

The Maubere people's struggle for independence



voices from **East Timor** and **Indonesia**

Published by **AKSI** Action in Solidarity with
Indonesia and East Timor

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Democracy, national liberation and a democratic foreign policy

"I am in full agreement with you that it is time for all progressive forces and all the pro-democracy forces to unite to smash the fascist dictatorship of the New Order so that a new democratic climate can be instituted for the Indonesian people and liberation can be won for the Maubere people."

Xanana Gusmao in a letter to AKSI, April 9, 1995

This Suara AKSI dossier contains letters and a speech by East Timorese as well as a position paper prepared by a coalition of mass based organisations established to campaign in support of self-determination in East Timor as well as democratisation in Indonesia.

The quote from Xanana Gusmao at the beginning of this editorial also makes clear the position of the leadership of the East Timorese resistance regarding the role of the democracy movement in Indonesia. Xanana sees the elimination of the dictatorship in Indonesia as a key factor that will help in winning national liberation in East Timor.

Another reflection of this reality is the formation of SPRIM (Solidaritas Perjuangan Rakyat Indonesia untuk Maubere - Indonesian Peoples Struggle in Solidarity with the Maubere People). SPRIM has been formed by some of the most active pro-democracy organisations in Indonesia today.

It is, of course, extremely natural that the most active and militant sections of the pro-democracy movement should quickly form an alliance with the East Timorese resistance. The people of Indonesia and East Timor fight exactly the same oppressor in the form of the Suharto dictatorship.

An organised campaign by SPRIM to popularise the idea that the demand for self-determination in East Timor must become a fundamental demand of the pro-democracy movement is an important step forward in building the kind of anti-war movement inside Indonesia that developed in the United States during the Vietnam War.

The SPRIM initiative is not the first move by the pro-democracy movement in Indonesia in support of the East Timorese. In 1991 INFIGHT (Indonesian Front for Defence of Human Rights) issued a demand for a self-determination referendum in East Timor. During 1991, 1992 and 1993 the underground publication PROGRES persistently campaigned for support for the East Timorese struggle.

After the Dili massacre a church based Committee in Defence of East Timor was established with mainly a human rights advocacy and welfare orientation. Indonesian academic Dr George Aditjondro also escalated his activities from research and writing to outspoken advocacy of the East Timorese cause. The student action and information centre, PIJAR, also began publishing pro-East Timorese material as did a number of other groups.

At the same time, the bigger and more moderate legalised parties, such as the Indonesian Democrat Party (PDI) and the United Development Party (PPP) have remained silent.

The formation of SPRIM has been made possible by the development of the Indonesian militant student-worker-peasant movement to a more advanced level. In 1991 the militant wing of the student-worker movement was still small and just beginning its growth. By 1995, it had consolidated itself and is now able to mobilise rallies of over 10,000 workers under the banner of such militant organisations such as SMID (Solidaritas Mahasiswa Indonesia untuk Demokrasi - Indonesian Student Solidarity with Democracy) and PPBI (Persatuan Perjuangan Buruh Indonesia - Centre for Indonesian Working Class Struggle). The decision by SMID and PPBI, among others, to work with the East Timorese means that the most organised section of the militant opposition to the dictatorship is now preparing to throw its resources and energy behind a campaign to broaden even further the Indonesian support for East Timor.

The struggles in Indonesia and East Timor face the common oppressor of the Suharto dictatorship. Australian foreign policy is built upon extending and deepening a closer and closer collaboration with the Suharto dictatorship. Prime Minister Keating has repeatedly stated that the relationship with Indonesia is Australia's most important bilateral relationship. Keating and other ministers have also made it clear again and again that the Suharto government has been good for Indonesia and its people.

Meanwhile Australian military support for the dictatorship continues, involving both joint exercises as well as training in Australia.

In this regard, progressive and democratically minded people in Australia share the same challenge as the East Timorese and Indonesian liberation movements. We too are involved in a fight against the Suharto dictatorship. But we are also involved in a fight against our own government and the forces that back it. Oil profits for BHP and other companies, accessible markets and cheap labour for Australian companies are what motivates Australian foreign policy - not the democratic rights of our neighbouring peoples.

AKSI is committed to campaigning in solidarity with both the movement for social justice and democracy in Indonesia and liberation in East Timor. This means that we must also campaign for a democratic foreign policy in Australia - one that puts people before profits



INDEPENDENCE NEVER AN END IN ITSELF

MESSAGE FROM XANANA GUSMAO TO THE FREE EAST TIMOR, FREEDOM IN THE
ASIA PACIFIC PUBLIC MEETING HELD BY RESISTANCE, FRIDAY, JULY 7, 1995 IN
MELBOURNE, AUSTRALIA..

CNRM - FALINTIL

Comrades and Friends,

With clenched fist raised high, I come to salute this Conference dedicated to the liberation of our Asia-Pacific Region.

The struggle of the oppressed have always inspired deepest bonds of solidarity between peoples.

The sentiments that unite peoples are motivated - by the most pure idealism for peace and justice, - by the awareness of a common cause of suffering, poverty and degradation, - and also by the realization that the ultimate cause of our common tears and misery are the same: the power of multinationals that dictate the same political rules - to dictatorial regimes like Jakarta, to hypocritical Labor Governments like the Australian, and to inept democracies like the Philippines.

The politicians sell their souls for profits. And the rulers practice cynicism - a two faced politics that aims at repressing not only their own people, but even worse, they are accomplices in the repression of others.

The theme "Free East Timor - Freedom in the Asia-Pacific" constitutes a perspective of liberty for the people of Asia and Pacific.

Independence was never an end in itself - but is a means. True independence is the recognition of the freedom of others, is the respect for the supreme interests of populations, is the respect for the most basic human rights, is the fundamental right of peoples to determine their own destiny.

When independence is only a trampoline for rulers to enrich the families of a parasitical elite, with the confiscation of peasants' lands, and with the total disregard and indifference for the miserable living conditions of workers;

When independence blinds rulers, greedy for their own well-being and the profits of the grandchildren's grandchildren, and sets the country's doors wide open for the invasion of international monopolies which ruthlessly destroys the environment;

When independence denies the citizens the freedom to express - to assemble - to organize - and to question;

When all this happens in a country with its own flag and president;

Then, independence is but a luxurious reality for only a few, and a nightmare for millions of others.

When Paul Keating, of the Australian Labor Party bows to the murderer Suharto, he goes

lower down than Fidel Ramos obeying the orders of Ali Alatas.

