



Paul Keating: lobby for Indonesian generals but failed to convince Clinton

During his tour to USA, UK and Ireland, Paul Keating echoed his government's hypocrisy on Human Rights and, desperately, tried to portray his stand as the most mature and realistic approach. He advised Clinton to take a softer line on Human Rights, particularly towards China and Indonesia. The logic of Paul Keating is that appeasing dictators is consistent with real politics because it is the best way to reap the economic advantage these two future giant markets offer to the industrialised countries.

Prime Minister Paul Keating's advice to President Clinton came at a time where the Government of USA is increasingly consistent in its willingness to implement the very basic principle of democracy - human rights - regardless of colour, race, religion, sex or national borders. In this context, the US Administration is gradually locking itself into punishing Indonesia towards the respect of fundamental human rights of the Timorese People. In Indonesia itself, according to the views of President Clinton and the Democrats, the Indonesian workers must be allowed to freely organise their unions. And, as far as China goes, the equally appalling record on Human Rights must be emphasised as a barrier for a healthy international relations. It seems that the blood of those killed in, both, the Tiananmen Square massacre and the massacre of Sta. Cruz (Nov 1991) is now haunting these two dictatorships.



photo SMH

in this issue....

- | | |
|--------------------------|------|
| 1. Keating's hypocrisy | pg.1 |
| 2. James Dunn letter | pg.3 |
| 3. Feingold amendment | pg.4 |
| 4. Aust. press & E.Timor | pg.5 |
| 5. What's On | pg.7 |
| 6. Latest from UN | pg.8 |

Nevertheless, Paul Keating still tries very hard to defend the generals of Indonesia. He is doing it in spite of an increasingly strong condemnation of the generals Junta in Jakarta because of their illegal occupation of East Timor. The International Community is now aware that this occupation is nothing but a violation of fundamental human rights of the Timorese people. The argument of the governments of Indonesia and China that human rights must be seen within cultural boundaries was defeated in the last International Conference on Human Rights in Vienna. The governments of

Indonesia and China, however, continue to persist with their views that the concept of human rights is a "disease" of the western culture.

*"if the invasion is indefensible,
how can this illegal
occupation be defensible?"*

In his first visit to Indonesia, April last year, Paul Keating advised Suharto's regime to use the most effective way to defeat the Timorese nationalism: development coupled with reconciliation. Paul Keating and his Foreign Minister, Senator Gareth Evans, argue that the best way to help the Timorese is to support Indonesian occupation of East Timor, although, according to Gareth Evans, the invasion of East Timor by Indonesia is "indefensible". One can ask then, if the invasion is indefensible, how can this illegal occupation be defensible?

Another element of hypocrisy of Paul Keating can be seen in his recent interview given to a prominent Irish journalist, Olivia O'Leary, on a prime time TV. When he was asked about his stand on East Timor, PM Paul Keating replied: "to argue against incorporation of East Timor into Indonesia would be absolutely fruitless - but what one should argue is that those people is properly treated and opportunities made available to them and that the Indonesian authorities change their tune in relation to human rights, especially for Timor."



Source: SMH

Notwithstanding Paul Keating's insulting and paternalistic attitude towards the people of East Timor, what he refuses to see is that his argument is fruitless. Appeasing the generals of In-

donesia did not stop the massacre of Sta. Cruz in 12 Nov. 1991; appeasing the Indonesian Junta in Jakarta did not stop the Indonesian generals boycotting the International Red Cross operating in East Timor; appeasing the Indonesian generals has not stop them from torturing the people of East Timor, let alone the number of young people that disappeared until today. On the contrary, if any change have occurred recently in terms of the Indonesian generals behaviour in East Timor, it has been the direct effect of the international pressure rather than Paul Keating's appeasement.

