not "compromise" its democratic principles, it is willing to see justice and dignity denied others in the perceived interests of its own security and prosperity.

Yet for all of this propaganda windfall, Mr Suharto repaid little. As well as giving absolutely no ground on East Timor, the Indonesians were cool on proposals for closer defence cooperation and were lukewarm on Mr Keating's bold plan for regular meetings of regional leaders. About the only thing they agreed to was for a more formal program of ministerial meetings.

Behind Mr Keating's approach in Indonesia is his belief that in our new era embracing Asia we must get away from divisive and often ineffectual moralising and sharpen our focus on commerce — "getting psychologically stripped down to trade with Asia", as he puts it. But while Mr Keating might still be in the changing rooms, there are plenty of other Australians who've been sweating it out on the Asia trail for years.

In a speech to the Australian-Asian Association of Victoria this week, the head of the Asian studies department at Monash Uni-

versity, Professor Bruce Jacobs, pointed out that over the past two to three decades Australia has "gradually and relatively quietly reoriented itself from a European outpost to an increasingly integral part of the Asia-Pacific region".

Seven of Australia's top 10 export markets are now in Asia, five of our top 10 import sources are Asian and nine Asian countries account for 54 per cent of exports and 36 per cent of imports (compared with 12 per cent of exports to and 22 per cent of imports from the European Community).

Implicit in the Keating thesis is the notion that vigorous advocacy of human rights is incompatible with trade success, and that in seeking to expand our Asian ties we move from a position of weakness or at least estrangement.

The myth that speaking out on human rights is bad for business is exploded by Australia's experience with China. Our forceful condemnation and imposition of sanctions after the Tiananmen massacre has not interfered with the growth of trade.

Professor Jacobs debunks the idea that Australians should "tug our forelocks and take a submissive stance" in dealing with Asia. He says that Australia, with the third largest GDP in Asia (after Japan and China) — triple that of Indonesia and exceeding all the Asean nations combined — is an important middle-ranking world power with the economic strength to be a key player in the region.

OF course our future must be in partnership with Asia, a truism long before Paul Keating stumbled on another potential device to help rescue him from political oblivion. What Mr Keating has failed to recognise is that we can be both a successful trading partner in our neighborhood and a champion of human rights and democracy, without necessarily being arrogant or overbearing in defence of those views.

What offends a few autocrats is what endears Australia and its society to vast numbers of their long-suffering subjects — and the hundreds of thousands of Asians who have voted with their feet to migrate here. Australia will win its way in the region and the world standing up for its beliefs and principles, not by hiding or making apologies for them in some ill-conceived hope of short-term advantage.

Mr Keating, meet the Dalai Lama

ABE
1 May 92

A MAN of peace offers Mr Paul Keating a splendid opportunity to demonstrate that he really is a two-fisted, hairy-chested nationalist who cringes before no foreign power. All the Prime Minister has to do is to meet the 14th Dalai Lama, the spiritual leader of Tibet, who is now touring Australia. A meeting with the Dalai Lama would reveal that Mr Keating had the courage to resist diplomatic pressure from China, which invaded Tibet and butchered its people 33 years ago, and which is still trying to stop foreign countries officially acknowledging the gentle and witty Buddhist monk who won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1989.

At present, Mr Keating, apparently seeking to appease China, seems inclined to leave it to the Foreign Minister, Senator Evans, to meet the Dalai Lama as briefly and as unobtrusively as possible. It should stiffen the Prime Minister's resolve to learn that the Dalai Lama has been met recently by President Bush and the British Prime Minister, Mr Major, despite Chinese diplomatic pressure. Surely the flag-obsessed Mr Keating would not show less diplomatic courage than an English Tory or a Connecticut Yankee (sorry, Texan).

More importantly, an official meeting between the Prime Minister and the Dalai Lama would demonstrate that Australia is seriously concerned about the human rights of peaceful people oppressed by foreign invaders. Mr Keating urgently needs to establish his human rights credentials following his guarded attitude in Jakarta recently towards the Indonesian Army's massacre of civilians in Dili, East Timor, last November. He might reflect that his predecessor Mr Hawke, who was more cautious when it came to macho-nationalist posturing, did not allow concern over China's possible reaction to deter him from offering visa extensions to Chinese students in Australia following Tiananmen Square. Mr Keating, who is quick to condemn others as lickspittles, cannot credibly assume standards less rigorous than Mr Hawke's.

The bottom line is that the Dalai Lama represents the Tibetan people, who are still suffering under brutal Chinese occupation. He is a man of enormous moral authority, which is why the Chinese fear him. His presence in Australia challenges the Prime Minister to demonstrate that he, like the Dalai Lama, is not intimidated by Chinese aggression.

1 May 1992

Cleary back to bleak realities of Coburg

Age 2/5/92

Picture: JOHN WOODSTRA

By KEVIN CHILDS

Two rubbish bins and a signed portrait of the Queen were about all that Mr Phil Cleary, the independent MP who has taken over the seat of Wills, found in his electorate office.

"They've taken all the files," he said yesterday, "and it's disgraceful." A member of his staff said of the previous occupants: "They scorched the earth."

Mr Cleary, who took over from the former Prime Minister, Mr Bob Hawke, showed the Queen's portrait yesterday. It stood on the carpet facing the wall. On its back was a note of best wishes from two former electorate staff and the ALP candidate for Wills, Mr Bill Kardamitsis. A map of the electorate was the only item on the office walls yesterday, apart from picture hooks. Even the office kettle was gone.

As we talked, a staff member interrupted to say that twice in half an hour someone had telephoned to follow up information in the missing files.

After three sitting days in Parliament, Mr Cleary has yet to speak in the House of Representatives. "There has been a little bit of banter about who's courting me." He has spoken to a wide range of MPs and senators.

Yesterday Phil Cleary was out of the suit he had worn to Parliament and into a stained white sweater, black overcoat and jeans. Coburg, as he said on his first-ever visit to Canberra this week, is a long way from the national capital. An aide was interviewing a woman with a tattoo above her right ankle about a threat to deport her husband.

Mr Cleary is trying to stop another deportation. And he is try-



Return of the native: Mr Cleary outside his office in Coburg yesterday.

ing to find work for a woman who has been jobless for six months and has a mortgage to meet.

His impression of Parliament is of an unreal and soporific atmosphere. "What you notice is that the banter in the House takes on a life of its own to such an extent that the participants often don't see the lack of connection between their activities and the thinking that is going on in the community."

Canberra offered such comfort and elitism that even good people

could become compromised and develop a fetish for power, he said.

For now, Mr Cleary is focusing on social welfare cuts, the plight of textile industries and East Timor. He plans to hammer these issues through questions on notice.

Last night he was back coaching his Coburg VFA side for tomorrow's game, his first time at training since becoming an MP. He worries about being away from fund-raising for the club, which he said had been good practice for becoming an MP.

The Age 02/05/92

Government moves on Dili crosses

By MARGARET EASTERBROOK, Canberra

The Federal Government has gazetted another regulation empowering it to remove 124 crosses placed outside the Indonesian Embassy in memory of victims of last year's Dili massacre.

The crosses were replaced after the Federal Court found anomalies in Commonwealth regulations specially gazetted in January to allow the Foreign Minister, Senator Evans, to order their removal.

Representatives of the Timorese community said yesterday they would not take further legal action to overturn Senator Evans's order if he considered certain demands.

These included easing access for human rights organisations and parliamentarians to East Timor and allowing local Timorese representatives to directly influence the distribution of \$30 million aid allocated to East Timor.

Using his powers under the Diplomatic Privileges and Immunities Act, Senator Evans signed a certificate this week ordering the Australian Federal Police to remove the crosses.

Senator Evans has sought the removal of the crosses in accord with his responsibilities under the Vienna Convention which require a host country to ensure an embassy's dignity is not impaired.

A spokesman for Senator Evans stressed

yesterday that the Government was not demanding that that crosses be removed altogether, just relocated 50 metres from the embassy gates.

"We want to make it clear that we don't want to take them away completely. We are trying to strike a balance between our obligations under the Vienna Convention and the right to freedom of speech."

A solicitor for the East Timorese, Mr Bernard Collaery, said yesterday the community had now formulated workable demands and the Foreign Minister finally seemed willing to talk to them.

Mr Collaery said the crosses were never intended to be an indefinite memorial, but it was wrong to remove them while the Timorese were still mourning.

Canberra urged to back Hong Kong democracy

By JANE HUTCHINSON

The leader of Hong Kong's opposition United Democrat Party, Mr Martin Lee, has urged the Australian Government to support the push for democracy in the British colony in the lead-up to 1997.

Mr Lee is in Australia attending a conference of the International Bar Association. He has had informal discussions with the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Senator Evans, and the Minister for Immigration, Mr Hand, about a firmer policy on democracy and human rights in Hong Kong, as the deadline for the handover of the territory to China draws closer.

The maverick 55-year-old barrister has toured the world urging governments to use their influence at the highest level to persuade Britain to introduce free elections in its Asian colony before 1997.

He said Australia lagged behind countries such as Canada and the US, which had drafted

clearly defined policies supporting democracy in Hong Kong and recognising the territory as a separate economic entity after 1997.

While Australia had dealt with issues of human rights in China, it did not have a clearly defined policy on Hong Kong, Mr Lee said.

He called on the Government to use its position as a member of the Commonwealth and its links with China to lobby for the democratic cause.

Mr Lee drew attention to a recently published report by the International Commission of Jurists, which accused the British and Chinese governments of breaching international law in their private dealings determining the future of Hong Kong's six million people.

The report said the transfer of sovereignty to China, declared in 1984, should have been put to a referendum. It called for the election of a fully representative government before 1997.

The Age 04/05/92

Police remove Timorese crosses from embassy

AUSTRALIAN Federal Police removed the 121 crosses outside the Indonesian embassy in Canberra yesterday after receiving a certificate from the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade allowing them to "relocate" them.

The crosses and memorial candles were placed on the nature strip outside the embassy by 50 East Timorese protesters last month to symbolise the number of demonstrators they said were killed by Indonesian soldiers at the Dili massacre in November last year.

East Timorese supporter Ms Kerry Ryan said a team of at least five police removed the protest crosses at 4.30pm yesterday.

A spokesman for the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Senator Evans, said that the deci-

sion to move the crosses came after the department amended the regulations concerning the embassy protest.

"Under the Vienna Convention we have an obligation to prevent the impairment of the dignity of a foreign mission," he said.

The crosses were taken to the home of Timorese community solicitor, Mr Bernard Collaery, who said: "The removal of the crosses is a direct challenge to the courts."

Mr Collaery said he would approach the Federal Court today "to ask whether the Foreign Minister is going to observe any of the usual rules and regulations".

"The Foreign Minister should have awaited a decision pending from the full bench of the Federal Court."

— JONATHAN PORTER

The Australian 04/05/92

Keating tries to draw

APR 5/5/92

APR 5/5

US into Asia

By DAVID LAGUE

The end of the Cold War and the sweeping cuts to US military power in the Asia-Pacific region are beginning to reshape defence and political ties between Washington and Canberra.

The Federal Government is making a strong drive to draw the US into a bigger political role in the Asia-Pacific region.

It is also offering the US defence facilities to replace some of those that will be lost when the Pentagon leaves its bases in the Philippines.

The US President, Mr Bush, has endorsed a call from the Prime Minister, Mr Keating, for regular heads of government meetings between the Asia-Pacific Economic Co-operation nations.

A senior Australian government official revealed yesterday, after Mr Keating met the US Secretary for Defence, Mr Dick Cheney, for talks in Canberra, that Mr Bush had written to Mr Keating late last week urging Australia to seek support from APEC members for the regular leaders' meetings.

It is understood that Japan also supports this proposal but negotiations with some APEC nations, particularly South-East Asian members, could be delicate.

The official said Mr Cheney had agreed with Mr Keating that the Australian-inspired APEC was a key forum for the US to develop stronger political ties in the region.

At a dinner in Canberra to mark the 50th anniversary of the battle of the Coral Sea, Mr Keating continued his pressure on the US to play a bigger role in the region.

He urged the US to turn to Asia and match its political and investment links to Europe with similar presence in this region in addition to American trade and security interests.

"We think it would be in the United States' interests, and very much in the interests of the region, if the world's greatest liberal democracy were integrated with Asia and the Pacific to a degree at least equivalent to that obtaining with Europe," he said.

"A greater US presence in the Pacific can only help the region fulfil the promise of its name, as an ocean of peace and stability."

The US is expected to accept an Australian offer to share a bombing and electronic warfare range in the Northern Territory after the US withdraws its forces from the Philippines at the end of the year.

The Australian government official
Continued page 2

Australian Financial Review 05/05/92

Keating in Asian plea to US

APR 5/5/92

From page 1

said yesterday that in his talks with Mr Cheney, Mr Keating invited the US to use the proposed Australian bombing range near the RAAF's Northern Territory base.

Mr Cheney had said US experts had considered the Australian site and he was awaiting their report.

Mr Cheney acknowledged at a press conference yesterday that the US had lost the use of its Crow Valley bombing range in the Philippines and was considering replacement sites in Alaska and South-East Asia.

He said these ranges would be important in maintaining the readiness of US forces in the region.

He had discussed sharing

the proposed RAAF range with the Minister for Defence, Senator Ray, and the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Senator Evans.

Mr Cheney said no decisions had been made but he expected an announcement "in the not too distant future".

Mr Cheney also said he had discussed regional security in talks with Senator Evans, but he later declined to be drawn on questions about the need for new security arrangements in the region.

However, it is understood that Senator Evans told Mr Cheney that Australia wanted discussions on regional security to "take on greater shape and content".

Senator Evans has been a strong supporter of new secu-



MR KEATING

rity ties to suit the fluid post-Cold War world.

The Australian official said Mr Cheney also told Mr Keating that access to the Indian Ocean through South-

East Asia's sea lanes was vital for US forces, which would depend less on major bases.

Defence analysts believe this could have a major impact on Australian defence planning if Australian forces were required to co-operate with US forces in ensuring that supplies could pass through these sealanes for US forces in the Middle East.

Mr Cheney had said the US was planning to cut about \$US50 billion from its present \$US280 billion defence budget over five years, which would bring US defence spending to under 4 per cent of GNP.

But the US planned to maintain 12 aircraft carrier battle groups, six of them in the Pacific.

Age 5/5/92

A new era for regional peace

MR KEATING'S recent call for regular heads-of government meetings to promote greater cooperation in the Asia-Pacific region is the latest in a series of ideas and proposals by governments, think-tanks and study groups in response to the rapidly changing political and strategic environment.

Much has happened in the past few years to give cause for optimism, in particular the dramatic decline in Soviet (Russian)-American hostility, and the considerable progress in resolving several regional conflicts.

Yet it would be foolish to overlook the clouds looming on the horizon. Both Russia and the United States continue to deploy awesome conventional and nuclear forces in the region. The forward projection of US military power still carries the risk of military intervention, not least in the Korean peninsula. Several regional powers (eg China, Japan, India) are developing sizeable military arsenals.

High levels of military spending are encouraging the growth of local arms industries and increasing competition for a share of the world market. In different parts of the region force continues to be used against ethnic minorities and dissident groups.

Unless advantage is taken of the end of the Cold War and a new framework for regional security established, within a few years we may be facing provocative and in the longer run highly destabilising realignments and military postures.

The United States remains suspicious of any multilateral regional framework. It does not wish to disturb its strategic pre-eminence in the region, and in particular its navy's freedom of action. Japan has also been unenthusiastic about the multilateral approach.

But the initial US and Japanese reactions are not the last word on the subject. They will sooner or later have to take account of rapidly changing political realities. In the meantime, the initiative will lie primarily with the governments of smaller states and regional governmental and non-governmental institutions.

OVER the next few years, then, we can expect regional pressure to mount for a fully fledged multilateral framework that can effectively respond to the shift from East-West confrontation to East-West cooperation, phase out obsolete military alliances and agreements, and provide an integrated approach to the needs of military, economic, political and environmental security.

In the emerging regional architecture it is already possible to detect two distinct but closely connected tiers:

(1) a roof or umbrella for the Pacific House. This may take the form of an altogether new organisation created specifically for the purpose. Alternatively it may involve an extended or refined ASEAN Post-Ministerial Conference — an idea which was given considerable prominence in the lead-up to the 1992 ASEAN summit. Another option is to expand or reorganise APEC so as to give

JOSEPH A. CAMILLERI discusses the complex task of enhancing Asian-Pacific regional security in the light of new global imperatives.

it a more explicit security focus. This is presumably what Mr Keating has in mind.

Whichever option is chosen, the aim must be to set up a forum embracing the US, Russia, all the countries of East and South-East Asia, Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific Island states.

(2) a series of interlinked sub-regional forums. These would parallel and give practical effect to the concerns and priorities of the wider regional structure. Several are already functioning: the South Pacific Forum, ASEAN, and the Cambodian peace process (which has brought together all the parties to the dispute and a number of regional powers, as well as the United Nations).

NEW forums which might be usefully created include: a North-Pacific dialogue (to concentrate on security-building measures and various forms of military disengagement); a multilateral mechanism for the South China Sea (beginning perhaps with less contentious issues such as resource management and moving to mutual-surveillance of military capabilities); and a regional dialogue for Korean demilitarisation and reunification.

To be viable, a framework of regional cooperation will need to address human rights violations, which have become a major source of instability. The recent tragedy in Cambodia and the present upheaval in Burma make it clear that a collective approach is preferable to feeble bilateral representations.

A regional institution may be able to intervene in ways which are sensitive to local circumstances and applied uniformly and without bias. This is not to suggest that an Asia-Pacific system of security should favor frequent regional intervention in domestic conflicts, but rather that it could offer an effective avenue for conciliation and even peace-keeping.

A comprehensive regional security framework, however, will have limited success unless it has popular support. It is here that non-governmental organisations — such as trade unions and professional associations — can play a vital part in setting political agendas, mobilising popular energies and creating more durable links between cultures and nations.

