

[Translation] Dialogue with Xanana Goesmao [sic]

- By Nurhana Tirtaamijaya (Colonel, ABRI/TNI – Military Police, Retired), Surabaya – August, 2007.

In the photograph below, then Lieutenant Colonel Nurhana is shown in uniform beside Xanana Gusmao – November 1992. The text beside the photograph of Xanana Gusmao reads: “Dialogue with Xanana Gusmao – as related by Colonel (Military Police – Retired) H. Nurhana Tirtaamijaya”



DIALOG DENGAN



XANANA
GOESMAO

DICERITAKAN OLEH
KOLONEL CPM PURNAWIRAWAN
H. NURHANA TIRTAAMIJAYA



Introduction

As an alumni of ESQ 165, I wish to share with you an implementation of ESQ¹ power that I experienced during my military service when I was the Military Police Commander at KODAM IX Udayana in the period 1989-1993 at a time when East Timor was still part of the Republic of Indonesia. This experience explains that in any military life, it is necessary to

1 ESQ 165 (Emotional and Spritual Quotient) is a character training system devised by Ary Ginanjar Augustian in 2000. Augustian (b. Bandung, 1965) was educated at Udayana University in Bali and at TAFE Adelaide.

employ emotional and spiritual intelligence to resolve a task in the interests of the Indonesian nation that is based on the Panca Sila ideology ...

The viewpoint of military observer would assert that a military professional doesn't need to engage in ESQ training, because such would make him lose his professionalism. ... **that is a view that is very mistaken ...**

Although a military person has been trained in the various capabilities for combat duties, these tasks must be used within a framework of the defence of the nation's freedom and not violate Panca Sila and the International Law on the Protection of Human Rights. ...

As a true Panca Sila-ist, in accord with the Seven Articles of the Armed Forces Oath and the Soldiers' Oath, every task must be undertaken within the framework of subservience to Almighty God – *Allah SWT, Rahmatan Lil Alamin* (For the Benefit of the Whole World), and based on a clean and pure conscience that is always related to *Asmaul Husna, 99* – the nature of an All-Complete God. ((Translator's Note: "*Asmaul Husna*" – is an expression for the 99 names of God)).

A military professional must fully possess high emotional and spiritual intelligence – that is not outside the Panca Sila and the 1945 Constitution, that is not outside the Armed Forces Oath and the Soldiers' Oath, and that is not outside his character as a defender and guardian of the people. ... It is not possible to dismiss everything to reach an objective. ... I will relate my testimony on how Emotional and Spiritual Intelligence is able to guide one so that his ability to properly analyse the problem facing one and resolve the key issues appropriately.

Introduction

Xanana Gusmao was captured on Thursday 22 November 1992. On Friday 23 November 1992, the ABRI Commander and his group departed Jakarta for Dili (East Timor) to inspect KODAM IX Udayana's success in capturing Xanana Gusmao alive. After an examination of the situation and a strategic evaluation, the ABRI Commander decided that Xanana Gusmao would be taken to Denpasar for investigation at the Headquarters of KODAM IX Udayana.

The KODAM IX Udayana Commander – Major General Soerwadi, delegated the investigation of Xanana Gusmao in Denpasar to the KODAM IX Udayana Military Police Commander - Lieutenant Colonel Nurhana who was assisted by an investigation team from the KODAM IX Udayan intelligence staff and from the Intelligence Task Unit of the Operational Executive Command ((Translator's Note: Kolakops)). The ABRI Commander ordered that we had to engage in dialogue, discussion and negotiation with Xanana Gusmao so that, in no more than seven days, we were given an oral and written statement by Xanana Gusmao with the following content:

1. An acknowledgement that he was mistaken in his attacks/rebellion against the Government of the Republic of Indonesia,
2. A request for forgiveness for his mistakes, and
3. A declaration of his support for integration into the Unitary Republic of Indonesia.

This political statement would counter the United Nations' censure of the Government of the Republic of Indonesia on charges of human rights abuses in East Timor and its plan to bring down sanctions at the Conference of the UN Human Rights Committee in December 1992. Only a statement from Xanana Gusmao as the Field Commander of the Rebellion would be able to defeat the aforementioned UN sanctions. ...

