

EAST TIMOR'S POLITICAL PARTIES AND GROUPINGS

Briefing Notes

Pat Walsh

Australian Council for Overseas Aid
Canberra

April 2001

EAST TIMOR'S POLITICAL PARTIES AND GROUPINGS

Briefing Notes

Pat Walsh

Australian Council for Overseas Aid

April 2001

CONTENTS

Foreword.....	2
Glossary.....	2
Introduction.....	3
1. APODETI Pro Referendo.....	5
2. BRTT.....	6
3. CNRT.....	7
4. CPD-RDTL.....	9
5. FRETILIN.....	11
6. KOTA.....	14
7. PDC.....	15
8. PDM.....	16
9. PNT.....	17
10. PPT.....	18
11. PSD.....	18
12. PST.....	20
13. TRABALHISTA.....	22
14. UDC.....	23
15. UDT.....	25
Appendix 1: Political timetable.....	26
Appendix 2: Regulation on Political Parties.....	27
Appendix 3: The Catholic Church and Politics.....	28

Note: The Australian Council for Overseas Aid (ACFOA) is the peak body for some 95 Australian non-government organisations involved in overseas aid, human rights and development.

FOREWORD

The Australian Council for Overseas Aid (ACFOA) has followed events in East Timor closely since 1974-75 when political parties first emerged in East Timor after Portugal's decision to decolonise the territory. At the time, as the coordinating body for Australian community organisations involved in overseas aid and development, ACFOA was approached by East Timorese for assistance. A young Jose Ramos Horta was one of a number of East Timorese who visited ACFOA and sought support for the development of the new nation.

Following the civil war in 1975, ACFOA visited East Timor and through our members supplied aid in response to the humanitarian situation. ACFOA was denied entry to the territory after the Indonesian occupation and annexation but sought to do what it could outside East Timor by monitoring the conflict and its human impact, by information dissemination, human rights advocacy and international networking.

It was not until 1989 that ACFOA was able to visit again. A small delegation visited Dili to discuss with Bishop Belo ACFOA support for his watershed letter to the United Nations calling for a referendum. As we now know this referendum was conducted by the UN in 1999 and resulted in a resounding vote for independence.

After a 27 year interlude, East Timorese political parties have re-emerged to continue the work started in 1974. They are important institutions which will have a fundamental impact on East Timor's future development.

ACFOA has commissioned these 'briefing notes' to offer its members and East Timor's many friends around the world a window into these political parties and movements which have shaped and will continue to shape the political landscape in East Timor's development. As the author notes in the introduction, these 'briefing notes' will need to be regularly updated once official registration of parties and the articulation of party policies are further developed by the parties.

ACFOA wishes to express its sincere thanks to the Oikoumene Foundation in Canberra for generously supporting this project and to Pat Walsh for researching and writing the paper which owes much to his long involvement with the issue and his association with many of the East Timorese players mentioned in its pages.

Having accompanied the East Timorese people this far in their journey, ACFOA remains vitally interested in their future. We hope these notes will contribute to a better understanding of the political situation and contribute to the development of an open, creative and cooperative political process as East Timor prepares for democratic elections and the crafting of a Constitution later this year.

Jim Redden
Policy Director
ACFOA

April 2001

GLOSSARY

APODETI Associacao Popular Democratica de Timor (Popular Democratic Association of Timor)

ASEAN Association of South East Asian Nations

BRTT Barisan Rakyat Timor Timur (East Timor People's Front)

Carnation Revolution Peaceful military coup in Portugal on 25 April 1974 which took the seasonal carnation as its symbol. The coup ended half a century of dictatorship and began the de-colonisation of Portugal's overseas territories.

CNRM Conselho Nacional de Resistancia Maubere (National Council of Maubere Resistance)

CNRT Conselho Nacional da Resistancia Timorese (National Council of Timorese Resistance)

CPD-RDTL Conselho Popular pela Defesa de Republica Democratica de Timor Leste (Popular Council for the Defence of the Democratic Republic of East Timor). Also uses the title CPD-RDTL/FRETILIN.

CPLP Conference of Portuguese Speaking Nations

DRET Democratic Republic of East Timor

ETDF East Timor Defence Force (successor to Falintil)

ETTA East Timor Transitional Administration (also UNTAET)

FALINTIL Forças Armadas de Libertação Nacional de Timor-Leste (National Liberation Forces of East Timor)

FRETILIN Frente Revolucionária do Timor-Leste Independente (Revolutionary Front of Independent East Timor)

KOTA Klibur Oan Timor Asuwain (Association of Timorese Heroes)

LIURAI traditional king

Magna Carta Statement of human rights and other principles adopted by CNRT at its founding congress in 1998

NC National Council (UNTAET appointed East Timorese advisory legislative body)

PC Permanent Council (executive committee) of CNRT

PDC Partido Democrata Cristão (Christian Democrat Party of Timor)

PDM Partido Democrático Maubere (Maubere Democratic Party)

PKF Peace Keeping Forces (UN)

PNT Partido Nacionalista Timorense (Timorese Nationalist Party)

PPT Partido do Povo de Timor (People's Party of Timor)

PSD Partido Social Democrata Timor Lorosae (Social Democrat Party of East Timor)

PST Partido Socialista de Timor (Socialist Party of Timor)

RDTL República Democrática de Timor Leste (Democratic Republic of East Timor)

TRABALHISTA Partido Trabalhista (Timor Labour Party)

UDC União Democrata-Cristã de Timor (Christian Democratic Union of Timor)

UDT União Democrática Timorense (Timorese Democratic Union)

UNTAET United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor

UNTAS Uni Timor Aswain (United Heroes of Timor), the political wing of the pro-Indonesia militias, created in West Timor in February 2000.

INTRODUCTION

East Timor is now entering the last, crucial stage of the transition process to full independence. National elections for a Constituent Assembly to develop a Constitution for the new nation will be held on 30 August 2001. Over the months that follow, decision-making and power will be transferred from the United Nations Transitional Administration (UNTAET) to democratically elected East Timorese legislative and executive bodies.

In preparation for this historic moment, to be held 2 years to the day after East Timorese voted overwhelmingly in favour of independence from Indonesia on 30 August 1999, voter registration and education programs are underway and a regulation on the registration of political parties and independent candidates has been promulgated.

Until now, the CNRT independence umbrella body has occupied centre stage. This has had the effect of obscuring the parties who, like the FALINTIL guerillas in the run-up to the August 99 ballot, have endured a period of necessary political cantonment in the interests of national unity. The scene is now set, however, for the political parties to take their rightful place under the spotlight as key players in the democratic process. This is a healthy and positive development which excesses by some should not be permitted to undermine.

In November 1999, ACFOA published a backgrounder on CNRT called *'From Opposition to Proposition: the National Council of Timorese Resistance (CNRT) in Transition'*, to contribute to a more informed and positive reception for CNRT by the international community. It is hoped these notes will play a similar role in relation to the parties by answering the questions observers and others will have about these new players. How many parties will contest the election? Who are their leaders and how does one contact them? How have they changed from previous times? What ideas and policies do they have for East Timor's development, foreign policy and so on?

For some parties, it is a case of picking up where they left off 27 years ago, in some instances, with the same cast. Others are more recent creations. Whether old or new, however, their leaders have much in common. Their experience during the difficult years of the Indonesian occupation has matured them as politicians and as people and they have the advantage of working in a positive post-Cold War global environment in which there is

extraordinary good will towards East Timor and many other nation-building experiences to learn from. They also share the same challenge, at once exciting and daunting, of determining the design and direction of the new East Timorese nation which, unlike 1974-5, is irrevocably set on the path to independence.

Some will greet their return to public life with cynicism; others will be fearful because of the regrettable re-emergence of political violence in East Timor in recent days. It is important to stress, however, that the advocates of violence are a minority and are out of step with the prevailing national mood. It is very clear from these notes that the overwhelming majority of parties and political leaders in East Timor are not only very conscious of their historic calling but are strongly committed to building a new political culture of tolerance and respect for human rights, including those of political opponents. Every effort must be made to assist them in this critical endeavour and to see that they are rewarded at the polls for their stance. This support should include assistance with capacity-building and policy development.

These 'Notes' are not complete. A full picture will only be possible when the parties have successfully registered with UNTAET and developed more detailed policies than exist at the moment.

The document focuses on the present and the future, rather than the past. Where possible, however, historical background has been included. This is an essential part of any transparent curriculum vitae and is not intended in any way to compromise any party or politician. East Timor is in the process of re-inventing itself as a society and nation. Its political leaders and parties should be permitted the same option.

As far as possible, the information in the pages which follow has been based on interviews with party leaders or officials and on official party documents where these exist or could be obtained. I have also benefited from the assistance of the following observers: Dionisio Babo Soares, Jenny Grant, Kirsty Sword Gusmao, Florence Martin, Lynn Hastings, Paula Pinto, Fr Peter Puthenkandam, Helen Hill and David Scott. For pre-referendum history I have drawn on the following works: *Timor, A People Betrayed* by James Dunn (1996), *East Timor: Nationalism and Colonialism* by Jill Jolliffe (1978), *Funu, the Unfinished Saga of East Timor*, by Jose Ramos Horta (1987), *Fretilin: the Origins, Ideologies and Strategies of a Nationalist Movement in East Timor*, by Helen Hill (1978), and *A Long Journey of Resistance: the Origins and Story of the CNRT*, by Sarah Niner (Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars, 2000).

