

REVOLUTIONARY FRONT FOR AN INDEPENDENT EAST TIMOR - FRETILIN
REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL OF NATIONAL RESISTANCE

Senator Gordon McIntosh

With great appreciation to all you have done for our People's cause, on behalf of the Armed Resistance, I come to you:

- To express all our great and deep gratitude towards the relentless and energetic contribution of our great friend to Timor-Leste.
- To confirm the tenacious armed opposition against the annexation of our Homeland for 12 long and very difficult years.
- To reaffirm our commitment to contribute, positively and in a consequent way, to find a large and global solution to carry out the international law in the long term and to ensure peace and stability in the region.

Senator,

This persistency phenomenon is revealed in the various political connotations of this fight, and in the relations with all individuals, within and outside the war. We are all active parts: directly or indirectly, we are engaged in this cause, that we consider fair and legitimate. The certainty with which we defend this right with true words is a factor which further strengthens our ability and helps to challenge many difficulties in daily life, and besides it does make us withstand more easily the short-sighted view of politicians and parties and the arrangements between various governments.

We are well aware that the role in which our Great Friends have been contributing is extremely hard and difficult, when meeting various institutions and approaching governments, so that they accept to consider that Maubere Resistance is a legitimate act of defence and that territorial annexation is made by force, and vandalistic repression over the People is against all ethics and International Public Law.

Senator,

Our People fought, our People resisted, to ensure their own survival, to assure their own existence as a nation and to defend their own identity. Our People truly know what they wish,

and that is to hold in their hands their own destiny. Our People do not know the laws nor the principles that the UN proclaimed... but they know this right of theirs... Our people are aware that Timor-Leste is their Homeland. And despite being born under the brutal repression by individuals from other countries, coming along with troops and weapons to kill the Maubere People inside their own homes, they understand that they didn't yet achieve something that makes them feel to be the free owner of their own land.

Besides, we think it was the same feeling of oppression in other dominations that built the basis for the UN Charter text, which grants legitimacy to the desire of every people to be freed and formulates principles that include those aspirations, with some rules that ensure the harmony that can be achieved between the people and all the states.

Our People fought, silently and alone, against a great blockade, which sometimes shows itself only in favour to Jakarta and its supporters. So (our People) withstand oppressed in their hearts, in their longings, with all their hope to live. Our People do not know that, abroad, they are destroying their legitimate aspirations, but remain firmly in their conviction they have to continue to suffer and die to achieve their rights, which requires strong persistence in the struggle and acceptance of all sacrifices.

Only the great energy, self-sacrifice spirit and endless determination our People shows, perceived as essential factors, allow them to carry, for so many years, the weight all the negative things coming from the Indonesian occupation. These factors are true components of our patriotism, which is really very strong and firm.

Therefore, Maubere People do not understand the things that have been done all over the years to justify the criminal actions from Jakarta, but they had rather die than accept foreigners to govern and oppress them. Maubere People has not followed the solidarity provided by their true and great Friends, shown more than once. They just care about their lawful claim, because they understand they have the right to reject the presence of occupants, and so they keep firmly standing against them, facing all the consequences law imposes (to our People).

Till now, Maubere People has been fighting not only for some promises; they know they have to fight, namely to preserve their own wealth, the things they carry and hide deep within their hearts, that they want to keep to ensure their own survival.

Senator,

For all this time, we understood that political conveniences of the Government are generous to Jakarta and want to force Maubere People to accept this situation, giving them (the People) no other alternative besides accepting the criminal annexation of their Homeland in exchange for historical palliatives, despite they don't meet their sacred aspirations:

- a. The preservation of "ties or cultural relations" with Portugal or, in other words, allowing them to speak Portuguese... and to this they call "cultural identity";
- b. The acceptance of the catholic religion... and to this they call "religious identity", so writing roughly the theory on the "Timorese identity".

