

## Negotiation Must Say To Jakarta: You Lost The Battle In The Political Field

Seventeen September the UN will host another round of negotiations under the auspices of the Secretary General of UN, Dr Boutros-Ghali. This time, it will take place in New York.

Since the Rome Talks, 20 April last, a range of significant events took place. From the Resistance point of view, the capture of Ma'Huno (Bukar), the interim leader since the capture of Xanana Gusmao was a major blow; the Resistance was further shaken with the loss of another historical and competent leader.



However, in the international arena, one must note the fact that Dr Amos Wako, the Special Envoy of the Secretary General of UN Dr Boutros-Ghali, who went to East Timor, managed to have confidential meetings with all the 3 jailed leaders of the Resistance, Xanana Gusmao, Ma'Huno and Mau Hodu. Having special envoy of the top authority of the UN meeting jailed leaders of a Liberation Movement is not a common event. The fact that it took place, mirrors the importance that UN gives to the representativity of the Timorese people in the negotiation process.

In another important front, we must register the decision of the US Government not to authorize the sale of F-5 jef fighters from Jordan to Indonesia. This is, if anything, a reflection of the growing awareness of the US Congress about the tragic situation of the Timorese people. The decision was made in spite of the fact that the service of these aircrafts would be made in California and improve the conditions of the Californian investments.

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The latest manouvre of the Indonesian government is the reduced sentence given to Xanana Gusmao, from life to 20 years imprisonment. It is another insult to the international community. General Suharto not only has no right to jail Xanana Gusmao but also it is Suharto and his regime that should be held responsible for the massacres of Timorese.

This reduced sentence, however, shows that Indonesia is susceptible to international pressure. It coincided with the stop of F-5 sales from Jordan to Indonesia and the meeting of President Clinton with Suharto in Tokyo. It also shows to the international community that the man they praise for his commitment to freedom and democracy - Xanana Gusmao - is still jailed

by a regime that illegally and barbarically occupies Xanana's Homeland.

Suharto is, indeed, feeling the pressure of the international community. A clear example was his trip to Japan's G-7 meeting. He demanded to meet all G-7 group in the official G-7 meeting. Ali Alatas even said a month earlier that if Suharto can not meet G-7 in the formal meeting Suharto will not accept humiliation to meet the G-7 members separately. But, at the end, Suharto had to put up or shut up! He only could meet the G-7 members separately - in the corridors!

The struggle of the Timorese to liberate the Homeland has suffered some serious drawbacks in the military field; but, politically, the trend is reverse. Xanana Gusmao was quite right when he declared on the 27th of March last that it is time for Indonesia to recognise that they have lost the battle in the political field.

We hope this forthcoming negotiation will further help the dictators of Jakarta that they have, indeed, lost the battle in the political field.

### EAST TIMOR IN FOCUS: CANADA AND US

By Agio Pereira

This report is about my trip to Canada and USA, from 4 of July to the 5th of August. The trip was prompted by an invitation addressed to me by the Vancouver Folk Music Society and Winnipeg Folk Music Society to perform in their respective annual international folk music festival.

Apart from this music tour I worked with the East Timor Alert Network/Canada and East Timor Action Network/USA to campaign for East Timor based upon the agenda these two networks have set out for East Timor.

ETAN is a group of concerned individuals, some with wide experience in campaigning others relatively new in the field. The group in USA was formed since the massacre of Santa Cruz, 12 November 1991, and that of Canada was formed before that. In each branch of ETAN there are portuguese members.

They are very effective in their ap proach to East Timor because of their com-

mitment to a cause they can closely identify with. In Canada, the Vancouver group have have set up a "voice mail", a telephone line where they all ring to receive or deliver messages for the network. In USA, the weapon is the computer "email" network including one which is exclusive to the portuguese students to exchange their opinions on various issues and East Timor is a main one.



Agio Pereira performs at the Vancouver Folk Festival, Canada

#### CANADA

The Vancouver Folk Music Society and the Winnipeg Folk Music Society, responsible respectively for the Vancouver and Winnipeg International Folk Music Festival paid my fair to Canada, including a trip to Toronto on the way back from Winnipeg to the festival of Vancouver. The festival in Winnipeg took place from the 9th to 11th of July whilst that of Vancouver took place from the 16th to 18th of July. Both festivals are quite popular with public support ranging from 20,000 to 25,000 people.