Any mistakes are entirely my own work and I would appreciate receiving corrections. I would also appreciate receiving news of policy initiatives and other developments so that the report can be up dated from time to time. The document is also available on the ACFOA website: www.acfoa.asn

Pat Walsh
Mobile 040 999 7030 Email: pat@office.minihub.org

1. APODETI PRO REFERENDO

*Associação Popular Democrática de Timor Pro Referendo
Pro Referendum Popular Democratic Association of Timor*

Key facts

Leader: Frederico Almeida Santos Costa

History: pro-autonomy party founded 1974, now committed to independence and democracy

Links: member of CNRT and National Council

Status: small party attempting a fresh start

1. CONTACT DETAILS

Postal address: Apodeti Pro Referendo, c/- Frederico Almeida Santos Costa, CNRT Office, Balide, Dili, East Timor.

Tel + 670 390 324 994

Mobile 041 930 9561; 041 946 5819

2. OFFICE BEARERS

- President and CNRT Permanent Council Representative: Frederico Almeida Santos Costa

One of the founders of the original party. Born in Los Palos, formerly a public servant in the Portuguese administration. During the Indonesian period, was employed as a customs official and is now retired.

- Vice-President and National Council Member: Laurentino Domingos Luis De Gusmao
In Portuguese times was responsible for treasury affairs in the Baucau region. Held several senior posts in the public service during the Indonesian period, including as chief of Cabinet. Retired.

- Secretary: Joao Baptista Dos Santos.

Born in Los Palos in 1951. Seminary educated and a former Portuguese civil servant. Worked in a number of government departments during the Indonesian period and was deputy district administrator (wakil bupati) in Los Palos. Currently teaches history and Portuguese language in Dili.

3. HISTORY

APODETI was founded on 27 July 1974 in support of 'autonomous integration into the Republic of Indonesia based on international law' as an alternative to the options promoted by UDT (federation with Portugal) and FRETILIN (total independence). The Party's manifesto also commented on the 'failure of the Portuguese colonisation of Timor' and committed APODETI to introduce compulsory Indonesian in schools and to uphold essential human rights, the just distribution of wealth, a minimum salary, the right to strike, free education and health, and freedom of expression. It supported freedom of religion and opposed racial discrimination but had a declared bias towards the Catholic Church and commentators remarked on its anti-white attitudes.

The party enjoyed the support of some local kings, notably the liurai of Atsabe, sections of the Muslim community and others. But its following was small and its support for the controversial third option of integration with Indonesia gave it a higher profile than its size merited. The Party received funds and support from the Indonesian government and two of its early leaders were the first Indonesian appointed Governors of East Timor. One of these, Guilherme Goncalves, was later to denounce Indonesia's incorporation during the first UN organised All Inclusive Intra-East Timorese Dialogue.

Conscious of the Party's discredited record, contemporary APODETI spokesmen emphasise that APODETI's concern was to secure East Timor's 'viability' as an autonomous province of Indonesia, that the Party always favoured a popular referendum to determine East Timor's political status, and that it opposed forcible annexation. In a public declaration at the CNRT Congress in August 2000, APODETI accepted the results of the 30 August 1999 ballot and added 'Pro Referendum' to its title. APODETI is a member of CNRT and is represented on the CNRT Permanent Council by its president, Frederico Santos Costa.

4. ORGANISATION AND POLICY

APODETI is committed to supporting the development of democratic values amongst the East Timorese people based on

- national unity,
- the defence of the independence and sovereignty of East Timor
- non-violence
- the defence of democracy, tolerance and the socio-cultural values of the East Timorese people.

The level of support for APODETI is not known, but is assumed to be small. The Party has no resources, paid officials, developed structures or international links. An inventory of supporters and sympathisers is being prepared and party structures are being re-built. The Party is yet to hold a Congress but meetings are held to deal with day to day matters such as its role in the CNRT congress or in National Council deliberations.

APODETI supports

- Timorisation of the current administration in all departments and on all levels.
- participation in the political process including in the development of a code of conduct for political parties, Constituent Assembly and Presidential elections, and the development of a Constitution
- multi-party democracy
- dialogue and reconciliation
- fundamental human rights for men and women
- free market economics and foreign and local investment, provided the economy is sustainable and benefits the welfare of the people at the lowest level
- universal education, free as far as possible
- provisional use of Portuguese as the official language while Tetun is further developed
- obligatory teaching of English in primary and secondary schools
- universal health system, free as far as possible
- courses in civic and moral education for youth
- diplomatic relations principally with East Timor's neighbours, Indonesia and Australia, and with Lusophonic countries
- job creation
- development of human resources
- support programs for war victims (widows, orphans, the elderly) and those deprived of opportunities due to their clandestine political activities.

APODETI Pro-Referendum is reported to be considering changing its name to Partido Democrata Liberal, Liberal Democrat Party.

2. BRTT

Barisan Rakyat Timor Timur
East Timor People's Front

Key facts

Leader: Francisco Lopes da Cruz

History: established in 1999 to support autonomy in the August referendum

Links: not part of CNRT; represented by an independent in the National Legislative Council

Status: small party with very limited prospects

BRTT is headed by Francisco Lopes da Cruz and took a pro-autonomy stance in the Popular Consultation of 30 August 1999. A former president of UDT, Lopes da Cruz was appointed the first Deputy Governor of East Timor during the Indonesian period then Ambassador at

Large on East Timor for then President Suharto, and is currently. Indonesian Ambassador to Greece. BRTT is reported to receive funds from Indonesia.

It is represented on the National Council by Salvador Ximenes Soares, the proprietor of the *Suara Timor Lorosae* newspaper. Soares points out, however, that he does not take a pro-autonomy stance at the NC, that his paper does not promote autonomy, that he has no plans to establish a pro-autonomy party and that he sees himself as a 'bridge'.

3. CNRT

Conselho Nacional da Resistencia Timorese
National Council of Timorese Resistance

Key facts

Leader: Xanana Gusmao

History: established in its present form in 1998 as the resistance movement umbrella, not as a political party

Links: partner with UNTAET

Status: has almost run its course and its role will cease when elections are held.

1. CONTACT DETAILS

Street address: CNRT National Secretariat, Rua Caicoli, Balide, Dili.

Contact Person: Virgilio Simith. Tel +670 390 311 352 Mobile: 0407 021 623

CNRT President's Office: CNRT Secretariat.

Contact person: Paula Pinto. Tel +670 390 311 346 Fax +670 390 311 345

Email: xanana@minihub.org

CNRT has branch offices in each district.

2. OFFICE-BEARERS

- President: Kay Rala Xanana Gusmao

Born 20 June 1946 near Manatuto. Educated at the Catholic seminary in Dare, did national service in the Portuguese army and worked as a public servant and editor. He joined Fretilin in May 1975. Was elected Commander in Chief of Falintil in 1981 and rebuilt the resistance movement culminating in the creation of CNRT which he now heads. The pseudonym Xanana derives from the middle syllable of his second baptismal name, Jose Alexandre Gusmao.

- Vice-President and Cabinet Member for Foreign Affairs: Jose Ramos Horta
Born 26 December 1949 in Dili. Journalist and co-founder of ASDT (the Timorese Social Democratic Association) which became Fretilin. East Timor's leading international spokesperson, he won the Nobel Prize for Peace with Bishop Belo in 1996. Author of 'Funu: the Unfinished Saga of East Timor' (NY, Red Sea Press 1987).

- Vice-President: Mario Viegas Carrascalao
63. Graduated in Forestry Engineering in Portugal and worked in Mozambique for 2 years. Administrator and MP in East Timor during Portuguese times. Founding president of UDT. Indonesian appointed Governor of East Timor 1982-1992 and later Indonesian Ambassador to Romania. President of the recently formed Social Democratic Party of East Timor.

- Secretary: Virgilio Simith
- Treasurer: Florentina Simith
- Chairperson, Committee to Oversee the Political Process: Xanana Gusmao
- Chairperson, Strategic Planning and Cooperation Committee: Mario Carrascalao
- Special Representative to the UN: Jose Luis Guterres

3. HISTORY AND ORGANISATION

CNRT is the peak body for East Timor's resistance organisations. It was established at a convention in Portugal in April 1998 to succeed the National Council of Maubere Resistance (CNRM), which was set up in 1987 by Xanana Gusmao and colleagues as part of a restructuring of the resistance on inclusive, non-partisan lines following its near decimation in the late 1970s. Broadening and uniting the resistance also involved Xanana Gusmao's resignation from FRETILIN and decisions by FRETILIN to rescind its claim to be sole legitimate representative of the East Timorese people and to constitute FALINTIL, until then the armed wing of FRETILIN, as a non-partisan, national force. The changes also involved recognition of the role of all nationalists – such as students and political parties like UDT – in the struggle for self-determination.

The CNRT name and flag were used by UNAMET on the 30 August 1999 ballot paper to represent the independence option which was supported by 78.5% of voters. UNTAET has worked with CNRT as its primary partner in the transitional administration of East Timor. However, the need for CNRT to maintain parallel administrative and development structures has lapsed as the administration has become more integrated and Timorised.