So – to engage in a dialogue with a commander of a rebellion who was known to be very tenacious, who would never surrender and was uncompromising ... and to reach a common perception on the national, regional and international political situations, and which would be achieved with a healthy mind and clean conscience that was free from feelings of revenge and ruthlessness in order that a good solution was found for both sides. This was not going to be an easy matter. ...

Logically, Xanana would not want to sign a statement acknowledging his mistakes, asking for forgiveness and accepting integration – let alone reading such on national television to the whole world. This was a task beyond logic ... one that broke the bounds of logic ... However, I have always been sure that “*Lahauwla wal kuwata, illa billahil aliyil adzim ...*” .. There is no power that can equal God's power and “*Inamaa amruhu idza aradaa syaan anyakullalahu qun faya qun*” ... In truth, if God wants something to occur, it will ... These two holy verses above from the Koran had become my mainstay in undertaking several military tasks that lay beyond the reach of human logic ... since 1968 ... Since I talked with Bung Karno in his political detention in the Bogor Palace Pavilion – where for several months I had served as the commander of his guard and personally witnessed how a founding father of the Indonesian nation, its Proclaimer, and a President who was very powerful in his time, could sit one-on-one with me – without any power at all, only as my prisoner. ... From then, I was aware that a man's power does not endure ... nothing lasts forever ...

For that reason, during my service as a Military Police commander and as an upholder of the law within the ABRI environment, my authority and power that was connected to a person's fate was always oriented towards the principle that everything that I did must be within a devotional framework, within a framework of subservience to God Almighty – and not for any personal interest in seeking position, rank or material riches.

What I have written here was a great secret during the New Order period, and which is only known by several very important people in the Indonesian Government, by the ABRI Commander, the leadership of BAIS, the Army Commander, the KODAM Commander and the Commander of the East Timor Operational Executive Command ... and, of course, by Xanana Gusmao himself as a participant in this history ..

Now, I am brave enough to write – and also as I feel uncomfortable because there are military observers in Indonesia who apriori oppose the Emotional and Spiritual Intelligence training that is undertaken by ESQ 165 LC for the leadership candidates within the Army.

Moreover, many retired TNI generals – including the former Army Commander Major General Soebagyo H.S. , have undertaken ESQ training, and he has now become the Chairman of the ESC 165 Alumni Forum LC of the Greater Jakarta Region ... because he is aware just how beneficial the aforementioned ESQ is ...

Because of this, whenever I was leading an investigation, I have had to suppress my ego to its nadir, to its zero point ... because in truth, I myself am nothing and possess no power at all except that permitted by God Almighty.

All my wisdom and all my actions in undertaking investigations and dialogue must always be based upon principles within a framework of serving the Almighty God. My principal capital in undertaking this task was mental strength.

The Investigation Process/Dialogue with Xanana Gusmao

The First Day: (The process of getting to know each other and measuring one another's power) ...)

On Saturday, 22 November 1992, at about 10.00am, Xanana Gusmao arrived at the Headquarters of the KODAM IX Udayana Military Police in Raya Renon, Denpasar – Bali. He was handcuffed and brought by Colonel (Infantry) Soentoro – the KODAM IX Udayana Assistant Chief of Staff for Intelligence, and guarded by a team from the Intelligence Task Unit of the East Timor Operational Executive Command. At this time, responsibility for him was handed over from the Intelligence Task Unit of the East Timor Operational Executive Command to the Military Police Commander of KODAM IX Udayana. At 10.30am, the Assistant Chief of Staff for Intelligence of KODAM IX Udayana and the group guarding Xanana departed from the Military Police Headquarters. I took Xanana into my office and later removed his handcuffs.

Mindful that Xanana was not just a war criminal or a common criminal – but in the eyes of the UN was a fighter for the people's freedom and politically opposed the Indonesian Government, I swore in my heart that I would carry out the order of the highest ABRI leadership without violating the Panca Sila philosophy and the law of Almighty God. Xanana Gusmao's physical condition at that time was weak, and he was ill. His body was thin – and his hair, beard and moustache were untidy. However, his eyes were still sharp like the eyes of a tiger. Behind his sharp stare which pierced the heart, there was anger and smouldering revenge. ...