Despite admitting the influence of the Portuguese presence for many years, I must say that Maubere People never moved away from what they consider to be the roots of their identity, in all aspects that form the social essence of their personality, their way of thinking and acting. During the Portuguese colonial period, only a small group experienced the Portuguese influence in the fields of thought and culture, as a result of the situation itself; even so, most of that small group continues to hold strongly to what they feel to be inherent to their culture, to what makes part of their own interacting attitudes, which have never been compromised by the physical presence and domain of the colonizer... although an apparent separation existed.

After 12 years, Maubere People continue their struggle, with the firm intention to preserve everything that relates to their identity as a people, and this is a sacred feeling, a vital element for their resistance. And this resistance is in itself an act of survival!

Today, when, abroad, the UN and the good friends of Jakarta want to throw trash to our people, to give Maubere People a false identity card, the Maubere feel insulted. They are being forced, because of the economic interests of other countries and the repression of the Indonesian army, to support acts that they hate and will slowly erase the purity of their real actions and thoughts. Because other people want to melt them into the structure of domination, misinterpreting or discrediting the Maubere Spirit!

Today, Maubere People feel obliged by the military occupation to condition their thinking, to change their character and attitudes and to slim down their culture; to be something that only shows off, that they only make when the colonizing authorities demand, with the intent of eradicating these pure "cultural events" that once demonstrated the feelings of the People!

As many people around the world are proud of what they inherited, that distinguish them from the others, in their attitudes and character and in their daily life, of their national patrimony that shows their collective personality, different from others – so Maubere People

is no exception on this socio-historical phenomenon and we, the politicians, also agree, according to each People tradition!

Our People fought hardily and bravely to keep all this, their true identity, as well as their historical dignity and socio-cultural identity. That identity is being jeopardized by big criminal investments from the democratic governments who help to keep it bogged in a colonial drama which has no way out. That identity comes out from a new theory of colonization that aims to suppress us. Senator, we call it a new theory, because we know that those who support the annexation of Timor-Leste always said “the Portuguese are the bad colonialists, therefore Timorese People feel that they are better joining Indonesia”...

Our People know they only can exist as so while they set foot on this sacred land of Timor-Leste and that they can only live in their Homeland, the place they are now claiming. That will be the way in which they can preserve, unrestrictedly, their culture, their traditions as well as all forms of their way of thinking... That will be the way for them to express, without fear, without coercion or revenge, hiding nothing in their daily life... And that is the reason why they are seeking for their INDEPENDENCE!

Independence of the Homeland is a vital issue for our People and only in a free and independent Timor will Maubere People be sure they can manage their own lives, as individuals, society and People, with confidence to be able to protect the complex heritage their ancestors left them!

For this reason, Senator, we keep screaming to the world, namely to those who condemn us, that this is our aim and that we are protecting these aspirations. And so, nobody will be able to detain our determination in keep fighting for what is ours, this sacred land which wraps our ancestors and everything that can enlighten and make colourful our existence. And that is what makes us hate with our body and soul any other colour they want to stick to the Maubere!

The European colonization experience, as we see it, drags to a process of freedom to all the colonized people, only relevant factor, based on our poor vision, to what we call “historical identity”, which implies two aspects:

- Boundary delimitation, as a reciprocal action;
- Cultural influence (albeit relative) of the colonizers, which does not reflect any other aspect but an involvement that represents a space of time, in the context of the cultural identity of the colonized people.

Therefore, we understand that cultural identity of a community is the deepest sign that embraces the complexity of the relationships between socio-economical structure and existential philosophy of People themselves, together with relationships that determine their attitude. All these things go beyond the influence imposed by the colonizers! We think that this is the most important factor involved in the spirit of the United Nations Charter, in the spirit of universal principles and in the spirit of international ruling...

For all acts made during the Portuguese colonization, Maubere People did not feel scared nor were they difficult to meet, although one noted that the colonialist laws were sought to destroy the Timorese spirit, in some aspects and levels. The last 12 years are a major concern, because the facts show that the bad attitudes of the Indonesian murderous troops are reducing all aspects of the identity of our People, forcing an almost abrupt assimilation in all the occupants force us to do.