CNRT held its second congress 21-30 August 2000, in Dili. The Congress resulted in the re-election of Xanana Gusmao as president and Jose Ramos Horta and Mario Carrascalao as Vice-Presidents, the unanimous adoption of a Pact of National Unity, a CNRT Constitution, and resolutions. The Congress demonstrated the CNRT's important role as a broad political forum for sharing information and debating ideas. However, the Congress was also marked by internal conflict between the CNRT leadership and political parties. FRETILIN and UDT, both pillars of CNRT, have refused to participate in the CNRT Permanent Council since the Congress. This has reduced CNRT to a forum for minor parties thereby weakening its national unity role and increasing UNTAET's dependence on Xanana Gusmao. Both parties are now showing some signs of rapprochement but it is clear that CNRT has effectively run its course.

FALINTIL was formally disbanded on 1 February 2001. 650 of its members were recruited to form the new East Timor Defence Force (ETDF) and the balance demobilised.

CNRT will diminish as political parties take centre stage in the run up to the August 30 elections and is expected to dissolve following the elections. In an address to FALINTIL on 1 February, CNRT President Xanana Gusmao repeated earlier statements that he would not be a candidate for public office or East Timor's presidency. Few doubt, however, that public opinion will oblige him to take on the role.

4. POLICIES

The CNRT Congress and the 13 District Congresses which preceded it were the first opportunity to debate ideas and broad national policy at the political level since the 1999 ballot. Pre-congress meetings of civil society organisations concerned with student, women's, and human rights issues fed into this process. Five Commissions achieved broad consensus on a range of policy issues which will shape East Timor's orientation and, it is assumed, form the basis of ideas and policies adopted by political parties.

Commission I focused on CNRT's internal governance. This included the unanimous adoption of a Pact of National Unity which commits the political parties to respect and uphold national unity, the independence of East Timor, territorial integrity, the outcome of the Popular Consultation of 30 August 1999, the Magna Carta of human rights, and free and fair elections.

Commission II focussed principally on UNTAET and recommended that UNTAET should recruit more East Timorese into the administration and that 30 percent of these places should be filled by women. Inter alia, it also recommended the establishment of a national bank, a single currency, and budgets for the districts.

Commission III focussed on reconciliation and other national policies. The Congress agreed on a definition of reconciliation and adopted Portuguese as East Timor's official language to

be supplemented by Tetun as a second official language after 5-10 years of development. English and Indonesian were agreed to as working languages. Inter alia, the economy should be market-oriented and modernised and foreign investment encouraged.

Commission IV focussed on security and recommended that FALINTIL should supplement PKF's defence role particularly in the western sector. It also recognised that dynamic international relations and diplomacy are vital to East Timor's security.

Commission V focussed on governance and recommended that East Timor be a 'unitarian state' and a republic with a presidential system. The Congress also supported a multi-party system, democracy, and active participation by civil society and called for the establishment of a Commission to draft the Constitution. However, demonstrating how nervous East Timorese are about a repetition of 1970 restrictions on political activity, the congress also voted for tough restrictions on political activity. These included effectively banning pro-autonomy parties from the elections, limiting party organising to district level, banning political parties from holding demonstrations and marches, not permitting members of the East Timor armed forces to vote, and barring all civil servants, judges and church officials from involvement in party activities.

All Commission recommendations were adopted by an overwhelming majority. In specific resolutions, the Congress unanimously endorsed the CNRT Magna Carta on human rights, a national action plan on human rights, and a resolution on women's rights.

Sensitive issues of the national anthem, flag and independence day were not discussed at the Congress. They were debated at the 13 pre-Congress district meetings but subsequently all parties agreed they should be left to an elected assembly to decide on.

CNRT sources

Report on Outcomes of the CNRT National Congress, 21-30 August 2000

4. CPD-RDTL

*Conselho Popular pela Defesa da Republica Democratica de Timor Leste
Popular Council for the Defence of the Democratic Republic of East Timor*

Key facts

Spokesperson: Cristiano da Costa
History: established in 1999 to restore the 1975 Democratic Republic of East Timor
Links: opposes CNRT, FRETILIN and UNTAET; has links to PNT
Status: more a political movement than a party

1. CONTACT DETAILS

Office: Balide, Dili, across from the Church.

2. OFFICE BEARERS

- Olo-gari Aswain (former Falintil Commander)
- Feliciano Alves (member of the 1975 Fretilin Central Committee)
- Egas da Costa Freitas
- Gil da Costa Fernando
- Antonio da Costa (Ai Tahan Matak) M: 0419 037 123
- Cristiano da Costa (International Liaison and Spokesperson).

Born in Baucau. MA in International Relations from UNSW, secondary school in Portugal, 4 years in the bush (75-79), imprisoned 3 times 83-85. Emigrated to Portugal in 1988, thence to Australia. M: 0409 481 462

CPD-RDTL regard Francisco Xavier do Amaral (first President of DRET) and Rogerio Lobato (DRET Minister for Defence, who has recently returned to East Timor from Portugal) as unofficial patrons of the organisation. Both attended the CPD-RDTL 25th anniversary of the declaration of independence on 28 November 2000 in Dili.

3. ORGANISATION AND ORIENTATION

CPD-RDTL was established in 1999 to promote the view that independent East Timor should be based on the original Democratic Republic of East Timor (DRET/RDTL) which was proclaimed by FRETILIN on 28 November 1975 and which, it is claimed, East Timorese fought and died for. This means adopting 28 November 1975 as the date of independence, the DRET Constitution, DRET as East Timor's official name, the DRET flag and anthem (*Patria, Patria, Patria*), FALINTIL as the national army, and installing surviving members of the DRET administration as the current leadership of East Timor.

CPD-RDTL thus stands outside and fundamentally opposed to the political transition process, the transitional mechanisms established by UNTAET and East Timorese organisations involved in the process, including FRETILIN and CNRT. This includes opposing upcoming elections for the Constituent Assembly. Relations with FRETILIN and CNRT have been marked by conflict and violence. CPD-RDTL believes FRETILIN has failed its historic mission. It disagrees with FRETILIN that its 1975 declaration of independence, which was unilateral and attracted little international support, is no longer valid. It opposes FRETILIN's participation in CNRT and says CNRT should be dissolved, as resistance is no longer required and its façade of national unity is a fiction. For its part, CNRT considers CPD-RDTL's appropriation of national symbols and other activities to be virtually treasonous.

CPD-RDTL states that it is not a political party but an umbrella group concerned to raise consciousness about East Timor's past political history. It puts its supporters at several thousand and has links with dissident FALINTIL, including the Sagrada Familia led by Elle-Sette (L-7). Baucau and Dili are strongholds but support groups are also being established down to village level across East Timor increasing the likelihood of further conflict with CNRT and FRETILIN. The organisation rejects claims that it is anti-Church or that it promotes violence, though its flag-raising and other activities are often conducted in sensitive areas at sensitive times. It has also rejected claims that it was responsible for the recent alleged assassination attempt on Xanana Gusmao and argues that its opponents are seeking to discredit it by circulating misinformation.

A former FRETILIN leader, Dr Abilio de Araujo (see PNT entry) publically supports CPD-RDTL and is recently reported by the Portuguese media to have said this includes financial assistance. Some believe the organisation is being used by elements in Indonesia to create instability in East Timor, though proof is not forthcoming. Another important patron is Francisco Xavier do Amaral, the founding father of DRET. However, do Amaral also campaigns for FRETILIN and is said not to be prepared to be President unless elected democratically.

The organisation has recently begun referring to itself as CPD-RDTL/FRETILIN and is emphasising its opposition to alleged neo-colonialism in East Timor by the UN and Portugal.

4. POLICIES

Cristiano da Costa, CPD-RDTL's spokesperson, launched a 22 page white paper in May 2000 entitled '*Secure East Timor's Place in the Region and in the World - In the Year 2000 and Beyond*'. The paper, in English and Portuguese, was publically launched and is welcome evidence that CPD-RDTL is not entirely focussed on the past. Following are some of the paper's recommendations:

- Defence and security: develop FALINTIL into a small, professional army to work with the PKF until bilateral security arrangements are finalised, especially with Australia but also with Indonesia once the militia issue has been resolved. Develop a small, professional police force.

- Currency: introduce a mixed currency system using the Australian dollar and Indonesian rupiah. This interim arrangement will allow for change as regional economies and currencies transform.
- Language: adopt an inclusive language policy with Tetun as the national language and English, Portuguese and Indonesian serving as interim official languages until the new Parliament rules on the issue. Tetun should be standardised and developed.
- Political system: presidential/parliamentary system. President chosen by direct election, government formed by party with majority of seats in parliament. Separation of powers with independent judiciary.
- Property disputes: establish an independent Land and Properties Tribunal to hear and settle disputes over land and property and advise government and the judiciary.
- Development: give priority to the 5 E's: economy, education and health, employment, equality and environment. Policies are proposed on (a) agriculture (b) natural resources (c) tourism (d) taxation (e) foreign aid (e) education (f) health and (g) urban and rural planning.