*"if appeasing dictators is the best
way to improve human rights,
should not it be China rather
then Australia to be awarded
the Olympic Games?"*

Furthermore, Paul Keating's stand on the republicanism seems to be based on the fact that only with a full political independence from Mother-England that Australia, as a nation, can be fully developed and integrated in the Asian-Pacific region. If this is true, defending the view that the Timorese people can be best served only if they are integrated into Indonesia is utter hypocrisy. The Keating logic is obviously indefensible. The fact that he is still pushing this line owes entirely on the rationale that, internationally, Australia must work as part of this region. If asianisation of Australia means necessarily avoiding taking a stand on the fundamental issues of human values as stated in the UN Charter and, in the case of East Timor, in the ten resolutions of the UN General Assembly and Security Council, this asianisation must be rejected by all Australians because, ultimately, it will serve no people of this region; if anything, it will always serve the interests of a small caste of dictators of the Asian-Pacific region - the likes of generals Suharto, Moerdani and Try Sutrisno.

After all, if we are to follow this kowtowing logic of Paul Keating and Gareth Evans (that appeasing dictators is the best way to improve human rights) should not it be China, rather than Australia, to be awarded the Olympic Games of the year 2000?

Appeasement Consolidates Act of Agression and Boosts Confidence of the Military

Many Australians echoed their dismay against the statements of Paul Keating, when he urged Clinton Administration to appease the generals of Jakarta. Paul Keating calls the appeasement an act of "broad view" on the issue of Human Rights in Indonesia.

Following is a letter sent by James Dunn, Convenor of the Human Rights Council of Australian to Senator Clairborne Pell, US Foreign Affairs Committee.

I understand that the Australian Prime Minister, Paul Keating, who is currently on an official visit to Washington, has suggested to Congressmen that the US moderate its human rights criticism of China and Indonesia.

Based on my past experience as an adviser and analyst this is not sound advice from our Prime Minister, whose commitment to human rights diplomacy is of some concern. One only has to look at the case of East Timor to see how dismally the policy Mr Keating is advocating has failed. Indonesia's invasion of the former colony was virtually facilitated by the then Government's deliberate policy of accommodation. And this benign response did nothing to spare the Timorese, who were to experience a particularly brutal occupation, costing up to 200,000 lives. We have no way of knowing the real figure, but demographic facts are disturbing enough. According to the population growth rate prevailing in 1975 today there should be almost a million Timorese: according to Jakarta's latest census in 1993 there are less than 650,000. The Australian and US policies of keeping the lid on human rights violations by Jakarta's military virtually encouraged Indonesia to ignore international criticism of its subjugation of the Timorese people.

In 1978, a mere two years after the invasion the Australian Government took the shameful step of according de facto recognition to the incorporation of the territory, and then proceeded to vote with Indonesia in the UN Gen

eral Assembly, arguing that recognition would help the Timorese. It has not helped at all. In the following two years more than 50,000 Timorese perished, and oppression within the territory intensified. At the same time the Indonesian Government became increasingly defiant in its response to external criticism.

As our weak response to the Santa Cruz massacre demonstrated, past Australian, and US, reactions to human rights abuses have merely encouraged the consolidation of this act of aggression, boosting the confidence of its military perpetrators, and facilitating Jakarta's disinformation about the situation on the ground.

Arguably, it has also obstructed efforts within Indonesia to press for democratic change. It should never be forgotten that by shielding Indonesia from international criticism we are giving valuable support to the powerful military component of the government in Jakarta and discouraging a process of democratisation which in the long run may well turn out to be the best hope of the Timorese in their desperate search for the a more just solution to their fate.

In the circumstances I urge all congressmen to persist with their campaign to help right a terrible wrong that has been inflicted on the Timorese people. Indeed, if we are to take a wider view of the problem, the remedying of this gross violation of human rights is an important step towards the structuring of a safer and more stable regional environment. At this particular time East Timor's slender prospects for a more just settlement - whether it be ultimate independence or a form of autonomy - depend heavily on pressure being kept up by responsible members of the world community, especially Indonesia's major trading partners and aid donors.