To preserve the MAUBERE SPIRIT, EAST TIMOR PEOPLE wish their independence, as an essential circumstance to freely exercise their rights.

TO RESIST becomes... A PATRIOTIC ACT FOR THEIR SURVIVAL AS PEOPLE!!!

Senator,

Internally, we faced many difficulties, mainly subjective... because we were not politicians; in fact, we are leading the Maubere resistance, but we were lead to it only because of the critical situation; it forces us to undertake our security and not surrender in any way.

Unfortunately, we have to carry all this burden with our unpreparedness in all aspects; and we only rely on our raised fists, on the strength of our persistence in defending the sacred aspirations of our People. Slowly and with many difficulties, we have built and broadened our true and more realistic views on this issue ... that involves death, destruction, bloodshed and many sacrifices!

In the beginning (of the reorganization, in 1981), as we had no way to avoid it, we could only move forward following the path already drawn by our predecessors (1975-1978), because we did not know another way, broader and without too many thorns. Then, our moral sense, which we faced as a political obligation, favoured the confirmation of all that had been designed, everything that had been built with our deceased and consolidated with our own blood.

The consequences of the anti-communism of the Alarico Fernandes's faction or group, the one who accepted the annexation of our country, lead us to strengthen principles on the opposite side, in the sense that it would be the only way (according to what we believed and what actually happened) we could gain strength to save our Armed Resistance. It is no longer the time nor the place to defend those concepts that made us hold this dangerous march, because they are going to influence all the Friends to join Indonesia.

That was a political mistake, we can only now recognize wholeheartedly, given the seriousness of its implications. But on revising it, we are not helping anything... because it was a true product of a very complex situation, we could not hold on. And so we threw ourselves into the big waves that beated us to dust!

Today, we want to state to everyone that we rebuilt the Maubere Resistance based on the motto of NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE; and that we resolutely drift away from old party compromises, with all the conviction that we are firmly serving our HOMELAND, what imposes this kind of enlightenment; and, simultaneously, that we restarted to lead our People's FIGHT! Today's ideology relates namely to the rejection of Marxism, which throws our resistance to a counter-productive immature extremism.

Armed Resistance always worked upon the political objective of FRETILIN and in this aspect we want to state clearly that we will do everything to reject building a leftist regime in Timor-Leste and we also will do everything to ensure the constitutional democratic freedom!

Senator, we thought we had included in our old commitment one important element that provided credibility to our political openness that always had as an objective to assure the security to the countries in this region, namely Australia and New Zealand. We do not to be seen a threat, we want contribute to peace and safety in this area. On the other hand, we want to ensure Timorese People their right to live as a friendly, free and independent People!

Senator,

Maubere People still need a strong performance from his good Friends in PTA (Australian Labour Party), to apprise inflexible sectors in the Party to be more comprehensive and fair towards Timorese People! However, we already know that all the signs of political goodwill we show nowadays – having in mind to help us getting fair solutions to stop the permanent violation of freedom and fundamental rights in Timor-Leste and imposing the respect of international rules –, I repeat, we already know that our political gestures will not shake the negative attitude from the Australian government towards the struggle of our People, helping

seeing it from a positive perspective, in accordance to the democratic principles of Australia; therefore, we don't expect there will be changes in the attitude of the government of Mr. Bob Hawke, because his policy about Timor-Leste, as we see it, turns around an axe of three doctrines:

- First of all, the agreement with Jakarta about the use of force to achieve the political objectives that suit their common strategy;
- Secondly, the concern to safeguard the economical interests of Australia and to sacrifice the principles any democratic country should defend; and
- Third, the ambition on the petroleum and natural gas exploration in the shores of Timor-Leste.