CPD-RDTL Sources

Cristiano da Costa, 'Secure East Timor's Place in the Region and in the World – in the Year 2000 and Beyond', May 2000

5. FRETILIN

Frente Revolucionaria do Timor Leste Independente
Revolutionary Front of Independent East Timor

Key facts

Coordinator: Lu Olo

History: radical pro-independence party founded 1974 and veteran of the resistance struggle

Links: member of National Council; relations with CNRT are currently strained

Status: major party with large rural following and strong electoral prospects

1. CONTACT DETAILS

Main office: Rua Martires da Patria, West Dili, in the former Pancasila Training Building BP7. As a result, the organisation is sometimes referred to as BP7 Fretilin.

2. OFFICE BEARERS

- Presidential Council

Established at the 1988 Extraordinary FRETILIN National Conference as a transitional measure until the party Congress is held in East Timor (scheduled for May 2001). The 1200 delegates at the FRETILIN General Conference held in Dili in May 2000 unanimously endorsed the Presidential Council.

- General Coordinator of the Presidential Council: Lu Olo.

Born in Ossu. A veteran of the resistance struggle and a FALINTIL political commissar during the Indonesian period. Speaks Tetun and Portuguese, but not Indonesian.

- First Vice-General Coordinator of the Presidential Council: Mari Alkatiri.

Cabinet Member for Economic Affairs. Of Yemenese Arab descent and a former leader of Dili's Muslim community. Co-founder of FRETILIN. During the Indonesian occupation he worked as a lecturer in international law at the Eduardo Mondlane University in Mozambique and as a senior member of East Timor's diplomatic mission. Mobile: 0417 464 896

- Second Vice-General Coordinator of the Presidential Council: Mau Huno.

Born 14 April 1949. Founding member of FRETILIN. Was the de facto Commander of FALINTIL in the early 80's before the re-organisation of FRETILIN and FALINTIL. Was FALINTIL Chief of Staff then leader of the armed resistance after Xanana Gusmao was captured in 1992. Following his capture by the Indonesian forces in April 1993 he was subjected to constant surveillance. He has been unwell since 1999.

- Political Secretary of Central Committee: Mau Hodu
Has disappeared and is generally believed to have been killed by the Indonesian/militia forces in West Timor in September 1999 after the self-determination ballot.
- National Council member: Cipriana Pereira
- Cabinet Member for Internal Administration: Anna Pessoa
Drafted a new Constitution for East Timor which was adopted as a study document by the FRETILIN Extraordinary National Conference held in Sydney in 1998. During the Indonesian period headed up the legal department for the Mozambique Government and Parliament in Maputo. Mob 0407 966 412

3. HISTORY AND OUTLOOK

FRETILIN was established on 11 September 1974 following the Portuguese Carnation Revolution in April that year. Its founders included Francisco Xavier do Amaral (President), Nicolau Lobato (later President of DRET, killed by Indonesian troops in December 1978), Mari Alkatiri and Jose Ramos Horta (Secretary). It succeeded the ASDT (Associacao Social Democrata Timorese, Timorese Association of Social Democrats) which was formed on the previous 20 May. As its name suggests, FRETILIN represented a spectrum of members and views and was committed to a program of radical social, political and economic change and immediate total independence. As much a social movement as a political party, it established itself nationally, undertook literacy and other development projects and built a strong grassroots following in rural communities which continues today. Its more radical agenda and rhetoric and the inclusion in its ranks of some Marxist-Leninists alarmed Indonesia, Western governments and parts of East Timorese society including sections of the Catholic Church and other political parties. A brief coalition with UDT ended in conflict after a UDT coup on 11 August 1975. It created FALINTIL (Forcas Armadas de Libertacao Nacional de Timor-Leste, National Liberation Forces of East Timor) on 20 August 1975. FRETILIN declared independence on 28 November 1975 and was the backbone of both the military and diplomatic struggle until December 1987 when, under the leadership of Xanana Gusmao, the independence movement adopted a more inclusive strategy of national unity. Atrocities and killings of alleged Timorese 'counter-revolutionaries' were committed during the counter-UDT coup and early resistance periods.

FRETILIN held an Extraordinary National Conference in Sydney, 14-20 August 1998. Participants included Central Committee members from inside East Timor, led by Mau Hodu Ran Kadalak, Jose Luis Guterres (then Head of the FRETILIN External Delegation), Mari Alkatari (then Secretary for External Relations) and Roque Rodrigues (then Representative in Angola). The Conference produced

- a political manual on common FRETILIN expressions and symbols;
- a program of principles guiding FRETILIN's approach to the independence struggle, foreign policy, national reconstruction, social justice, security and government structures (including support for a government of national unity for the first five years of independence);
- Statutes;
- a strong motion for national unity, including the role of the Catholic Church and FRETILIN in promoting unity.

FRETILIN is a founding member of CNRT and its largest component but has refused to participate in the Permanent Council since the August 2000 Congress due to dissatisfaction with some congress processes and decisions. Relations between FRETILIN's mass women's organisation OPMT (Organizacao Popular da Mulher Timorese) and CNRT's umbrella women's organisation OMT (Organizacao da Mulher Timorese) are also sometimes strained. OJETIL, the FRETILIN youth wing, is active in cultural, educational and youth activities. Gregorio Saldanha, an OJETIL member who was once sentenced to life imprisonment by Indonesia, occupies the youth seat in the National Council representing youth in general.

FRETILIN has lost some members to breakaway parties such as the Socialist Party of Timor (PST), the National Party of Timor (PNT), and the Committee for the Defence of the Democratic Republic of East Timor (CPD-RDTL). Attempts to re-unite these inside

FRETILIN, through inter alia the good offices of Francisco Xavier do Amaral, FRETILIN's founding president, have not succeeded. Amaral fell out with FRETILIN in 1977. He was welcomed back at the FRETILIN conference in May 2000 and enjoys broad respect especially in the countryside and in the central mountains around Turiscai in particular. Some believe he might represent FRETILIN against Xanana Gusmao in the presidential elections. Other former FRETILIN are also involved in the Social Democrat Party (PSD) and the Christian Democrat Party (PDC). FRETILIN's relations with CPD-RDTL in particular have gradually deteriorated to the point where the rivalry between the two groups is often violent. However, continued efforts are being made by FRETILIN leaders, appealing for tolerance and mutual respect and rejecting violence as a means of solving differences.

FRETILIN is currently focussed on strengthening its party structures and activating its dormant membership. The party has completed a national registry of all militants and sympathisers. Some citizens felt there was a high degree of intimidation in this process. Suco elections are underway in preparation for the selection of district representatives. Membership is put at over 150,000. A policy-focussed national congress will be held 20-25 May 2001. The party expects to win the elections by a clear majority leading some in FRETILIN to question the CNRT commitment to a government of national unity.

FRETILIN has strong international links, including in Australia where it has the support of the Council of Trade Unions (ACTU) and recently opened an office at the Victorian Trades Hall in Melbourne.

4. POLICIES

FRETILIN held a national conference in Dili, 15-20 May 2000, attended by 1200 delegates from the 13 districts of East Timor. Speeches by the FRETILIN General Coordinator, Lu Olo, stressed unity, democracy, tolerance and non-violence. Conference outcomes included:

- a decision to convene a formal congress early in 2001 to restructure the party;
- a strong conference resolution in support of democracy, pluralism, and the development of a culture of dialogue, tolerance and peace;
- establishment of a Commission on Tolerance and Unity, a sort of internal truth and reconciliation commission, to address FRETILIN errors and intolerance during the last 24 years;
- strong resolution on national unity which repudiates all forms of violence, urges respect for difference of opinion and for universal, free, direct and secret suffrage and identifies poverty as a threat to national unity;
- support for East Timor to become a member of the United Nations;
- support for East Timor to sign international instruments on human rights, specifically on the rights of women and children, ILO conventions, war crimes and maritime rights;
- support for the rights of peoples to self-determination and independence;
- support for joining NAM, CPLP (Community of Portuguese Speaking Countries), ASEAN, South Pacific Forum and for developing a trilateral accord between East Timor, Australia and Indonesia which will include a development triangle with Eastern Indonesian and Northern Australia;
- economic policies which address the development of agriculture and fishing, cooperatives, illiteracy, tourism, natural resources and foreign investment.

FRETILIN Sources

Report on FRETILIN Extraordinary National Conference, Sydney, 14-20 August 1998
Report on FRETILIN National Conference, Dili, 15-20 May 2000.

6. KOTA

Klibur Oan Timor Asuwain (KOTA)

Sons of the Mountain Warriors or Association of Timorese Heroes

Key facts

Acting leader: Clementino dos Reis Amaral

History: pro-integration party founded 1974, now committed to independence with emphasis on Timorese traditions

Links: member of CNRT and National Legislative Council

Status: small party attempting a fresh start

1. CONTACT DETAILS

Rua Dos Martires da Patria, Fatuhada, West Dili.

Tel 324 661. Mob: 0407 972 220

Email: clementinoamaral@hotmail.com

2. OFFICE BEARERS

- President: Leao Pedro dos Reis Amaral. 83, former teacher.
- Secretary General: Manuel Tilman. Lawyer, based in Macau.
- Acting President and NC representative: Clementino dos Reis Amaral. District administrator of Baucau in Portuguese times, member of the Indonesian Parliament for 14 years and member of Indonesian Human Rights Commission for 7 years.
- Spokesperson: Joao Francisco dos Reis Amaral
- CNRT PC representative: Augusto Pires

3. HISTORY

KOTA was formed in November 1974 by Leao Amaral and Jose Martins (deceased) as a pro-integrationist party. It was previously known as the Associacao Popular Monarquia de Timor or APMT, the Popular Association of Monarchists of Timor, formed by several liurais or local kings. FRETILIN, by contrast, identified with the *maubere* or rural poor.