From Winnipeg I went to Toronto to meet and work with the local ETAN branch. The co-ordinator there is David Webster and he is supported by a section of portuguese supporters who have been very active for East Timor. I gave three interviews to the three main portuguese radio stations. All three of them gave me extensive time to talk about the situation of East Timor. Because there are about 250,000 portuguese citizens in Toronto and surrounding areas and almost all of

them listen to at least one of the three stations where I was interviewed, it is fair to say that we did reach thousands of portuguese in Toronto. On top of these radio interviews, I also gave an interview to the portuguese TV program, "Channel 47", a program which is widely seen by the portuguese community.

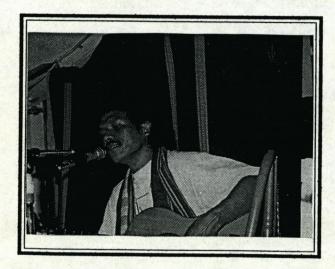
In Toronto, materials of ET were sold to the public. These included T-shirts, tapes "I'm Still Fighting", badges and stickers, etc.

Before I departed, I had an informal meeting with the Toronto ETAN group where the situation of East Timor was discussed in detail.

I also asked this ETAN group to contact Midnight Oil when they come to Toronto to appeal for support for ET during their concert. This plan was successful; Midnight Oil did make a strong appeal for ET during their concert where 40.000 people attended!

#### VANCOUVER

I flew to Vancouver on the 15th of July. I was lodged in the University of British Colombia, together with all the artists that went from other parts of the world. Vancouver festival started on the 16th July until the 18th of July.



Abe Barreto - CNRM rep. performing at the festival

I was given 5 concerts to play within two days and that was very tiring indeed. But it was done and successfully. The idea of being able to reach thousands of people in one weekend only was two exciting to worry about being tired. Again, the program magazine talked a lot about me and East Timor and it was made available to literally everyone of the 20,000 people that attended the festival. That was a great publicity for East Timor.

Apart from this, ETAN branch in Vancouver was allowed to set up a "stall" to inform the public about ET. Sale of ET material was also made possible. Whatever the reason, the fact that ETAN was allowed to have an information table and sell materials in the festival was already a big success because the competition between the groups to get a space in the festival market is known to be very harsh.

## "I appealed to the audience to learn more about East Timor"

In all my concerts I appealed to the audience to learn more about East Timor in the Market where ETAN desk was located. The public response was good. At least 30 pages of petition in support of ET were signed by the public.

One can never forget the efforts put by the members of ETAN in Vancouver in preparing the materials, the table, and organising the whole activity of this hectic weekend. I want to pay my respect here for these tireless members of the Timorese Resistance.

#### FILM

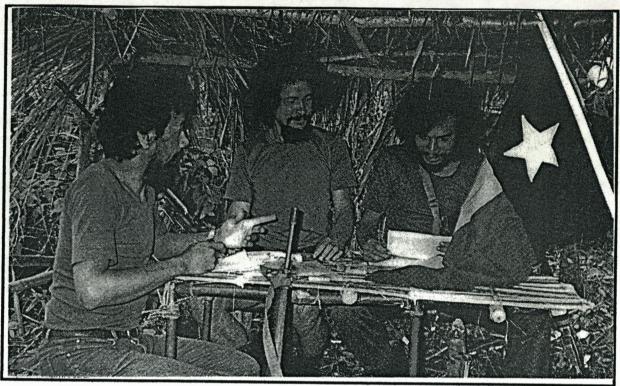
The week between 19th to 24th July was used to help Elaine Brier's team getting the film on ET done. Elaine's team got the green light from the festival organisers to film me in the festival so that some of the live music including the audience could be used for the film.

Abe Barreto and Aze Soares are the only Timorese in Canada. Both escaped the Indonesian authorities last year and were given political asylum status by the Canadian authorities. Both work for the National Council of Maubere's Resistance - CNRM.