Only a political doctrine that follows such intents can justify arguments we cannot accept and also contradict the ethics we think the country should comply, with neutrality and great independence. It focused mainly in our geographical location, which is very advantageous in the region, instead of assuming the role of bastion of the universal principles and international rule, as elsewhere in the world, where regional efforts tend always to lead to global solutions to the various disputes. On the contrary, in the Timor-Leste affair, Australia only adopts a full support position to the crimes of Indonesia.

A large blockade has been separating us and keeping us apart from the rest of the world; during this period, we managed to collect part of the data on what has happened and that relates to our issue. The constraints are pressing our struggle, reducing the possibility and the ability of a wider and deeper view on what the accomplices of Jakarta said and shared, to give the criminal occupation of Timor-Leste a quality of irreversibility to the annexation.

What we are going to expose now is not a refutation point by point of the arguments used to judge our rights, because we also ignore them. Our only intent is to present brief questions we consider fundamental – not based on laws (which we do not know) nor following the contents of the principles, though we mention them. These principles are products we hear and understand slightly through our experience and its effects, but by which we understand – and this can happen because we are at war, which means that our receivers (radios) play a very important role – they always represent – according to our way of seeing things and our huge limitations – a matter of controversy as they consider this "fact" as “accomplished” (“fait accompli”).

We do not mean to be contemptuous and compare our ability to argue to the Indonesians capability, as demonstrated by the Foreign Minister, Ali Alatas, ex-Ambassador to the UN, when he mentioned, for instance, an imaginary detail that makes no sense, stating "Portugal concealed its weapon delivery to FRETILIN"... He should be talking about the agreements that have been established between Lisbon and Canberra, about the invasion... Or other rubbish facts, like "Portugal was not present at the time of the adoption of resolution 1514" or "the people of Timor-Leste have already forgotten Portugal", etc., etc. Senior diplomats like himself are the ones who have the right to use these kind of arguments. In Geneva, the Ambassador of Indonesia did not want to join the debate on the issue of four East Timorese students imprisoned in Jakarta, alleging the agreements with CIC or stating, to turn away the conversation, that his country has legislation to prevent torture, although even Indonesian lawyers raise questions about the violence already in force...

1. As I said, we still do not fully understand the international rule. We only understand that PEOPLE'S RIGHTS cannot be denied, because those rights were proclaimed by the recognition of the aspirations of each people and all the people of the world, in spite of them being large or small, weak or strong, rich or poor.

Through the interpretation of these aspirations – which also include the right of the Australian people to separate from the UK, though the majority of the Australian population came from there, at least in the initial period, when European population began to settle in that continent; that is why they are celebrating this year the bicentennial of that historical event –, as I was saying, through the interpretation of these aspirations, the right to self-determination and national independence are settled as universal principles; and it is also considered that there are many people who are still under colonial domination, openly expressing their yearnings for freedom. In the letter and the spirit of Resolution 1514, alternatives are also provided for its implementation. But all these options should be conducted in a credible manner and, therefore, the set international rule might be legally followed.

As we always said, East Timorese People never had the opportunity to speak to the international community about their fate and, on that legal basis, we cannot accept Indonesia and his accomplices' simplistic arguments, saying Timorese already could "exercise" their right to self-determination... twice... when they took part in the Indonesian elections! The Australian Government and the pro-Indonesian sectors (pro-Timor Gap) recover these arguments, that Indonesia like to include in its propaganda. Australia questioned and keeps questioning the political events in Fiji (which is an independent and sovereign country, trying

to solve its own internal problems); but for East Timor it pretends not to know the nature of the elections referred in the cheap propaganda of Jakarta, used to smokescreen the international community and take a vow from its accomplices! We insist that acts (elections) like these are only possible to achieve due to the military occupation. We can never consider them a real exercise of the right to self-determination, because they clearly demonstrate that Maubere People participate in these elections because they have no other choice. The systematic outrage of the "human rights" and the deprivation of liberty are two things that define basically a situation of full intimidation, only explainable by the presence of this military occupation. And so what they call "consultation" has no characteristics of a credible and lawful exercise of the right to self-determination. If Australia rejects the composition of the current Government of Fiji, we believe, and with greater reason, that the administrative elections in East Timor, under the military occupation of Indonesia, can never be regarded as a true expression of a will of integration.