Due to its small following, KOTA was not officially recognised by the Portuguese. KOTA's leader, Jose Martins, was a trusted Indonesian contact and the Party's pro-integration stance was used by Indonesia to bolster claims that a majority of East Timorese parties supported integration. Martins defected from the Indonesian side at the UN in 1976.

On 11 August 1998, KOTA joined UDT, FRETILIN, APODETI, and TRABALHISTA in rejecting Indonesian offers of autonomy and called for the release of Xanana Gusmao from prison and a referendum on East Timor's future. The party is a member of CNRT and is represented in the CNRT Permanent Council by Augusto Pires.

4. ORGANISATION AND POLICY

KOTA was re-constituted at a meeting of some 20 members in Dili on 30 August 2000. It has representatives in each district. Its base and only office is in Dili where it operates from the home of Leao Pedro dos Reis Amaral. It is self-funded and relies completely on the voluntary contributions of its members. It has contacts in Australia (Hornay da Costa Martins), Macau (Manuel Tilman), and Portugal where it has good relations with Dom Duarte, the Duke of Braganca.

It upholds and promotes Timorese culture and traditions and today is primarily an association of liurai (traditional king) families. A congress of liurai held in Dili on 15 May 2000 is reported to have called for the establishment of a constitutional monarchy supervised by traditional elders, but a KOTA spokesman denies that it supports the establishment of a monarchic system.

The party is wary of Western influence and regrets the decline in respect for the liurais, but subscribes to universal human rights and advocates bringing Timorese culture and practice

into line with these principles. The KOTA Acting President, Clementino dos Reis Amaral, was a member of the Indonesian Commission for Human Rights for 7 years.

KOTA supports a multi-party system and executive presidency. It will support Xanana Gusmao as president. It believes the economy should focus on reducing poverty through development of agriculture, fishing, animal husbandry, tourism and coffee production. Schools should teach 3 foreign languages - Portuguese, Indonesian, English. A commission should be established to develop Tetun as the national language. Foreign policy should emphasise good relations with East Timor's neighbours, especially Australia and Indonesia, and with Portugal and Western Europe.

7. PDC

Partido Democrata Cristao
Christian Democrat Party of Timor

Key facts

Leader: Antonio Ximenes

History: new party established in 2000

Links: member of CNRT, seeking membership of the National Council

Status: small Christian party still in its formative stage.

1. CONTACT DETAILS

Office: Former Escola Cartilha, Quintal Kiik, Bairro Economico Ex (near Mercado Lama), Dili.

Tel (+670 390) 324 683, 322 004 Mob. 0409 636 212

Arlindo Marcal - Email: arlindom@octa4.net.au Mobile: 0417 174 091

2. OFFICE BEARERS

- President: Antonio Ximenes.

Founder of PDC. Undertook tertiary studies in Indonesia, including seminary studies in Flores. Catholic. Received political training with the moderate Indonesian Christian party PDKB in Java. Currently director of the National Commission for Study on the Future of East Timor, a local NGO.

- Vice President: Jose Gomes Sereno.

University studies in agriculture, Solo, Indonesia.

- General Secretary and CNRT PC representative: Rev Arlindo Marcal.

Former head of East Timorese Protestant Church. Studied in Kupang and Yogyakarta and was a respected international advocate for East Timor during the Indonesian period, participating inter alia in two rounds of the Intra-East Timorese dialogue. Has a strong interest in human rights and played a key role in the establishment of Yayasan Hak, the country's foremost human rights NGO. The Protestant Church currently has an estimated 15,000 members, about half the pre-referendum number.

3. HISTORY AND ORGANISATION

PDC was established in Dili on 5 August 2000. The Party is in the early stages of development. It is still setting up its office in Dili and looking for funding sources. It has positive links with the Indonesian democratic movement, particularly the moderate Indonesian National Christian Democratic Party, PDKB (Partai Demokrasi Kasih Bangsa), and plans to establish links with Christian democrat parties in other countries.

No data is available on members but PDC has representatives in all districts. Women will have an active role in the organisation. PDC has been projecting itself and its views through the media. A party congress will be held ahead of the national elections.

PDC is not a member of the National Council but is currently negotiating membership with UNTAET. PDC believes it has a strong case and has objected to the inclusion of PNT in the NC because it took a pro-autonomy position in August 1999.

It supports CNRT and is a member of the CNRT Permanent Council.

PDC and UDC (Christian Democrat Union) initially joined forces and participated in the August 2000 CNRT Congress under joint leadership. The parties have since parted company. Some see PDC as a leftist inclined offshoot of Fretilin and UDC as closer to the conservative UDT with a leaning to Portugal. Both are strongly based in Christian social justice values and both assert they are ecumenical and pluralist. At this point, however, UDC appears to be more Catholic in character while PDC has a mix of both Protestant and Catholic in its leadership.

The Party has been active in assisting the return of groups of refugees, after making a number of trips to West Timor to meet with church and community leaders.

4. POLICIES

PDC supports a democratic, multi-party system with a strong emphasis on the role of civil society and human rights including the rights of women and minorities. It stresses that justice is a Christian value and is concerned at the erosion of Christian morality in East Timor.

PDC favours an early election and proclamation of independence but wishes to see a PKF presence retained following independence.

The party does not favour a full executive presidential model for East Timor. It believes there should be a division of labour at the executive level with the president serving as head of state and symbol of national unity, not head of government. Limitations on executive power should be supplemented with a strong, well trained, opposition.

The economy should be people-oriented. Local business should be fostered, including joint ventures with foreigners, but the latter should not be allowed to own land freehold. Those with jobs should be taxed and petroleum products subsidised to save wood. Education, health services and sporting programs should be universal and affordable for every citizen of East Timor. Programs should be established to promote the moral development of youth. PDC supports Portuguese as the official language and Tetun as the national language.

The Party advocates a foreign policy which is 'bebas aktif' (free and active), i.e. not dictated by big powers, and which emphasises building relations with Portugal, Australia, ASEAN and the Pacific.

PDC will hold a congress in April or May 2001.

8. PDM

Partido Democratico Maubere
Maubere Democratic Party

PDM was formed on 19 October 2000 at a meeting held at the CNRT offices in Dili. A small party, PDM is a member of CNRT but is not represented in either the National Council or the CNRT Permanent Council (PC). Party officials include: Paulo Pinto, Gregorio Sebastiao Lobo, and Armindo Sanches. PDM appears to have links with the former APODETI party. 'Maubere' is a Tetun word popularised by Jose Ramos Horta in the 1970s as part of FRETILIN's appeal to East Timor's rural people or the 'real Timorese'.

9. PNT

Partido Nacionalista Timorese

Partai Nasionalis Timor

Timorese Nationalist Party

Key facts

Leader: Dr Abilio Araujo

History: founded 1999 to support broad autonomy within Indonesia

Links: opposes CNRT, supports CPD-RDTL, and is represented in the National Council

Status: small party with controversial leader

1. CONTACT DETAILS

Dili office: home of Alianca Conceicao de Araujo. Mobile 0409 148 286

Portugal: Dr Abilio Araujo tel + 351 21 388 0091 Fax +351 21 388 0088

2. OFFICE BEARERS

- President: Dr Abilio Araujo.

Resides in Lisbon, Portugal. Economist, musician (composer of well known East Timorese songs 'Foho Ramelau' and 'Funu nain Falintil'), Minister for Economic and Social Affairs in the 1975 Democratic Republic of East Timor (DRET). A controversial figure, he has been an avowed Marxist, successful businessman, Head of the FRETILIN External Delegation, associate of Siti Hardiyanti 'Tutut' Rukmana, daughter of Indonesia's ex-president Suharto and advocate for autonomy. He was expelled from FRETILIN because of his dealings with Indonesia.

- National Council representative: Alianca Conceicao de Araujo.
Resides in Dili. Sister of Dr Abilio Araujo.

3. HISTORY AND OUTLOOK

The founding congress of PNT was held in Dili on 15 July 1999, the eve of the historic ballot on East Timor's status, to promote what its president, Dr Araujo, terms a 'third way policy', i.e. a choice between a CNRT 'dictatorship' and being Indonesia's 27th province. PNT advocated a broad autonomy for East Timor within Indonesia as a compromise win-win solution which it believed would serve 'as a starting point for peace and reconciliation'.

It has accepted the results of the ballot and recognises UNTAET as the legal international authority in East Timor during the transition to what PNT calls the Second Republic. The party is represented in the National Council. However, it opposes the coalition between UNTAET and CNRT on the grounds that it compromises the UN's neutrality and its principles of democracy and political pluralism. In PNT's view, CNRT is not a democratically elected or representative body and practices 'guided democracy'.

PNT is run from Portugal by its president, Dr Abilio Araujo, and has close financial and other links with CPD-RDTL. Like the latter, PNT recognises the proclamation of the Democratic Republic of East Timor on 28 November 1975. Dr Araujo sent a message of support to the CPD-RDTL flag raising ceremony held in Dili on 28 November 2000 to mark the 25th anniversary of the declaration of independence and establishment of RDTL/DRET. However, PNT differs from CPD-RDTL in that, unlike the latter, it supports the upcoming elections and the UN administration, and participates in the National Council.