James Dunn
(signed)

(The author testified on East Timor before a Congressional Sub-Committee (Donald Fraser) in 1977. A specialist on Indonesia and Eastern Europe he served as an Australian diplomat, in Eastern Europe and as a Consul of East Timor in the sixties, and as a member of a two-man fact-finding mission sent to the territory by the Whitlam Government in 1974 to report on the future of the colony. Until retirement, for more than ten years he was Director of the Foreign Affairs Group of the Australian Parliament's Legislative Research Service. He is currently Convenor of the Human Rights Council of Australia.)

EDITORIAL

The Feingold Amendment on Human Rights in East Timor - can it survive the Australian -Indonesian lobby?

The Feingold Amendment, already passed by the Foreign Relations Commission, signalled a new era for East Timor in the international arena. If anything, it proved that East Timor has reached the heart of the International Affairs - The USA Administration - and it is pumping new oxygen which enables further victories in the near future. Even if the Amendment put forward by Senator Feingold is to be defeated on the floor of the Senate, the issue of East Timor will certainly not go away.

Feingold Amendment is a very serious defeat for Indonesia. It does not only show that Clinton Administration is prepared to endanger millions of dollars in Arms Trade with Indonesia to emphasise Human Rights as fundamental issue; it also suggests that Indonesia, whilst a dictatorship, no longer occupies the central stage in the broad spectrum of the US foreign policy. Instead, Suharto's regime, a sophisticated dictatorship hidden under the cover of "guided democracy", is increasingly becoming the focus of attention of the major democratic governments. Except Australia!

The reason why President Clinton does not bow to the "batik diplomacy", can be explained by looking at his speech when he addressed the South Korean National Assembly in Seoul, on the 10th of July last. In his speech, President Clinton put a lot of emphasis in freedom and democracy and stressed his pride for how much the American flag has been symbolising the history of democracy. He quoted the famous phrase of former US President, President Truman that "Free men, under God, can build a community of neighbours working together for the good of all." President Truman said this phrase 43 years ago when he sent American troops to defend Korea. The troops remained there until today, but under UN flag.

President Clinton went on to stress his conviction in the need for USA to lead the world. He

said: (...) Our global leadership has never been a more indispensable or a more worthwhile investment for us. So long as we remain bordered by oceans and powered by trade, so long as our flag is the symbol of democracy and hope for a fractious world, the imperative of America's leadership will remain."

In referring to his priorities for the Asian-Pacific region, President Clinton stressed the need to give "support for democracy and more open societies throughout this region."

Although Clinton still uses the same line as his predecessor in defending the need to have a military presence in the Asian-Pacific region, his emphasis differ in the sense that he not only argues for the need to implement democratic regimes in the region but also introduce strong arguments to enable his administration to act upon it.

Clinton said that the final security priority of the USA must be to support the spread of democracy throughout the Asian-Pacific because, he added, "democracies not only are more likely to meet the needs and respect the rights of their people, they also make better neighbours. They do not wage war on each other, practice terrorism, generate refugees, or traffic in drugs and outlawed weapons. They make a more reliable partners in trade and in (...) dialogues."

This seems to be why Indonesia is now under the microscope of the Clinton's Administration. It also explains why a senior White House official said that the administration will accept the Feingold Amendment because it is "consistent with the tenor of the dialogue we have been having with Indonesia on human rights."

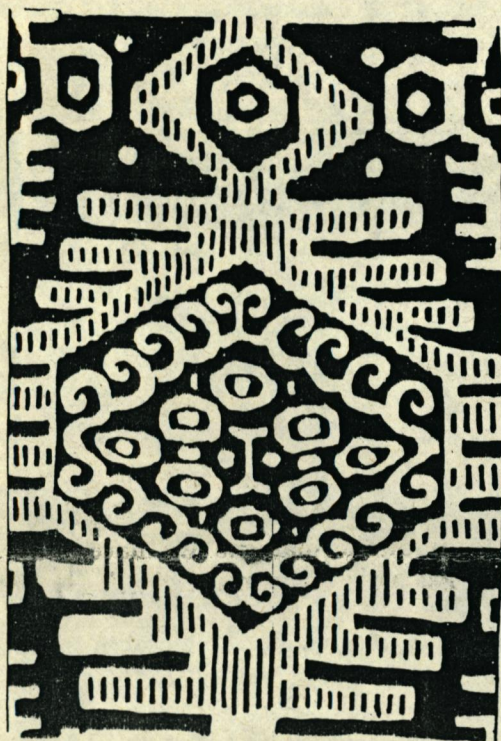
The critical question for East Timor is whether the Clinton Administration will pursue the issue of Human Rights applicable to East Timor to the extent of demanding the implementation of the 10 (ten) resolutions passed by the General Assembly and the Security Council of the UN.