Greater regional contacts and exchanges at the non-governmental level may help to create a more favorable environment for action at the governmental level. They may generate the necessary goodwill which could begin to bear fruit by the mid-1990s.

Dr Camilleri is reader in politics at La Trobe University and visiting fellow at the centre for international studies, Cornell University.

Jakarta leaves Ke

The Prime Minister's bid for closer ties with Indonesia have not been as well received as he had hoped, writes

PETER HARTCHER.

THE moment that Paul Keating set foot on the Jakarta tarmac, Indonesia's President Soeharto had achieved a significant diplomatic feat. Keating has had to work harder for his. And, symbolism aside, he has yet to achieve one.

The act of Keating's arrival carried an implicit endorsement of Soeharto's regime at a time when it remains under significant international pressure over the Dili killings of last November.

This is ideal for Soeharto in an election year. With three countries holding their aid to Indonesia in a state of suspension over the killings, with the European Parliament considering whether to attempt sending a human rights delegation to Indonesia, and with US senators asking for access to make a tour of Timor, the timing could not have been better for Soeharto.

A visit by the leader of a Western nation with a history of human rights vigilance — and while the full Indonesian Government response to the massacre is still in progress — is a very significant gesture of support and solace to the Indonesian regime. And it is a statement of confidence in the ultimate outcome of the Indonesian response at a time when the shape of that response is still uncertain. For instance, the Government's commission of inquiry found that about 50 protesters had been killed by the army, and that another 90 were "missing".

Soeharto has asked the head of the military, General Sutrisno, to try to account for the absent 90. Sutrisno's answer to this conundrum has yet to be delivered. But the timing of Keating's visit suggests that he is confident that Soeharto and his government will handle the outstanding issues seriously.

But in truth, Keating did not have any other real options. Indonesia's parliamentary election campaign begins early next month prohibiting any foreign visits. He might have been welcome after the June election, but his domestic timetable of an August budget followed by an election would have shut off this option.

So did Keating really need to visit Indonesia? Keating is the champion of the new Australian identity and the Australian arrival in Asia. A visit is a good way of giving teeth to the rhetoric. But a



regional visit which ignored Indonesia would have been diplomatically disastrous. Hawke's first overseas visit included Indonesia. To avoid the place now would have been a serious downgrading.

If there was to be a visit in the region, it had to embrace the place.

With the time and destination established only the agenda remained. East Timor could not be ignored, and Keating had not tried to ignore it. But, determined to achieve a "successful" visit, he has most certainly sought to relegate the matter to a lesser profile.

This is not a matter of interpretation but of Keating's own words. After his two-hour meeting with Soeharto

Keating told reporters: "The issues are these: That we are neighbours bound in a destiny forever... that we do not have territorial designs on each other; that we are living co-operatively together; and, as I said, Australia regards President Soeharto's New Order government as one of the most significant and beneficial events in its strategic history..."

"These are the key issues, these are the key points. That's why I am here. I'm not here because of APEC [Asia Pacific Economic Co-operation Council] or Timor. I am here because of these points and I am here to deepen the relationship..."

Friday, April 24, 1992 15

ating at the altar



N. W. A. N.

why Soeharto's speech of welcome was something of a lecture to Keating. He warned Keating that Indonesia would not tolerate other countries dictating human rights practices to it. Friendly suggestions and criticism would be accepted, but anything more would be an affront to Indonesia's sovereignty.

He even came close to accusing Australia of hypocrisy in an indirect reference to Australia's own appalling historical record with its Aboriginal people. He said that all countries had ups and downs on the path to development — some countries were lucky to have had their downs at a time when modern media and communications were not around to disseminate and exaggerate events.

This was a more delicate version of a line that Indonesia's Ambassador to Australia, Sabam Siagian, has used privately: that the only difference between Australia's Waterloo Creek massacre of Aborigines and the Dili massacre is that there were no video cameras at Waterloo Creek.

But when Keating spoke in reply, he made a single reference to Dili which was in no way critical of the army or government. This was not because he was intimidated by Soeharto — Keating's speech was prepared well in advance and he kept to the text.

The second time that Keating publicly volunteered any reference to the Dili killings was at a press conference when he mentioned that he had discussed East Timor with Soeharto. Keating elaborated when reporters asked him about it, but it was very clear that Keating was not interested in forcing the matter into the public debate.

On the only other occasion where he brought up the subject — in a later speech — it was by way of an explanation, almost an apology, for the Australian public's disproportionate interest in the matter.

Soeharto and his ministers have been suitably solicitous of Keating and his entourage and repeatedly thanked Keating for making Indonesia his first overseas port of call.

But Soeharto has not conceded an inch on any major issue, nor has he offered single substantive gesture or initiative.

Keating is right — the economic growth under Soeharto's regime has been impressive, and this has contributed to the order and stability of Indonesia during the past 25 years. And because of this order, Australia does not have on its doorstep a massive civil war, perpetual large scale unrest, or a constant stream of refugees from Indonesia.

And the improvement in Australia's economic relations with Indonesia also is undeniable. The 66 per cent growth in two-way trade over the last two years has been impressive.

Keating decided that it was time for Australia to "engage Asia". And so were the treaties and agreements which the two nations signed this week.

In fact, officials already have prepared the next two agreements to be signed — one on nuclear science co-operation and another on protection of foreign investment. These agreements, awaiting only minor finishing touches, will lie on the table awaiting the next high level visit so that some other leader or minister can brag about the structures he has put in place.

Keating raised four substantive matters with the Indonesians. They were completely resistant on one, reserved their position on two, and agreed with only one.

When Keating, in talks with Soeharto and his ministers, stated Australia's belief that the Indonesian Government needed to conduct a long firm reconciliation with East Timor, and raised related human rights concerns, he met with complete but expected intransigence.

When Keating advocated closer defence co-operation including joint military exercises, the Indonesians made it clear that although they supported the concept, they were not prepared yet to commit themselves to anything specific. They certainly were not interested in a treaty of any kind — they are a leading force in the Non-Aligned Movement.

When Keating brought up his pet idea for regular meetings of regional leaders of the 15 APEC countries, Indonesia again expressed very general support for the concept but postponed indefinitely its implementation.

The only subject where Keating met full and immediate agreement was the one of ministerial contact. Keating suggested that the two nations' foreign ministers, together with some economic ministers from each country, meet every two years or so. Indonesia agreed.

But this is just adding structure to an existing practice. In the past two years there have been some 30 ministerial visits, in both directions, between the two countries.

So while Keating has given the relationship a higher profile, elevated its symbolic importance and lent some momentum to development, he has not achieved any quantum leap or transformation in the nature of the relationship.

He has perhaps improved its tone and drawn attention to its significance, but he has blazed no trails except in lending recognition and credibility to Soeharto's regime at a time of diplomatic distress for Indonesia.

Although the Indonesian regime appears to enjoy talking to Keating it seems to think that is already engaging Australia.

cultural and commercial as well as political links so that if the structure does have more structural members, if one is not under pressure, the others keep the building of the structure together ...

"We're starting to thicken up the relationship ... it is into that broader context that other issues, or problems, have got to be addressed. It is not to diminish their importance; it's not to diminish the significance of the Dili events; or the response to them; or their future, but they have to be put in context."

Indonesian officials and journalists expected Keating to make a much lighter and blunter statement of Australia's

6/5/92

Dilli cross anger grows

REMOVAL of crosses outside the Indonesian Embassy in Yarralumla which commemorate the victims of the Dilli massacre has been condemned as a blow for freedom of speech and expression.

by TONY GUY

Solicitor acting for East Timorese activists Bernard Collaery said the order by Foreign Minister Gareth Evans to remove the crosses was unjustified and had serious implications.

Mr Collaery has called on ACT Attorney General Terry Connolly to overturn the decision.

More than 100 people were gunned down by Indonesian troops in occupied East Timor in November while attending a funeral.

Protestors put 124 crosses outside the Indonesian Embassy at Yarralumla after the shootings.

In mid-January Mr Evans, under pressure from the Indonesian Government, had the crosses removed using the authority of the Diplomatic Privileges and Immunity Act of 1977.

A subsequent appeal by the protestors to the Federal Court in Melbourne successfully challenged the regulation and the crosses were put back.

Now the Foreign Minister has again had them taken out.

"Clearly this is not only about defending the dignity of the Indonesian mission," Mr Collaery said.

"This is about securing what is perceived to be

our economic future with a trading partner."

Mr Collaery is scathing about the regulation which has again been used to justify the removal of the crosses despite its rejection by the Federal Court.

"This is the Foreign Minister's third attempt to draft effective regulations," he said.

"These regulations are even worse than the first set - there is fundamental flaws in them again."

Mr Collaery said he will take the matter back to the Federal Court which had already ruled the regulation could not be used by the Mr Evans to control the public footpath where the crosses had been placed.

"Mr Connolly has the power to challenge the Federal Government over its assumed control of Canberra's footpaths and public places," he said.

"The question is do we have self-government or not and is Mr Connolly going to stop the Commonwealth riding roughshod over his authority?"

Mr Collaery said it was never intended the crosses remain outside the Indonesian Embassy indefinitely.

"The protest was going to be reviewed if significant concessions were gained from the Indonesian Government," he said.

"These concessions would include guarantees of human rights representation in East Timor and the right for Australian parliamentarians and the Australian media to have access to East Timor."

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GENERALS GO BACK TO SCHOOL AFTER TIMOR MASSACRE

JAKARTA, May 5, Reuter - Two Indonesian generals sacked over last November's army massacre in East Timor are using their new-found free time to study management in the United States, the weekly magazine Editor said on Tuesday.£

Major-General Siotong Panjaitan, who commanded the Udayana region which includes East Timor, has already left for Harvard business school.£

The magazine said Brigadier-General Rudolf Warouw planned to study business administration in the United States after finishing English course in Jakarta.£

The two were relieved of their posts after the army fired into a crowd of mourners killing up to 180 people in the former Portuguese colony which Indonesia invaded in 1975 and annexed a year later.

UTER MHS NEF ABM

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PM defends stance on

Dili killings

By LENORE TAYLOR

THE Prime Minister, Mr Keating, yesterday defended the low profile he gave last year's Dili massacre during his visit to Indonesia.

In his official parliamentary statement on the visit, Mr Keating said: "I am satisfied I struck the right balance in underlining our commitment to a positive relationship with Indonesia, while firmly registering our views in areas of difference.

"I explained that our aim as concerned outsiders was not to challenge Indonesian sovereignty over East Timor but to assist where we could in measures for the welfare of the people and to support a process of reconciliation between them and the Indonesian authorities."

The Leader of the Opposition, Dr Hewson, replied by attacking Mr Keating for not using the visit to establish a clear link between foreign aid and human rights.

The Indonesian response to the East Timor killings had been "credible", he said.

But he added: "I think it's very important that we continue to give (the Indonesians) encouragement to meet those sort of international standards on human rights and to satisfy the rest of the world that they are cognisant of the importance of that issue in terms of dealing with incidents as occurred there recently in the case of the Dili massacre."

Mr Keating said he had been "encouraged" by President Suharto's response to his plan for Asia-Pacific heads of government talks.

"He endorsed the proposal and underlined the need for proceeding carefully, a view with which I entirely agree," he said.

The Australian 08/05/92

Suharto attacked

Indonesia's leading dissident group accused President Suharto today of nepotism. "It's necessary to investigate the abuse of power. His children's business has grown so fast. That's nepotism, isn't? It's shameful," said Deliar Noor, a member of the Forum for Purification of Democracy.

AGE 8/5/92 — Reuter

The Age 08/05/92

AUST. 13/5/92

Jakarta moves to control campaign content

Analysis by PASCAL MALLET in Jakarta

CAMPAIGNING in Indonesia's national election on June 9 has suffered greater restrictions governing freedom of expression and right of assembly than in the past with at least five fresh measures introduced to control the content of campaigning.

Motorcades are banned, including those transporting activists to electoral rallies, while parties are also prohibited from personalising their campaign by displaying portraits or posters that refer, however obliquely, to any individual.

Explaining the regulations, the Interior Minister and president of the electoral committee, General Rudini, said: "The function of the electoral campaign is the diffusion of party policies and not the development of a personality cult."

The nationalist-Christian Democratic Party of Indonesia (PDI) — one of Indonesia's two legal opposition parties along with the Muslim-backed United Development Party (PPP) — will be worst hit by

the new rules, say observers.

The PDI counts for much of its support on admirers of Indonesia's founding father, Achmed Sukarno. Two children and one son-in-law of the former president are among the party's candidates in the June polls.

The strict campaign rules also preclude the use of symbols, apart from those of national significance adopted by the three official parties.

Banyan tree banned

Under the regulation, the ruling Golkar Party's symbol of the banyan tree, which represents nationalism, the PPP's five-pointed star, representing belief in a single god, and the PDI's bull's head of humanitarianism cannot be used in campaigns.

In a move the authorities say is aimed at avoiding any defamatory

elements entering the campaign, parties may not use banners, posters, handouts, stickers or signboards that have not been officially sanctioned.

In speeches, incorporating verses from the Koran, or any other religious work, is also forbidden.

Some old regulations have been reimposed. Police authorisation is required for any meeting of more than five persons, including those in private houses.

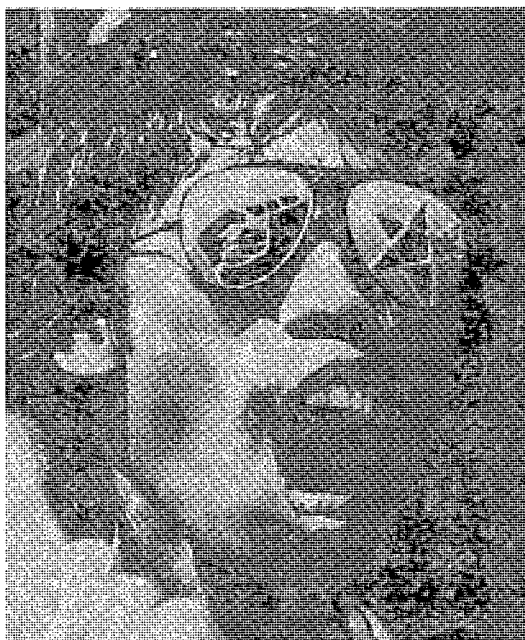
All restrictions that applied to the four previous elections since President Suharto came to power in 1967 remain in force.

Authorisation must be requested and granted for any demonstration, and the contents of any speech to be broadcast on radio or television must first be vetted by General Rudini's committee.

Campaigning is not allowed in villages and only limited meetings are being authorised for sub-district centres.

AFP

The Australian 13/05/92



Forbidden . . . party symbols

AUST. 13/5/92

Dili sentence

JAKARTA: A court yesterday jailed East Timorese student Domingos Barreto, 29, for six months for taking part in a Jakarta demonstration a week after the November 12 shooting in Dili, which claimed up to 100 lives.

The Australian 13/05/92

Timor offers to end independence fight

By MARK BAKER, AGE
foreign editor 21/5/92

The East Timor resistance has agreed to shelve its demand for independence from Indonesia in an attempt to end the 17-year conflict.

In a dramatic new concession, the movement has offered to accept Indonesian sovereignty and limited autonomy for up to 12 years, after a ceasefire and cuts in military strength in the former Portuguese territory.

The international representative of the resistance, Mr Jose Ramos Horta, has given details of the plan — based on immediate, unconditional peace talks with Jakarta — to senior United

Nations officials in New York.

"This is a major concession," Mr Ramos Horta told 'The Age', "because we are saying that in the next seven, if not 12, years, there will be no thought of independence and we will live under Indonesian sovereignty. It has required courage and vision on the part of the Timorese leadership, but we see it as the only way to end the conflict."

The move is expected to win wide support at the United Nations. The UN still refuses to recognise the Indonesian takeover of East Timor in 1975, which led to at least 100,000 deaths. Diplomatic pressure on Jakarta to modify its tough military rule in the territory has grown since the Dili massacre last November. Democrat members of the United States Congress introduced a bill last week to cut all aid to Indonesia.

The resistance plan involves a three-phase process that would lead,

after seven or 12 years, to a referendum on the territory's future. The first phase, of two years, would involve demilitarisation of the territory and the return of humanitarian and development agencies, including a permanent UN legation.

Mr Ramos Horta said there would be a "cessation of all armed activity" in East Timor and a drastic reduction in Indonesian armed forces", now estimated at more than 10,000. "In the first phase, we would not discuss Indonesian sovereignty or the question of self-determination."

In the second, five-year phase the territory would have limited autonomy, with an assembly and governor elected under UN supervision. Indonesia would retain sovereignty and foreign policy control. At the end of this phase, which could be extended a further five years by agreement, the Timorese would decide the future status of the territory by referendum.

Mr Ramos Horta said the plan, which had the support of the leader of the Fretilin guerrillas, Mr Xanana Gusmao, would enable an end to the bloodshed and a period of reconciliation and confidence-building.

"Once we sit at the table of negotiation, we should discuss all possible ideas to bring an end to this conflict. The process is an open one that would allow Indonesia to save face, prove its good faith and really win the confidence of the people."

● State prosecutors in Dili have demanded a life sentence for an East Timorese on trial for organising an anti-Indonesian protest that preceded the massacre in Dili in November.

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AUSTRALIAN 27 May 92

Indonesia critics peddle propaganda: diplomat

By foreign editor GREG SHERIDAN

CRITICS of Indonesia have created a "web of disinformation" and peddled destructive myths and inaccuracies concerning our biggest neighbour, according to Mr Dick Woolcott, the recently retired head of the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade.

In one of the toughest speeches of his life, Mr Woolcott, who is generally renowned for his diplomatic tact and charm, accused the media of engaging in a vendetta against Indonesia.

He said a vociferous, anti-Indonesian lobby consisting of pro-Fretilin Timorese refugees, frustrated left-wingers, hostile single-interest groups and latent racists were engaged in a destabilising campaign of Indonesia bashing.