PNT supports

- democracy and a multi-party system
- general elections for a Constituent Assembly that will prepare the Constitution for independence
- Bahasa Indonesia as the official language of East Timor alongside Portuguese
- regional integration through membership of ASEAN and cooperation with neighbouring states, especially Indonesia.

PNT believes the CNRT proposed timetable for elections in 2001 is too rushed and smacks of 'fait accompli'. According to PNT, the political parties need more time to get organised and the constitution cannot be finalised in a few short weeks. Dr Araujo notes that Portugal needed 12 months to write a new constitution after the 25 April 1974 Carnation Revolution. The UN should not abandon East Timor prematurely for what he calls specious financial and other reasons.

PNT Sources

Dr Abilio Araujo, 'East Timor: To be or not to be a X(B)anana Republic', The Jakarta Post, 19 February 2001.

Dr Araujo, miscellaneous PNT statements.

10. PPT (ex-MPTL)

Partido do Povo de Timor

People's Party of Timor

Key facts

Leader: Dr Jacob Xavier

History: pro-integration party established in 2000 by a former militia leader

Links: not included in CNRT or the National Council

Status: new, very small party

- President: Dr Jacob Xavier

The PPT leader claims he is a direct descendant of the King of Portugal and is owed resources by Portugal. He lived in Portugal for almost 30 years and now resides in Motael, Dili.

- Secretary-General: Francisco Pinto

Liurai (traditional king) of Uatocarbau.

- Contact: Erminio da Silva da Costa, mobile: 0419 018 642

PPT was established 7 May 2000 by Erminio da Silva da Costa and has its antecedents in MPTL, Movimento do Povo de Timor Leste or People's Movement of East Timor. A former APODETI leader, da Costa was number three in the East Timorese militia hierarchy (with Joao da Silva Tavares and Eurico Guterres) and a member of UNTAS, the militia political wing. He has parted company with both, cooperates with UNTAET and recognises the August 30 ballot but is still keen to fight, by political means, to overcome its results. As a pro-integration party, PPT is not a member of CNRT but da Costa backs Xanana Gusmao as future president. PPT appears to have the support of some liurai, but is a minor player. The alliance between Dr Xavier and Erminio da Silva da Costa is unusual given the strong pro-Portugal leanings of the former and the pro-Indonesian sympathies of the latter.

11. PSD

Partido Social Democrata Timor Lorosae

Social Democrat Party of East Timor

Key facts

Leader: Mario Carrascalao

History: established 2000 as a moderate alternative to FRETILIN and UDT

Links: member of CNRT and the National Council

Status: new centre party with promising long term prospects

1. CONTACT DETAILS

PSD has its headquarters in Dili near the CEP.

2. OFFICE BEARERS

- President: Mario Viegas Carrascalao.

Vice President of CNRT. Former senior member of UDT, Indonesian Governor of East Timor (1982-1992) and Indonesian Ambassador to Romania. Mob: 0418 357 027

- Vice-President: Leandro Isaac.

Former Vice-President of UDT. Chair of the recent CNRT Congress. Mob: 0408 792 551

- Vice-President: Agio Pereira.

PSD representative on the National Council, and CNRT adviser. Former member of Fretilin, and Director of Sydney based East Timor Relief Agency. Mob: 041 722 6511

- Secretary General: Zacarias da Costa.

CNRT representative in Brussels. Formerly a vice-president of UDT.

- Vice Secretary-General: Jose Eduardo

- CNRT/PC representative: Germano Jesus da Silva. Former senior Fretilin member.

3. ORGANISATION

PSD was launched on 20 September 2000 at CNRT headquarters. Speakers at the launch included Xanana Gusmao. Work is underway on a constitution for the party and a policy statement to be published in booklet form. It has 3 regional coordinators (East, Centre and West), representatives in each of the 13 districts and local committees. Membership is put at 8000. It has a Youth Department, a Labour Department and Policy Committees on labour, political systems, economy, foreign policy and other policy areas. Support committees will be established in the diaspora, including Australia. It has chosen the crocodile as its symbol and orange as its basic colour.

4. OUTLOOK

PSD presents itself as an alternative to the big two, FRETILIN and UDT. In its founding statement (Art. 30), it is described as a moderate centre party between the left and the right. PSD sees its strengths as its ability to attract former moderate members of both UDT and FRETILIN and to bridge the diaspora-internal divide. Other nominated attributes are the qualities of its leader Mario Carrascalao (good administrator, technocrat and national figure widely respected in East Timor and internationally, including in Indonesia and SEAsia), its capacity to attract international funding, its appeal to the younger post-UDT/FRETILIN generation, the quality of its 'front bench' and its policy capacity.

Some former FRETILIN in PSD see the party as a successor to the Timorese Association of Social Democrats (ASDT, Associacao Social Democrata Timorese) which was established by Jose Ramos Horta and others in May 1974 and later became FRETILIN. However Horta, always an avowed social democrat, strongly denies speculation that he supports PSD.

PSD believes there should be an end to mass movement politics and the politics of emotion in East Timor (campaigning on patriotism), and a concerted effort to focus on structures, policy, content, information and management. As a veteran FRETILIN supporter puts it: 'My heart is FRETILIN but I want good government'. A major long term objective is to build on the CNRT vision of national unity, to strengthen East Timor's culture of consensus and hospitality and to avoid the politics of antagonism and opposition which characterise democracy elsewhere. To this end PSD favours the CNRT proposal of a government of national unity and a 'unity model' according to which candidates and their committees would coordinate their activities, go to the people together and campaign on ideas.

5. POLICIES

- PSD's general philosophy subscribes to the concepts of the UDHR, pluralism, participation, creativity, social justice, the rule of law, minimum wage, individual equality and rights, the rights of women, children and minorities and small enterprise. It rejects the concept of one party or one ideology, monopolies and top down development, but

defends the role of the government in economic management and environmental protection.

- PSD will prioritise education, culture, health, housing and good governance. Social services will be provided for those most disadvantaged by the war, including veterans, orphans, and widows. PSD opposes the death penalty and abortion.
- PSD foreign policy supports membership of ASEAN and CPLP (community of Portuguese speaking nations), without prejudicing other relationships. A small defence force should be established, based on Falintil and subject to civilian control.
- PSD supports the use of Portuguese as the official language of East Timor. An institute should be established to develop Tetun to also serve as East Timor's official language.

PSD Sources

PSD Statement of Principles, 20 September 2000

12. PST

Partido Socialista de Timor
Socialist Party of Timor

Key facts

Spokesperson: Avelino Coelho da Silva

History: established in the 1990s with a strong Left agenda

Links: member of CNRT and the National Council

Status: strong on policy and organisation but unlikely to gain wide electoral support.

1. CONTACT DETAILS

Street address: Rua Colegio das Madres, Balide, Dili.

Mobile: 0417 310 929 (Avelino Coelho)

2. OFFICE-BEARERS

- President and CNRT-PC member: Pedro Soares da Costa Martins

- Vice-President: Mericio Hornay dos Reis

- Secretary-General and National Council member: Avelino Coelho da Silva

Studied law and international relations in Indonesia where he was involved with the clandestine movement for independence. Key policy architect and spokesperson for the party.

- Deputy Secretary-General (regional liaison): Antonio Maher Lopes

- Spokesperson: Nelson Correia

Young activist known for his Marxist views and links with PRD in Indonesia. Graduate in Agriculture from the University of Jember in East Java, son of a former administrator (bupati) of Same and head of the Tourism Department during the Indonesian period.

3. HISTORY AND ORGANISATION

PST is a Fretilin splinter party. Founded in the 1990's in Indonesia it grew out of student and labour groups based in Jakarta and other Indonesian cities where East Timorese studied and worked. Its membership is predominantly youth but it includes a number of older FALINTIL and FRETILIN members from the left wing of FRETILIN. It is based on Marxist-Leninist principles of philosophy and organisation and, through peaceful educational means, is dedicated to the construction of a socialist, classless society in East Timor liberated from all forms of colonialism, imperialism, paternalism and exploitation. It is primarily concerned with the situation of workers and farmers.

PST supports CNRT and is a member of the National Council.

PST held its first national congress in Dili, 10-11 February 2000. It has branches in many districts and has focussed its activities on traditional FRETILIN areas, such as Soibada and Aileu, and has established cooperative farms. Party structures include a Political Bureau, Central Committee (comprising 82 members), and labour, youth and women's organisations. The party produces an occasional newsletter 'Vanguarda'. PST Secretary-General, Avelino Coelho da Silva, is also a director of a business consultancy, IMKI (Instituto Mau'bere ba Koperasi no'o Igalade, Mau'bere Institute for Cooperation and Equity). IMKI comprises businesspeople and lawyers and offers a range of negotiation, drafting and other legal services. Xavier do Amaral, the DRET founding President, is also a director.

PST has international links with a range of political organisations including the Portuguese Communist Party, the Dutch Greens, the Democratic Socialist Party (DSP) in Australia and PRD in Indonesia.

PST denies claims that it is backed by Abilio Araujo (see PNT entry) or that it is hostile to the Church.