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## KONIS SANTANA AND THE NEW STRUCTURE OF THE NATIONAL RESISTANCE OF EAST TIMOR



From left: Xanana, Ma'Huno and Mau Hodu (Aitana '89)

A document signed by Konis Santana dated 25 April 1993, explained how the National Resistance in East Timor has been re-shaped after the capture of Xanana Gusmao and Ma'Huno.

The new structure took place in accordance with the current situation of the National Resistance. Konis Santana stated in his document which was aimed at the Timorese students and youth in general, that "The successive capture of our leaders was a strategic defeat for the Command of the Struggle (Luta) and its consequences are now visible in the struggle in every front of the Armed Resistance, be it politico-clandestine and diplomatic; but this has not mount an end to the Maubere's Resistance. We did loose our best ideologues, our best thinkers, our best strategists!"

Konis Santana believes, however, that "the defeat only meant a loss of the leaders in a physical and intelectual sense" the loss of the capacity to synthesize the experience of the Maubere People's struggle and show the

right direction to take in order to materialize the ultimate objective - the Liberation of the Homeland; but their knowledge sprouted from the blood, sweat and tears, the pain and suffering, the sacrifice, the lives given by all those who have given everything for the struggle that belongs to the entire People that resist, the occupation, lives on".

Konis Santana did not spare words in recognising the crucial role of his leader - Xanana Gusmao - when he stated that "in terms of Direction and Luta, Xanana embodied the Maubere's Resistance. Xanana was the thinker, the strategist, the intelectual second to none in the Timorese society." Konis reiterated that Xanana was "the ideologue that knew how to recreate from the dust of destruction, the structure of the Maubere's Resistance; Xanana was the courageous leader who knew exactly how to exert on the struggle the crucial political changes to turn the struggle into a National Resistance and, above all, Nationalist. Xanana was the tireless leader who fought for the construction of the National Unity of all Timorese, by unifying all

the patriotic and nationalists forces, all the People of East Timor in the Resitance against the occupation, fighting side-by-side without the preconceived political partisanship and without discriminations of any form or shape. Xanana was, therefore, the Symbol of the Unity of our People, the Symbol of our Luta."

About the reorganisation of the National Council of Maubere's Resistance, Konis Santana postulated that "the CNRM, whilst a national structure of the Resistance which unifies all those inside the Homeland, regardless of their political tendencies, and social and religious beliefs (...) continuously searches for objectivity in its practical approach, and to adapt and respond to the new realities

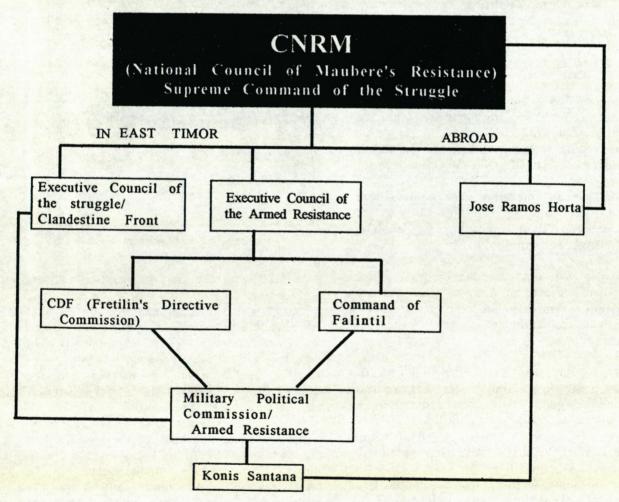
Considering the new circumstances of the

struggle, Konis Santana took over the leading role of the Resistance as from the 25th April 1993 to overcome what he calls the "lacunae in the leadership" (vazio de Direccao).

Hence the new structure. The following chart is a summary we made based on the explanation Konis Santana gave in this document. As for the "external" front, Jose Ramos-Horta had not accepted the sole responsibility as the "Chief of the Resistance".

Instead, he made a counter proposal which allows the Supreme Command of the Struggle to be in the hands of a "troika" which he represents abroad. Hence, you may find in the latest Press Releases of CNRM Jose Ramos-Horta as the "Co-chairman" of the CNRM.