There are reasons to be optimistic. These can be found in the statement of 43 US Senators when they urge President Clinton to raise the issue of East Timor in Tokyo, at the time of G-7 meeting. The 43 Senators (almost 50% of the Senate) urged President Clinton "to keep an eye toward facilitating serious negotiations at

the United Nations that might alter the unacceptable status quo" in East Timor. They also reaffirmed an earlier Senate resolution (November 1991) supporting "the right of self-determination of the East Timorese people" and added that any negotiations on the future of East Timor should include East Timorese representatives.

This has been the language used by this large group of Senators when referring to East Timor. Hopefully, the pro-East Timor lobby can overcome the Indonesian most powerful public relations organisation: the Australian Government's Department of Foreign Affairs. Prime Minister Keating's failure to convince the administration of President Clinton is a good sign for the Timorese People.

We hope all these positive steps can be transformed into well-coordinated actions so that, soon, an ever lasting peace can sprout in East Timor.



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East Timor Information &
Documentation Centre
P.O. Box 481, Fairfield NSW 2165
ph: (02) 728 7395 fax (02) 726 6319
Co-Ordinator: Ines Almeida; Working
team: Bernardo Reis, Agio Pereira
Neca Brites, Lola Reis, Geraldo Magno,
Ceia Brites-Pereira & Mize Magno*

A Poem for Xanana

Dear Companheiro
Kai Rala Xanana Gusmao
Hero of the Maubere Heroes
Heart of a courageous people
Fighter for justice against injustice
Defender of peace..
Your struggle is our sacrifice
Your sacrifice is our struggle
You enlightened the conscience of
the Maubere youth
You broke the mantle of the Javanese
empire
Brandishing the sacred surik ¹
with determination and pride
Shouting the hymn of liberty
You commanded the glorious Falintil
The pioneer of:
bore flesh
shed blood
broken bones...
The liberators of the Mauberean nation...

Companheiro,
Your struggle sprouted the rebel loricus ²
Your sacrifice culminates our revolt
Your pain is our determination to fight on
Your imprisonment empowers our will to
succeed
You carved our spirit like the rocks of
Matebian
Solid and unbreakable
rooted in the highest Ramelau
visible and shady, in the sanctuary
of the crocodile...
Dearest Brother and Companheiro
"Xanana Gusmao, sculptured in our
memory,
The memory of Maubere,
Offsprings of Timor Loro Sae...

*Donaciano Gomes
Lisbon, 20 June 1993
(Original language portuguese)*

1. Surik is tetun for sabre: a symbol of self-reliance, pride and victory for the Timorese. Hence it is sacred.
2. Loricus literally means lorrykeets. It symbolises the strong spirit of determination of the Timorese; often symbolises the youth of East Timor.

THE AUSTRALIAN PRESS AND EAST TIMOR

- A brief overview -

The visit of PM Paul Keating to the USA, UK and Ireland, helped to bring East Timor into focus. This, of course, was prompted by Prime Minister Paul Keating's ill-conceived advice given to President Clinton on matters of Human Rights.

Because East Timor, for the first time in eighteen years, has deserved the attention of an USA Administration, the Australian media focus on how much (or how little) can Australia influence President Clinton's Administration to kowtow to Suharto's dictatorship, just like successive Australian Governments have been doing in the last 18 years.

Geoff Kitney of the Sydney Morning (Sept 17, 1993) wrote about how "the small fry visited the big fishbowl this week". He pointed to the fact that Prime Minister Keating went to Washington with "a single, clear purpose: to get the ear of the President and to fill it with a very loud message about his view of the direction that the US economic and strategic policy should be headed."