4. POLICIES

PST policies include support for the following:

- a multi-party, democratic, parliamentary system and separation of powers
- universal, free and compulsory education
- adoption of English and Portuguese as official languages for the transition period
- the development of Tetun
- human rights and equality, including the abolition of class
- the right to work and workers rights, including free trade unions and equal pay for equal work
- prohibition of child labour
- divorce and equality between men and women
- prohibition of prostitution and polygamy
- the right to housing
- the development of agriculture as the basis of the economy and micro-credit schemes in rural areas
- equal distribution of arable land and expropriation of large landholdings
- confiscation and nationalisation of Indonesian government holdings
- religious freedom, including for the traditional religions/beliefs of East Timor
- reconciliation
- a free and universal health system
- freedom of the press and free access to information
- protection of the environment and anti-pollution programs
- tourism
- prohibition of the death penalty and sentences over 10 years
- prison regimes aimed at rehabilitation of prisoners
- international relations based on peaceful co-existence and respect for national independence and self-determination
- good neighbour relations with countries in the Asia-Pacific and the Lusophone community.

PST Sources

Report on first PST National Congress, Dili, 10-11 February 2000

PST Constitution

Miscellaneous PST statements

13. TRABALHISTA

Partido Trabalhista
Timor Labour Party

Key facts

Leader: Paulo Freitas da Silva

History: established 1974 and linked with Indonesia but is now pro-independence and pro-democracy

Links: member of CNRT and the National Council.

Status: old, small party attempting a fresh start.

1. CONTACT DETAILS

Office: Rua Travessa De Befonte, No 2 Bairro Formosa, Dili.

Postal address: PO Box 199, Dili, East Timor.

Tel/fax: (+670 390) 322 807 Mobile: 041 970 7533 (Paulo Freitas), 040 782 5448 (Angela Freitas).

2. OFFICE BEARERS

- President: Paulo Freitas da Silva. Member of CNRT Permanent Council.
Born in Ossu. Co-founder of TRABALHISTA. Former member of Parliament for 5 years representing the Partai Demokrasi Indonesia (PDI, now headed by Indonesian Vice-President Megawati Sukarnoputri). Also former head of the East Timor branch of SBSI, the official Indonesian Trade Union.
- Vice-President: Maria Angela Freitas. Member of the National Council.
Daughter of Paulo Freitas. Studied medicine in Indonesia at Atma Jaya Catholic University, Jakarta, and has been involved in human rights in East Timor.
- Secretary-General: Dr Nelson Martins
Medical doctor, educated in Bandung, Indonesia and Australia. Was active on child labour issues in Indonesia 1995-1998.

3. HISTORY

TRABALHISTA was established in 1974 by the current President, Paulo Freitas da Silva, and the late Albano and Alpidio Abrao Martins. The Party supported independence but favoured a phased process and continuing links with Portugal. Paulo Freitas da Silva wrote to then Australian Labor Prime Minister, Gough Whitlam, requesting Australian troops to keep the peace in East Timor - a request which was denied. A TRABALHISTA official signed the 1975 Balibo Declaration calling for Indonesian intervention but officials today state that this was done in a private capacity. Whatever the case, Indonesia used TRABALHISTA for propaganda advantage.

Party president, Paulo Freitas da Silva, signed a statement dated 25 July 1998 rejecting Indonesia's offer of autonomy and calling for a referendum. TRABALHISTA stresses that August 1999 marked a divide, that everything prior to that date has been 'wiped away' (dihapuskan) and a fresh start is being made.

4. ORGANISATION AND POLICIES

TRABALHISTA estimates it has approximately 2500 members with branches in all 13 districts of East Timor, about 45% of whom are women. Under a president and vice-president, there are three party secretaries and three treasurers (half of whom are women). National officials meet in Dili 2 or 3 times a week. The party has few resources and depends on voluntary contributions. It has excellent office premises in Dili which are still being equipped.

TRABALHISTA plans to contest East Timor's election but would prefer they were held December 2001 or January 2002 to allow for adequate preparation of the community to vote. The Party will hold a workshop in April 2001 to choose candidates for the upcoming national elections.

TRABALHISTA describes itself as a democratic socialist party similar to the Australian Labor Party (ALP). Officials claim that the ALP has promised support in the form of office equipment, communications, and expertise to assist in the running of an election campaign.

The Party advocates the democratic socialisation of industry, production, distribution and exchange so far as is necessary to eliminate exploitation and other anti-social features. This will involve the re-distribution of political and economic power so that all members of society will have the opportunity to participate in the shaping and control of institutions and relationships which determine their lives.

It will support workers through job creation and represent the interests of unions. It is not a member of the Socialist International but will consider joining.

East Timor's education system should be equitable and ensure high literacy and numeracy as a sound basis for a quality general and vocational education. Customs and traditions will be protected. Tetun and English should be the two principal languages. A free public health and dental system should be established.

The Party strongly supports international human rights as the basis for a tolerant and multicultural society with particular emphasis on equal opportunity and choice for women in all aspects of life.

Foreign policy should recognise the right of all nations to self-determination and independence and the need for regional and international disarmament and arms control. Conflicts should be resolved through the UN.

TRABALHISTA is a member of the CNRT PC but is critical of Xanana Gusmao and Jose Ramos Horta, and what it describes as 'dictatorial' tendencies and a 'lack of transparency and accountability' in CNRT. It is vocal in its demands. For example, though offered 10 places at last August's CNRT Congress, it threatened demonstrations against the CNRT leadership because of alleged collusion and nepotism in the organisation of the Congress. In July 2000 it demonstrated in front of UNTAET protesting the composition of the new Transitional Cabinet.

14. UDC

Uniao Democrata-Crista de Timor
Christian Democratic Union of Timor

Key facts

Leader: Vicente da Silva Guterres
History: Christian party founded in Portugal in 1998
Links: member of CNRT and the National Council
Status: new party still in its formative stage.

1. CONTACT DETAILS

Office: Rua Americo Thomaz No. 62, Mandarin, Dili.
Tel/fax (+670 390) 325 042
Mobile: 040 894 7052 (Vicente Guterres); 041 974 0382 (Alexandre Ximenes)

2. OFFICE BEARERS

- President: Vicente da Silva Guterres.

Philosophy graduate and secondary teacher. Member and Secretary of the CNRT Permanent Council.

- Secretary General: Alexandre Magno Ximenes.
- National Council Representative: Anselmo da Costa Aparicio.

3. HISTORY

UDC was founded at a congress on 14 March 1998 in Lisbon, Portugal. The party participated in the CNRT Convention held in Portugal in April 1998 and is a co-founder of CNRT. UDC also participated in the CNRT National Congress in Dili 21-30 August 2000.

4. ORGANISATION AND POLICIES

UDC is based in Dili in a small, simply equipped office in the home of the UDC President, Vicente Guterres. UDC has adhered to the CNRT decision to restrict party political activity to the district level and at this point has only an estimated 1500 members spread through the 13 districts of East Timor. The Party is organised into a national congress and national council and administered through committees responsible for political, legal and financial affairs respectively. UDC also has a Christian Democratic Youth organisation, a Christian Democratic Women's organisation and a Christian Democratic Labour organisation. UDC depends on contributions from its members for its financial resources. The Party is an observer member of the international union of Christian Democrats and maintains relations with the CDS/PP-Partido Popular in Portugal.

UDC is based on a personal Christian humanism and the social doctrine of the Catholic Church. Though open to other members, it appears to comprise mainly Catholics at this point. It shares a pro-democracy, pro-Christian outlook with PDC but the two have parted company. (See PDC entry)

UDC states that its fundamental mission is to work in cooperation with other Timorese political groups and the members of CNRT in particular to guarantee a secure and peaceful transition to independence and the establishment of a democratic system in East Timor.

UDC favours a multi-party, democratic system and a French-style semi-presidential office with strict limitations on presidential powers. UDC believes Timor should learn from Latin America's experience which demonstrates that too much power in one office leads to abuse. The President should be directly elected and power distributed between the presidency and prime minister. Elections are needed to democratise the current institutions of the Transition Cabinet and National Council whose positions are currently all appointed. East Timor's parliamentary system should reflect the ethno-linguistic variety of East Timor.

UDC espouses a market economy for Timor. Basic education and health services should be universal and free and the culture of East Timor, including local languages and dialects, preserved and promoted. Portuguese should serve as the official language, Tetun as the national language, and English as the international language for Timor.

UDC believes the Universal Declaration of Human Rights should serve as a fundamental reference point for the new East Timor. Cultural, linguistic and religious differences should be respected. The rights of women and minorities should be upheld.

East Timor's foreign policy should build positive bilateral and multilateral relations with countries in the region including Australia, New Zealand, Indonesia, ASEAN and the South Pacific forum. East Timor should also build good relations with the community of Portuguese-speaking nations (CPLP), the EU, USA, Russia, China, Japan, Latin America and democratic regimes generally. East Timor should support the peaceful resolution of conflict.

UDC Sources

UDC Statutes, adopted March 1998

15. UDT

Uniao Democratica Timorese
Timorese Democratic Union

Key facts

Leader: Joao Carrascalao

History: major conservative pro-independence party established in 1974

Links: member of National Council; relations with CNRT are currently strained

Status: prospects are unclear.