I was amazed at his mental attitude as he still very much maintained his status as the commander of a rebellion who did not want to compromise or betray the struggle of his people – or betray his ideology – and was prepared to be killed. I was sure that – only with the power of Almighty God, would I be able to defeat him. Because of this, I had to always act very correctly in accord with the principles of Asmaul Husna. I had to surrender myself to God Almighty in the principle of "*Lahaula wala kuwata illa bilahil aliyil adzim*". In this way, the *energi Illahi* would emerge to assist my inner power in facing up to the great inner strength of Xanana Gusmao.

When I invited Xanana Gusmao to speak in Bahasa Indonesia, he pretended that he was unable to speak Indonesian and only wanted to speak in English or Timorese. His attitude at that time was very hard - full of confidence and confrontational. When asked anything, he always replied curtly: "*Don't ask me anything – I will not do anything you ask ! I am ready to die !*"

To win him over, I adopted a friendly attitude – and said: *“Don’t be angry. I am not your enemy, I am doing my task. My job is as a military police commander who obeys national and international law. You are safe in my hands. I did not receive any order to kill you. I did not receive any order to force you to make a statement that you do not agree to. Please relax and enjoy yourself. I will treat you the best I can. My President ordered me to save your life. You would not have been sent to my office if you were to be executed. I have been ordered to discuss with you what is the best solution to finish the war between the Indonesian Army and your army. We will discuss this for our better cooperation”*.

After a few minutes of staring at each other without blinking or saying anything, the two of us became quiet as we each measured the other’s internal strength. After this tense situation had drawn out for more than a minute, his stare began to soften. I then smiled and said to him: *“I know your magic power, but you do not know mine! You will not be able to conquer me! We are friends - be calm, be relaxed please! Don’t fight against me. I am not afraid with you, though you are very strong in your magic power. Don’t dream that you will be able to run away or to fly away from me! I can control your powerful magic power! But don’t be afraid of me. OK?”*.

Xanana was rather shocked to see that I was not afraid, and his seeming self-confidence immediately plummeted. In my heart, I thanked God. I thanked Almighty God for having been given the opportunity to prove that *“La haula wala kuwata illa bilahil aliyil adzim”* was indeed true. When we totally surrender ourselves to God Almighty, God will take control of all the problems that we face. God is Great !.

To obviate any case of having captured the wrong person - or having handed over the wrong prisoner, at 12.00hrs the Military Police Commander ordered that prisoners associated with the 12 November Incident in Dili - and were being detained at KODAM IX Udayana, be brought to meet and closely look at Xanana Gusmao in order to clarify whether he was really Xanana Gusmao. Among them were Timorese who knew him, and they declared that the person handed over by the Intelligence Task Unit of the East Timor Operational Executive Command was indeed Xanana Gusmao. They added that – if we weren’t certain, then just wait and see as very heavy rain and lightning would soon break out. Such was Xanana’s great power. Regularly, in the operational areas of East Timor, Xanana would disappear and could not be caught. They were of the opinion that we needed to be very careful. Moreover, Xanana was well-known for his outstanding supernatural powers when leading the guerrilla war against the Indonesian Government and avoiding being captured.

And it was true. At about 1400hrs, suddenly heavy rain – mixed with thunderclaps, engulfed the Military Police Headquarters of KODAM IX Udayana. The rain fell very heavily to the extent that the car park of the Military Police Headquarters was flooded. Having seen this, I then met with Xanana who was still in the Military Police Commander’s office in order to neutralise the situation and begin the introductory dialogue – but a routine had not yet been established ... At 20.00hrs, I – as the Commander of the Military Police, returned to my room to rest, pray and seek instructions from Almighty God, and I recited verses from the Koran and declarations of faith without sleeping at all.

Day Two: (The process of brain-washing and character building).