2. The general conception adopted by the defenders of the "irreversibility of the annexation", an affair that has long have no solution, hides the great contribution they have given themselves to Indonesia. It is not just a question to extend this issue, but mainly they have joined Jakarta to support the theory of the "fait accompli", giving various aids to the murderers of our people. The time factor is an excuse with great legal effect, which tries to suggest that responsibilities – if not the political responsibilities, at least the moral ones – for the suffering of Maubere People should be forgotten. This time factor is not used, for example, in the occupation of Afghanistan by the Soviet Union or the invasion of Cambodia by Vietnam, both lasting for nine years; or (why don't they mention it?) the system of "apartheid" in South Africa! In another situation, time does not give way to the same attitudes the PTA and the Australian Government took and wanted to take in 1986, when Australia has emerged as co-worker on the resolution of the UN General Assembly meant to put New Caledonia once again in the list of non-autonomous territories, even though it had been removed from it in 1974, 39 years past now!

Adding to the time issue, because Timorese People did not have the slightest possibility of maintaining an armed confrontation with "mujahedin" conditions in Afghanistan or those of the coalition of Democratic Kampuchea, it is too easy to say that Maubere People "have accepted the integration." Total moral lack shown by those positions is enough to commit all with crime and injustice! Australia should be able, for instance, to give itself a more compatible role with the need for reflection on the East Timor issue. And so be able to put us

openly the questions on the regional security as a strategically important factor to obtain a concrete solution to the conflict... Instead of persisting in its immoral policy facing the immorality of the crimes!

3. Who owns the right? That is a question that always arises in our mind when we hear the inconsistent statements not only from Jakarta but also from Australia. The right to self-determination, so often mentioned for Afghanistan and Cambodia and, in a very far-fetched speech of the Australian Ambassador to the United Nations, for supporting New Caledonia, this right, in the Timor-Leste affair, belongs to whom?...

- To Jakarta, that brutally invaded Timor-Leste, with a military occupation lasting for 12 years, during which they have been exterminating the Timorese population?

- Or to Portugal, that appears as the administering power in a conflict that is many thousand kilometres away?

- Or to Maubere People, that suffer in their body and soul the tragic effects of a brutal war in struggling for their own survival, in a situation that involves suffering due to persecution, torture, imprisonment, exile, missing people, threats, in short, all the cruelties made by Indonesia with the consent of Western countries?

Even the UN Secretary-General addressed these issues from the point of view of a "dispute between Lisbon and Jakarta" over the annexation of East Timor, to get rid of his obligation to interpret them properly, based on the spirit and the letter of Resolution 37/30, which mentions the parties involved. The UN recognizes the right of East Timor to self-determination and independence, but in practice, its actions obey to Jakarta's will, favouring the annexation of Maubere Homeland by force.

In Australia, Mr. Bob Hawke says – revealing the happiness in his heart for his pro-Indonesian feelings (or pro-Timor Gap?) – FRETILIN does not represent anything. And takes the statements of the Australian Prime-Minister Beni Moerdani, who also shouted recently that "some 500 people cannot represent a right to independence"!

After all, the right is only to be measured by the numbers of resistant fighters against foreign military occupation? Of course these two people and many others will never be able to imagine that a land of half an island, bordering the invaders, could show the world their number of refugees, which is up to almost a million. That is why Mr. Bill Hayden, in 1984, made a prediction that FRETILIN would soon lose the war, because the Indonesian generals told him they were going to use all means to kill the guerrillas. If we must take only numbers

to understand their reasoning, thousands and thousands of Timorese refugees living outside the country, and those who, given the conditions, have not had the luck to leave Timor-Leste, as a refusal of the occupying Indonesian presence, and the many thousands of slaves and outcasts, are these numbers to reflect any right? Or are the killing soldiers of Indonesia representing the right to military occupation? Then why do they dispute the Soviet occupation in Afghanistan, if the country keeps being independent?