But Paul Keating has not totally realized, he does not feel completely independent, and wants to free himself from the British crown; and Fidel Ramos pretends to lead the Philippines to forget the golden days of Ferdinand Marcos ferocious thieving.

It is in this complex relationship of international conspiracy to oppress the people of Asia and the Pacific that we become conscious of digging common trenches to fight for justice and freedom.

Africa was a good example of puppet-like independencies. The greedy and the corrupt ascended to power, where they installed themselves in perpetuity, and choose the path of a quick and uncontrolled development, which resulted in hunger - misery - droughts - and a debt that not even ten generations will be able to service.

Latin America is another example in our hemisphere of national powers in collusion with the economic powers that rules the world. The result is misery for factory workers and workers in general - isolation for peasants - and a violent destruction of the environment.

Disillusion gave rise to the struggle of the peoples of those two continents. Regimes are unable to effect any changes.

To live today, the population have to pay yesterday's debt. Their government go asking for more and more loans for the same end - to pay part of an unpaid debt which only enriched the national elites.

In Asia and the Pacific the Indonesian example makes us fearful for the future of the region.

50 years of independence, for Suharto, is measured in the success of his grandson - who at the age of 24 already owns 36 enterprises; and in the success of ABRI's protection of the New Order regime by pointing a gun into the mouth of Indonesians:

50 years of independence - with a wild race for physical development which will cause the economic and environmental destruction of Indonesia;

50 years of independence to be celebrated with imprisonment of journalists, imprisonment of the opposition, dismissal of those who protest the corruption in the enterprises linked to the presidential family and to the circle of friends in power:

50 years of independence amidst the restriction of Megawati, in which the first president Sukarno is at once hero and phantom !

Xanana



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Xanana

50 years of independence which is nothing more than 50 years of a culture of corruption - a culture of silence - a culture of ABRI - a culture of fear - a culture of hypocrisy, lies, and cynical adulation. This is the state ideology of the New Order regime.

The Asian and Pacific is a region of the future. As such, we have to learn from the mistakes of the past, and we have to condemn the mistakes of the present.

Let us fight for true independence of our people.

Let us fight for democracy, for justice, for fair distribution of wealth, for the conservation of the environment, for equality, for adequate wages, for education, for bread, for the right to health, for peace, for contentment, for honesty, and for the happiness of the peoples.

Let us fight against the international hypocrisy, against government cynicism, against the western double faced politics which turns Third World either into dictatorships or into vassals.

The struggle of the Maubere people is intrinsic in this context. The search for true liberation of the peoples.

Let us develop in the area of Asia and Pacific a greater spirit of fraternity between the peoples. Let us plant in our region the true basis of

democracy and social justice. Let us preserve the area of Asia-Pacific as nuclear free, free from the threat of ozone depletion, and free from armament.

People of Asia-Pacific, let us unite in the fight for the most fundamental human rights, for the equal rights to explore the natural resources, for the right to guarantee the coming generations a life free of all sorts of inequalities which consume the major part of the globe.

Our struggle is part of the general struggle of all peoples of the world - to combat hunger, misery, oppression from regimes ruled by the politics of profit.

Long live the militancy of the third world people!

Long live the just fight of the oppressed people of the whole world!

Long live the struggle of the MAUBERE people!

for CNRM
XANANA GUSMAO
Commander of FALINTIL

Cipinang,
3 of July 1995

FROM XANANA GUSMAO TO AKSI

To
Comrade Max Lane
Coordinator AKSI - Australia

Struggle greetings and the warmest of greetings from me, my fellow East Timorese political prisoners, and the guerillas of FALINTIL to you and all those gathered in AKSI.

We pass on our highest regards for the program and activities of AKSI.

The public meeting 'Freedom for East Timor! Freedom in the Asia Pacific!' will contribute further to stimulating public opinion in the Asia Pacific and international public opinion and indicate its concern regarding the brutality, injustice, lack of freedom and genocide that is being experienced by the Maubere people and other peoples of the region.

I hope the public meeting adds to the success of past activities and takes us closer to what we all hope for.

Cipinang prison - Jakarta, July 2, 1995

Your comrade

Xanana Gusmao
Commander of FALINTIL



Two members of AKSI, Jo Brown and Max Lane, spoke at the Freedom for East Timor! Freedom in the Asia Pacific public meeting on July 7, 1995 along with Nunu Santos from Dili, East Timor, Ria Shanti from SPRIM and Renato Constantino Jr. from the Asia Pacific Coalition on East Timor

WITNESS FROM DILI:

A PERSONAL ACCOUNT BY NUNU SANTOS

On the afternoon of November 12, 1991 in Dili, I was waiting at the Santa Cruze cemetery. I had gone there together with a friend who had the job of making preparations for the arrival of the demonstrators. November 12 was the commemoration of 14 days since the death of an East Timorese youth, Sebastiao Gomes, who was killed by Indonesian soldiers. I myself was not in Dili in the days leading up to the November 12 incident. I was in Ermera. But already I knew what was going to happen in Dili: "There would be a large demonstration in Dili on November 12."

I came, along with other youth groups, from cities all across East Timor to Dili. Upon arriving, the preparations had already begun. T-shirts with the name of the clandestine youth organisation called OJETIL with symbols of the Lorico bird and banners were ready. On November 12, I also went to the church to join a religious ceremony there. But I left early for the cemetery to help my friend with their task.

As you know, on that day several thousand East Timorese youth with shouts of "Free East Timor", and "Viva Xanana Gusmao" marched from the church to the Santa Cruze cemetery. There were also many other people, including civil servants, who joined in with the demonstrators. Upon arriving at the Santa Cruze cemetery the demonstration had become even more intense, although still peaceful. The crowd was met by Indonesian soldiers who, with harsh and vile shouts, began shooting. And finally, as we all know, more than 250 people were shot dead.

The November 12 demonstration informed the whole world that the East Timorese youth will not surrender and will continue to demand independence for East Timor. The massacre at Santa Cruze also reminded the whole world of the brutality of the Indonesian military occupation of my country, East Timor.

The story behind November 12

But the November 12 demonstration did not just fall from the heavens. There is a story behind it. The story of how East Timorese youth were able to rise up and demand the rights of their country.

I would like to explain a little of this story.

In the 1980s myself and many other young people were still in school or had only just left to find jobs. Actually, many of us were not involved in politics or the independence struggle but were more concerned with living life and being young. We knew that FALANTIL - the

East Timorese freedom fighters - were still in the mountains. Occasionally, our parents, or other family members from the older generation, would relate to us the things they had heard on radio Australia. But in general, we were not concerned with the struggle. During the 70s and 80s, we had no patriotic feelings, we did not take life very seriously. And didn't know exactly what had happened in our country. At that time, in the 80s, we and other young East Timorese were still blind and did not understand what was meant by this struggle.