Geoff Kitney, however, could lead the reader to the view that Paul Keating went to Washington also because USA may no longer necessarily want to sustain a deep interest in Australia because, in the past, such interest was primarily a direct result of geostrategic interest - "the US interest in denying the Soviet Union a sphere of influence." The end of cold war can also be translated into the beginning of a cold relationship between the US Administration and Canberra.

To avoid this, Geoff Kitney's article suggested that PM Paul Keating is trading his own APEC (Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation) scheme with the Clinton Administration as an attempt to lock an agreement whereby President Clinton can see the "broad economic perspective" as PM Keating sees it.



Another specialist writer of Sydney Morning Herald, David Jenkins, wrote about the so-called reduced Indonesian military presence in East Timor. He proved clearly that this "reduced military presence" is nothing but a "red-herring" since the number of soldiers in East Timor, after the reduction will be "as many as 4,000 to 5,000 troops" and that is "quite a force". David Jenkins also added that, in Indonesia, the role of so-called soldiers involved in non-military actions - territorial combat battal-

ions - are part of a parallel "shadow government", and that "up to 3 battalions of the combat troops (Kostrad) and one battalion of marines can be called upon to operate in East Timor at anytime, because they are kept on immediate standby. Not to mention elements of the elite red beret special forces (Kopassus) unit, which is likely to play a continuing intelligence and raiding role in the province".

The Age, of Melbourne, also wrote about East Timor as a consequence of PM Paul Keating's visit to USA, UK and Ireland. Mark Baker, the Foreign Editor, wrote "PM Keating misses an opportunity to push on rights" and "US digs in on Jakarta rights abuse".

Mark Baker wrote that PM Keating did not have Human Rights in his agenda. Paul Keating's statement in USA, according to Mark Baker, was apanage of pragmatism to reap economic interests over principles of Human Rights.

Mark Baker wrote about how President Clinton replied to PM Keating. In response to Paul Keating's appeal to the US officials to take a softer, more balanced approach on human rights, particularly with Indonesia and China, he wrote: President Clinton said that "the United States does have a very strong position on human rights and I think we should." and, President Clinton added, the US, while it had "good contact with Indonesia, remained concerned about East Timor."

Following the PEN International Forum on East Timor (25 August 1993), a great deal of media coverage was also visible. The Weekend Australian published an article by Dr McQueen, an historian of ACT who also attended the forum. He wrote passionately about the plight of the Timorese people and the deplorable stands taken by consecutive Australian governments. He stressed also the fact that the Timorese, even though have been suffering over eighteen years under the indonesian occupation, their hatress for indonesia was not noticeable in the forum.

Humphrey McQueen also spoke on the radio (ABC Radio National, 17.9.93). When asked to comment on Paul Keating's warning the US not to stridently push human rights issues in Asia, he said that "the Australian Government acts as a propaganda and apeasement agency for the Indonesian regime". Dr McQueen added that "Australian policy is dictated to the Prime Minister through advisers dominated by Canberra's Indonesian lobby."

The Canberra Times also published an article by Richard Begbie, a prominent Canberra-based journalist. Richard also wrote about the PEN Forum. He stressed the importance of the forum itself and the positive Timorese input. He wrote about the hypocrisy of the Australian government and the lack of courage to take a stand. Before he closed his article, Richard recalled what the Timorese speaker said about Bob Hawke. The former Prime Minister said to

the Australian soldiers as they left the Australian shores to give their lives to save power for the Royal Family of Kuwait: *big countries can not invade small countries and get away with it!* As far as East Timor goes, the Timorese speaker said, Bob Hawke and all Australian Governments since 1975 did exactly that. They helped Indonesian Government to get away with it! And Richard ended by saying: "I couldn't remember when I'd felt so ashamed to call myself Australian."