At 0900hrs, the formal interrogation of Xanana was begun by the investigation team led by me as the KODAM Military Police Commander. Xanana was ordered to fill in a check-list and respond to several questions within the framework of the examination. Xanana was asked to reply to the question as he wished – there was no compulsion whatsoever. He saw that the attitudes of the investigators towards him was very polite, humanitarian and with conscience. Xanana was touched. His arrogant attitude and his uncompromising opposition began to fade. He began to be influenced by the power of Asmaul Husna. Gradually, he wanted to answer the oral questions in length and breadth with all his argumentation.

Although Xanana was willing to communicate with the investigators trying to examine his clandestine networks, Xanana was firm in not wanting to disclose the secrets of his networks in East Timor. The investigators remained patient and communicated with him in a relaxed and friendly manner. In the afternoon, Xanana was already smiling if there was a humorous topic. His innate disposition which was really humanitarian and friendly began to become evident although he remained reticent in order to maintain his authority.

After a full day of investigation and dialogue from morning until the afternoon, Xanana was permitted to rest, and his health was examined by a doctor from KODAM IX Udayana. It appeared that Xanana was indeed suffering from some illness, and we gave him the appropriate medicine. Xanana Gusmao was treated very humanely ... I strove to pierce and get in contact with his conscience so that we could have a dialogue free from the several paradigms of negative thinking ... a dialogue that was guided by Asmaul Husna – and not influenced by respective egos that themselves were influenced by worldly passions. At 2100hrs, I returned to my room to shower and rest. Prayer was followed by declarations of faith. While making such declarations, at about 2300hrs, I had a presentiment in the form of an instruction from a realm below my awareness – that, like a brilliant thunderbolt, wrote **Xanana !**

I rose immediately from my meditation and telephoned the guard on Xanana's cell to ask for a report on Xanana's activities. The reply was seemingly quite inconsequential: "*The situation is secure, Xanana is sitting relaxed on his bed – and counting his knuckles*" ... I was shocked and immediately ordered: "*Interrupt him right away, talk with him, give him coffee ! Xanana is meditating and reciting his magic spells !*" Having received this order, the guard engaged Xanana in direct conversation, played cards and drank coffee with him. Later, when I met with Xanana in his cell in the Military Police Headquarters, Xanana was angry and said: "*I know this is the new face of my life !!!...I am ready to die !!!* (Xanana had suspected he would have been executed by me that night ...). I asked: "*Why are you so angry with me ?*" He replied: "*I am angry because your people always bother me – many times they ask me to do something – another time they give me coffee, then cigarettes. I have no time to concentrate !*" I – as the Commander of the KODAM IX Military Police asked in response: "*What were you doing at about 11 o'clock tonight ?*" Xanana replied: "*I wasn't doing anything, I was praying.*" I continued: "*I know that you were trying to contact your teacher in East Timor !*"

We had a dialogue and discussed matters for about four hours – beginning at midnight until 4am in the morning non-stop. I explained that the Indonesian Government’s foreign political policy was anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist – anti-colonialist in all its forms and manifestations. The Indonesian Government had no foreign political ambitions to undertake any invasion because the territory of the Unitary Republic of Indonesia was already very extensive and possessed all the natural resources in abundance. What would be the advantage in invading East Timor whose territory was very poor ? As well, the Indonesian Government was only interested in defending the Timorese people from the communist groups in Fretilin (Note: Now – after East Timor has achieved its independence, it’s proven that the Fretilin Party led by Mari Alkatiri – the former Timor-Leste Prime Minister, was hostile towards Xanana Gusmao). ... The Indonesian Government had also been urged by the United States Government to stem the communist movement in East Timor. The US Government had been traumatised by its defeat in South Vietnam in 1975. Accordingly, later in 1976 the US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger had met with President Soeharto and urged that the Indonesian Government help the East Timorese people to drive out communism from East Timor. So – the interests of the Indonesian Government were to defeat an international communist hegemony in South East Asia.