Perhaps this was because we were still young. And perhaps also because the struggle in the towns was destroyed in the 70s. Most of the older generation, had been forced to retreat from open politics and to look after their homes and families.

Such was the situation of Dili youth in the 80s, in general. But not everyone was like this. There were others who were different. That is, students from a school called Esternato. This school was the only school which could give lessons in Portuguese. This school was for Portuguese citizens who did not want to attend an Indonesian language school. The school's name was known throughout East Timor. And its teachers were chosen from pastors and veterans who had "surrendered" at the time when the leader of the struggle, Nicalao Lobato died. These people taught and gave advice on politics which was full of the issue of independence.

In general there were still many youth who remained silent, and those who asked what was meant by the struggle. And many East Timorese youth did not yet feel that they should do something for their country.

But in the 80s a section of youth had already begun to prepare and work with Falantil veterans who came down from the mountains in 1979.

From these veterans young people began to hear that the East Timorese youth must do something for their country and from there began the emergence a feeling of solidarity among East Timorese youth. And a section began to join with other young people from the Esternato school and work together until December 10 1989.

The visit of the Pope

In 1989 an incident occurred which began to completely change the political atmosphere. The Pope arrived in Dili. At that time, for the first time, the younger generation of the 80s did

Witness



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something to show their feelings. There was a small demonstration. This demonstration was carried out by Esternato students and students from a school in the city of Bacau. I myself was awakened by this incident. I was forced to think also: "They have already done something, Am I to just remain silent?"

After the Pope had left Dili, young people in Dili had already started to feel a responsibility for their nation. And feel that at that moment, the country was no longer a part of Indonesia but will become East Timor. And a section of the Esternato youth working with Falantil were called upon to ensure young people were not silent. They said that the youth must work and divide themselves up in groups, not just in Dili but in all 12 regencies in East Timor.

And from that time, young people in East Timor began to become the target of the Indonesian military. Young people were often arrested, intimidated, and sometimes their houses were ransacked without reason. If someone was to be arrested, the military always arrived at the person's house in the middle of the night, and often broke up the person's house. All young people were under suspicion, at every moment, in every place. The Indonesian military presence in our country began to be felt far more than before. Young peoples' frustration and anger became very widespread.

This frustration began to give birth to a new attitude in us. Initially this new attitude was half play and very spontaneous. There was no plan or strategy. But what was clear was that young people began to demonstrate their frustration directly at the Indonesian military.

When soldiers passed, young people would throw cakes. But you know, the next day we began to throw rocks. The frustration and anger spread everywhere.

I remember clearly one incident which can illustrate this attitude of frustration. An Indonesian Air Force helicopter crashed in Dili. Suddenly the helicopter was surrounded by East Timorese youth. And while the Indonesian soldiers were examining the helicopter and pulling the corpses from that machine of war, all of us -- without a plan -- began taunting them by singing the song *Indonesia Raya*, the Indonesian national anthem.

Who knows how this could have happened with being planned. But that was the nature of our frustration at the Indonesian military at that time.

Previously, when our parents spoke about what they had heard on the radio about East Timorese politics, we were not very interested. Before, if we heard gunfire, we were not very distressed. In the past if we heard that our uncles or grand parents were killed in the 70s by the Indonesian military, we were unconcerned.

But with this new atmosphere, all of this changed. We began to be interested in our parents' stories about the Indonesian invasion in 1975. We wanted to hear the latest news from the mountains. And our frustration grew to become anger.

Xanana Gusmao

For me, it was in 1987, that there was a new voice which came to the cities. This voice was often heard in the form of cassettes and sometimes by letter. This was the voice of Xanana Gusmao. Xanana began to speak a great deal to the youth in Dili and other cities.

The first time I heard a cassette from Xanana, he spoke in Portuguese. I could understand what he said, but at first I didn't grasp everything he meant.

But that was only the first cassette. More letters, cassettes and stores about Xanana began to be distributed. Xanana called on the youth to rise up for their country, for the Maubere people.

"Stand before your mirror, and see who you are," said Xanana in a cassette. "Who are you. Are you one of them, or one of us, the East Timorese and Maubere people."

He reminded us to think about the Timorese people who wore "red and white ties" - the colours of the Indonesian flag - and he explained: "Who are they really, they are the servants of Indonesia, helping people who arrive from outside." And he asked that we think about those in the mountains. "Those in the mountain are whose servants?" he asked. The answer: the servants of the Maubere people.

Those who wear the red and white ties, sleep in a comfortable bed. Those who become the servants of the Maubere people, sleep on the open ground. And he called on us: which side will youth take, what will you do?

There was also a pamphlet from Xanana which had been distributed for some time which said that youth are the heart of FALANTIL and that FALANTIL is like a tree which for so long has been rooted in East Timor.

Xanana Gusmao's voice opened the hearts of all East Timorese youth. We all were moved by his call to join in struggling against the Indonesian invaders. Many young people took the decision to do something.

But what could we do? What did those in the mountain want from us?

Estafeta

In my country the word ESTAFETA already had a power and authority of its own. ESTAFETA are those who come down from the mountains to the cities bringing word from the mountains. Before it was Xanana Gusmao, now it is Konis Santana. They also brought messages about what they needed for their struggle. They built a system by which ESTAFETA could arrive in Dili and pass on messages without being arrested.

To carry out the task given by the ESTAFETAs, young people established a clandestine group. Actually, many young people had also already left school. Schools are Indonesian places and young people no longer wanted to attend. The frustration of young people in school had also begun to be visible. Each Monday morning, all of the students had to gather to sing *Indonesia Raya* while the Indonesian flag was



raised. Often a young person would damage the flag's rope so when the flag had been raised, it would just fall straight back down again. And when they sang, the students would all change the line "Indonesia negeri-KU" (Indonesia MY country) to "Indonesia negeri-MU" (Indonesia YOUR country)".

I had already left school and was working as a driver when I was first contacted by a member of the clandestine group. I often agreed to involve myself and thus became a member of OJETIL, a clandestine youth organisation in East Timor. OJETIL was openly declared for the first time on November 12 in Dili, but in fact it had already existed since 1990. Any young people who wanted to be active in helping the struggle became OJETIL activists. The establishment of OJETIL was also Xanana Gusmao's idea.