WHAT'S ON

Melbourne Festival

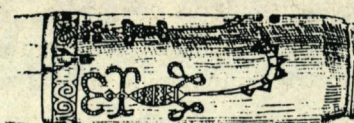
Agio Pereira will speak to various groups in Melbourne in the second week of October. He will also perform in the Indigenous Peoples Celebration in the Biote, in Fitzroy, on October 16.

Kogarah Marist College - Sydney

Agio Pereira was also invited to speak about the Indonesian invasion and occupation of East Timor and social justice to 150 students of Year 10 & Year 11 at Kogarah Marist High School on the 27th October 1993. Matebian News/East Timor Information & Documentation Centre will provide the necessary literature and up-to-date information on the situation of East Timor. The aim will be to encourage the students to do a follow-up on East Timor and, if possible, become involved in the various activities to further raise the awareness of the general Australian public about the issue of East Timor.

Paintings exhibition

A major activity will be the exhibition of Timorese paintings, as advertised in previous issues of Matebian News. Please read the back page of this issue for more details. The exhibition will be on from the 8th of October to the 23 of October. Pamphlets and more information can be obtained through the office of the East Timor Relief Association Inc.



LATEST FROM U.N.

Another round of talks completed - a new one expected in Geneva 1994

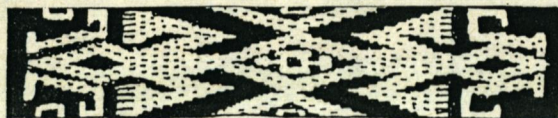
September 17 was the third round of talks between the belligerent parties of East Timor. Still, the main belligerent party - The People of East Timor - is yet to join the official round table.

According to the CNRM report issued by the Media Director, Ms Margaritta Tracanelli, after the round talks, in the Press Conference, "Alatas was clearly a man on his back-foot. He seemed afraid, had look of fear in his eyes. He appeared as if he was somewhat in a difficult and ambiguous position. He answered the questions from the press in the standard way, conceding nothing and lying to cover up the truth."

Although this negotiation did not deal with the core issue - self-determination and independence of East Timor - there seems to be a consensus that progress were made. This can be seen on the fact that Indonesian Government had accepted to allow NGO's/Human Rights organisations to enter East Timor. According to the Secretary General of UN, the improvements (human rights) conditions in East Timor is sine qua non to progress in the talks."

As far as the future is concerned, the Secretary General of the UN, Dr Boutros-Ghali believes that "continued dialogue is the rational way towards the achievement of a lasting settlement of the question of East Timor". He warned, however, that there is a need to "redouble our efforts in this direction and for the parties to show greater flexibility in the interest of making progress."

The next round of talks will take place on 6th May 1994 in Geneva.



EAST TIMOR: Australians take a stand RALLY

Saturday, 16 October, 10:30am
Sydney Town Hall Square

Speakers:

James Dunn, former Australian Consul in East Timor and former Foreign Affairs Advisor to the Federal Government.

Nito Gusmao, son of jailed East Timorese leader, Xanana Gusmao

Senator Vicki Bourne, Australian Democrats

Ted Mack, Member for North Sydney.

Christopher Warren, Federal Secretary, Media, Entertainment and Arts Alliance.

Performances by: East Timor Cultural Centre

Street theatre: excerpt from Death in Balibo by Graham Pitts, Maria Casimiro, Jose Monte.

Paul Stewart, lead singer of Painters and Dockers and brother of journalist Tony Stewart, murdered in Balibo, East Timor, 16 October 1975.

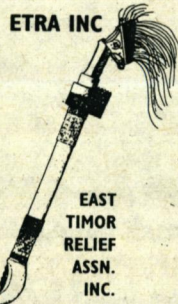
EAST TIMOR

THEME: CULTURAL SURVIVAL

8-23
OCTOBER
1993

61-63 Sussex Street
Sydney 2000
Tom Nelson Hall

11am - 5pm (Monday-Friday)
1pm - 5pm (Saturday & Sunday)



This exhibition is sponsored by
East Timor Relief Association Inc.

P.O. Box 23 Fairfield, NSW 2165
Phone (02)891 5861 Fax (02)891 2876