Australia should dissociate itself from "unbalanced and hostile criticism of Indonesia originating in this country".

Mr Woolcott's speech represents the strongest attack on the anti-Indonesia lobby by anyone concerned with formulating government policy. Mr Woolcott was the ambassador in Jakarta from 1975 to 1978 and head of foreign affairs from 1988 until his recent retirement.

Speaking at the Sydney Institute yesterday, he listed inaccuracies that he said had distorted the debate.

One was the myth that only Australia and Canada had formally recognised Indonesia's sovereignty over East Timor.

The truth was that 30 countries had.

Another myth, he said, was that former prime minister Mr Gough Whitlam gave the "green light" to Indonesia's invasion of East Timor. Mr Woolcott said he was present at all of Mr Whitlam's meetings with Indonesia's President Suharto and Mr Whitlam, while believing the best outcome would be for East Timor to become part of Indonesia, always made it clear Australia could not condone the use of force.

Similarly, the notion that Australia could have prevented Indonesia from invading East Timor exaggerated our in-

Myth of genocide

fluence, failed to recognise the depths of Indonesian concern over what was happening in East Timor or the historical context of 1975. It was the height of the Cold War, Saigon had just fallen to the communists and the major powers had no inclination to intervene.

One of the most important myths attacked was that Indonesia was guilty of genocide in East Timor — that it caused the deaths of 200,000 people, or one-third of the population.

He said originally in 1976 a figure of 60,000 was quoted as "having lost their lives or homes". This included 30,000 who had fled to West Timor (part of Indone-

sia) as refugees during the civil war prior to Indonesian intervention, as well as those who died in the civil war.

The prime responsibility for the tragedy in East Timor, he said, lay with Portugal for "abandoning its neglected colony" in 1975 and with Fretilin, which proclaimed a unilateral declaration of independence, engaged in a civil war to gain control and refused any suggestion of a plebiscite in 1975.

He flatly rejected the idea that Indonesia was an expansionist nation. It had used force three times in its independent existence and each had been a special case. Once was to gain control of Irian Jaya, which had been a Dutch colony to which Indonesia was regarded as the successor State.

Once was in a confrontation with Malaysia, which was an aberration under the erratic president Sukarno...

The final time was over East Timor, and only when Portugal abandoned its former colony to a bloody civil war did Indonesia feel compelled to act.

Finally, he made a pitch for Australia to look to its own interests: "We often overlook the benefits we have derived from a stable Indonesia under President Suharto.

"Do we really want to court a situation of ongoing tension with Indonesia which would damage our commercial interests and which could lead us to divert substantial resources to increasing our defence forces?"

Indonesia-bashing

unbalanced: expert

By MARK METHERELL,
diplomatic correspondent,
Canberra

Australia's former foreign affairs chief, Mr Richard Woolcott, yesterday condemned "unbalanced and hostile criticism of Indonesia", arguing that Australians overlooked the benefits of stability under the leadership of President Suharto.

In a lengthy broadside at Indonesian critics, Mr Woolcott said it sometimes seemed that "Indonesia-bashing has become for some Australians the equivalent of fox-hunting in England".

Mr Woolcott, a former Australian ambassador to Jakarta who retired earlier this year as secretary of the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, told the Sydney Institute, a conservative group, that the way Australia managed its relations with Indonesia was at the core of the continuing thrust for closer ties with the Asia-Pacific region.

He also argued against campaigning for "lost causes" such as independence for East Timor "which raise false hopes, prolong conflict and cost lives". Australia should rather promote reconciliation between East Timor and Jakarta through aid and quiet diplomacy.

He identified 11 myths which he said involved inaccurate and sloppy presentation of events and at worst deliberately prejudiced reporting and anti-Indonesian comment.

Most of these myths related to East Timor and included: that Indonesia would have accepted an independent East Timor but Australia had "fluffed" by not persuading it to do so; that Indonesia had been guilty of genocide in the territory and was responsible for 200,000 deaths; that Indonesia had no concern for human rights; and that Australia was out of step with the rest of the world in its approach to Indonesia and East Timor.

Mr Woolcott dealt specifically with each of the allegations, which he said were false or exaggerated and collectively painted a very dark picture of Indonesia. "I am frankly surprised at the degree of acceptance some have received largely through media coverage and through the repetition of uninvestigated comments by anti-Indonesian, single-interest groups like the Committee for an Independent East Timor," Mr Woolcott said.

It was in Australia's national interest to develop as sound and as cooperative a relationship as possible with major regional powers such as Japan, China and Indonesia. This did not involve compromising Australian values, but seeking to understand the policies and motives of important nations.

Mr Woolcott acknowledged that Indonesian behavior in Aceh, East Timor, Irian Jaya and Jakarta "has often seemed to many Australians to be repressive".

THE AGE
THE AGE 27/05/92
27/05/92

Diplomacy is only a stone's throw from outrage

LAST Wednesday the Prime Minister called in the Thai ambassador to tell him that we are appalled at recent events in Thailand. 'The Age' editorial writer took the PM to task for dragging his feet. The editorialist reckons that we should have got in first. Well, I wonder ... Outrage is cheap. Constructive assistance is hard.

Meanwhile the Foreign Minister, Senator Gareth Evans, is making his way around the Middle East, observing, listening and generally enraging the Zionist lobby in this country. Senator Evans has invited Palestinian and Israeli representatives to Australia to tell us how it seems from their different points of view. Good on him. He is continuing in the tradition of the diplomatic successes in Zimbabwe and Cambodia.

The distinctive features of both of those constructive excursions into diplomacy has been the attitude of Australia that all sides are entitled to be heard and ultimately the diplomatic process ought to create the circumstances where the people in conflict are able to settle their own differences.

Expressions of government indignation don't help the process of reconciliation a lot — listening may do.

The Prime Minister's meeting with the Dalai Lama did not say anything in particular about China's claims to Tibet. The Dalai Lama is a distinguished human being, entitled to be heard. Evans's willingness to listen to the Khmer Rouge, Prince Sihanouk and the Vietnamese-backed government in Phnom Penh does not imply recognition of any particular faction as the legitimate government of Cambodia. Malcolm Fraser did not support the participation of Robert Mugabe in the election process in Zimbabwe because he was prejudging the outcome. He argued that without Mugabe the elections could not be said to test the opinions of all the citizens.

So the fact that the Government has declared a willingness to hear from the PLO says nothing about its collective opinion on the Middle East, other than that both sides of the story should be heard.

Official indignation is fraught with inconsistencies and problems.

First, we live in a glass house. A couple of months ago the United

States State Department issued a report condemning Australia for the treatment of Aborigines. This was outrageous cheek. The native Americans live in the same depressed conditions as the Aborigines, but no Australian government would dare pass judgment on the US. And the condition of the Aborigines is not the result of official policy or national intention.

What's more Australia has never criticised the US for anything. The violence in Bangkok is nothing compared with the violence against the people of El Salvador or Chile over the past two decades — but our government keeps silent on these crimes committed by proxies of the US.

Mr Hawke called Malaysians barbarians for executing Australians. He never used that language in the Savage case, when an Australian was under threat of execution in the US. Nor has the Australian Government expressed collective outrage at the continuation of executions in the US.

And in a nation of such diverse origins as this one it is virtually impossible to express outrage at the crimes on one regime without offending the local lobby for another.

The Government should not have bestowed an Order of Australia on the Turkish President because it was inevitable that it would enrage those migrants whose primary loyalty remains to Greece. Similarly the Government should have stayed mute on Serbia, Croatia and Macedonia. Whitlam should not have recognised the legitimacy of Soviet rule over the Baltic nations.

Inconsistency is also inevitable in dealing with our near neighbors. The Government is outraged at events in Tibet, Beijing and Bangkok, but not in East Timor. It is obvious that expressions of government indignation will not help the East Timorese one little bit — but quiet diplomacy might.

Senator Evans's apparent intentions in diplomacy are commendable. Any contribution Australia can make to world peace is bound to be minuscule, but the best way to do something useful is undoubtedly to listen to everyone, pass judgment on no one and then offer our services, with the utmost humility, as an honest broker. I hope he wins the Nobel Prize.

Timor massacre trials unfair, Portugal says

AUST 29/5/92

LISBON: Portugal criticised Indonesia yesterday for its conduct of the trials of people arrested when troops massacred demonstrators in East Timor last November.

The foreign ministry complained the trials were taking place "without minimum guarantees of impartiality and defence for the accused".

A "shocking contrast" existed between the condemnation of people carrying out non-violent political actions in support of internationally recognised rights for the Timorese people and the ab-

sence of proper punishment for the soldiers responsible for unjustifiable violence, the ministry said.

The November shooting in Dili left at least 50 people dead, with 90 more missing, official figures say.

Meanwhile, in Jakarta, a clash between young supporters of rival political parties turned into a gang fight that left a local party officer and scores of youngsters injured during campaigning for the country's general elections on June 9.

AP, AFP

The Australian 29/5/92

IN BRIEF

AGE 29/5/92

Fretilin's last 300

Jakarta, Thursday

The Fretilin guerrilla movement fighting for the independence of East Timor is down to its last 300 members and has only about 120 firearms left, an Indonesia military commander has said. The 300 members were living in hiding in the jungles of East Timor, Brigadier General Theo Syafei was quoted as saying late yesterday by the Antara News Agency.

— AFP

The AGE 29/5/92

Guerrillas surrender

At least 12 East Timor guerrillas have surrendered to the Indonesian military after running out of food, the official news agency Antara reported today. It quoted East Timor military commander Brigadier General Theo Syafei as saying soldiers had also found babies left by the rebels in the jungle in the former Portuguese colony.

— Reuter

Dili officer guilty

JAKARTA: A military court sentenced a police corporal to 17 months in prison for cutting off a demonstrator's ear with a bayonet during violent anti-Indonesian protests in East Timor last November.

AUST 1/6

The AGE 30/5/92

Indonesia rally

JAKARTA: Indonesia's populist opposition party, campaigning against government corruption and press censorship, claimed a street turnout of 3 million supporters — the biggest since general election campaigning started three weeks ago.

AUST 1/6/92

The Australian 1/6/92

IN BRIEF

AGE 1/6/92

Dili hearings begin

Jakarta, Sunday

A military court today sentenced a police corporal to 17 months in prison for cutting off a demonstrator's ear with a bayonet during the Dili massacre in East Timor last November. The trial against Louis Pareira Marthin Alau in Bali was the first to be held following the formation, on 19 November, of a Government-installed committee of inquiry on the massacre.

— AP

The AGE 1/6/92

Keating's Asian charge is soft on human rights

AGE 29 May 1992

THREE years ago, the hyperactive tear ducts of R. J. Hawke gave way to a deluge. At a memorial service for victims of the Tiananmen massacre, the Prime Minister wept openly. In an address that reflected the anguish of a great many Australians he declared: "To crush the spirit and body of youth is to crush the very future of China itself."

After denouncing the Chinese leadership in unequivocal terms, Mr Hawke was swift to order a range of substantial economic and political sanctions; including the suspension of high-level official contacts. In a letter to the Chinese Premier, Mr Li Peng, he wrote: "I do not want to underplay the depth of feeling among Australians, nor my own sense of outrage at the brutal massacre of unarmed civilians in Beijing by military forces under the control of your Government."

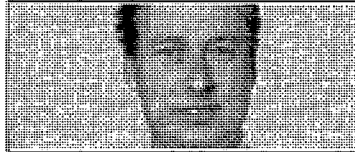
Three years, it seems, is a very long time in Australian politics. Last week Tiananmen had a sequel on the streets of Bangkok as the Thai armed forces attempted to crush pro-democracy protests with methods as ruthless and calculated as those unleashed by the People's Liberation Army in Beijing on the night of 3-4 June 1989.

Doctors from seven Bangkok hospitals who treated the victims said many of those killed, including children, were shot or bludgeoned from behind after troops with armored vehicles attacked crowds of unarmed protesters. "Some of them were begging for life when they were shot," said one doctor.

But where, might we ask, was the passionate response of our Australian leaders this time?

A tepid Foreign Affairs Department statement released on Tuesday of last week, a day after the first killings, in the name of the Acting Foreign Minister, Dr Blewett, expressed "distress and deep concern" and urged all parties to exercise restraint — as if to suggest that the massacre victims shared blame for their deaths.

There was no overt criticism of the massacre and no hint of a diplomatic response. That same day the United States announced the suspension of a joint military training exercise in Thailand and



FOREIGN AFFAIRS

MARK BAKER

Britain had deplored "the excessive use of force" and "indiscriminate firing" by Thai troops.

The following day — after considerable adverse public comment about the quality of Australia's reaction — the Prime Minister, Mr Keating, issued another statement expressing "horror at the needless loss of life" and saying Australians were appalled at the excessive use of force by the Thai military. He felt compelled, however, to soften his remarks by contrasting the tragedy with "the great strides Thailand has made in recent years towards prosperity and stability".

Following carefully in the foot-



Mr Keating: Asia-or-bust doctrine, but with pragmatism.

The Keating doctrine, with its born-again, Asia-or-bust zeal, is all about pragmatism. The priority is trade growth and harmonious commercial relations, whatever the track record of those with

When the inexorable democratic tide of modern history sweeps aside some of the more unsavory military regimes in our neighborhood, there will be many who will hold Australia to account . . .

steps of the US, Mr Keating then announced that 31 Australian military personnel would be withdrawn in protest from an exercise in Thailand. While he said the "whole relationship" was being placed under review, there was to be no suspension of economic aid to Thailand (the US cancelled its aid program after last year's coup) and 100 Thai officers studying in Australia were not to be sent home.

WHILE the apparent triumph, for now, of popular will over a ruthless and venal military establishment in Thailand has absolved Australia from having to contemplate any further diplomatic action, the episode has been instructive of the style of our foreign policy under the Keating Government.

whom we are doing business. We endorse international standards on human rights and the universality of democratic aspirations, but we are careful to measure our responses and never put a toe ahead of the Western pack. We will condemn Israel's mistreatment of Palestinians, but soft pedal on graver abuses much closer to home.

Perhaps the most significant foreign policy pronouncement of Mr Keating's tenure came in his reply to a parliamentary question shortly before his visit to Jakarta in April: "Aid and human rights is not linked, has not been linked and will not be linked during the visit."

In one sentence Mr Keating cut Australia adrift from the growing trend for developed nations and international agencies to use their economic muscle to pressure aid-

receiving nations to adopt more humane standards and to answer the rising clamor for democratic reform in the Third World. Even Japan, once renowned for its reticence on human rights issues, is now beginning to add political strings to some of its aid.

The Keating Government's timid handling of relations with Indonesia in the aftermath of the Dili massacre is indicative of a broader malaise. While professing concern for the situation of the East Timorese, the Government is not prepared to take even a modest stand for fear of offending Jakarta.

SOON after last November's massacre, Mr Hawke urged the Indonesian Government to "sit down with the people of East Timor, including the resistance forces, and try to work out a program of achieving peaceable relations". But this week the Foreign Minister, Senator Evans, dismissed a substantial new proposal by the Timorese resistance to achieve precisely that end.

The international representative of the resistance, Mr Jose Ramos Horta, has told senior United Nations officials that the Timorese are prepared to end the guerrilla war and shelve for up to 12 years their demand for independence in return for limited autonomy and an eventual referendum on the territory's future.

Senator Evans described the proposal as "interesting" but said it was not one "Australia would take any action on". Because the plan left open the question of sovereignty it was "inconsistent with the position Australia has taken".

If Australia is not prepared to welcome such an important shift in the Timorese stance and encourage Jakarta at least to enter into negotiations, the Government's previous professions of concern to see peace brought to the territory are rendered hollow and hypocritical.

When the inexorable democratic tide of modern history sweeps aside some of the more unsavory military regimes in our neighborhood, there will be many who will hold Australia to account for its stand on the rights and values for which hundreds have given their lives on the streets of Beijing, Dili and Bangkok.

The Daily Telegraph

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TRAFFORD PARK MANCHESTER M17 1SL TEL: 061 872 5939 TELEFX: 66

139.

The client: indigenous population of East Timor.

The task: to publicise their plight (200,000 people, one third of population, murdered by Indonesian forces) and to mobilise international opinion.

The problem: low profile — few in the West know what the problem is, why it matters or even where East Timor is.

The competition: other overseas tragedies ranging from the war in Yugoslavia, famine in East Africa, to the Kurds and destruction of the rainforest.



Picture ADAM HUTTON

A television film of last year's massacre (right) has been vital to a gruelling publicity campaign

A terrible case for a PR man

Ramos Horta: an ambassador with no embassy, no expense account

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Concern over East Timor sentences

By NICHOLAS JOHNSTON,
Canberra

Australia has expressed concern to Indonesia over what it believes to be discrepancies in sentences for civilians and soldiers involved in last year's East Timor massacre.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs, Senator Evans, said yesterday that he was disturbed that soldiers involved had received lighter sentences than civilians.

Senator Evans told the Senate that soldiers' sentences ranged from eight to 18 months, but sentences for civilians who organised the demonstration ranged from six months to 10 years.

Senator Evans expressed his concern during a meeting this week with Indonesia's Coordinating Minister for Economic, Financial and Industrial Affairs, Dr Radius Prawiro. The Australian embassy in Jakarta had also been told to convey Australia's concerns to the Suharto Government.

● The federal human rights commissioner, Mr Brian Burdekin, yesterday told a parliamentary hearing that Australia needed to accept international scrutiny of its human rights record to cast off its image as a carping critic.

"I think it's fair to say that there is at least a perception in some places, including some other countries, that the core activity of Australia's bilateral foreign policy on human rights is in condemning and querying the failings of other countries."

He said that Australia should instead examine options such as helping other countries in its region establish bodies along the lines of the Australian Human Rights Commission to foster and monitor human rights.