If the issue is numbers, are more than 200,000 East Timorese who sacrificed their lives for their country not enough to gain the right to self-determination? If it is still not enough, we must agree that Indonesia's murderous troops represent a greater right, the one of annexation? If so, why do they condemn the invasion of Cambodia by Vietnam, according to Hanoi's version of the facts, instead of relying on the claim of the present Government of Phnom-Penh and consider it an annexation?

Keeping the subject on numbers, from December 7th 1975 till the end of 1978, more than 90% of the East Timor population fled to the mountain, to fight against the aggression of their Homeland, when Indonesia, with the help of Australia, bombed the sites of the resistance, so that their murderous troops could move forward, stealing everything they had... Isn't this number representative for any rights? In those circumstances, were Indonesian troops defending their sacred right to invade East Timor? So why, 40 years ago, Australia used East Timor as a stage of war, to kill many people far from their territory? Why didn't they fight the Japanese in Australia, if they had the right to invade us? If it's a matter of numbers, with a bit of political honesty, one can conclude that 12 years of terror and deprivation of liberty, 12 years of permanent physical, moral and mental repression, are enough to state some rights!!!

These rights belong to all people, and not only to the liberation movements, although we think that the movements have to identify themselves with this rights. Therefore, we consider immoral to confine these rights to "50" or "some 500 people"; to deny the rights to Maubere People, considering the number of the resistance fighters, means to deny those rights... So, the recognition of the right of the "mujahedins" and the armed opposition in Cambodia to fight for their countries, their right to self-determination, is determined by their capacity to show the world thousands and thousands of resistance fighters against the foreign occupation! But what about New Caledonia, which has no armed struggle and where violence is performed by the Kanaks?

4. All these aspects will not be erased from our struggle and we consider them outstanding aspects of our resistance against the cruel military occupation by Indonesia. We decided not to consider to give value to other strong arguments, which, presently, favour the Indonesian diplomacy efforts, focused on presenting the world “a development that is unstoppable”.... the reason why, from their point of view, “it is better for the Timorese people to stay within Indonesia”.

(Right now, we really need a bigger support from Australia to encourage a wider political openness, because we too are starting this kind of approach.) Mr. Bob Hawke classified us, loud and sound, a “banana republic”; if his intentions were to underestimate our struggle leadership, because we are not experts like him, we are not ashamed of this reality... It is true that our people are illiterate but they know how to think and they feel they were victims of a world-sized injustice and of the barbarity of Indonesia and also of the Australian betrayal!

However, if they are considering as a fact that Timor-Leste is a poor country, without a minimum of natural conditions, and that only with assistance from all parts will it conduct its social and economical progress, we just regret that Mr. Bob Hawke and the Australian government are intentionally forgetting that we have our own natural resources, for instance, the “TIMOR GAP”, evaluated to be able to produce hundreds of barrels daily! But it is not the only happening on the south part of Maubere Homeland; we have oil in Suai, natural gas in Aliambata and Pualaca and many people say that we can make much out of Ira Lalaro’s lake (on the big plain of Lospalos), that “flows into” Paitxau mountain, in the North Coast – if we decide to drill it, we will be able to build the cheapest energy complex in the world, with capacity to provide energy till Kupang... And not only this: some experts on these matters describe Timor-Leste as a fertile land, very rich, “good for agriculture”... from coffee (the arabica coffee is considered one of the best produced in the world) to rice, from wheat to cotton, from corn to sugar cane, etc., etc.; it also has great potential for animal husbandry and mining field exploration. Some experts also talk about “great mineral wealth” in charcoal, marble and “the trace or signs of iron, copper and other minerals, including gold” are also to be found all over the country... People also describe that the areas of Bibisusu, Samoro, Turiscaï and Fatuloro are lands divided by a river that has, from its source to the sea, lots of gold nuggets” and it is said that, in Fatuloro, “gold can reach 22 karats”, and in Bibisusu, “21.3 karats” with a reminder that in “Vemasse there were also traces of gold”!!!