## NATIONAL RESISTANCE ORGANISATION



This structure was based on the explanation Konis Santana articulated in his handwritten document dated 25 April 1993. In the "external" front apart from Jose Ramos-Horta role the situation is evolving.

(cont. from pg.3)

#### USA

On the 25th of July I went to the USA by car. Seattle, in the State of Washington was my first stop. In Seattle, there is also a group of ETAN (ET Action Network; note that in Canada it is called ET Alert Network).

In Seattle, I had a concert in the University of Washington. The concert included an exhibition of Elaine Briere's photographs including cultural outlook on East Timor, video "Cold Blood", slides projection with explanation by an ETAN member and political comments. The audience was good and was largely composed by the students attending a summer program run by the Institute of SE Asian Studies, sponsored by the University of Washington.

I also gave an interview to a public radio station called KBCS- A New Tradition. Although this station aims primarily at musical/cultural topics, my interview of half an hour was largely political.

### PORTLAND-PORT OREGON

Oregon has a group for East Timor Action Network (ETAN). My activity was very well-organised and publicised. The East Timor evening took place in a cinema and the event was advertised a week before.

I gave an interview to a public radio station. During my interview I was also asked to sing (live) some songs. The interview lasted 30 minutes.

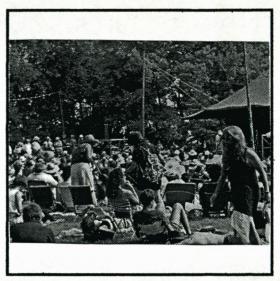
I also met with members of an organisation called "Friends of America". A grassroot organisation working in the promotion of mutual understanding of various issues and culture.

My concert was enriched with an exhibition of photos by Elaine Briere, a beautifully decorated staged showing the dedication and hard work of tireless supporters the People of East Timor has in USA. A public discussion and video "Xanana" also were part of the program. All remain to be said is that the public did show a strong interest on the issue and always wanted to know a lot more.

Before my departure to Aokland, I had a meeting with the editors of the state's major

newspaper - The Oregonian. The meeting was very constructive and, it seems, it may help the newspaperto take on East Timor as an issue. The editors asked us (I went with a representative of local ETAN) when we want them to write the editorial and we said "shortly before the negotiations under the auspices of the UN, 17 September".

My arrival in Aokland was welcome by three dedicated members of ETAN - Ann Tresedar, Mark and Clara Landeiro. I was then taken to dinner to meet all the organisers of ETAN and learn about how and why they made my program the way it was. My impression was that we, as Timorese, are lucky to have these tireless workers for East Timor. They not only make things look easy but also inject in the activities a high degree of quality. My program was carefully organised.



Crowd at the festival

We met with the staff of the two Californian senators for long discussion on the issue of East Timor and USA sanctions. We met with the foreign affairs editor of San Francisco Chronicle, the biggest newspaper in San Francisco and a very good article was published. I also gave an interview to the Morning Show, KPFA-FM, a very popular radio station based in Berkley.

After meeting the staff of the two Californian Senators, I went to speak in a rally to "cut-off US arms sale to Indonesia". The protest was very well attended and it was the first time I experienced the US style of protest - going around in circles. This was creative and very efficient in encouraging the public to read all the banners/fliers.

My first concert took place in San Francisco with the support of San Francisco Methodist Church. The concert included also public discussion, video "Xanana", and social evening to meet each other. As in all other events organised by ETAN in Canada and USA the members of ETAN introduced ETAN and give a summary of various relevant information in the introductory part of the program.

My second day took me to Morgan Hill where I gave an almost one hour and a half interview to the biggest portuguese radio station in the state. The members of ETAN Ann Tresedar and Clara Landeiro also took part in the interview. The message we passed to the listeners was that they must support the campaign set out by ETAN so that the Timorese people can also enjoy peace and freedom.

After Morgan Hill, we drove to San Jose where the portuguese students from the Lusitano Club had organised a fundraising evening for ETAN. I went there to sing together with a couple of Acores singers currently residing in San Jose.