Timor jail term differences disturb Evans

By ADAM CONNOLLY

THE Foreign Affairs Minister, Senator Evans, said yesterday he was disturbed by the discrepancy in jail sentences handed down to Indonesian soldiers and East Timorese protesters over last year's Dili massacre.

Sentences for civilians ranged from six months to 10 years while those for army officers were from eight to 18 months.

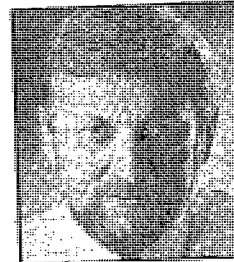
Senator Evans told Parliament he recognised Indonesia's acknowledgement of wrongdoing by the military was unprecedented, but those responsible for the killings should be appropriately punished.

"I am disturbed at the apparent discrepancies so far in the sentences that have been administered for the civilians and the military," Senator Evans said.

"We do believe it is important that those responsible for the killings be appropriately punished."

Earlier this year three officers were discharged from the military and three others were temporarily removed.

Officials at the Australian embassy in Jakarta have been instructed to convey the Federal Government's disappointment



● Senator Evans ...
"discrepancies".

at the disparity of the sentences.

But, mindful of Jakarta's sensitivity, Senator Evans stressed Australia was not interfering in Indonesia's judicial system.

Shortly after the November 12, 1991, massacre in Dili, an inquiry led by the Military Honor Council found fault with the local military leadership.

Troops opened fire on crowds of protesters.

The Prime Minister, Mr Keating, met Indonesian Co-ordinating Minister for Economics, Finance and Industrial Affairs, Mr Radius Prawiro, yesterday to discuss bilateral trade matters.

A spokesman for Mr Keating said the issue of Indonesian sentencing was not raised because Senator Evans had discussed it the previous day during talks with Mr Prawiro.

HERALD-SUN 17/06/92

THE AGE 17/06/92

Indonesia has made us a mouse afraid to squeak

HEE 27/5/92

from the Reverend S. A. Reid, unit on justice and social responsibility, Victorian Synod, Uniting Church

Picture for a moment a small mouse creeping across the carpet, afraid to even squeak lest the lion asleep in the next room is aroused. We have a picture of the Australian Government in its relationship with the Indonesian Government.

We have become accustomed to the pragmatism of the Government as it continues to put oil ahead of the people of East Timor. We have also become accustomed to the spectre of Indonesian oppression of the East Timorese, even post Dili, while our Government pleads that it is none of our

business. Now we have the latest example of the mouse heading for his hole.

The East Timorese resistance leaders have put forward an imaginative proposal for a breakthrough in the deadlock between Indonesia and the East Timorese people. It is a plan that has been the result of much hard work, over many months, by the resistance leaders, by Jose Ramos Horta in the United Nations and by other non-government groups. At last we have something that has a real chance of success.

All the mouse can say is that it was "interesting ... but not one Australia would take any action on" (Senator Gareth Evans).

Senator, this is not simply an

"interesting" proposal, but an exciting one, and one that demands our fullest support and that of Indonesia. What has Australia to lose by supporting this plan? I, and others, are continually amazed at the temerity of our Government in matters Indonesian. Is oil the only thing that turns a government into a squeaky mouse? Maybe that's an insult to mice.

There is the hope, that despite our Government's lack of assertiveness, justice may yet come to the East Timorese people, and perhaps we will also be able to keep our "precious oil" into the bargain. I know where our priorities should be.

Stuart Reid, Melbourne.

THE AGE 27/05/92

US slashes arms aid to Indonesia

HERALD SUN 27/6/92

WASHINGTON — The US unanimously voted yesterday to cut aid to Indonesia over human rights abuses in East Timor.

The House of Representatives passed an amendment to the Foreign Aid Bill which trims \$2.4 million in military aid to Indonesia and could also restrict loans which have enabled Jakarta to buy \$170 million in US arms.

Republican Ron Machtley, who sponsored the amendment, warned further cuts would follow if President Suharto's regime failed to improve.

Mr Machtley said he expected his amendment, passed unanimously in the House, would be passed by the Senate and signed into law by the President, Mr Bush.

The Foreign Affairs Minister, Gareth Evans, has rebuked the US for its decision to cut military aid to Indonesia.

He said the US response did not indicate Australia had been too soft in its response to the Timorese shootings.

He said grounds existed to be "somewhat critical"

of the lengthy jail terms imposed on civilian protesters compared with military officers but there was no case to be "supremely critical".

"What happened in Dili, as appalling as it was, was not on any evidence a deliberate act of state policy," Senator Evans said in Melbourne.

"It was aberrant behavior by a section of the military which has been responded to in a reasonable and credible way by the Indonesian Government."

— REUTER

HERALD SUN 27/06/92

Austahan 2/4/6/92

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ATTENTION

RODNEY LEWIS

Regards

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Indonesia defends sentencing process

By foreign affairs writer
CAMERON STEWART

INDONESIA has given a lukewarm response to Australian concerns about the leniency of sentences handed out to military officers involved in last November's Dili massacre.

A summary of the visit to Canberra last week by a senior Indonesian minister, Mr Radius Prawiro, shows he defended the sentencing process when confronted by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Senator Evans.

Senator Evans told Mr Prawiro, Indonesia's Coordinating Minister for Economic, Financial and Industrial Affairs, Australia was disturbed that military officials had received lesser sentences than unarmed protesters.

However, it is a sign of Indonesian concern about the issue that its embassy has provided a relatively detailed description of Mr Prawiro's reply.

He told Senator Evans that a different legal code was applied by the civilian court and military tribunals in Indonesia.

"He stressed that in the case of military personnel, some lost their careers or were dismissed," the embassy said.

"The minister also reiterated that the actions taken were in line with the instructions of the President, especially the establishment of the National Inquiry Commission and the Military Honour Council."

Mr Prawiro said the Indonesian Government played no part in determining the sentences.

"Indonesian courts of justice are independent institutions and are free from government intervention," the embassy said.

An official inquiry found that Indonesian troops overreacted to the protests in East Timor, a Portuguese colony annexed by Indonesia in 1976.

Australia has conveyed its concerns about the fact that trials for civilians involved in the massacre have resulted in imprisonment sentences of between six months and 10 years, while sentences in the military trials have ranged from only eight to 18 months.

AFF reports that the United States under-secretary of defence, Mr Paul Wolfowitz, said in Jakarta that Indonesia's response to the massacre was "a piece of unfinished business".

The November 12 firing by troops left at least 50 officially dead, although not all of the bodies have been recovered, according to an official inquiry. Independent sources say as many as 90 protesters have disappeared since.

Mr Wolfowitz said the US applauded the disciplinary actions but he declined to comment on his talks with President Suharto.

US dissatisfied with Dili policy

AGE 24/6/92

Jakarta, Tuesday

A high-ranking United States official indicated yesterday that Washington was still not satisfied with measures taken by the Indonesian Government after the massacre by its troops in East Timor last year.

The Assistant Secretary of Defence, Mr Paul Wolfowitz, told a news conference that Indonesia's response to the massacre in Dili was "a piece of unfinished business". The 12 November firing by troops left at least 50 dead, according to official figures, and not all bodies have been recovered, according to an official inquiry. Independent sources say as many as 90 protesters have disappeared since.

After the inquiry, the Government took what for Indonesia was unprecedented action against the military, resulting in the sacking and imprisonment of various officers. Mr Wolfowitz noted that the US had applauded the disciplinary actions and said he had discussed the East Timor massacre with President Suharto. But he declined to comment on the conversation, saying he wanted to "keep it as a private discussion between our two governments".

Mr Wolfowitz, 49, was the US ambassador to Indonesia from 1986 to 1989.

The New York-based international human rights group Asia

Watch today strongly condemned the light punishments handed out to Indonesian soldiers involved in the Dili massacre, saying the trials were "stage-managed" to appease international criticism.

The condemnation came a day after a Dili court sentenced an East Timorese dissident charged with subversion to 15 years in jail over the incident — the toughest punishment so far for any of the dissidents charged. Francisco Miranda Branco, 41, received a maximum jail term for the charge, which carries a maximum penalty of execution, in line with prosecution demands.

Prosecutors accused the former civil servant of anti-Indonesian activities, culminating in the demonstration which preceded the massacre of mourners.

Asia Watch said sentences imposed on nine soldiers and one policeman over the massacre — the toughest was 18 months in jail — were very light compared to those handed out to Dili dissidents.

The courts martial revealed a "sloppy, ill-prepared, ill-informed, poorly disciplined and poorly led army", Asia Watch said, adding that they did nothing to "pierce the secrecy surrounding how the shooting started or what happened to the bodies of those killed".

"Asia Watch calls on the international community to continue to press the Indonesian Government

for a full accounting of military actions before, during and after the demonstrations," the report said.

Asia Watch's criticism of the differences between the sentences given to dissidents and to members of the military echo recent complaints by the Foreign Affairs Minister, Senator Evans.

Sentences passed on East Timorese so far have ranged from six months to 15 years in jail. The nine soldiers and one policeman court-martialled over the massacre have received between eight months and 18 months. Three senior officers were also sacked and three others disciplined — but none was court-martialled.

"The fact that any investigations and any courts martial at all took place is a step forward for the Indonesian Government and should be recognised as such," Asia Watch said. "But there has been no real accounting for the deaths and disappearances that took place on 12 November," it said.

It said none of the troops or police convicted had started the shooting, none had organised the disposal of bodies or planned the subsequent cover-up.

"It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the courts martial were stage-managed for international consumption."

— AFP, AAP

THE AGE 24/06/92

Dili sentencing condemned

SMH 24/6/92

JAKARTA, Tuesday: The leading international human rights group Asia Watch today strongly condemned the light punishments handed out to Indonesian soldiers involved in the Dili massacre, saying the trials have been "stage managed" to appease international criticism.

The condemnation came a day after a Dili court sentenced an East Timorese dissident charged with subversion to 15 years in jail over the incident — the toughest punishment so far for any of the dissidents charged.

Francisco Miranda Branco, 41, was accused of anti-Indonesian activities, culminating in the demonstration that preceded the massacre of mourners at Dili, in East Timor, last November.

Asia Watch, a New York-based human

rights organisation, said the sentences imposed on nine soldiers and one policeman over the massacre (between eight and 18 months) were very light compared to those handed out to East Timorese dissidents (six months to 15 years).

In a report on the trials, Asia Watch called on the international community to continue to push Indonesia for a better response to the November 12 massacre.

The upcoming July 16 meeting of Indonesia's aid donors would provide an excellent opportunity to pursue the issue with Jakarta, it said.

Asia Watch's criticism echoes recent complaints by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Senator Evans.

Australian Associated Press

Officers face trial over Dili killings

Jakarta, Tuesday

Another seven military officers will face trial in connection with the Dili massacre last November, an official said today.

A Government commission found 50 people were killed and 90 others were missing after Indonesian troops opened fire on protesters in Dili, the East Timorese capital.

The army maintained only 19 people were killed and 91 were wounded. Foreign witnesses said the death toll was 50 to 60, while others have estimated the number as high as 180.

Indonesian troops overreacted to the pro-independence protests, the commission said.

Lieutenant Colonel Anton Tompodung, spokesman of the Udayana Military Command, which covers East Timor, said today three military officers were sentenced on Saturday in a military court in Denpasar, Bali, in connection with the bloodshed.

Corporal Louis Pareira Marthin Alau received 17 months in prison for cutting off a demonstrator's ear, and Lieutenant Matheus Maya and Lieutenant Alfonso de Yesus each got eight months for violating orders and overreacting to the protest, Colonel Tompodung said.

The other seven officers — four lieutenants and three non-commissioned

MUSLIMS HOPEFUL

Banda Aceh, Indonesia, Tuesday

Indonesia's Muslim-based opposition party said today it was certain to win back the rebellious Islamic province of Aceh in next week's general election.

But the United Development Party (PPP) complained its supporters were being intimidated. In the past two elections the ruling Golkar party has only lost one of Indonesia's 27 provinces. The PPP won Aceh (pronounced Achay), in northern Sumatra, in 1982 but failed in the next poll.

— Reuter

sioned officers — will be tried separately, he said. The lieutenants are charged with failure to control their subordinates, and the non-commissioned officers are charged with violating orders and overreacting.

Trials began today for one lieutenant and one non-commissioned officer, Colonel Tompodung said.

"These sentences are ridiculous, just a diversion," Mr Abillo Araujo, Lisbon representative of the Revolutionary Front for the Independence of East Timor, said today.

The trials are "propaganda, as

nobody has yet been sentenced for homicide", he said.

Meanwhile, eight East Timorese are being tried in Dili on charges of instigating the protest. Prosecutors are seeking prison terms ranging from eight years to life for five of the defendants.

In Port Moresby, separatists fighting for independence for Indonesian Irian Jaya have called on the Prime Minister, Mr Keating, to support their struggle as they step up their military campaign.

The OPM (Free Papua Movement) has stepped up its guerrilla campaign in Irian Jaya in the lead-up to Indonesia's elections and the 30th anniversary of Indonesia's occupation of the province next year.

An OPM spokesman, Mr Moses Werror, said he wanted Mr Keating's support so the issue of Irian Jaya's sovereignty could be raised at the United Nations.

In his letter to Mr Keating, Mr Werror called for the same support from the members of the South Pacific Forum as those countries had given to Kanak independence campaigners in New Caledonia.

Mr Werror said OPM rebels had been involved in several clashes along the PNG-Irian Jaya border in the past month,

— AP, AAP

Canberra protests Dili sentences

Australian 17/6/92

By foreign affairs writer CAMERON STEWART

AUSTRALIA has told Indonesia it is disturbed by disparities in sentences handed out to those involved in the Dili massacre last November.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs, Senator Evans, told the Senate yesterday that Australia had registered its concern to Indonesia that unarmed protesters in Dili have received harsher sentences than the military officers involved in the shooting of those demonstrators.

Trials for civilians involved in the demonstration have resulted in imprisonment sentences of between six months and 10 years, while sentences in the military trials have ranged from only 8 to 18 months.

Senator Evans told the Senate it was important that those responsible be appropriately punished for the November 12 tragedy, which occurred when soldiers fired on pro-independence demonstrators in the East Timor capital, killing at least 50 people.

"Although it is difficult to make a definitive comment at this stage, given that not all of the civilian trials have been completed and also that a number of the civilians and the military who have been sentenced have said they will appeal, nonetheless I am disturbed at the apparent discrepancies so far in the sentences that have

Longer terms for civilians

been administered for the civilians and the military," Senator Evans said.

He raised his concerns in Canberra yesterday with Indonesia's visiting Co-ordinating Minister for Economic, Financial and Industrial Affairs, Mr Radius Prawiro, and had also instructed the Australian embassy in Jakarta to convey Australia's concern about the sentence discrepancies.

Australia has so far supported

the Indonesian Government's response to the massacre.

Indonesia has publically acknowledged wrongdoing by the military and has set up the Military Honour Council to investigate the role of the military in the killings.

It has also taken disciplinary action against the military including the discharge of three officers from military service and the removal of several officers from positions within the established armed forces.

"We do recognise that much of the action taken by the Indonesian Government in response to the Dili killings, particularly the public acknowledgement of wrongdoing by the military does constitute unprecedented action in Indonesia," Senator Evans said.

"(But) from the time we first became aware of the killings, we made known at the most senior levels in Indonesia our view that those responsible should be appropriately punished."

Evans attacks US over Indonesia aid



Senator Evans: US response inappropriate.

By GERARD RYLE *Acc 22/6/9*

The Minister for Foreign Affairs, Senator Evans, yesterday criticised the United States House of Representatives after it voted to cut military aid to Indonesia in the wake of the Dili massacre last November.

The House voted to cut \$A3.03 million from the education and training program for the Indonesian military budget in response to the massacre, in which Indonesia has admitted that at least 50 civilians were killed.

Senator Evans said the Federal Government's view was that "punitive responses" from the international community were inappropriate, given that the massacre was not a deliberate act of state policy.

"It is not a matter of being forgiving," he said. "It is a matter of recognising that what happened in Dili, appalling as it was, was not, on any evidence, a deliberate act of state policy."

"It was aberrant behavior by a section of the military, which has been responded to ... (That) response has been reasonable and credible."

He said the world should recognise that, in the Indonesian context, Jakarta had taken significant action against the army by putting some troops on trial and sacking others.

"The fact that something signifi-

cant has happened is something that ought to be acknowledged by countries like Australia, like the US, before we get supremely critical."

Senator Evans said the Australian Government did not believe that any civilian protestors should have been prosecuted. "Of course, we regard the sentences as excessive," he said.

"There is an obvious difference in the punishments that have been meted out to the military personnel on one hand compared with civilian demonstrators on the other.

"We have made that point clear to the Indonesians. But we wouldn't ourselves have taken the

kind of action that the US Congress at the moment seems inclined to."

Senator Evans said he was not embarrassed by the congressional vote, and described the defence cooperation program between Canberra and Jakarta as "very slight in character".

However, the chairman of the parliamentary committee on foreign affairs and defence, the South Australian Labor Senator Chris Schacht, said Indonesia would have to be very careful not to ignore the decision by the US House of Representatives.

"I've always supported any parliament of the world expressing concern and outrage about abuses

of human rights," Senator Schacht said.

The US House of Representatives agreed to the cut on a voice vote after one representative branded Indonesia's army "the same military that opened fire on unarmed civilians". Some authorities have estimated that up to 180 people died in the massacre.

The vote means that the US, Indonesia's main military supplier, is the first major country to take definite action over Indonesia's handling of the massacre and the punishment of those responsible.

The US Senate and President Bush still have to approve the decision. Observers in Washington said President Bush was likely to restore the Indonesian aid.

Indonesia, which has not officially responded to the decision, is unlikely to have been surprised by the vote. President Suharto has been visited by officials from the Bush administration since the massacre, several of whom are thought to have warned of an aid cut.

A statement issued by the Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor (Fretilin) called for Australia to follow the US example and suspend military cooperation with Indonesia.

