

# THE PARTIES AND THEIR POLICIES

## Hayden sees Timor trouble

By PETER HASTINGS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

# Labor moves to reassure Jakarta

By WIO JOUSTRA

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

He refused to comment on

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

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

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

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

According to its foreign policy platform:

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

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

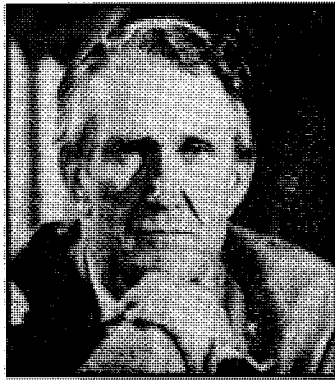
**AID** to East Timor should benefit the East Timorese but should not support Indonesian integration processes or military strategy.

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

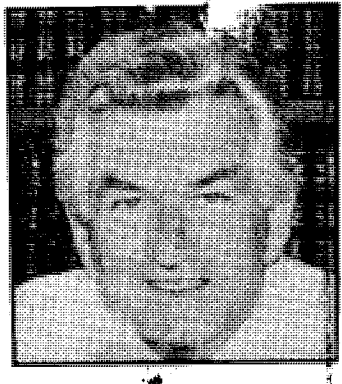
**THE ALP** will seek out and publish information on all aspects of the East Timor issue.



President Soeharto . . . describes Hawke as a friend.



Mr Fraser . . . too dour for the Indonesians.



Mr Hawke . . . a hit with ebullient personality.

# Indonesia and us: A game in our court

## COMMENT

By PETER HASTINGS,  
Foreign Editor

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Tuesday 15 March 1983

## EDITORIAL OPINION

### East Timor and the way ahead

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

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

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

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

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