At last... what will Mr. Bob Hawke say about several nations already independent but still considered among the poorest nations in this planet or about other independent small islands

in the middle of the Pacific Ocean we hear that only have copra for exportation and tourism as sources to get foreign exchange... or which budgets depend mostly on the fees over fisheries in their territorial waters? From his point of view, with such development, these Estates would not deserve the right to self-determination! Taking the idea of “minimum conditions” to development, Timor-Leste is not a “banana republic”; instead it can become an “oil republic”!

But all these problems show that Australian politics towards Timor-Leste is based on the Indonesian offer to a joint exploration of the “TIMOR GAP”, and Mr. Bill Hyden himself recently went to Jakarta to conclude those agreements. We just want to remind the Australian government that, from our point of view, that agreement is a stealing act and the exploration by Indonesia mere plundering. We do not know the laws, but we believe this is the right way to face the facts! And that does not mean we will reject Australian participation in this exploration; associating their political rights with economic development, Timorese People will have better possibilities to guide their steps in the path of progress.

5. However, Timorese People stand up to economic interests that allow an inequitable distinction, in violation to the international rule, especially on human rights, according to the kinds, in a political base that has allowed Australia to show an attitude and character, in one hand, cynical and, in the other hand, dishonest.

Australian government and ACTU worry “too much” with the events in the Fiji Islands, but in the Timor-Leste issue they say “it is an Indonesian internal problem”. We still have not heard about massacres in Fiji, with people being arrested or tortured, but they already imposed them or started economic sanctions to force them “back to democracy” and the Fiji “problem” looks to be the fundamental issue in the Australian foreign policy; as to Timor-Leste, Australian government is not able to see the power abuse over the human rights made by the Indonesian criminal military.

The situation of Fiji and Timor-Leste highlights a common point: they are weak countries with small populations, that regional and world powers want to manipulate. That is why Australia quickly joined Indonesia to condemn France presence in New Caledonia, through a concrete action in the UN. But on the other hand, it does not trouble its conscience being with Indonesia and putting pressure on the international community to perceive the barbaric aggression and criminal military occupation in Timor-Leste as a “fait accompli”, which

should not be considered. And to minimize the fact that the resistance against the brutal repression of the Maubere People will continue.

About the Fiji, colonel Rabuka (recently promoted to brigadier) was subject to condemnation, while, for Timor-Leste, the Indonesian generals say and (Canberra) accepts optimistically a situation that is unquestionable. If we take the number issue, in the first issue (Fiji), there is only one colonel; but here (Indonesia), people say that on counting generals on active duty and retired and diplomats we have hundreds of people!

Once again, we know Maubere People must stand up to the insensitivity of the Australian leaders, who, as documents state, were quick to give their recognition to the criminal annexation of Timor-Leste.

But, because of the role we held leadershiping our People's resistance, we must understand that the real problem can be found in the regional doctrine on the prevention against communist infiltration. Therefore, we must overcome these obstacles, which so far have not allowed another vision of this affair. We know that it is almost impossible to make the Australian government go back to its old official politics, but we think that, if we show political will and moral honesty, Canberra will reconsider its attitude and begin to benefit East Timorese People. With a proper attitude, Australia can finally contribute to the rehabilitation of the universal principles and stimulate the dialogue, good neighbourhood spirit and cooperation between the various people in this region and with Timorese People.

We also understand that the relations that connect Jakarta and Canberra are a concern to Australia, but our opinion is that, with a bigger sense of justice and with a minimum willingness to set the peace, these relations could become an element of persuasion, so both side could show a generous political attitude facing our People's suffering and their true aspirations.

Such a redefinition of points of view can only be dignifying to the Australian people and government, and be honourable to the Australian people who, 41 years ago, sealed with their blood, ties of friendship between the two people, Australian and Maubere!