— with agencies

Troops ^{AGE 516} may quit E Timor

Jakarta, Thursday

Indonesian combat troops could be withdrawn from East Timor within four months, according to a report in Jakarta today quoting the military commander of the province.

At the same time, courts martial in Bali have sentenced five soldiers to jail terms of 12 to 18 months for disobedience and misconduct during last year's massacre in East Timor.

Brigadier-General Theo Syafei said a dramatic improvement in security in East Timor meant that the fighting troops could be pulled out by September, the 'Jakarta Post' newspaper reported.

The Fretilin guerrilla movement no longer posed a threat, with only a small number of troops and arms, he said.

Senior Indonesian officers have previously said the combat troops in East Timor would be reduced in favor of more "territorial" troops, soldiers involved in public works, such as road-building.

It was unclear from the report if all combat troops would be withdrawn or only some.

The 'Post' reported General Syafei as saying that Fretilin leader Xanana Gusmao wanted to surrender, but was being prevented by colleagues who wanted to use him as a figurehead for the resistance movement.

The Bali verdicts brought to eight the number of Indonesian security force members sentenced for misconduct during the 12 November Dili shooting.

The 'Kompas' newspaper said a court martial in Denpasar gave 12 and 14-month jail terms yesterday to two officers in command of troops who fired into the crowd.

Also in Bali yesterday, a court martial in Tabanan handed down 12 to 18-month sentences to three sergeants for disobedience. The three were charged with having shot without orders.

— AAP, AFP

The AGE 5/6/92

^{The Australian 5/6/92} Dili soldiers imprisoned

JAKARTA: Military courts in Bali have sentenced five soldiers to jail terms of 12 to 18 months for disobedience and misconduct during the November 12 Dili massacre.

The verdicts brought to eight the number of Indonesian security force members sentenced for misconduct during the shooting in the East Timorese capital.

Sentenced earlier in Bali to between eight and 17 months in jail were two army privates and a police corporal, all of them native East Timorese.

The Kompas newspaper said a military court in Bali's main city, Denpasar, yesterday

gave a 14-month jail term to Second Lieutenant Sukiman Mursanip, 49, and 12 months to Second Lieutenant John Harlan Aritonang, 26.

The presiding judge, Lieutenant Colonel Hidayat, said Mursanip had been assigned only to lead his company in monitoring the protest.

But some members of Mursanip's company were among those who fired into the crowd of demonstrators, killing about 50 people. Ninety more protesters are missing.

Three sergeants received 12 to 18-month sentences for disobedience.

AFP

The Australian 5/6/92

Protester jailed¹⁴⁸

DILI: An East Timorese man was sentenced yesterday to five years and eight months in prison on charges he helped instigate a demonstration that ended when the Indonesian army opened fire on protesters in Dili, killing dozens last November.

Australian 18/6

THE GUARDIAN
Wednesday June 17 1992

INTERNATIONAL NEWS 9

East Timorese accuse Britain of blocking action on Indonesia

John Gittings

EAST TIMOR's exiled leadership has accused Britain of "obstructing" EC criticism of Indonesian policy since last November's massacre in Dili. It also claims the United Nations secretary general is suppressing an "explosive report" on Indonesia's repression.

Portugal has taken soundings among the other 11 EC members for a statement to be issued at the Lisbon summit next week. There is concern at the recent trials in Dili, and at Indonesia's failure to agree to round-table talks. Public opinion in Portugal would react badly, it is felt, if the EC appeared to drop the issue.

Portugal, as the former colonial power, has taken the lead in seeking to reverse the Indonesian takeover of East Timor in 1975. Britain represents the EC in Jakarta since Portugal has no embassy there.

The Foreign Office in London said yesterday that the Portuguese suggestion had been dis-

cussed. But it was not felt that this was the appropriate time for a statement, while trials are still taking place in East Timor.

Jose Ramos-Horta, the representative abroad of the East Timorese resistance, accuses Britain of being "the single worst obstructionist of any industrialised country" over action against Indonesia. He says France and Ireland are the most sympathetic EC members.

Amos Wako, the special representative of the UN secretary general Boutros Boutros-Ghali, visited Dili in January. Mr Ramos-Horta claims Mr Boutros-Ghali is refusing to circulate Mr Wako's report, which is thought to recommend UN support for self-determination.

Few foreign visitors have been able to reach Dili since the cemetery massacre, and Jakarta has refused to allow missions from international human rights organisations.

At least 500 East Timorese are detained by the Indonesian army in the countryside. Mr Ramos-Horta says. He claims they are kept in twos and threes in private residences

under army control which serve as "slave houses and torture chambers".

Mr Ramos-Horta admits that the wave of sympathy for the East Timorese after the massacre has subsided. But he believes the territory is now firmly on the map of international opinion. The massacre has also prompted a realisation among many Indonesians that their policy of the last 16 years has been a failure. For the first time, Mr Ramos-Horta has been widely interviewed in the Indonesian press, despite being a banned person.

Discrepancies in sentences imposed by Indonesian courts on civilian demonstrators and the soldiers who killed demonstrators were criticised yesterday by Australia's foreign minister, Gareth Evans. Civilians have received up to 10 years imprisonment while the maximum military sentence has been 18 months.

Mr Evans said Australia had passed on its view to Indonesia "that no one should be detained or punished for non-violent political activities".

Start on economic nationalism!

THE CANBERRA THURSDAY, APRIL 29, 1992

The Canberra Times

Australia can be ignored, for now

UNFORTUNATELY, Paul Keating got the balance right between human rights and Australia's continuing relationship with its neighbour during his visit to Indonesia last week.

Because of Australia's economic weaknesses it is unable to make its voice heard on human rights or other issues of major importance in its own region.

Until Australia becomes important economically to the South-East Asian region and establishes a role for itself, the countries of the region will be able to ignore Australia politically. Protests about others' human rights abuses might make us feel better, and as a nation we may feel that we have no option but to make them.

But until Australia establishes an economic importance to the other nations of the region which they can ignore only at a cost to themselves, it will face the choice between lowering its voice on sensitive political issues or being isolated if it does not.

Paul Keating chose to lower Australia's voice.

Human rights should be of absolute primacy in our dealings with other countries — just as they must be in the conduct of our own domestic affairs. At present however, Australia is unable to command attention for its views.

Paul Keating has been attacked for failing to place greater emphasis on human rights and Australia's revulsion over last year's Dili killings in East Timor. He has been criticised for not taking a tougher line over the prosecution of Indonesian officers involved in the massacre, and for failing to demand stronger guarantees for the safety of East Timorese being prosecuted for their supposed role in the Santa Cruz cemetery killings and its aftermath.

These legitimate Australian concerns were overshadowed by Mr Keating's push to give closer relationships between the two countries more concrete form, through official agreements on such apparently mundane matters as extradition, fisheries and foreign investment and, on a

Government regards them as considerably less important than economic development, Indonesian unity and the survival of the political system built by President Suharto.

Australia's problem is that we lack the economic or strategic clout to command attention for our views and values.

Indonesia, Malaysia and even Fiji can afford to ignore Australia's political, social or environmental demands because we are not vital to them.

We do not yet have anything to offer them by way of trade, political influence or strategic significance which they cannot easily obtain elsewhere at relatively little cost to themselves.

Fiji, politically isolated and economically weak as it is, showed how easy it is for another nation to thumb its nose at Australia, when it responded to Australian protests after the Rabuka coups by switching from Australia to Malaysia for its oil imports.

Australia should continue to raise its concerns about violations of basic values by our neighbours. But until Australia becomes economically important to Indonesia (and the other nations of the region), we should acknowledge our limitations. Accusations against Australia of neo-colonialism, European superiority and racism towards Australian Aborigines will not lose Asian Governments many friends among the countries they regard as important. But they will do Australia a lot of harm.

Australian exports and investment are insignificant to the Indonesian economy. In 1991, Australia sold goods valued at less than \$1.5 billion to Indonesia, compared with Indonesia's total imports of more than \$20 billion. Our three most important exports were petroleum, cotton and wheat, all of which are readily available from alternative sources if Australian protests or policies become too irritating.

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political level, his proposal to raise the importance of the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation group through a meeting of its members' heads of government.

These matters are prosaic alongside the sufferings of the people of East Timor since 1975. Australians rightly feel they have a special responsibility for the people of East Timor because of wartime links, because East Timor is a tiny country which has been invaded and absorbed by a larger nation in Australia's region, and because of the complete absence, in Indonesia's actions, of the values which Australians believe should govern relations between countries and the behaviour of governments towards minorities in their own countries.

While Australia regards these issues as important, the Indonesian

THE ONLY way in which Australia will be listened to in the region is when there is a cost to other countries in ignoring us. That is not now the case. They can ignore Australia with impunity. No important Indonesian domestic group would oppose Indonesia's isolation of Australia.

If Australia is going to be listened to, we must develop a competitive economy capable of supplying specialised goods based on processed agricultural and mineral commodities, or founded on other areas such as car parts, computer software and engineering, in which Australia can establish a genuine advantage.

Only when other countries recognise that there is an economic cost to them in not buying Australian products will they pay attention to Australia's voice on other issues.

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Indonesia: our distorted pict

Eleven myths about Indonesia, mostly relating to East Timor, have gained currency in Australia through inaccurate media presentation or deliberate prejudice, argues **RICHARD WOOLCOTT**.

THE WAY in which we manage our relations with Indonesia is at the core of our continuing policy thrust into the Asia-Pacific region. It is and will remain a test of our diplomatic maturity as a nation.

This relationship deserves serious, unemotional and objective analysis. Unfortunately, too much of the commentary about Indonesia in this country in recent years has been shallow, emotional and biased.

Indonesia-bashing certainly has appeared to be the favourite pastime of a vociferous lobby made up largely of pro-Fretilin East-Timorese refugees, frustrated left-wingers, hostile single-interest groups, and I regret to say, latent racists, often masquerading behind the honourable banners of support for human rights and self-determination.

Regrettably, some members of the Australian media have made their own contributions.

Australia has an interest in dissociating itself from unbalanced and hostile criticism. This does not involve any compromise of our own values. Seeking to introduce more balance in public attitudes to these countries and to place in perspective, prejudice and hostility towards them is not "grovelling" or "appeasement", to use some colourful words the media is prone to employ. It is simply sound commonsense.

The Indonesian Government is sometimes depicted, by individuals and groups hostile to Indonesia, as an aggressive and expansionist military dictatorship. In my assessment it is neither aggressive nor expansionist, notwithstanding its acquisition of West Irian, its "confrontation" of Malaysia and its annexation of East Timor; in each case, there were special circumstances surrounding Indonesia's actions. There are no common threads to support the assertion that Indonesia is interested in territorial expansion.

There are 11 particular myths promoted by, at best, an inaccurate and sloppy presentation of events or, at worst, by deliberately prejudiced reporting and anti-Indonesian comment masquerading as news or moral rectitude. They are:

● Indonesia would have accepted an independent East Timor in 1975 and, in not persuading it to do so, Australia "fluffed" (*Herald*, December 3, 1991) the opportunity.

This overlooks the historical context and fails to recognise the depths of Indonesian concern at the way the situation was evolving or its resolve. It also overstates Australia's influence and overlooks the major powers

reluctance to act. The ASEAN countries, despite some reservations on the part of Singapore, considered that the integration of East Timor with Indonesia was important for longer-term regional security.

● Our response to Indonesia's invasion of East Timor should have been consistent with our later and very strong response to Iraq's invasion of Kuwait.

In the case of Kuwait, a major multinational force was formed in conformity with United Nations Security Council resolutions to roll back Iraqi aggression. But East Timor was not a member of the UN, it was an abandoned colony, situated within the Indonesian archipelago, in a state of civil war. No thought was given in the UN to any military involvement.

● Indonesia is guilty of "genocide" in East Timor and has been responsible for the deaths of 200,000 people, or one-third of the population of the province.

Nobody knows authoritatively how many people died in East Timor, during the civil war, as a result of tribal strife, during and after the Indonesian intervention, and as a result of famine. That people died is tragic but the deliberate exaggeration of numbers to discredit Indonesia is simply dishonest. Through a process not unlike "think of a number and double it" and what is called incestuous interquote — and with the active assistance of the pro-Fretilin lobby — what began as a figure of 60,000 dead or displaced has escalated to 200,000 or a third of the population.

● The central Government in Jakarta is bent on extinguishing Portuguese culture and replacing the Catholic religion with Islam in East Timor.

False. Indonesia is one of the most moderate and tolerant Islamic societies in the world. It has a number of Catholics in its Cabinet and the central Government and has been at pains to demonstrate religious toleration in East Timor.

● Indonesia has no concern for human rights.

Hardly fair. Many Indonesians — the Foreign Minister, Ali Alatas, is a good example — have a serious concern for human rights. Indonesia is a signatory to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. But Indonesia is a very large, complex, developing society facing many problems. There are understandably shades of opinion and many Indonesians put their perception of the national well-being ahead of the individual right of dissent.

● East Timor has been sealed off from the outside world to prevent outsiders becoming aware of the repression of the East Timorese people.

From time to time it has been

S.M.H.
27/5/92

closed. The fact remains that it has often been open to foreigners. Some 25 Australian journalists have visited it since 1975, as have MPs.

● The former Prime Minister, Gough Whitlam, gave the "green light" to Indonesia to invade East Timor in discussions with President Soeharto in 1974 and 1975.

This will be shown to be false when the archives are opened and all records are published. I was present. Whitlam made it clear that while he believed the best outcome of the decolonisation of East Timor would be to become a part of Indonesia, this outcome should be the result of an act of self-determination. He would not condone the use of force.

● Portugal is still the "administering authority" in East Timor.

Fatuous, except in the most arcane legalistic sense, since Portugal abandoned its neglected colony 17 years ago.



Mr Richard Woolcott... too much commentary has been shallow, emotional and biased."

● Only Canada and Australia have recognised Indonesian sovereignty over East Timor (as stated most recently in an editorial in *The Canberra Times* on March 29).

False: more than 30 countries have explicitly or implicitly recognised East Timor as part of Indonesia.

● Australia is "out of step" with the rest of the world in its approach to Indonesia's role in East Timor (*The Bulletin*, November 1991).

We were out of step over the Dili massacre only insofar as we were in the vanguard of Indonesia's critics. Australia's official, and especially its media, reaction was far more firm and demanding than those of the other ASEAN countries, the US and Japan among others.

● Fretilin is the only authentic representative of the East Timorese people.

At least, open to question. At time of the outbreak of the civil war UDT and the other smaller embryonic political parties enjoyed considerable support until Fretilin, through superior weaponry, gained the upper hand.

COLLECTIVELY these allegations paint a very dark picture of Indonesia. I am surprised at the degree of acceptance some have received largely through media coverage and through the repetition of unverified comments by single-interest groups.

It is clear that the anti-Indonesia pro-Fretilin lobby has woven a web of disinformation to discredit Indonesia, some of which has gained a measure of acceptance in the wider Australian community. Indonesia has hardly been given a "fair go", as we say.

Let me turn now to some of the realities in our relationship with Indonesia in 1992.

Understandably, many Australians tend to see Indonesia through the prism of our own experience, which is rooted in Western liberal democracy, relative affluence and a benign transition from colonial rule to independence in a relatively isolated, stable and prosperous continent. In such circumstances it is tempting for us to read self-righteous moral lectures, from our comfortable pulpit, to less favoured neighbours.

It is naive to think that if only Indonesians would embrace liberal democracy and be more like us we would all be better off. As Michael Duffy pointed out in a recent article in the *Independent Monthly*, as far as most Indonesians are concerned, the realistic alternative to the Soeharto Government at present is not Western democracy, but political anarchy and economic chaos of the sort experienced in the Sukarno years. This period left a profound impression on Indonesians which explains Indonesia's continuing preoccupation with national unity and stability.

We often overlook the benefits we have derived from a stable Indonesia under President Soeharto. Do we really want to court a situation of continuing tension with Indonesia which would damage our commercial interests and which could lead us to divert substantial resources to increasing our defence forces? A highly unstable, impoverished, expansionist Indonesia would be a national nightmare for Australia. Clearly Australia has a vital interest in Indonesia being a peaceful, prosperous and stable neighbour.

We need to acknowledge that political change is unlikely to be rapid in countries like Indonesia. We should remember that, while we may be able to set an example of a free and fair society — notwithstanding our treatment of our own indigenous people — we need to recognise the limits of our influence.

This is an edited text of an address by Richard Woolcott, former Secretary of the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade and currently Visiting Fellow in the Research School of Pacific Studies at the ANU.

The ambassador has no clothes

*Ignorance, reticence and doubletalk are clouding attempts to come to terms with our Asian neighbours, writes James Dunn**

Paul Keating's first sortie as Prime Minister into the Asia he wants Australia to become part of has created more confusion than enlightenment. His enthusiasm for a new independent image may have scored him points in Jakarta and Port Moresby but little emerged from his visits to lend substance and credibility to his design for a different Australia.

His pronouncements lacked depth and understanding and a feeling is growing that he simply does not know what he is talking about. Until recently, Keating (right) displayed what might be described as an accountant's interest in foreign affairs, and since taking office has said little to suggest that his education on the subject has advanced much.

Few would disagree that it is high time for Australia to develop a more soundly-based relationship with its Asian and Pacific neighbours but Keating's ideas so far seem anything *but* soundly-based—suggesting that his reading on the sheer scope and intricacies of Asia has been largely confined to travel guides and Austrade briefs.

The issue is extremely complex, ranging well beyond trade-related and other economic interests that seem to dominate the thinking of most Australian political leaders.

"Asia" is a vague and not particularly useful term, for it denotes a sprawling region from the eastern Mediterranean to the Bering Straits, inhabited by some two-thirds of the world's population. There are few common strands within this region, let alone with Australia. Trade is an obvious exception but, while important changes are taking place on this continent, to describe its various economies as "booming" is to overstate the case.