It seemed as if I had been successful in engaging in a dialogue with his conscience. ... Thus, I was sure that the problem of Xanana Gusmao’s political statement in support of integration - as requested by President Soeharto, was only a matter of time. Accordingly, at about 4am, I said goodbye before returning to my room. Indeed, Xanana held me back – not wanting me to leave as we had not yet discuss the matter of a MOU that he wanted to create. The moment had come ! That’s how I felt when Xanana queried the matter of a MOU. However, I replied: *“We’ve already discussed our problem for more than four hours. I think that we are very tired, and we can’t think clearly anymore. It’s better if we go to sleep now and continue our discussion tomorrow !”*

On returning to my room, I immediately began my dawn prayers and expressed my thanks: *“O God, how great is your love towards your religious community and to the two of us – Xanana Gusmao and I. You have allowed Asmaul Husna to enter Xanana Gusmao’s heart and make him aware that he had been led astray by the anti-Godly communist doctrine. You have allowed my words to be received in his reasoning mind. Ease my task tomorrow in order that we get a political statement from Xanana that is beneficial for the Government and people of Indonesian, for the suffering people of East Timor, and for Xanana Gusmao who has returned to the God’s path. He is aware that the communist Fretilin is truly the enemy of his people – the people that he loves – amin ya robul alamin !”* After prayers and affirmations of faith, I attended morning sports activities and then showered in fresh, warm water. I still hadn’t slept since the end of my task. The feelings of drowsiness were overcome by concentrating my thoughts on concluding the task in hand.

Days Three and Four: (The process of seizing the final objective and consolidation).

At about 0900hrs, Lieutenant Colonel (Military Police) Soegianto – the Commander of the Denpasar Military Police Detachment, who I had tasked with escorting and observing

all Xanana's needs in the prison, reported that Xanana wanted to meet with me because he could no longer bear staying in the prison cell and wished to cooperate by exposing all the secrets of his clandestine and underground guerrilla network in East Timor and to call upon all his units to come out of the jungle and down from the mountains.

I immediately reported Gusmao's new attitude directly to the KODAM IX Commander. The Commander gave directions that the time had come to prepare Xanana Gusmao's political statement as ordered by President Soeharto.

All were informed of the latest developments in Xanana's attitude and asked by the KODAM Udayana IX Commander to assemble in the Headquarters of the KODAM IX Udayana Military Police in Denpasar (Bali) to prepare the form and content of Xanana's political statement - and its method of documentation, to be passed subsequently to President Soeharto. At about 1500hrs, all the representatives had assembled at the KODAM IX Udayana Military Police Headquarters.

The group from BAIS ABRI was led by Brigadier General (TNI) Farid Zainudin, the Commander of the BAIS ABRI Intelligence Unit. The Operational Executive Command was represented by the Commander of the Operational Executive Command Intelligence Unit. I represented the KODAM as the Commander of the KODAM Military Police and host – together with the Assistant Chief of Staff for Intelligence and the Head of the Information Office.

Almost all were shocked and didn't believe these developments until they heard directly from Xanana Gusmao. Later a meeting was held with them and Xanana Gusmao in his cell which was quite spacious. They were invited to question Xanana to their own satisfaction. Gusmao responded to their questions in a relaxed manner, while smiling and laughing. He stated that he was aware of his mistakes, asked for forgiveness and declared his pro-integration position.

At about 1900hrs, the KODAM IX Udayana Commander gave instructions to draft Xanana Gusmao's political statement in accordance with the ABRI Commander's order. Xanana Gusmao's political statement was made in the KODAM IX Udayana Military Police Headquarters in the period between about 2100-2200hrs. While writing his statement, Gusmao was filmed by a video recorder.

During the recording, Gusmao was accompanied by me on his right-hand side and Colonel (Infantry) Soentoro – the Assistant Chief of Staff for Intelligence, on his left. At 2300hrs, handcuffed to me and escorted by members of BAIS ABRI, Gusmao was flown to Jakarta on a special Hercules aircraft that had been allocated to BAIS ABRI.

On arrival at BAIS ABRI Headquarters, Gusmao was immediately placed in a cell guarded by BAIS ABRI personnel. I then handed over the prisoner to Brigadier General Hendropriyono, the Director B of BAIS. When handing him over, Hendropriyono asked me: *“Mate, Xanana Gusmao is well-known for being very ferocious, but you've tamed him in only just three days – how did you do it ?”* (Hendropriyono was junior to me – I had graduated from the Military Academy in 1965 – he had graduated in 1967).