Senator!

We keep in mind that the principle of the "balance of power" in the region implies geopolitical obligations, we must accept, so that our independence can give the nations in the region and in the entire world guarantees that we recognize our insertion in Southeast Asia.

Following this reasoning, in our first national conference, in which participated all the FRETILIN members, including those who are now abroad, we made a very deep revision of our party's social democratic objectives, and I am now stating the main points as follow, as a complement to the PEACE PLAN we presented in 1983:

- We commit not to establish diplomatic relations with Vietnam, Cuba, Libya, China, Soviet Union and other countries whose presence can affect regional interests;
- We confirm to the countries of this region that we accept the conditions related with our army size, limited to what may suit our self-defense; in the transition period, that will create the political and economical conditions to an independent Timor-Leste, it is Portugal's responsibility to assume the defense of the country (or hand it over to multinational forces, depending on the circumstances); according to what is said above, war materials supply can only be provided by Portugal.
- We face the possibility of establishing an agreement with Jakarta, in which we compromise ourselves to expatriate or send away people that can be a threat to the security of the Indonesian Republic and that want to use Timor-Leste as a hiding place. The same agreement can state our public commitment not to support internal conflicts in Indonesia (facts that Lieutenant-Colonel Iswanto, the puppet "gubernur", and priest Filipe Belo kept us informed about, so to convince us to surrender and wait for Indonesia fall).
- We are fully prepared to receive a "development" that allows the "conquest of the Timorese" (a principle of counter-insurgency war... that has no effect, but causes good impression in some people, because of the benefits that are presented to them) as a debt, written in Indonesian aid agreements with special payment terms!

Considering that Timor-Leste problem is to be seen in the international context (that has no solution in our rendition or in our extermination), because that aggression is a violation to the international rights; and considering the permanent military occupation is against the universal principles settled in the United Nations Charter, and derails all efforts that the UN itself is doing to reach a solution to conflicts in other regions of the globe;

Considering that the proposals we present are a clear and undoubtful proof of our will to contribute, effective and decisively, to REGIONAL PEACE and STABILITY;

We appeal to the international community, we demand the Secretary General of the UN, and we also require the Australian government to put pressure on Jakarta to get a cease-fire, to allow a wider contact between Portugal, Indonesia, Nationalist Convergence and Armed Resistance, with supervision of the UN, to discuss the implementation of the PEACE PLAN that FRETILIN presented in 1983.

We think that the political conditions we now present can already be (i.e., they have to be) considered in a context that stimulates a political solution safeguarding the universal principles and giving way to dialogue in the future, that does not discredit people or a part of it so to eliminate differences, preventing instead the increase of intransigent attitudes, that no longer produce results, in times that recommend to show more flexibility and greater cooperation between all people!

We think that the Australian government has a special role to play, in the context of this area, in the solution of the Timorese problem. Talking about Jakarta, we believe we have clearly shown that, if it does not win, it also does not lose either. If they look carefully into this problem, the two parties should get to the conclusion that, even if this process presents violent and scandalous forms, there are common objectives, such as the prevention against threats of destabilization that can arise in this area, and should find a way to build rational mechanisms to eliminate distrust and certify that an independent Timor-Leste will become a factor to ensure peace and stability.

Finally, we appeal to the Indonesian government to trust our political sincerity and moral firmness, as we are adopting attitudes leading to constructive dialogue. Indonesia is the one responsible to rebuild its own international prestige, which is being affected by the military occupation of Timor-Leste!

- FATHERLAND OR DEATH
- STRUGGLE CONTINUES ON ALL FRONTS
- TO RESIST IS TO WIN!

To conclude, Senator, please receive a big hug from all of us.
With consideration and regards, XANANA GUSMÃO

**X A N A N A
GUSMÃO**

(Received in Darwin, April 19th, 1988)

Translation: National Directorate of Translation, Presidency of the Council of Ministers, Sixth Constitutional Government of Timor-Leste, 29 February 2016.