Each youth group had different assignments. Our group's job was to provide the comrades in the mountains with supplies. In the mountains they needed shoes, hats, clothing and often, medicines. And in carrying out this task, we were helped greatly by the East Timorese people. We collected clothing from families and ordinary people often gave donations.

Sometimes, in an unconscious way, the Indonesian government also helped. When general elections were held for example, the Indonesian government parties would give out shirts and berets to young people. Perhaps they thought that so many young people came asking for shirts because of their political support. But in fact in the weeks which followed, the hats and shirts were channeled into the mountains. In all of this, we had to be extremely careful. We could not, for example, purchase large amounts of medicines directly from the chemist. We had to find different ways which would not attract attention.

Over time nearly all East Timorese youth became a part of the struggle. The words of struggle, such as Xanana Gusmao's, Konis Santana, as well as leaders outside the country like Ramos Horta, Mari Alkatiri and others, were awaited by all. All of society became full of concern for the development of the struggle. News and messages from ESTAFETA were quickly disseminated everywhere.

Murder in a church

So, friends, many groups like this emerged and a large part of the Dili youth worked hard and formed clandestine groups. Until the death of Sebastiao in the Motaiel church on October 28, 1991 when Indonesian soldiers entered the church with their Indonesian accomplices which used the name Ninjas.

And for many people, this incident was considered as too much. I should note here, that for the older generation in particular, this was considered as going much too far. For them, a murder inside a church was an affront to their religion. What is more, there were fifty Catholics which were not from East Timor but from the Atambua region who also joined in the dem-

onstration because they felt their religion had been defiled by the killing in the church.

There was a great deal of anger among the older generation. They wanted an immediate action. But the younger generation had already learnt to work according to a plan. Four years of clandestine work, and following the messages from ESTAFETA had taught us to work with a strategy, a plan.

And 14 days after the death of Sebastiao the youth of Dili and a section of veterans from 1979 began to work together. And on November 11 there was an announcement that all youth must go to the Motaiel church to hold a special mass in commemoration of 14 days since the death of our comrade who was murdered by Indonesian soldiers. And from there, all of the youth carried flowers to the Santa Cruz cemetery wearing OJETIL T-shirts. And the demonstration grew, until it reached the Santa Cruz cemetery.

Massacre

And so it happened, our demonstration on November 12 which clearly announced to the whole world that the determination and desire of the youth and people of East Timor. A demonstration which ended with the November 12 massacre.

Reports of the massacre quickly spread throughout Dili, throughout East Timor. Many were also arrested on that day. Dili became deserted. For many days people did not dare leave their homes. Many young people were forced to hide to avoid being arrested and killed. And the Indonesian soldiers became more active. The surveillance became more intensive.

Dili is divided in a number of villages. These villages are quite small and in each one, the military establish at least two security posts. The military are everywhere. If young people are found in groups of two or more, they are often harassed. If you are already known or suspected of having attended the November 12 demonstration, the military follow you everywhere. Sometimes even social gatherings, are full of Intel (Indonesian Intelligence). There are 12 military battalions in East Timor. The Indonesian government likes to claim that two of the battalions have been withdrawn, but in reality these two battalions have only be moved to a different province. The military are everywhere.

The political space for young people, even more so those who have already been marked as participants in the November 12 demonstration has becoming increasingly tight and difficult. Our own country has become like a prison. We live as if we were in goal. And it is because of this that many of our generation have been forced to leave Timor, our country. Many have also been forced to leave East Timor for Australia.

But the struggle by the East Timorese youth has not ended. When I was in Dili last December and January, there was another demonstration against the occupation by Indonesia. I witnessed this, and I also saw that those who joined the demonstration were even younger



than me. There is a new generation with political space which are now coming forward. As well as these young people, students on the University of East Timor campus have also increased their activity. They have already demonstrated in protest against obscene acts against East Timorese catholic nuns by Indonesian soldiers. It is clear that OJETIL and the East Timorese youth will not give up.

International solidarity

With regard to this there is an issue which is very important. During the time that I and many other young people were active within our country, there was always one thing which gave us hope and determination. We had the courage and were prepared to protest because we knew that each time this happened, there would also be a protest in Australia and other countries. We kept hearing reports from Radio Melbourne about protests and demonstrations in Australia. Without outside protests, we knew that it would be easier for the Indonesian military to take and kill those people involved in demonstrations. We knew that if there was protest outside, foreign governments would be forced to pressure Indonesia not to kill people. Yes, perhaps people were still gaoled and beaten, but it was far more difficult for them to be killed.

As well as helping to prevent people who protested from being killed, foreign protests also gave us determination. News from outside as well. Before I left East Timor, I heard a cassette from Jose Ramos Horta about the East Timor conference which was held in Manila, the Philippines. News of this kind of solidarity, always increased our determination inside our country.

Now I am in Australia but there are still young people which cannot come here, because, for example, there is no money. And there is a new generation who have also become active. What should I do here in Australia. I must do something, like those who are still inside. I think all East Timorese youth who are in Australia must do something, and help protest. We must always be ready to go to every action, every event which supports our struggle.

East Timor and Australia

What else now we are already in Australia. In East Timor, all of society, each person, not only knows about the demonstrations by the Australian and East Timorese people who are here. Each East Timorese person knows about the plan by the Australian government to take oil from the East Timor sea. There is not one person in Timor who likes or supports these

policies of the Australian government. And on television, we often saw reports about joint training exercised between the Indonesian and Australian military. None of East Timorese people agree with this and do not like these kind of Australian policies. And all of East Timorese society also say that they hope that policies like this will be changed.

So for us who are now in Australia, I think that we, East Timorese youth cannot remain silent. And we also hope that the older generation who have already been in Australia for some time, will push, help and give strength to young people to do something.

I state our solidarity, the youth of East Timor, with the solidarity movement in the Philippines and with young people struggling within Indonesia itself. I express gratitude to all people and groups which provide solidarity with the East Timor struggle.