1. CONTACT DETAILS

Secretary-General: Domingos de Oliveira. Mobile: 040 988 1543 Email: laclubar@iinet.net.au

2. OFFICE-BEARERS

- President: Joao Viegas Carrascalao
Minister for Infrastructure in the UNTAET Administration. Founding member of UDT, based in Sydney for most of the Indonesian period. Brother of Mario and Manuel Carrascalao.
- Vice-President: Dr Francisco Ly Assis Nicolau
- Secretary-General: Domingos de Oliveira
- Vice-Secretary-General: Eduardo Sanches Massa
- NC representative: Maria Lacruna

3. HISTORY

UDT was formed on 11 May 1974, the first of the political associations following Portugal's Carnation Revolution and, initially, the largest. Its founders were predominantly public servants in the Portuguese administration, landholders, Catholic and strongly anti-communist. They included founding president Mario Carrascalao (later Indonesian appointed governor of East Timor and now president of the Timorese Social Democrat Party), Augusto Cesar Mouzinho (then Mayor of Dili), Francisco Lopes da Cruz (later a senior adviser to then President Suharto), Domingos de Oliveira (a customs official and currently UDT Secretary-General) and Mario Carrascalao's brother, Joao Carrascalao (now UDT President and UNTAET Cabinet member responsible for Infrastructure).

In a statement of principles dated 1 August 1974, UDT committed itself to:

- self-determination in support of independent federation with Portugal
 - accelerated social, economic, cultural and political development
 - national use of Portuguese
 - the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and democracy
 - just distribution of income
 - good neighbour policies
 - and cooperation with other political parties.
- The party also declared its active opposition to corruption and 'the integration of East Timor into any potential foreign country'.

In a joint communique with FRETILIN on 18 March 1975, UDT hardened its position on independence and declared its 'intransigent defence of the right of the people to national independence'.

UDT's coalition with Fretilin broke down by May 1975. On August 11, UDT launched a coup (described by Joao Carrascalao as an act of 'civil disobedience') and civil war followed resulting in an estimated 1500 deaths, refugee flows to West Timor and Australia, and several months of FRETILIN interregnum before the Indonesian invasion on 7 December 1975.

The party mainly operated outside East Timor in Portugal and Australia during the Indonesian period. This has weakened its appeal amongst the young in East Timor but provided

international contacts, financial resources and experience which will be useful now in re-building the party. A national congress, held in Perth 3-6 December 1997, revised the UDT Statutes and internal party organs and re-committed the party to East Timor's independence, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, pluralism, democracy, and non-violence.

UDT participated in the founding CNRT Congress in Portugal in 1998 and the August 2000 CNRT Congress in East Timor. It has since withdrawn from the CNRT (see CNRT entry) but is now sending an observer to PC meetings. It has lost several key people to PSD since the latter's establishment in September 2000 and faces a number of significant political and organisational challenges.

4. POLICIES

UDT held a national conference in Dili 9-11 August 2000 attended by some 400 delegates and advisers with the theme of 'Of the people, with the people, for the people'. Technical workshops at the conference produced detailed outcomes on issues such as agriculture, health, education and port structures. Other workshops focussed on political issues and recommended the following key policies for East Timor:

- a presidential system with an option for a second term
- a centralised system of government
- election of district administrators by the local community
- a role for elders to solve village level problems according to customary law
- pensions for all ex-Portuguese and Indonesian public servants
- pensions for retired FALINTIL members and their widows and orphans.

Leaders at the conference attacked Marxism-Leninism and defended the UDT coup of 11 August 1975 as an anti-communist rather than an anti-FRETILIN initiative. There were also calls for justice for UDT members killed by FRETILIN during that period.

UDT sources

UDT Provisional Statutes, 1 August 1974

UDT Statutes as revised by National Congress, Perth 3-6 December 1997

UDT website via <http://www.easttimor.com>

Appendix 1

CNRT PROPOSED POLITICAL TIMETABLE FOR INDEPENDENCE

March to August 2001

Promulgation of regulation on election and registration of political parties
Establishment of Independent Electoral Commission (IEC)
Registration of political parties and signing of Pact for National Unity
Community consultation on the Constitution
Registration of voters
Civic and voter education
Termination of the National Council
Election campaign

August 30

Elections for Constituent Assembly to prepare Constitution

September on

IEC announces election results (9 September)
Adoption of Constitution (15 December)
Conversion of Constituent Assembly into National Parliament

Campaign for Presidency
Election of President through universal suffrage
Proclamation of Independence
Establishment of Government of National Unity

Appendix 2

REGULATION ON THE ELECTION OF A CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

On 16 March 2001, UNTAET promulgated Regulation No 2001/2 'On the Election of A Constituent Assembly to Prepare a Constitution for an Independent and Democratic East Timor'. The election will be held 30 August 2001.

The regulation has been approved by Cabinet and the National Council. It addresses five issues (1) the Constituent Assembly (2) the Independent Electoral Commission (3) the registration of political parties, (4) eligibility of voters and candidates and (5) allocation of seats. Following are some of the provisions to be found in the regulation:

- the Assembly will be unicameral and will comprise 88 members, 75 elected as national representatives, 13 as district representatives;
- the Assembly has 90 days from its first day of sitting to produce a Constitution which will require the support of at least 60 members for adoption and will enter into force on the date of East Timor's independence (not specified); the Assembly should take into account the results of community consultations on the Constitution and drafts referred to it by the Transitional Administrator (Sergio Vieira de Mello);
- only residents of a given district, registered in that district and there on polling day can vote for that district's representative;
- all eligible voters who have registered in East Timor and are present there on polling day can vote for the 75 national representatives;
- the regulation encourages equal participation of men and women 'in all stages of the electoral and constitutional process' but did not adopt the proposal that 30% of Assembly seats be reserved for women;
- the regulation makes no mention of East Timorese living outside East Timor; it would appear, however, that they will be able to vote only for national representatives and only if they visit East Timor to register and to vote;
- voters have to be at least 17 and born in East Timor or have one parent born in East Timor or be spouse to a person who was either born in East Timor or has a parent born in East Timor;
- the Assembly will become the legislature if so provided in the Constitution;
- only a registered political party can field candidates for the Assembly election;
- to qualify for registration, a party must – inter alia – (1) provide a written declaration signed by the leader and all other officials of the political party that they will continuously reside in East Timor for at least 3 months prior to the election and are habitual residents, (2) provide the names, place and date of birth, addresses and signatures of no fewer than 500 voters, (3) not use a name, acronym or symbol which is likely to incite hatred or violence or which is the same as or similar to the flag of another nation, FALINTIL, CNRT or another party;
- independent candidates may stand; an independent candidate for a national seat must demonstrate the support of 500 voters; for a district seat 100 voters;
- a registry of political parties will be available for public scrutiny and objections may be lodged.

Appendix 3

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND POLITICS

The Catholic Church is a large and influential organisation in East Timor and will certainly make itself heard in the coming months on political issues when it believes these impact on the moral and spiritual welfare of East Timorese society. As Bishop Belo stated in a recent circular: 'The whole process of formation of this people as a nation, all the problems which it will meet, all the challenges it will face, are the problems and challenges of the Church. The Church is one with the people in the gigantic task of building a new East Timorese nation'. (11 February 2001)

The Church's following grew dramatically during the years of Indonesia's occupation when it was often critical of Indonesian excesses and remained independent of the Indonesian Church. Many of the current political leadership are Catholic and were educated by the Church, and some priests have positions of responsibility in CNRT and the transitional administration. The Church has two dioceses (one based in Dili led by Bishop Carlos Felipe Ximenes Belo, the other in Baucau, led by Bishop Basilio do Nascimento) and a third is planned for the south western Same region, including Aileu, Ainaro and Covalima. Bishop Belo shared the Nobel Prize for Peace with Jose Ramos Horta in 1996. The Church has many hundreds of personnel and volunteers who work in a well established network of parishes, religious orders, educational institutions, and health clinics across East Timor and who also run a range of community services for youth, women, children, and refugees. The Dili diocese has a radio station (Radio Kmanek) and newspaper (Seara). The Church's dominance is unlikely to continue to the same degree as East Timor modernises and diversifies as a free and independent nation. However, its capacity to influence public opinion will remain strong for the foreseeable future.

Bishop Belo defined the Church's role in politics in a 'pastoral appeal' released in January. The letter includes the following points:

- 2001 is East Timor's 'political year' because it will see the transfer of authority and power to the East Timorese and will require 'crucial' choices to be made about a Constitution and who and what policies will govern East Timor;
- elite politics has re-emerged dominated by an 'upper class' of influential families and business who are focussed more on personalities than issues;
- political parties should focus more on the future than the past, and on policies which address 'mass poverty', 'youth unemployment' and a 'foreign culture' of consumerism, greed, individualism and violence against women;
- lay people, both men and women, have the right to become freely involved in political parties, to stand for public office and to promote the election of leaders of 'true integrity';
- clergy and religious should avoid becoming involved in party politics;
- Church and State should work for the common good of all, each according to its special area of competence and responsibility which for the Church is to uphold the moral and spiritual values of the Gospel;
- the Church has a major role in politics as the conscience of government in a relationship described as 'critical solidarity';
- the Church will undertake its own program of civic education, including promoting principles which should guide the election of political candidates.