The dynamic Asian economies we hear so much about amount to a mere handful of nations in a region where more than a



We lack confidence ...we have always tried to be nice rather than frank

billion people live below the poverty line; but the biggest obstacle to closer links with the region is that few of those in power share the kind of democratic values that need to exist before we can est-

ablish a harmony of views.

It is evident that changed international circumstances have presented Australians with something of an identity crisis ... or, rather, that is the way it appears. The Europe of our ancestral homelands seems to have drifted further away from us, both politically and economically, causing anguish in some quarters. However, this process is understandable and it should not be allowed to distort our image of ourselves or question those democratic and humanitarian values which have their origins in Europe. Europeans may well be preoccupied with their politically unstable and economically depressed hinterlands, but such concern for the stability of

a neighbourhood is a matter vital to the security of the entire region.

Recent political changes in Europe, Latin America and Africa have not yet had any significant impact on Asia. They have still to take root in Indonesia, which continues to be ruled by an authoritarian, military-based regime with a rather sorry human rights record. While this should not prevent us from trying to forge a better relationship with our neighbour, it does impose limits on the kind of links we can develop. So far, it has been largely a matter of politicians and officials being civil to each other, a public relations exercise that has often diminished our govern-

ment in the eyes of concerned Australians.

And, despite opposition leader John Hewson's criticism of Keating's rather flamboyant nationalistic style in Jakarta, the latter's basic assumptions have not been challenged. It seems the main beef is with the PM's disparaging remarks about the Australian flag, not at his apparently accommodating attitude towards Indonesia's human rights abuses in East Timor.

Victims: Perhaps our problem with Indonesia – and with other countries, for that matter – is that we lack confidence and assertiveness. We have always tried to be nice rather than frank. Keating is trying to assure us that he raised human rights concerns with President Suharto but indications are that Keating gave the Indonesians the clear impression that issues such as East Timor were not really on his government's agenda. Hence his remark about the Timor "tragedy", as if the Timorese were victims of an earthquake or flood.

Clearly, Keating downplayed Australian anger at the way the Timorese have been treated. He could not bring himself to call a spade a spade and by now his hosts will have concluded that once again an Australian leader was not representing the views of his people.

It is no doubt easier for our leaders to deal with democratic governments, for a relaxed openness and candour is achievable. Our Asian links require something much more subtle, but to stifle our preferences and concerns is to create unrealistic expectations. Issues involving gross human rights abuses cannot be sidestepped without fuelling prejudices that will undermine worthwhile efforts to develop a genuine understanding of Asia. ■

* James Dunn is a former Australian ambassador and a permanent member of the International Organising Committee for the World Congress on Human Rights in 1994.

Canberra Times 27/12/92

Indon abuses 'exaggerated'

By JEREMY THOMPSON

Senior head of the Department of Foreign Affairs, Richard Woolcott, launched a defence yesterday of Indonesia's 1975 take-over of East Timor and Australia's role in the conflict.

Allegations of Indonesian human-rights abuses in East Timor had been exaggerated and Indonesia a "very little choice but to invade" in 1975, he said. A member of the Australian House of Representatives, Mr Woolcott — Australia's Ambassador to Indonesia in 1975 — defended his own diplomatic role, in which he advised the Whitlam Government to let "events take their course".

He criticised the "myths" about Indonesia and its annexation of East Timor, including suggestions that Australia could have prevented the invasion, that Indonesia is guilty of genocide and has no concern for human rights and that Australia is out of step with the rest of the world on the question.

Australia could not have persuaded Indonesia to accept an independent East Timor in 1975 because it lacked regional influence; the major powers, at the height of the Cold War, would not have intervened; the ASEAN nations favoured an Indonesian take-over for defence reasons; and Indonesia believed an unstable East Timor could have become "a South-East Asian Cuba".

Mr Woolcott denied having had a major role in Australia's policy of inaction during the invasion, de-

Woolcott gives justification for invasion

spite the publication of secret cables in which he said, "I would suggest that our policies should be based on disengaging ourselves as far as possible from the Timor question" and that it would be easier to negotiate a sea border with Indonesia than with the former colonial power, Portugal.

"I know I am recommending a pragmatic rather than a principled stance but that is what national interests and foreign policy is all about," one cable read.

Yesterday Mr Woolcott said the 1975 assessments had not been his alone; rather, they had been formulated by the Jakarta Embassy as a whole. In any case, he said, "Ministers make policy, not officials or Ambassadors. The latter can and do advise and recommend, but Ministers decide and they are responsible for setting the Government's policy course."

Although the Dili massacre of November, 12, last year cost the lives of between 50 and 200 peaceful demonstrators and human-rights groups have detailed disappearances, imprisonment and torture, Mr Woolcott said "many Indonesians" had a serious concern for human rights.

His comment seems to disregard a statement by the new Indonesian military commander of East

Timor, Brigadier-General Theo Syaefi, who said on March 13, "If something similar to the November 12 event were to happen under my leadership, the number of victims would probably be higher."

He said it must be remembered that Indonesia was "a very large, complex, densely populated, multi-ethnic developing society".

"In such circumstances there are shades of opinion, and many Indonesians tend to give more emphasis to their perception of national well-being than to the individual right of dissent."

Of international responses to the Dili massacre, none had been stronger than that of Australia, which had applauded the prompt response by President Suharto in announcing an inquiry into the massacre, but the International Commission of Jurists had found that the inquiry "failed to meet internationally recognised standards of impartiality, credibility and technical competence".

Several senior military officers had lost their jobs because of the massacre but reports indicated that this had not been for the killings but for not eradicating the dissent that had led to it.

East Timor's independence movement was a "lost cause" and Australia should take steps by aid and quiet diplomacy to improve conditions in Timor.

He called for a change in public attitude to reject "a hostile and biased approach to Indonesia". "This is not appeasement. It is practical common sense and a recognition of the realities of our place in the region."

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NOVEMBER 12, 1991. Some 2,000 demonstrators march through the town of Dili in East Timor. They make their way toward the public cemetery of Santa Cruz, waving flags and banners of their country's independence parties and armed resistance movement. Most are students and young people, but there are also some women and children. Their leaders call for prayers for a young student killed earlier by the police. Suddenly, 200 or more Indonesian soldiers and policemen drive up in trucks, take up position and fire into the crowd.

Inside the cemetery is a British journalist with a video camera. He is knocked to the ground and trampled in the ensuing panic. But he films the dead, the maimed and the dying — and the soldiers who beat up the survivors. He hides the film in a grave before being arrested and held for nine hours. In the early hours of the morning he retrieves the film and smuggles it out of the country.

This brave action by Max Stahl was crucial. It provided the first piece of incontrovertible evidence of the cruelty and oppression of the occupying regime. The film, which was shown around the world, was a vital tool in a grueling and gruesome public relations campaign. It is a campaign being waged by a man telling the world telling people about the destruction of his nation by trying for support for the defence of East Timor from

Jose Ramos-Horta is an ambassador with no embassy, no official

Jose Ramos-Horta travels the world to drum up interest in the plight of East Timor. Margaret Coles met him in London

residence and no expense account. Wherever he goes, his fares, accommodation and food are provided by friends and sympathisers. His only income is his salary as a director of a diplomacy training course at an Australian university.

His is a formidable assignment. The world community continues to give aid and sell arms to Indonesia, despite its defiance of 10 United Nations resolutions calling for its withdrawal, and despite what Amnesty International has described as a gross and systematic abuse of human rights. Indonesia has murdered 200,000 people, one-third of the East Timorese nation by bombing, massacre, torture and starvation. The Western powers have no vested interest: East Timor is of no strategic importance.

As for public sympathy, there are so many worthy rival causes in far away places and most people in the West would probably be hard put to find East Timor on the map (it is 400 miles north-west of Australia). There have been massacres on a genocidal scale in the region before. The Indonesian government killed between half a million and a million of their own

people during the suppression of the Communists in 1965 and 1966.

Ramos-Horta, who is in Britain this week, talked about his task. He speaks in a low measured tone of the horrors his country faces and of his role in publicising its cause. He lists his main targets as the European Community, the United States and Japan. "I work in two ways: to spread information — to tell people about East Timor and that we are fighting for independence — and to lobby hard the governments who can help us.

"I have to play at very different levels. I cannot deal only with governments. The media, non-governmental organisations, public opinion, are also very important. If there's anything governments respond to, it's public pressure — but public pressure can only be generated through the media."

Everywhere he goes, he relies on supporters to prepare the ground. "I am not alone. There are countless people who keep the machine functioning, churning out documentation, very high quality information, which makes my job easier because when I talk to officials and politicians they have already been very thoroughly briefed."

Meetings with foreign governments can be arranged through Portugal, which is still the legal administrator of its former colony or through the Portuguese-speaking African countries. Friends who have influence, if not power, will often smooth his path. When we met he had just arrived from a meeting with the French government. "A junior diplomat had been assigned to see me. But

my position requires that I am given senior person with authority to listen to me — not for me personally, but for the sake of the issue." A word to Mme Mitterrand, a strong supporter of East Timor, and he was offered a new appointment with the second highest-ranking official in the Foreign Ministry.

He also tries to keep one step ahead of Indonesia's Foreign Minister, Mr Ali Alatas. "It isn't easy. While he has the resources of one of the most important countries in our region, I have almost none; but in this day and age of modern communications you don't have to have a million dollars to steal the show from your adversary by taking certain initiatives."

For instance, he has plans for next month's inaugural meeting in Paris of the World Bank's new aid consortium, the Consultative Group on Indonesia. "Various people are organising demonstrations, petitions and press conferences to put Indonesia's human rights record and the occupation of East Timor under the spotlight, to make it difficult for governments to give Indonesia the five billion dollars it has requested."

Other countries place rival claims on the already limited time, attention and sympathy of offi-

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cial, media and the public of the West. He is well aware of the demands of countries such as Sudan, Somalia, Yugoslavia and Burma. "It makes it more difficult for us, but people have to set their priorities — that is beyond our control. But though someone cannot help but also misunderstand. They have to make a choice, so it's up to me to try to sell the story by appealing to the person's humanitarian instincts."

Thanks to Max Stahl the terrible nature of the Indonesian occupation is now beyond doubt. Stahl, and the Yorkshire TV team with whom he was working, was recently awarded Amnesty International's media award. For Jose Ramos-Horta it was a turning point.

"A whole village can be wiped out and it means absolutely nothing to anybody outside East Timor if it is not reported, and I cannot tell you how many villages have been completely wiped out. But since the film of November 12 the media has finally woken up and realised that what I have been telling them for the past 10 years wasn't lies or imaginings. This enables me sometimes now to be rude to government officials and they have no choice but to listen and swallow it and take some action."

INTERVIEW

Hidden Terror in East Timor

In 1975, after Portugal freed its colony of East Timor, Indonesia forcibly annexed the territory as its 27th province. Ever since, the Timorese people have been waging a struggle for independence. José Ramos-Horta fled just before the army invasion and has been one of his country's main spokesmen abroad. Now special representative for the National Council of Maubere Resistance, a coalition of Timorese parties and organizations, he spoke recently with NEWSWEEK's Anne Underwood in New York. Excerpts:

UNDERWOOD: What brings you here?

RAMOS-HORTA: I came to deliver a letter from resistance leader Cmdr. Xanana Gusmão to the U.N. secretary-general, reiterating our willingness to engage in dialogue without preconditions, under the auspices of the U.N., between Indonesia on the one hand and East Timor and Portugal on the other. We are willing to explore all ideas, but so far Indonesia has refused the inclusion of East Timor in the talks.

How would the peace process unfold?

As a first step, we would recommend giving East Timor special status as an autonomous territory. This could last five years, during which we would elect a local assembly and enact our own domestic laws. At the end of five years, it could be renewed, or we could hold a referendum on our future status. This would save face for Indonesia and also prevent any aggravation of the situation.

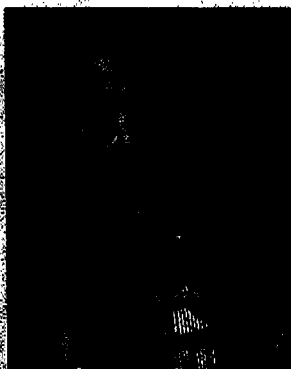
How active is the resistance now?

If you refer to the guerrillas alone, they do not present a major threat to Indonesia. Actual numbers of people engaged in armed resistance number only a few hundred. They serve mainly as a powerful symbol for the people, who are constantly engaged in political, cultural, religious and psychological resistance.

Passive resistance?

The most important form of resistance is joining the [Roman] Catholic Church. Catholicism in East Timor exploded from a mere 30 percent of the population to almost 100 percent in a little over 10 years, because the church has stood firmly on the side of the persecuted. So many priests have been beaten severely in the countryside, spat at, their houses

José Ramos-Horta



JACQUES CHENET—NEWSWEEK

One day a history of this will be done. People will say, 'My God, it was true.'

searched. The bishop himself is under constant surveillance and harassment.

You've been out of the country nearly 17 years. How do you get your information?

An underground network smuggles out letters, photographs and reports. I also get information from specialists I send to East Timor—mostly foreigners who go as tourists. Other important sources are churches, diplomats, foreign embassies in Jakarta, Asia Watch and Amnesty International.

We heard a lot about the massacre last November 12 because two Western journalists happened to be there and were beaten. Would you say this massacre was unusual?

It was not an aberration. In the Indonesian military culture, violence is an instrument of policy and a means to extract loyalty and obedience. . . . It's hard for people abroad to believe because they don't know the nature of the Indonesian Army. One day a history of all this will be done. People will say, "My God, it was true." But by then it will be too late.

Is the government still claiming that only 19 people died in the November attack?

No, they're now saying that about 50 were killed and 91 "disappeared." We believe that more than 200 died.

What documentation do you have about the current situation?

Information I received indicates that there are 500 to 600 people detained in the countryside. Many are held in military camps; others are imprisoned in private homes of military officers, which are in fact slave houses and torture centers. Indonesia denies the existence of these places, and they are beyond the reach of any international organizations. What [Red Cross] officer would dare ask to investigate a private home?

Part of the reason the Western powers did not support East Timor was that they saw the conflict in East-West terms, claiming that the resistance was communist. Is that a valid argument? Was it over?

There were perhaps half a dozen Marxists. But the West still continues to support Indonesia, which shows that the old argument was a false one. Now they claim that an independent East Timor would cause the disintegration of Indonesia—the Yugoslavia scenario. There is no such parallel. There are no forces pulling in different directions that make conflict resolution difficult. A solution would be easy if only there were political will.

How were you received in Washington?

Very well. Rep. Tony Hall has just introduced a bill that calls for mandatory sanctions against Indonesia, cutting off trade and military assistance until Indonesia agrees to a referendum.

As a result, have you seen any changes in the State Department position?

Absolutely not. I met with them in a clandestine fashion. They asked me to see them at the Hilton Hotel instead of the State Department, probably because a meeting at the State Department itself would upset Indonesia. Diplomats do not like to disturb the status quo. But if the State Department, without calling for sanctions or anything of the sort, were to state unequivocally that Indonesia has to move toward holding a referendum under U.N. supervision, Indonesia would start to rethink its policies.

Timor changes forecast

By CHRISTOPHER RICHARDS

An international authority on Indonesia sees faint signs of an eventual accommodation over East Timor, a process likely to leave the Australian Government acutely embarrassed. Australia has gone further than many countries in recognising Indonesia's right to rule the troubled province.

Professor Benedict Anderson said he could only think that Australia had forced itself into the situation "because of the benefits that are likely to accrue" from expected mineral and oil resources in the Timor Gap.

The academic, speaking in Melbourne, said East Timor was "going to have to be independent eventually" and there were signs that senior Indonesian leaders were preparing the ground.

But even before independence, Canberra had put itself in a difficult position as other countries came to decide that Indonesia's takeover was unacceptable.

The then Prime Minister, Mr Hawke, recognised Indonesian sovereignty over East Timor in 1985. Previous administrations had recognised the fact of East

Timor's incorporation. None agreed with the method of the takeover.

By the time the Timor Gap yields oil or minerals, Canberra's policy of recognising Indonesia's de jure (by right) sovereignty would be obsolete, he said.

"The shrewd policy was the Americans', who kept themselves from saying de jure, and so were not in direct opposition to the United Nations," the professor said.

"This left open the possibility for a change in the policy without humiliation. I think the US is getting ready to decide that sovereignty is not de facto any more.

"Australia is in the awkward position, if a wider change in opinion does come, of going to have to say, 'We were wrong'. It seems to have been unnecessary and is really quite embarrassing."

Professor Anderson lectures in international studies at Cornell University in the United States and directs a project there on modern Indonesia. He has been barred from visiting Indonesia for 20 years.

He said that while it made sense for Canberra to try to get along with Jakarta, "it's one thing to

make a policy where you don't want to upset the Indonesians; it's quite another to go to the International Court of Justice to fight against the Portuguese case" on the Timor Gap treaty between Australia and Indonesia.

He said it was hard to believe that the case would go against Portugal, which would be "another slap in the face" for Australia.

Events had forced an "astonishing change in the perception" of many of Jakarta's leaders about what they faced in East Timor. Events had also broken the solidarity of the ruling group in Indonesia, leaving room for change.

Professor Anderson fell foul of Indonesian authorities with a report in 1965 casting doubt on accusations against the Communist Party, which was the subject of a violent purge. Later, he gave evidence to US congressional committees that put human rights amendments in foreign aid bills and forced the release of many prisoners held on the notorious Buru Island prison.

He is visiting Melbourne at the invitation of ABC Radio's 'Indian Pacific' program and Radio National.

East Timor never free of Indonesia: Evans

By MARGO KINGSTON, Canberra

The Minister for Foreign Affairs, Senator Evans, conceded yesterday that Indonesia would fail to afford the people of East Timor acceptable human rights for a long time.

Speaking at a human rights conference in Canberra, he said the Indonesian Government's response to the November Dili massacre had "not by any means (been) perfect".