I express thanks to Resistance in inviting me to speak at this conference. And I wish to quote a part of a letter which Xanana sent to Resistance from goal in Cipinang, Jakarta:

MY HONORED COMRADES IN RESISTANCE THE MAUBERE YOUTH WILL ALWAYS BE IN SOLIDARITY WITH YOU. IT IS THE MAUBERE YOUTH WHO ARE THE FREQUENT TARGETS OF ASSASSINATION BY THE INDONESIAN MILITARY. THE MASSACRES AT SANTA CRUZ AND AT LIQUICA ARE EVIDENCE OF THIS. THE MAUBERE YOUTH ARE THE FUTURE OF A FREE TIMOR AND FOR THAT FUTURE THEY HAVE LAID DOWN THEIR LIVES AND THEY ARE STILL PREPARED TO LAY DOWN THEIR LIVES FOR THE LIBERATION OF FREE TIMOR. WHILE THE INDONESIAN MILITARY REMAIN IN TIMOR, THE MAUBERE PEOPLE WILL CONTINUE TO DIE AND BE MASSACRED BUT THEY KNOW THAT THEIR HOMELAND DEMANDS THIS OF THEM.

BEFORE ENDING OUR DISCUSSION HERE ON BEHALF OF MYSELF AND IN THE NAME OF THE MAUBERE PEOPLE I PASS ON MY SOLIDARITY AND MY WARM GREETINGS TO YOU AND ALL THOSE IN RESISTANCE.

In accordance with the spirit of Xanana's letter to Resistance, I am certain that the young people which are newly arriving in will not be silent. We will join the struggle here too.



Viva Timor Leste!

Viva Xanana Gusmao!

Viva solidaritas Australia - East Timor!

THE INDONESIAN PRO-DEMOCRACY MOVEMENT AND MAUBERE PEOPLE'S INDEPENDENCE

A POSITION PAPER PREPARED BY

SOLIDARITAS PERJUANGAN RAKYAT INDONESIA UNTUK MAUBERE
(SPRIM - INDONESIAN PEOPLE'S SOLIDARITY STRUGGLE WITH THE MAUBERE PEOPLE)

Since the beginning of the 1990s, the pro-democracy movement in Indonesian has succeeded in emerging and pressuring the New Order regime economically and politically. This movement, spearheaded by worker, student and peasant actions, has been successful in revealing the horror, brutality and injustice which has been experienced by the Indonesian people under the New Order regime. Thus, the Maubere peoples' struggle for independence, the Maubere people's agitation for the independence struggle, will have a positive basis of hope if it also rests on the pro-democracy movement - primarily the labour, student and peasant movement - which has the strength to deal a sure blow against the New Order regime.

Since the New Order seized power after slaughtering two million Indonesian people in 1965, Indonesia has pursued an economic development policy of promoting industrialisation through an invitation for the reentry of foreign capital and the accumulation of foreign debt. To protect and guarantee the interests of foreign capital, in 1967 the Foreign Investment Regulations were enacted. Moreover, in inviting the entry of foreign capital, the attraction was based upon natural resource wealth and a cheap and submissive labour force.

In the beginning, the strategy of industrialisation was an Import Substitution strategy. Because of a rapid drop in the price of oil on the world market and pressure to pay the foreign debt, the New Order regime was forced to change this industrialisation strategy to one of Export Orientated Industry. Following this, the middle manufacturing industries emerged whose products were exported to earn non-oil export based foreign exchange. The new industrial zones, which were established in cities such as Jakarta, Bogor, Tangerang, Bekasi, - together called JABOTABEK - South, East and West Bandung, Gresik, Bangkalan, Mojokerto, Surabaya, Sidoarjo-Lamongan, Semarang, Medan and Ujung Padang, have all developed rapidly. The manufacturing industry's reserve army of labour was quite large. From data which was recorded in 1980, this sector employed 4.2 million workers; in 1985 this increased to 5.8 million; and by 1990 it had reached 8.2 million; while, by November 1993, there were 10.5 million workers employed in the manufacturing sector (*Republika* 20/12/93).

Labour strategic social sector

Industrial development has already put labour in the position of being the strategic social sector of the Indonesian economy. The strategic

position of labour can be seen most of all in the increasing contribution by the industrial sector in comparison to oil and gas and the Gross Domestic Product (GDP). The contribution of the manufacturing sector to non-oil and gas exports reached 45 percent of all exports, and makes up 16 percent of the GDP (Source World Bank, 1993; Vedi Hadis, "Labour, Politics and Industrialisation", and *Republika*, January 1994).

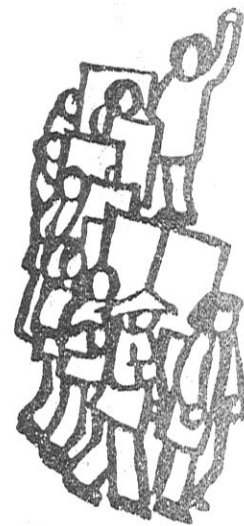
Workers' conditions

The strategic role of labour in the Indonesian economy is certainly not proportional to their standard of living. Workers' lives and conditions are not just very poor in the factories themselves but outside the workplace as well. The wages and allowances received are simply too low to live a normal life. Imagine, the minimum wage at the end of the 5th Five Year Development Plan only reached 73 percent of minimum physical needs, and that was only obtained by 62 percent of Indonesian workers. (*Republika*, 30/12/1993).

There are no guarantees of work safety and the safety conditions in factories mean workers constantly face the risk of injury or illness. To contain the cost of production, there is a tendency by many companies to not list their workers for workers compensation or medical insurance (*Republika*, 3/1/94). The recent changes in these schemes (from ASTEK to JAMSOSTEK) also clearly lowered workers' guarantees of health and safety. Frequently there are pressures to work continuous overtime which can damage the physical health of workers. As in the case of the experience of workers in a photographic framing factory in Cilengsi, Bogor. They were forced to work overtime without any time limits, and if they refused, they were forced to resign (*Kompas*, 1/2/93). At a factory in Kalideres, West Jakarta, the company did not prepare enough food for workers; imagine, a night-shift employee working from 11 p.m. to 7 a.m. the next morning, and the company only provided a single slice of bread. The result is that workers' must work with empty and painful stomachs (*Kompas*, 19/1/93). At an export canning company, P.T. Ganda Guna Indonesia, many workers have lost fingers due to the poor safety conditions; in the printing section in a canning company for export in the Pluit industrial zone, how many workers have had their lungs perforated; and the many other accidents just in this one factory.

The minimum wage forces workers to live in tiny quarters - no more than two by three meters - occupied by three to six workers, the

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streets are dirty and muddy, with insufficient facilities, particularly sanitation. In general, the quarters occupied by workers are old and unhealthy. The living areas located around the factories are often polluted with industrial waste. This pollution results from dumping of industrial waste in water channels, polluting springs and creating a putrid smell, or smoke and dust from factories (such as the environment surrounding the Cibinong cement factory) where air pollution is causing coughs or lung disease for workers and their families who live near the factory.