I replied briefly: *“Everything is guided by the one God ... La hawla walla uwata illa billahil aliyil adzim... Nothing is equal to God's power. Innama amruhu idza aradaa, syaan*

ayakullalahu qun faya qun ... In truth, if God wishes something to happen, then so it will happen – nothing can prevent it happening.” He smiled and replied: “*OK – if that’s the way it is. Thanks for your successful dialogue with Xanana - pray that we’ll also be as successful.*” We said goodbye, and I returned to the hotel in which we were staying in Jakarta.

The next afternoon, I arrived back in Denpasar (Bali) and immediately reported to the KODAM IX Udayana Commander that I had securely and successfully handed over Xanana Gusmao to BAIS ABRI. The ABRI Commander expressed his thanks to me. That night, I could at last sleep soundly, paying back all the tiredness and sleeplessness of the past three days and nights.

Conclusion

Xanana Gusmao’s political statement ie “*Acknowledging his mistakes, asking for forgiveness and accepting integration*”- was broadcast on Republic of Indonesia television with just a few changes from the original recording in Denpasar (Bali). Of course, the broadcast of his political statement shocked the world. They didn’t believe it at all and sought clarification from Xanana Gusmao in Jakarta. However, after officials from the UN had met with Gusmao – with the same outcome, they were even more shocked but were forced to believe and accept it.

Xanana Gusmao’s political statement had saved the Indonesian Government from sanctions by the UN’s International Human Rights Committee which would have been brought down at the International Human Rights Committee Conference in Geneva in December 1992. Is it possible that Xanana Gusmao,- the Supreme Commander of the East Timor Rebellion – who had waged war in the jungle for 16 years against the Indonesian Government, had changed 180 degrees and become pro-integration in only three days and only because of the expertise and professionalism of an investigator from KODAM IX Udayana ? Impossible !

Everything only came about through the active intervention of God and his *Illahi* energy – at a time when the investigator surrendered himself. Only through the principle of subservience to God and suppressing one’s ego to zero was this task achieved. *Lahawla wala kuwata illa billahil aliyil adzim* There is no power whatsoever equal to the power of God.

And so it came to pass: *Innama amruhu idza aradaa, syaan an yaa kullalahu qun vaya qun* If God desires that something will happen, then so it will happen ... who is capable of opposing Him ?

It’s hoped that Xanana Gusmao still remembers the events of our dialogue that I have related here – and is still the Xanana Gusmao that I knew. A Xanana Gusmao that can engage in a dialogue with a deep conscience – that has brought him to freedom and the positions of President and Prime Minister of Timor Leste ...

If Your Excellency Mr. Prime Minister Xanana reads this - my untold story, through the Internet, I would like to say: “*I send my best regards and congratulations to the Prime Minister of Timor Leste.....I believe that you will be able to handle the problems of your nation.... And if you still remember our commitment in Denpasar Bali in November 1992,*

that we will commit to build a good relationship between us (you and me, I now I ask your help to cleanse my governmen - especially Mr. General Wiranto, from the bad and wrong issues concerning the massacre after the Referendum in East Timor a few years ago... Believe me, he is clean!... Thanks... God will be with you always... If you forget me, please look at the photographs of us when we were in a spiritual dialogue in my office in Denpasar Bali. - in my weblog: www.tirtaamijaya.wordpress.com)”

Finally, to whomsoever reads this, be assured that the Indonesian nation is a nation of good character and lofty ideals that values and highly respects human rights. Because of this, let us unite to create the Golden Generation of 2020 – based on Panca Sila and 1945 Constitution in a consistent and pure way ... *amin ya Robbul alamin!*

Surabaya – August 2007.

Original Indonesian language version at:

<http://tirtaamijaya.wordpress.com/2007/08/22/dialog-dengan-xanana-goesmao/>

Translation to English by:

Ernie Chamberlain, 22 May 2011