Since Australia had accepted Indonesia's takeover of East Timor in the late 1970s "with a heavy heart", it had tried to encourage Indonesia to respect its inhabitants' human rights, "and I fear we may have to be doing it for a good many years yet".

Senator Evans, who said Australia maintained its opposition to the takeover despite officially recognising it, also predicted that East Timor would never gain its independence.

"Nobody believes that (the 1975 invasion) was defensible or justifiable. It's a continuing source of concern and worry (and) we don't pretend for a moment that the subsequent course of events has in any way justified what's happened," he said.

But time and domestic Indonesian politics meant there was no



Senator Evans: Indonesia's response "not perfect".

basis "on which that particular unhappy course of events in 1975 could be overturned".

Indonesia would never withdraw because of "the blood, the

sweat and the tears" it spent to take over the country, and fears that withdrawal would encourage other ethnic groups in Indonesia to press for independence.

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Timor changes forecast

THE AGE

9/7/92

By CHRISTOPHER RICHARDS

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The academic, speaking in Melbourne, said East Timor was "going to have to be independent eventually" and there were signs that senior Indonesian leaders were preparing the ground.

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THE AGE 09/07/92

Timorese jailed

An East Timorese man was today sentenced to two years in prison on charges that he was involved in a clash that led to anti-Indonesian protests. Joao dos Santos, 23, was the last to be sentenced of five East Timorese accused of involvement in the clash last 28 October. The Government alleges supporters of East Timorese independence clashed with pro-Indonesian troops outside a church in Dili, East Timor's capital.

— AP

THE AGE

08/07/92

THE AGE 08/07/92

14/7/92 AUSTRALIAN

Troops kill three Fretilin guerillas

JAKARTA: Indonesian troops had shot dead three alleged members of a pro-independence movement in East Timor and arrested two others, the leading daily newspaper, Kompas, reported yesterday.

The military operational command chief for East Timor, Brigadier-General Theo Syafei, said an army patrol was ambushed by Fretilin guerillas in Atsabe in East Timor's mountainous centre.

Three members of Fretilin, a pro-independence group that has been fighting since Indonesian troops invaded East Timor in 1975, were killed in the battle and two were captured.

General Syafei did not say whether there were any casualties among the troops.

The Indonesian armed forces had now changed their strategy in East Timor and he expected more armed clashes with Fretilin.

The new strategy would lead to an average of seven to 10 clashes each month compared with the present average of two, General Syafei added.

He estimated the strength of Fretilin to be about 200 people with about 119 firearms.

AFP

THE AUSTRALIAN 14/07/92

IN BRIEF

Dili 66 sought *AGE 15/7/92*

Jakarta, Tuesday

Indonesia's military today said it was still seeking 66 people believed to be missing after troops shot into a crowd in Dili in East Timor last November causing scores of deaths. A military investigation team had failed to find any evidence of burials of those killed in the shooting other than the 18 claimed by the military in the village of Hera. — AFP

THE AGE 15/07/92

THE AGE 15/7/92

Timor nominees

JAKARTA: The East Timor chapter of the ruling Golkar party has proposed three islanders — Mr Manatuto Regent Abilio Osorio Soares, Mr Kovalima Regent Rui Emiliano Tezeira Lopez and Mr Guilherme dos Santos — as candidates for the next governorship of the former Portuguese colony.

THE AGE 15/07/92

Timor dispute threatens EC pact

By LINDSAY MURDOCH, *APC*
Manila, Friday

Portugal's attempt to pressure Indonesia over East Timor has caused a serious rift in relations between the six-member Association of South-East Asia Nations and the European Community.

ASEAN foreign ministers meeting in Manila are furious that Portugal has blocked an ambitious cooperation agreement with the EC because of what Portugal's Foreign Minister, Mr Joao de Deus Pinheiro, denounced last week as Indonesia's "unacceptable violation of human rights".

As a protest, ASEAN is considering abandoning a meeting of ASEAN and EC ministers to be held in Manila in October.

Malaysia's Foreign Minister, Mr Abdullah Badawi, said that it was "most unfortunate" that the EC had allowed Portugal to threaten cooperation between ASEAN and the EC. "I hope that action by Portugal will not be an obstacle to achieving the objective of enhancing EC-ASEAN cooperation."

Indonesia's Foreign Minister, Mr Ali Alatas, declined to comment on the row, which diplomats said had embarrassed the European Commission.

Portugal, the former colonial power in East Timor, has said it will continue to use its veto to block the EC-ASEAN pact which was designed to encourage increased European investment in Asia, allow the EC to have a greater say in ASEAN affairs and bene-

fit intellectual property rights.

Portugal wants Indonesia to take part in internationally sponsored talks on the future of East Timor. Since the massacre of scores of East Timorese during an anti-Government rally last November, it has stepped up its efforts in international forums to press Jakarta to allow the people of the territory to decide their own future.

In a meeting between ASEAN and its main allies today, Australia's Foreign Minister, Senator Evans, said Australia welcomed action taken by the Indonesian Government following the East Timor massacre. "Countries in our region do move toward more open political systems at their own pace and in their own way, but the trend

is clear — and welcome."

In a speech at the annual talks, Senator Evans said the role of Japan and China as major regional powers will come into sharper focus as Russia and the US become "less all-pervasive" powers in the region.

Senator Evans welcomed an assurance by the Chinese Foreign Minister, Mr Qian Qichen, in Manila that China would not seek to "fill up the vacuum" in Asia and the Pacific.

He warned Japan that there was "considerable resistance" in the region to it assuming an enhanced security role "even in the very narrowly defined context of UN-sponsored peace-keeping operations".

Stay out of politics, ~~X~~ bishop told

Jakarta, Monday *AGE 30/6/92*

East Timor's military operational commander, Brigadier-General Theo Syafei, has warned Roman Catholic Bishop Carlos Ximenes Belo to keep out of politics, the 'Jakarta Post' said today.

"I have told the bishop that he is a representative of the Catholic Church . . . and so it is not necessary to make comments on politics such as the issue of the new governor," it quoted General Syafei as saying.

Earlier this month, Bishop Belo expressed the hope the next governor of the former Portuguese colony would be a native.

The present Governor, Mr Mario Viegas Carrascalao, is scheduled to end his second five-year term in September. Indonesian laws bar a governor from serving a third successive term.

The 'Kompas' daily quoted General Syafei as saying that two members of Fretilin had surrendered.

Fretilin, which General Syafei said had been reduced to 200 men and 121 rifles, has been fighting Indonesian troops since their invasion in 1975.

— AFP

THE AGE 30/06/92

IN BRIEF ~~X~~

Timorese jailed

Jakarta, Monday

An East Timorese involved in the clash that led to a bloody anti-Indonesia protest last November was sentenced to two years and three months in prison, the official Antara newsagency reported today. Alexio da Silva, 22, was found guilty of masterminding a clash between supporters of independence for East Timor and pro-Indonesian youths on 28 October. Two people were killed in the clash in the East Timorese capital of Dili.

— AP

THE AGE 23/07/92
23/07

NZ hears on Dili death

WELLINGTON: Jakarta had responded to Wellington's requests for an explanation of the death of one of its citizens in the East Timor capital of Dili last November, the New Zealand Foreign Minister, Mr Don McKinnon, said yesterday.

New Zealander Kamal Bamadhaj was among at least 50 people killed when Indonesian troops fired on demonstrators in Dili on November 12.

"The Indonesian Government, referring to the chaotic atmosphere of the demonstration in Dili, said that spontaneous and unauthorised shootings had occurred and that, regrettably, casual-

ties and deaths had resulted," Mr McKinnon said.

President Suharto had expressed deep regret over the incident and New Zealand appreciated that, he said.

He had discussed the issue with the Indonesian Foreign Minister, Mr Ali Alatas, in Manila at last week's post-ministerial conference of the Association of South-East Asian Nations.

"Consequently, there are still uncertainties about the events surrounding Kamal Bamadhaj's death which we cannot realistically expect to be clarified," Mr McKinnon said.

1-2/8/92
Weekend ~~APP~~ AUSTRALIA

WEEKEND AUSTRALIA 1-2/08/92

Portugal protest ~~X~~

Portugal today blocked a European Community cooperation agreement in Brussels with the members of ASEAN in protest at the killing of demonstrators in its former colony of East Timor. EC foreign ministers dropped discussion of the accord after Portugal's Foreign Minister, Mr Joao de Deus Pinheiro, listed alleged atrocities in East Timor.

— Reuter

The Age
THE AGE 21/07/92

Promoted

JAKARTA: Indonesian authorities have promoted 13 soldiers over the shooting an alleged separatist leader in Irian Jaya, the 'Kompas' daily said yesterday. Meanwhile, Antara newsagency reported the Indonesian military was planning to open its own television station to gain public support.

HERALD SUN 12/07/92
12/7/92

Evans hits life term for Timor protester

02/07/92

THE AGE

By LINDSAY MURDOCH,
South-East Asia correspondent,
Manila, Wednesday

Australia's Foreign Minister, Senator Evans, today described the life prison sentence of an East Timorese independence activist as "extremely severe" and against basic human rights.

Senator Evans said there was a significant contrast between sentences being given to anti-Indonesian protesters and soldiers who put down a rally in Dili last November by shooting dozens of people.

But Senator Evans said the sentencing in Dili yesterday of Gregorio da Cunha Saldanha, 29, after he was found guilty of subversion in connection with the rally, was subject to appeal and it was not appropriate for Australia to lodge a specific protest to Jakarta.

Saldanha was the fifth East Timorese sentenced for allegedly helping to instigate the pro-independence protest. The first four were sentenced to terms ranging from five years and eight months to 15 years. Another three still are being tried.

Military tribunals have sentenced 10 military officers to terms ranging from eight to 20 months for violating military regu-

lations in handling the protesters in Dili, the East Timor capital.

A Government commission found that 50 people were killed and about 90 others were missing — either dead or in hiding. However, foreign observers estimated the death toll was more than double that figure. The commission blamed soldiers for overreacting to the protests.

Speaking in Manila, Senator Evans said Australia had made it clear that it thought the penalties being imposed on all the civilians who had appeared in court on charges relating to the massacre were severe and the latest sentence accentuated the point.

Senator Evans told the Senate on 16 June that sentences on Indonesian soldiers involved in the massacre ranged from eight months to 18 months in jail while sentences on civilians were far greater.

Senator Evans said he had made constantly clear Australia's recognition that the Indonesian army had taken significant action "so far as its own default on this occasion is concerned".

He said: "That's rather unprecedented in modern Indonesian history and the significance of it ought to be appreciated by Australia and the international community."

Asked by reporters if he thought Saldanha had any chance of a fair appeal, Senator Evans said: "Well, I don't want to make any assumptions to the contrary. The basic difficulty is that, as with the nature of the crime ... (the protesters) are defiant in the Indonesian legal system. Political action (in Indonesia) can constitute a crime in a way that we and many other members of the international community would regard as inappropriate."

Senator Evans said he was not saying that the response from the Indonesian Government was absolutely ideal, although this was not evidence that the massacre was the subject of central direction from Jakarta.



Senator Evans: not appropriate to protest.

The Age

02/07/92

Australia slams Dili life term

By CAMERON STEWART
and AAP

AUSTRALIA yesterday criticised an Indonesian court's life sentence on a Timorese demonstrator involved in last November's Dili massacre.

In a separate move, Canberra played down suggestions by Indonesia that Australia should fill the gap in defence exchanges if American military aid to Jakarta was reduced in protest against the massacre.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs, Senator Evans, said the life sentence — the stiffest penalty yet for anyone involved in the massacre — was extremely severe and did not sit well with basic human rights.

His comments are the strongest Australian condemnation yet of the discrepancy in sentences handed out to civilians and military involved in the massacre, in which 50 people were killed in the official toll. Human rights groups say up to 100 were killed.

The United States House of Representatives has cut defence aid to Indonesia over the Timor incident.

In a Melbourne newspaper interview, Indonesian Air Vice-Marshal Teddy Rusdy said Indonesia could turn to other countries such as Australia for military training.

A spokesman for Senator Evans said that Australia already had a number of military exchange programs with Indonesia and would not be in a position to replace those offered by the US.

Full report — Page 7

The AUSTRALIAN 2/7/92

The Australian 02/07/92

Jakarta relations remain on trial

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Must
5/9/92

THE Indonesian Defence Minister, Mr Benny Murdani, is readily able to explain the marked difference in prison sentences given demonstrators and soldiers in East Timor after the Dili massacre. The Timorese demonstrators, he said, had been agitating for a separate State and thus were subversives. The soldiers, however, were insubordinate – “in this case, shooting without an order from the superior officer”. This is surely an unacceptable distinction.

One Timorese was given a life sentence by a civil court and five others received sentences ranging from 9-15 years in prison. No soldier received a prison sentence longer than 18 months. Our Foreign Minister, Senator Evans, has protested against the severity of the sentences given to non-violent dissidents and the leniency shown the soldiers.

Yet he also has criticised as an over-reaction to the Dili massacre the recent vote of the United States House of Representatives – the ultimate intention of which is to curtail military aid to Indonesia. Senator Evans's fine discriminations in policy should serve as a reminder that Australian relations with Indonesia are delicately balanced.

Our Government's response has been to emphasise that no known evidence suggests the killings were directed by Jakarta; that President Suharto, the military and many Indonesians expressed regret for the killings.

Canberra has insisted that it would be cruel to encourage vain hopes for self-determination in East Timor. Our officials express sympathy for Jakarta's mission of internal colonisation, whereby a nation State is being forged from an archipelago of islands and ethnic groups. They argue that the remedy for Timorese discontent will be found in economic advance and attendant liberalisation.

All of this is reasonable, but the challenge facing Australian policy is made plain by Senator Evans's response to the Dili sentences. It is not really a question of disparity between civil and military courts. A military court in Northern Sumatra recently sentenced a police sergeant to 16 years' prison. He, like the Timorese, was a separatist.

Senator Evans properly argues that non-violent dissidents should not face lengthy prison terms. Yet at the same time our Government believes expressions of separatist dissent in East Timor are futile. And in accepting Indonesian sovereignty – and the peculiar challenges facing its expression in a unified State – our officials are ill-placed to argue against the vigorous prosecution of subversives.

Senator Evans must hope that the East Timorese also accept the inevitability of Indonesian rule and that, as Indonesia becomes more secure and prosperous, it becomes able to accept a wider range of political dissent.

THE AUSTRALIAN
05/07/92

IN common, I am sure, with many Australians and Australian residents, I feel that the reaction of our Government to the massacre in East Timor, and to the recent sentencing of peaceful demonstrators to lengthy periods in jail, has been entirely inadequate, mealy-mouthed, subservient and cowardly. — STEVE YOL-
LAND, Nyora, Vic.

Weekend Australian
4-5/July 92

THE WEEKEND AUSTRALIAN 4-5/07/92

condemns Timorese life term

By foreign affairs writer CAMERON STEWART and
VAUDINE ENGLAND in Manila

AUSTRALIA condemned yesterday the sentencing of a Timorese protester to life imprisonment, saying the decision was extremely severe and did not sit well with basic human rights.

The comments, by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Senator Evans, were the strongest Australian criticism yet of the discrepancy between sentences handed out to civilians and those handed out to the military involved in the East Timor massacre.

A court in East Timor sentenced Gregorio da Cunha Saldanha on Tuesday to life imprisonment for leading the anti-Indonesia demonstration that preceded the Dili massacre last November.

Saldanha, 29, a civil servant at the Dili hospital, was also found guilty of other subversive activities, including membership of the separatist group Fretilin, a Legal Aid Institute spokesman said.

Fretilin member

The sentence was the heaviest since Indonesian soldiers fired into a crowd, killing at least 50 people and wounding 91, according to an official Indonesian inquiry.

A further 90 civilians are officially listed as missing.

Australia has expressed concern that trials for unarmed civilians involved in the demonstration have resulted in sentences of between six months and life, while sentences for military officers have ranged from only eight to 18 months.

"We think all the civilian penalties that have been handed out to those demonstrating or organising demonstrations really are extremely severe and not ones that really sit well with basic human rights principles," Senator Evans said in Manila yesterday.

However, he said the decision by the military to admit fault and conduct an inquiry into the massacre was un-

precedented and should be appreciated by Australia and the international community.

"Nobody suggests for a moment that an ideal balance has yet been reached, so far as the views of the international community are concerned, but at least we ought to give recognition to progress where that's due," he said.

"That particular case is subject to appeal and I don't think it's appropriate for me to make any more specific comment about it or any of the other cases that are subject to appeal. But a general pattern has emerged and we've made clear our response to that."

Senator Evans criticised last week a United States decision to cut military aid to Indonesia, arguing punitive actions were inappropriate because the massacre was not a deliberate act of Indonesian policy.

Judge Hieronimus Godang, in passing sentence, said Saldanha was guilty of subversion for having undermined the power of the State and its apparatus, the legal institute spokesman said.

Saldanha, who was arrested shortly after the massacre, had been active in gathering people for the demonstration, the judge said, adding he had incited the crowd to provoke members of the military.

At an earlier hearing, Saldanha was also charged with being chairman of the National Resistance Committee of Timorese Youth, a group affiliated to the East Timorese separatist movement.

According to the findings of the court, Saldanha attended a series of resistance committee meetings between last July and September to prepare anti-Indonesian protests.

The defendant had been a Fretilin member since 1989 and had distributed pamphlets stating separatist guerillas would always fight for East Timorese independence, the judge said.

Saldanha said he would appeal against the verdict.

The court in Dili earlier jailed four East Timorese for between six and 15 years.

Indonesians THE AUSTRALIAN restate Dili 16/07/92 probe resolve

By foreign affairs writer
CAMERON STEWART

INDONESIA took the unusual step yesterday of issuing a statement to repeat its claim that it is serious about investigating last November's Dili massacre in which at least 50 people were killed.

The statement, issued by the Indonesian embassy in Canberra, follows a spate of recent criticism by the international community, including Australia, about discrepancies in sentences given to civilians and military involved in the massacre.