Siding with the companies is the SPSI (government controlled All Indonesian Workers Union) The SPSI Work Units more often than not acts in partnership with the company to oppress workers. The bad quality and integrity of SPSI has even been admitted to by the Secretary General of SPSI, W. Bokha, who said that many SPSI leaders originate from the civil service appointments and easily accept bribes (*Kompas*, 19/12/92).

In reality, the New Order turned SPSI into the only labour organisation which may officially represent workers. The aim of making SPSI the only organisation which is "sanctioned" by the government is intended to prevent strikes, (*Trisukses*, No 8/1/ThVII, December 1992). In all the cases, the picture is one of Indonesian workers' suffering and this makes up the key issue at this time.

Workers' actions

Departing from the above issues however, the objective conditions of the labour movement since the 1990s indicate a very encouraging development. Worker actions break out continuously, almost every day newspapers carry articles on strikes or worker demonstrations. An increase can be found both in the quantity and quality of these actions:

Qualitatively, since the 1990s, the number of strikes has jumped dramatically compared to previous years. In the years 1986 to 1990, there were 46 worker actions per year on average, in 1991, 114 cases occurred. While according to SPSI records, in four provinces in Java, in 1992, 344 strike occurred and in 1993, a total of 343 strike. The largest number of strikes occurred in light manufacturing, although it has already begun to spread to other sectors, such as the service sectors -- hotels, banks and hospitals -- and the transport sector such as city transport strikes, buses, and even in the state shipping company P.T. PAL. The location of the strikes was initially restricted to the industrial zones around Jakarta, now they have broadened to industrial zones in other cities all across Indonesia.

In 1994, Indonesian workers held a total of 1,126 strikes. This was a total of around 2.8 million lost hours, and at a cost of 240 billion Rupiah. The largest number of strikes, 581, occurred in West Java (in particular JABOTABEK) with East Java recording 200, North Sumatra 140, Jakarta 126, Central Java 54, Riau 5, West Kalimantan 3 and South Sumatra

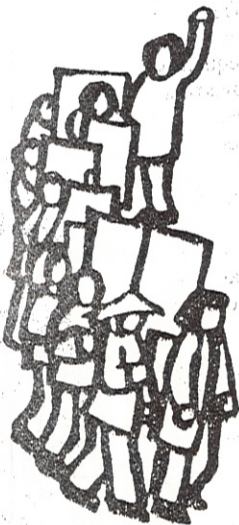
1. This increased 350 percent on the previous year's total of 312.

Qualitatively, the development of the utilisation of different means of struggle to achieve labour demands can also be seen. The use of posters, banners, and distribution of written material has begun to be common place in labour actions; and these actions are no longer just restricted to factories but are involving large numbers of workers protesting to parliament and in marches and rallies through major streets leading to parliament, the Ministry of Labour offices, and Governor's offices; and some times actions break out in several factories in the same industrial zone; rallies involving workers from a number of factories joining to achieve their demands; in Solo, 11,000 workers from P.T. Batik Karis, after a one day strike on February 1, 1994, held a rally at the Department of Labour. They were able to meet with the Ministry of Labour and blocked streets causing the Minister to be two hours late to the Indonesian Employers Association conference opening at the National Monument in Solo; at the same time strikes were held at 15 factories in the Berikat Nusantara zone, more than 50,000 workers from 23 factories in Medan took their protests to parliament and the Governor's office; furthermore, of late, workers have begun forming alliances with students in the same way as alliances have developed between peasants and students -- we have seen for example such student and worker alliances in Tangerang, Jakarta and Semarang.

More recent actions show an unusual militancy. In Tangerang, hundreds of P.T. Sangrox Indahwa workers marched to the local parliament in a rally stretching 15 kilometers long.

P.T. CPS workers held a strike despite the recent killing of a work mate, Marsinah; in Medan, in the mist of violence by security personnel, thousands of workers continued to rally and demonstrate for around a week; the death of their comrades (like Patriono and Marsinah in East Java and Rusli in Medan) failed to frighten workers, and rather, it created a united worker solidarity.

The demands now being presented have also developed; no longer just focusing on "normative" demands, but including challenges against government policy and intervention and violence by the state, which had so far terrorised workers; as an example, the demands which were presented by the worker action in Medan included demands for a rise in the regional minimum wage, the withdrawal of Ministry of Labour Decree Number 01/1994, and an investigation into the death of Rusli which is widely believed to have been done by security forces; now, spearhead by PPBI (Centre for Working Class Struggle) workers' demands have become more political; aside from demanding a national minimum wage of 7,000 Rupiah, they have also demanded a free trade union, an end to military interference in industrial and labour affairs, along with the withdrawal of five politically repressive laws -- laws on mass organisations; political parties, general elections, parliamentary positions and regulations and referendums.



Broader struggle

And, this positive development, caused by a growing momentum in the student movement, has begun to change the sectarian, campus oriented character to that of a broader political struggle. The student struggle has begun to change its methods of propaganda work which previously, had been restricted to the limited to the sphere of students on campus, to mass propaganda work among workers, peasants and the urban poor. The development of the labour movement (strike actions) which was so marked in 1994, succeeded in capturing the sympathy of the progressive layers of the middle class (primarily students), and the result was that popular sentiment began to cut into the issues which had begun to be raised by the student movement; aside from this was the appearance of a qualitative development in workers' methods of struggle, due to the push from the developing student movement; that is, uniting workers and students, so that they were no longer alone in struggling for their rights and interests, but starting to work jointly in student-worker alliance actions. Solidaritas Mahasiswa Indonesia untuk Demokrasi (SMID - Student Solidarity for Indonesian Democracy) is the most significant student and labour organisation which has taken the lead in developing the worker-student alliance within the democratic movement since the New Order seized power.

In a *de facto* manner, workers have already achieved an alternative trade union aside from SPSI. The sole trade union policy brought in by the regime, that is SPSI, to control and weaken labour resistance, has become increasingly difficult to implement. A number of independent trade unions outside of SPSI already exist which have not been able to be prohibited or disbanded by the regime: SBM (Free Trade Union Setiakawan), SBSI (Indonesian Trade Union for Prosperity), SBT (Transport Union), and finally PPBI (Centre for Indonesian Working Class Struggle). These have all been established without the regimes agreement.

The SBSI has been able on a number of occasions to demand the freedom of workers to organise, a minimum wage of 7,000 Rupiah, and the acceptance of SBSI through a national strike and finally the strikes and demonstrations in Medan. Still it has not been able to be disbanded by the regime. Moreover, recently, and for the first time, the Department of Labour has been prepared to have negotiations with SBSI leaders.