#### "I was asked to sing in the massand it turned out to be very moving"

On Sunday, my third day, I attended a catholic mass for East Timor in Berkeley. I was asked to sing in the mass and it turned out to be very moving. The mass was followed by a public discussion which was very constructive. The discussion was enriched by pro-indonesians who ardently argued the indonesian line. The fact that we have managed to discredit their arguments was very positive.

I returned to Vancouver on Monday to work on my last piece in the film of Elaine Briere and, together with Abe Guterres, perform in La Quena Coffee Shop, "a liberated zone" in Vancouver. The concert and talk was very successful. ETAN/Vancouver set up an information table with petitions to be signed by the audience and the response was very good.

Last, but not least, may I use this opportunity to thank all those who supported me in this tour. Tireless supporters of East Timor organised in ETAN/USA and ETAN/Canada are no doubt the moving force of the Timorese Resistance there. Their support dissipated my fatigue of days of travelling, performing,

talking and meeting different people in different places in almost every second day. You do have a place in our heart!

Agio Pereira Executive Director East Timor Relief Association Inc.

## NEWS IN BRIEF

Ramos-Horta, Co-chairman of the CNRM, calls for sanctions against Indonesia and to step up campaign to for the unconditional release of the Timorese National Leader, Xanana Gusmao:

On the issue of Xanana Gusmao to be moved to another indonesian prison in Indonesia,

Jose Ramos-Horta stated that this would "violate the 4th Geneva Convention which is applicable to East Timor and Indonesia. Artcle 49 states that individual or mass forcible transfers as well as deportations of protected persons from occupied territory to territory of the occupying Power or to that of any other country, occupied or not are prohibited, regardless of their motive."

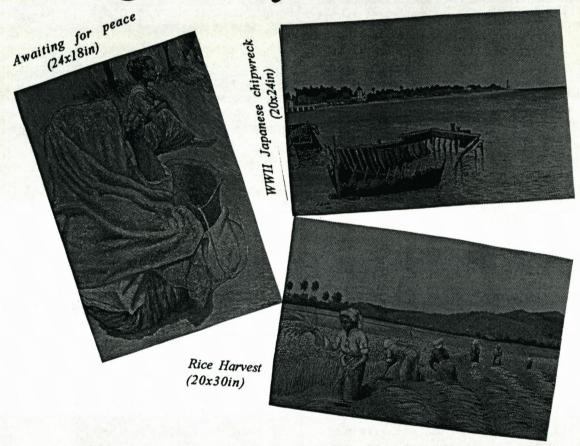
On the remission from life to 20 years on Xanana's life sentence, Ramos-Horta said that "this is an affront to human dignity, Xanana must be released immediately and unconditionally" and we will set up our campaign for his release and for comprehensive sanctions against Indonesia".

### People to People Conference

Agio Pereira, Executive Director of the East Timor Relief Association Inc. attended a conference in the weekend (14-15/8/93) in Sydney. Under the theme "People to People", this conference broought together a range of issues including mining, unions, women issues, indiginous peoples and the struggle for self-determination in this region. The Conference was very successful not only because it brought together peoples of various parts of this region and allow them to exchange information and experience, but also to highlight common denominators and define priorities. The organisers were congratulated for such a well organised forum and received the "prize" to organise another one!

## EXHIBITION ON EAST TIMOR

# cultural survival: through the eyes of an artist



Timorese artist Sebastiao Silva will offer a rare point of contact with the outside world with an exhbition of his paintings.

Sebastiao's paintings range from rural scenes, farming people, memories of a traumatic past and the continuing resistance of the people of East Timor which inspired this talented young Timorese to bring his work to a broader audience.

The set of paintings will retract the living culture of the Timorese; the indestructibility of the National Resistance.

This exhibition will take place from October 8-23 1993, Tom Nelson's Hall, 51 Sussex Street, Sydney.

This exhibtion is sponsored by East Timor Relief Association Inc.

ETRA has set up a committee of volunteers to work on this exhibition.

For further information please contact Ines Almeida on ph: 823 3308 (h); fax: 726 6319.