"The embassy wishes to reiterate the seriousness of the Government of Indonesia in conducting its investigation with regard to the Dili incident by involving several departments concerned to follow up the investigation by the National Commission of Inquiry," the statement says.

It says the inspector-general of the armed forces had conducted a separate investigation that largely agreed with the NCI's official assessment that about 50 people were killed when soldiers fired on unarmed pro-independence demonstrators in the East Timor capital.

"The estimated death toll of the NCI to the figure of 50 people is in line with the investigation conducted by the inspector-general of the armed forces," the statement says.

The inspector-general's investigation found 19 people were confirmed dead with a further 66 missing.

"Some of them had been dead as reported by the NCI, some might still be alive, hiding somewhere or disappeared to the jungles," the statement says.

Human rights organisations say more than 100 people were killed in the shootings.

Sentences for civilians involved either in, or in the lead-up to, the Dili incident have ranged from six months' to life imprisonment.

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Dili massacre inquiry

A report by the Indonesian National Commission of Inquiry into the Dili massacre has found that 115 people were missing after the incident, up from previous official estimates. The report, commissioned by President Suharto, found that of these, 31 had returned to their villages, and only 18 graves had been found. The Indonesian embassy in Australia said the inquiry confirmed previous official estimates that about 50 people died, including some of those still classed as missing.

THE AGE 16/07/92

Dili 66 sought

Jakarta, Tuesday

Indonesia's military today said it was still seeking 66 people believed to be missing after troops shot into a crowd in Dili in East Timor last November causing scores of deaths. A military investigation team had failed to find any evidence of burials of those killed in the shooting other than the 18 claimed by the military in the village of Hera. — AFP

THE AGE 16/07/92

Burma upsets India

NEW DELHI: India is investigating reports that Burmese troops entered the Indian province of Mizoram and beat Burmese students.

THE AGE 16/07/92

Terror rules still in East Timor

from J. P. Kenneally

I have just returned from a visit to East Timor. Despite talk of a new, more conciliatory approach by the Indonesian military and authorities, I found the people of Timor suffer far more repression and surveillance than when I was there in 1990, and I thought it was bad then.

The students are seething, resentful and restless, many of them still in hiding after the 12 November massacre. In one college alone, more than 40 students have not returned to resume their studies as they are still in hiding.

The leaders are in jail in Jakarta. Gregorio de Cunha Sadana received a life sentence, another was sentenced to 13 years in sharp contrast to the military junior officers and men who received sentences ranging from eight to 18 months for their part in the massacre.

The Catholic Church undoubtedly is under pressure. General Syafei said he would take a hard line against all voices of dissent. The Church has been to the fore in defending and supporting the Timorese people in their quest for a referendum under UN supervision. I pointed out to a priest that after nearly 50 years of Russian domination, the Baltic republics regained their freedom. "Paddy," he replied "Timor and its people have not got that amount of time. The overriding fear of all is that the Timorese as a people will cease to exist."

East Timor was closed and I could not get permission in Kupang to enter. I arrived in Dili by ship from another island. When I approached the military police on the wharf they waved me away. Finally one ushered me through the gate into the street. I accepted that as permission to stay.

Security is far tighter than in 1990. I was subjected to inspection of my passport everywhere I went. One day my passport was inspected five times, culminating in five hours interrogation at police HQ in Dili. A Timorese had denounced me, declaring I was Portuguese, spoke Portuguese and was a spy. I was photographed twice that night and finally allowed to leave.

Timor is a police state, kept in subjection by military terror.

John Kenneally,
Yagoona, (NSW).

Portugal blocks EC deal with ASEAN over Timor

Brussels, Tuesday

Portugal blocked a European Community cooperation agreement with six South-East Asian states yesterday in protest at the killing of demonstrators in its former colony of East Timor.

EC foreign ministers abruptly dropped their discussion of a planned accord with the Association of South-East Asian Nations after the Portuguese Foreign Minister, Mr Joao de Deus Pinheiro, listed alleged atrocities in East Timor.

Diplomats said the matter would go back on the EC agenda when foreign ministers met again after the summer recess.

Portuguese officials said Lisbon wanted Indonesia to release East Timorese political prisoners and condemn last November's Dili massacre.

In Jakarta the Indonesian Attorney-General, Mr Singgih, has defended the harsh sentences

on East Timorese charged in relation with a demonstration that led to the massacre.

In an interview published by 'Tempo' weekly today, Mr Singgih said the verdicts on civilians charged with involvement in the demonstration "cannot be compared" with those issued by court martials on members of the armed forces linked to the shootings of the demonstrators.

The Australian Foreign Minister, Senator Evans, said in Canberra yesterday that although the verdicts were Indonesia's internal affair, Australia deplored the discrepancies between the verdicts.

Indonesian troops shot into a crowd of pro-independence demonstrators at a cemetery in Dili, leaving at least 50 dead and some 90 missing, according to officials.

The army said only 19 people died. Foreign witnesses said the death toll was 50 to 60.

— Reuter, AFP

THE AGE 22/07/92

THE AGE 22/07/92

TO: Dr Jose Luis Gomes
Ambassador for Portugal

FROM: Pat Walsh

DATE: 28 July 1992

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ACFOA HUMAN RIGHTS OFFICE
124 Napier St. Fitzroy, 3065
Australia. Tel: (03) 417-7505

Dear Jose

Greetings!

I am writing to ask if you can help me with a couple of matters relating to East Timor..

1. Do you have any further information regarding the accord between the EC and Indonesia which Portugal successfully blocked recently. Media reports have been fairly brief and uninformative.
2. In my capacity as editor of Inside Indonesia could I ask for your comment regarding the story below which appeared in today's Australian!

Many thanks and best wishes.

Pat

Pat Walsh.

Publishing be damned

POST 28/7/92
PORTUGAL has never been short of indignation when it comes to denouncing the Indonesians over East Timor and ignoring its own role in the creation of the Timorese tragedy.

The Indonesian Government is also widely criticised for keeping assorted Portuguese journalists and activists out of Dili. But what is good for the goose is not, it appears, good for the gander. Ratih Hardjo-

no, the Australian correspondent for Kompas - Indonesia's most influential daily newspaper - has been trying for months to get permission to visit Portugal. Recently she spent two weeks in London going into the Portuguese embassy every day, seeking a visa. When she asked why she was being refused the visa, embassy staff told her they had no comment to make. Freedom of the press is a one-way street in Lisbon, it seems.

IN BRIEF

Timor meeting proposed

ACE
18/12

Jakarta, Monday

The Governor of East Timor, Mr Mario Viegas Carrascalao, wants Indonesia and Portugal to discuss settling the problems surrounding the former Portuguese colony. "If we really want to settle our differences, we should have a discussion and explain our different points clearly," he said at the weekend. Mr Carrascalao said both countries should listen to each other and be flexible. If they failed to reach agreement the East Timorese people would continue to suffer, he said.

— AFP

IN BRIEF

'Trick' theory

ACE
28/12

on Timor claims

The author of an International Commission of Jurists report, which alleged that a leading East Timorese independence activist might be an Indonesian agent, now believes the accusation could be deliberate disinformation. Mr Rodney Lewis, a Sydney solicitor, said yesterday that allegations about the activist had been spread by Indonesian agents to sow confusion in the East Timorese resistance movement.

In the report released by the commission in Geneva earlier this month, Mr Lewis said Indonesian intelligence might have provoked and even directed the pro-independence demonstration that preceded the Dili massacre last November. Mr Lewis now thinks the accusations against the activist, Mr Constantio Pinto, who disappeared after the massacre, "may be a trick".

Evan ducks Timor reply

By foreign affairs writer CAMERON STEWART and AFP
THE Minister for Foreign Affairs, Senator Evans, has refused to comment on a report highly critical of the Indonesian response to last November's Dili massacre.

The report, by the Australian Section of the International Commission of Jurists, which examines in detail Indonesia's response of both civilians and military involved in the massacre, accuses Indonesia of selectively using evidence and witnesses in a commission set up to investigate the incident.

The ASICJ finding increases pressure on the Australian Government to take a harder line on Indonesia's response to the massacre, in which at least 50 pro-independence demonstrators were killed when troops opened fire on them. The ASICJ is an international legalistic human rights body.

The author of the report was Sydney lawyer Mr Rodney Lewis.

In the report Indonesian authorities are accused of double standards in trials held in the wake of last November's massacre.

"Indonesian troops involved in homicide and serious assault got maximum sentences of 18 months while unarmed Timorese involved in a peaceful demonstration received sentences ranging from five years to life in prison," the respected organisation says in a statement.

The report - Tragedy in East Timor: Report on the Trials in Dili and Jakarta - urged Indonesian authorities to set up a new commission of inquiry and if necessary bring murder charges against soldiers found guilty.

At least 50 people died when troops fired on demonstrators at a funeral in the East Timor capital, Dili, in November 1991. The troops claimed they acted in self-defence.

The ICJ says that although the trials of 13 demonstrators appear fair, the length of the sentences shows the "grim reality of raising a voice in dissent" about East Timor.

AFP

Indon role claimed in Timor demonstration

By MARK METHERELL,
Canberra

The Federal Government yesterday reacted cautiously to allegations that Indonesian agents incited the protest that led to the Dili massacre last November.

The International Commission of Jurists (ICJ) has prepared a report which includes claims that agents infiltrated a Timorese resistance group to provoke the pro-independence demonstration.

The report contains hitherto unpublished court evidence alleging that senior Indonesian military officers had told a detained demonstrator that a leading Timorese activist was an agent of INTEL, the Indonesian military intelligence.

The alleged double agent was named as Constantio Pinto, a leader of the Timorese resistance movement and organiser of the 12 November demonstration. He disappeared soon after the killings and was never charged over the demonstration.

The ICJ tabled the report, prepared by its Australian section, at a sub-commission meeting of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights in Geneva on Thursday.

The Australian section of the ICJ has recommended that the President of Indonesia, Mr Suharto, establish a new inquiry based on UN principles into the 12 November killings in which 50 to 100 protesters were killed by Indonesian soldiers.

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A spokesman for the Foreign Minister, Senator Evans, said yesterday that the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade was studying the report.

Senator Evans previously has said there was no evidence of Government involvement in the killings, which appeared to have been an "aberration".

The allegations are made in defence documents filed in the Dili court which tried protesters on charges including subversion in the wake of the killings. The documents were obtained by Mr Rodney Lewis, convenor of the Indonesia sub-committee of the Australian section of the ICJ.

Mr Lewis, who prepared the report, said that the allegations about INTEL infiltration of resistance groups were made in the defence statement of 26 May 1992 by Gregorio Saldanha, the head of the Resistance Committee for Timorese Youth.

Mr Saldanha, who was tried for subversion and imprisoned for life, said that Mr Pinto had sent a written directive to him on 10 November to carry out the demonstration on 12 November after the Mass at Motael Church.

Mr Saldanha's defence statement alleges that at the end of November he was informed by Colonel Purwanto of INTEL that Constantio Pinto was an INTEL agent, a claim later repeated during a meeting with the region's military commander, Major-General Sintong Panjaitan, and with the chief of police in East Timor.

WEEKEND AUSTRALIAN
15-16/08/92

Indonesian spy accused

Incitement claim in Dili massacre

By TONY HEWETT

An Indonesian spy was the main organiser of last year's protest march in Dili during which at least 100 people were killed, according to the report of a mission by the Australian Section of the International Commission of Jurists (ASICJ).

The spy, known in Timor as Constantio Pinto, 30, was until after the massacre a senior member of Timor's main resistance group, Fretilin, and had close links with its leader, Xanana Gusmao, the ASICJ says in its report, released late last night.

Evidence of Pinto's involvement with the Indonesian Intelligence Service (INTEL) emerged earlier this year during the closed trial of Gregorio Da Cunha Saldanha, who was the other principal organiser of the November 12 protest march.

The convenor of the Indonesian sub-committee of the ASICJ, Mr Rodney Lewis, a Sydney solicitor, witnessed Saldanha's trial in Dili.

Mr Lewis, the author of the report, has also inspected many documents relating to the trials of both the Dili protesters and the protesters charged in Jakarta for staging a demonstration outside a United Nations building a week after the Dili massacre.

The ASICJ's report damns the Indonesian Government, the military and intelligence over their involvement in the massacre, which it suggests was part of a hidden agenda within Government policy on Timor.

According to the report, Saldanha and Francisco Miranda Branco were charged with subversion after their role in the protest which turned into a massacre. They were tried in March this year and Saldanha was jailed for life and Branco for 15 years.

Six other men — Carlos Lemos, Bonafico Magno, Juvencio Martins, Filomeno Ferreira, Saturnino Belo and Jacinto Alves — were charged and sentenced to long jail terms for violating the harsh provisions in the Indonesian criminal code outlawing actions and statements critical of the Indonesian Government.

The report says that Saldanha told the court that when he was interrogated after the massacre, during which he was shot, a Colonel Purwanto, a senior INTEL officer in Dili, told him that Pinto was an INTEL agent.

This was later repeated to Saldanha by Major General Sintong Panjaitan, then the military commander of the region. The chief of police in East Timor was also present, the report says.

Saldanha said he was also shown a photograph of a youth by a Lieutenant Edy, of the SGI (Dili Intelligence Group). Lieutenant Edy had said that although the youth took part in the demonstration, where he was photographed holding a banner, he was a member of the SGI.

According to the report, Saldanha told his trial: "... INTEL purposely infiltrated their agents into our side to influence us and to incite the demonstrators to take

Continued Page 8

^{SMH 14/8/92} Dili massacre: agent accused

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actions which would invite a reaction from the security forces.

"It is clear that if the demonstrators had any firearms or knives or fired any shots, then this was a pre-arranged plan by INTEL."

The report said the prosecution told Saldanha's trial that in July 6 last year, a meeting of the National Council of the Maubere Resistance took place at the Dili home of Carlos Lemós, during which a forthcoming visit of a Portuguese parliamentary delegation was discussed.

At a meeting in August, Pinto, a council member, had suggested forming and heading an executive committee to co-ordinate a protest to coincide with the visit.

The report said the prosecu-

tion claimed that a November 7 meeting had discussed the cancellation of the Portuguese visit.

The prosecution had claimed that on November 9 last year, Pinto wrote to Juvencio Martins telling him to check whether there was going to be a Mass at Dili's Motael Church on November 12 for Sebastio Gomes, who was killed on October 28 during a clash at the church with Indonesian forces.

The prosecution had also told the trial that on November 10, Pinto had written to Saldanha telling him to carry out the demonstration after the Mass.

During the demonstration, on November 12, the protesters were gathered at the church when the troops opened fire. The

troops later claimed that they had no forewarning and had acted spontaneously in firing.

The report said Pinto was "central to the planning and organisational arrangements for the Dili demonstration".

"Here is a person whose involvement was pivotal, whose evidence and version of events would presumably have been vital both to the prosecution and the defence, but of whom nothing is seen or heard at the trials.

"He was not charged with any of the offences dealt to the others. He gave no evidence . . . It is said of Pinto that he is in hiding. If that be true, one is led to wonder from which side he is hiding."

PNG and Indonesia set up trade routes

Port Moresby, Friday

Papua New Guinea and Indonesia have agreed to set up trade routes across the common PNG-Irian Jaya border, the PNG Prime Minister, Mr Paias Wingti, said today.

Mr Wingti, who has just returned from the Non-Aligned Movement summit in Jakarta, said the two countries had agreed to set up a direct shipping and air route between Irian Jaya and PNG's north-coast towns of Vanimo, Madang and Lae.

He said Indonesia's President

Suharto had also agreed to allow PNG agriculture officials into Jakarta to study Indonesia's rice farming techniques.

Mr Wingti said the way had been cleared for a supply ship to sail a route from the Irian Jaya town of Jayapura to Lae. He said Indonesian aviation authorities had also given permission for a minor PNG airline to have direct flights from Vanimo to the island of Biak, off north-western Irian Jaya.

Mr Wingti was the first PNG Prime Minister to address the Non-Aligned Movement summit.

He held personal talks with several regional leaders, including President Suharto, the prime ministers of Singapore and Malaysia, and the Sultan of Brunei.

He also met the PLO chairman, Mr Yasser Arafat, who asked PNG to recognise Palestine as a sovereign state. Mr Wingti said he would ask Cabinet to consider the question of formal recognition of the PLO. — AAP

THE AGE 05/09/92

Offer for Timor talks

The East Timorese rebel leader, Mr Xanana Gusmao, who heads a dwindling band of guerrillas fighting Indonesian rule in the former Portuguese colony, has offered to hold peace talks with President Suharto's Government. "We appeal to President Suharto to accept the olive branch we are offering in a gesture of our goodwill," Mr Xanana said. — Reuter

THE AGE 05/09/92

Army tightens security in Dili

DILI: The Indonesian army had tightened security in the East Timor capital because of reports separatists were planning an anti-Indonesian demonstration, military officials here said yesterday.

Soldiers had been posted outside churches, schools and other buildings.

East Timor's Catholic Bishop, Carlos Ximenes Belo, cancelled mass on Sunday for security reasons.

"We have to step up security to protect the people from guerillas who are trying to incite another anti-Indo-

nesia demonstration," an army officer said.

The election of a new governor for the territory later this month was causing tension in the capital, he said. There are four candidates so far - all East Timorese.

Diplomats in Jakarta said they had heard reports of a planned demonstration in East Timor to try to embarrass the Government of President Suharto while it was hosting the Non-Aligned Summit in Jakarta last week.

Indonesia has come under international pressure to

settle the East Timor dispute after soldiers fired into a crowd of mourners last November, killing up to 180 people.

Jakarta said some of the mourners turned the occasion into a demonstration against Indonesian rule at the instigation of the Fretilin separatist movement.

"We won't let this happen again because any demonstration could take more victims," the officer said.

Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975 and annexed it the following year.

Reuters

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