Similarly with PPBI, which just recently called for a national rally in Jakarta and Semarang -- in the framework, and for the first time in the history of the New Order regime, to commemorate May Day on May 1 -- with a national minimum wage demand of 7,000 Rupiah, freedom to organise, ending military intervention in industrial and labour affairs, and with the distributing a national leaflet to campaign for the above three demands, politically, the regime was not able to take any kind of action at all.

PPBI was initially established at a congress in Ambarawa, Central Java, on 22-23 October,

1994. Around 100 delegates attended representing workers from factory committees primarily from cities such as Jakarta, Tangerang, Bogor, Yogyakarta, Semarang, Solo, Salatiga, Surabaya and Medan. This founding congress adopted the public slogan: "Resist Oppression, Advance Labour" (in the final development, after students and peasants alliance actions had become more concrete, PPBI then adopted the joint slogan -- "One Struggle, One Transformation"; Reduce Prices, Increase Wages"; "Withdraw Law 5" and the special/sectoral slogan -- "A National Wage of 7,000 Rupiah Now"; "A Free Trade Union"; "End Military Intervention".)

PPBI also adopted a public program of demands. The key elements this public program included: an increase in wages and compensation; improvements in working conditions and health standards; ending government policies which maintain low wages; returning the right of workers to form their own organisations; the right of workers to gather, freedom to express opinion and go on strike; a reevaluation of anti-labour regulations and laws; ending military intervention in industrial and labour affairs; the direct involvement of workers in the formulation of policies which affect workers; ending all forms of discrimination against women workers; and ending child labour.

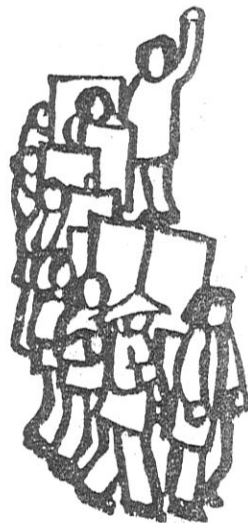
The program of demands included the establishment of a national daily wage of 5,000 Rupiah (as mentioned above, now the campaign of PPBI is for a national daily wage of 7,000 Rupiah), a reevaluation of Ministry of Labour Regulation Number 01/84 which only permits one government yellow trade union, SPSI, a new progressive tax system which may only be applied for people who's monthly wage is above one million Rupiah, and regulations covering minimum redundancy payments. PPBI also demanded the formation of a democratic and independent justice system, which would provide explicit sanctions against companies who violate labour rights.

The process of building established factory committees had already been running for at least five years. Ex-students, and similarly young workers, initially worked to build labour support groups, and then to establish factory committees. These committees were able to lead factory struggles demanding wage improvements and the freedom to organise in separate factory for several years. PPBI is the forth independent trade union organisation which has been able to be established in Indonesia. It already has 300 leading organisers, and estimates it has between 10,000 and 15,000 active supporters, and this is now growing rapidly.

Student movement

The student movement after the 1980s, which reemerged by taking up methods of mass action, has made no small contribution to the destruction of the "culture of silence" in Indonesian society, which resulted from the depoliticisation applied by the New Order regime for more than thirty years. The gains from these accumulated mass actions for other parties also

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provided broad political training, not only for student activists directly involved, but also covering a large portion of other students not involved in mass action, moreover, broader society as well. We can see the positive effect of this from the lively actions and strikes which have sprung up in many social sectors. The experience of these student actions were responded to and became examples for broader layers of people, as a new method of struggle and demanding their rights and interests.

History notes that the student movement under the New Order has experienced a number of revivals which in the end failed. The experience of the 1966, 1977 and 1978 student movements, provided valuable lessons on errors and about how to fulfill the material conditions so that the student movement can become the vanguard for the creation of a democratic society, so it can develop in the direction of a mass democratic movement. *A high level of collaboration (self conciseness) between the political elite and the Indonesian military and the sectarian nature (self-isolation from the essence of democratic strength: workers, peasants and other oppressed social groups), along with a lack of experience in leading and organising the masses*, was one of the characteristics of the student movement of the 1980s, and one of the roots of the failures and errors which were experienced by the student movement before the period of the 1980s.

Because of this, the lessons of the student movement's experience of errors and mistakes in the period before the 1980s, they have now regained a consciousness of their movement in the capacity to objectively understand the student movement within the broader context, that is, how to base their actions on the result of conclusions drawn from *understanding the Indonesian social structure and the primary social problems of Indonesian society*, along with *understanding the essence of democratic strength which will become a partner in their struggle*. Up until this time -- viewed from their development -- as a product of their new character, the student movement is now capable of obtaining broad social support and reaching the level of becoming a part of the total democratic movement.

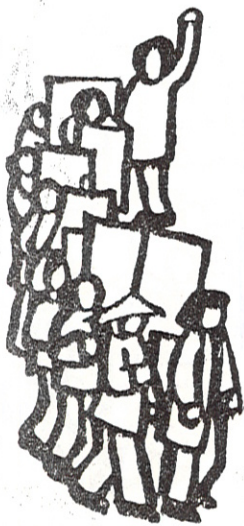
SMID

The establishment of SMID, as a national organisation with a progressive, social and radical character, is extremely favorable from the perspective of the democratic struggle in Indonesia. SMID has been established since 1991, as a result of a consolidation which involved student activists originating from a number of cities, such as Jakarta, Yogyakarta, Semarang, Solo and Bandung. In the beginning, SMID worked using semi-legal methods; in all of its activities -- discussions and mass actions -- SMID still uses the name of the organisation which joined with SMID, such as Yogyakarta Student Solidarity, the Solo Student Association, Semarang Student Solidarity, Jakarta Student Solidarity, and the Manado Student Secretariat.

Moving on from an analysis of the national political situation -- which draws the conclusion that with the "retaking" of a number of *democratic* aspects (although this can still be seized by the regime), moreover after a number of alternative legal organisations have been established without being able to be prevented by the regime, an opportunity for the movement exists to more broadly increase the consciousness and demands of democratic people -- thus in the middle of 1994, SMID took the decision to change the method of its struggle toward a legal, political method, as an open, mass movement.

The existence of SMID in the legal, political arena was initiated with the organisation of a Special Congress attended by around two hundred people from seven SMID branches, conducted on the 1st and 2nd of August 1994, in Puncak, Bogor (with harassment and arrests by local police) and then on August 3, at the offices of the Indonesian Legal Aid Institute in Jakarta (YLBHI), SMID was able to legally declare itself and its political program, which had been decided on at the special congress.

From that time, SMID began to use open political methods. All of the organisations activities, both in discussion and actions and mass campaigns, were carried out under SMID's flag and banner; the first open mass action carried out since SMID declared itself was a joint action with Kepuharjo, Sleman, Yogyakarta peasants, which took the form of a rally to the local parliament in Yogyakarta; this was followed by a hunger strike in the grounds of YLBHI Jakarta, to protest the muzzling of three national magazines (*Tempo*, *Editor* and *DeTIK*), in which 43 SMID activists from a number of branches were arrested by the police. As well as this, SMID was actively involved in the SIUPP alliance (Indonesian Solidarity for a Free Press), which organised mass actions and campaigns to protest the muzzling of the press by the government. Then a SMID alliance action with Ngawi peasants, who were demanding the return of their rights to use land which involved one thousand people, two hundred students and the remainder peasants, in occupying the grounds of the offices of the Ngawi Regent; followed by an action with peasants of Ramunia, Deli Serdang, Medan. Together with Ramunia peasants, SMID went to the parliament and held a free speech rally to demand the return of lands who's right of ownership was the peasants of Ramunia, which was controlled by PUSKOPAD Dam Bukit Barisan; and then a rally with P.T. GGI (Tangerang) workers to demand an increase in the minimum wage and food allowance, on January 10, 1995. Together with PPBI, a May 1 commemorative rally, celebrated for the first time under the New Order regime. This rally resulted in the arrest and interrogation of fourteen SMID members and leaders; together with SPRIM, SMID launched an action to the National Human Rights Commission to oppose and protest the arrest of East Timorese comrades arrested by the Central Jakarta Police on June 4, 1994. As well as this, many other mass actions have been carried out by SMID branches



which have already been consolidated, among these: a mass action by the SMID Solo branch protesting against the muzzling of the Jember University literature faculty's magazine in Solo; a joint action by the Semarang branch with workers from P.T. Plastisindo in Semarang; a joint action by the Surabaya branch with Kediri peasants at the regional parliament in Surabaya; a joint action by the Jakarta branch with Ramunia peasants; and others.

Asian Students Association

By learning from more advanced student movements such as those in the Philippines, India and Nepal, which play an active role in a number of international forums to obtain and give international support to their people and anti-imperialism/colonialism, SMID sought to become a member of the Asian Students Association (ASA) -- Fretilin was registered as an observer member -- and SMID was accepted as a member at the 12th general conference in New Delhi in December 1992. ASA also allowed SMID to be present at Asia-Pacific student movement meetings. SMID utilised forums held by ASA by sending delegates to learn from more advanced movements.

In a general way ASA reflects the leadership of those elements of the student movements which were aligned with progressive political parties in their respective countries (at least 56 mass, national student organisations have become members of ASA). Furthermore, one of their members -- Kamal B, a member of the Network of Overseas Student Conference in Australia (NOSCA) who had been to Indonesia to observe and join with the Indonesian student movement -- was killed in the Dili massacre. And at this ASA general conference, SMID was accepted as the coordinator of the Southeast Asian Sub-Region.

The goals and aims of SMID, as found in its constitution are:

1. To unite students and the student movement to struggle against the repressive, authoritarian regimes which oppress people;
2. To campaign, struggle for, and create civil liberty;
3. Along with workers, peasants, oppressed sectors of society and other democratic forces to campaign, struggle for and create a multi-party system (outside of the traditional parties which exist at the moment) which is democratic;
4. To campaign, struggle for and create an education system which is scientific, democratic, inexpensive and people orientated;
5. To be active in building international solidarity for world peace and democracy which is anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist, including support for the right to self-determination and independence for the Maubere people.

Maubere people's struggle

And, in the same manner PPBI, in its program, SMID also reflects an active support in assisting the Maubere struggle for independence. Because of this, these organisations have held actions or released statements both in

protest over human rights violations against the Maubere people and in support of the Maubere peoples' independence through a referendum. And finally, SMID, PPBI, STN (National Peasants Secretariat) and JAKER (Peoples Arts Network) lead the formation of SPRIM.

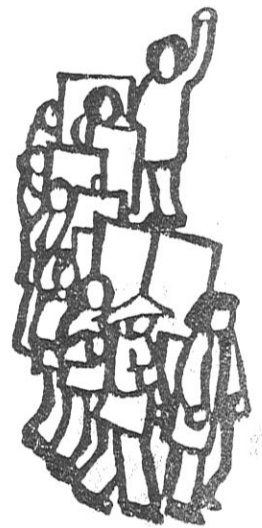
Recent developments

Represented by SMID and PPBI, the pro-democracy movement has already increased the level of its activity. They are increasing and taking up activist campaigns in a wide range of issues, including working class rights, wages and working conditions, freedom of the press and independence for the Maubere people.

Another important political development emerged in June, 1994; when the Soeharto dictatorship muzzled three major news weeklies, *Tempo*, *Editor* and the tabloid *Detik*. The street protests denouncing this muzzling revealed the basis of support among student activists, primarily those from SMID. Support was also organised by small groups of militant activists around YLBHI, which had a broad network of contacts in the layers of the younger and more militant liberal-democratic opposition.

Not a single section of the liberal-democratic opposition ran any serious campaign, that was the crucial picture of the protests against the newspaper muzzlings. In reality, in many cases, these publications largely reflected their political views. Certainly, several elite opposition groups, such as the Petition of 50, Forum Democracy and more vocal student groups such as PIJAR (Information and Network Centre for Reform) issued statements against the muzzling. A number of PIJAR activists also joined in attending meetings. However, while this was so, without SMID's strength, it would not have become a mass campaign.

The lack of mechanisms such as fair elections, and the fact that the liberal opposition has no mass, activist strategy, means that it is extremely difficult for us to estimate the authority of the elite opposition's leadership of the working and middle classes. It appears as if their credibility has been eroded significantly as a result of their inability to defend these publications which in reality reflected their own ideology. One sign is the decline in PIJAR's activities. In 1993, PIJAR allied with other student groups were able to organise and launch a number of street demonstrations. In 1994, they only organised a few actions, the major one being outside the State Court during the trial of activists which had been arrested at a previous action in 1993 and campaigns around the issue of repression of ex-political prisoners. It appears that PIJAR's activists were also involved in the formation of ALDERA (Peoples' Democratic Alliance), which primarily involves student and ex-student activists which is not a tightly organised group compared to PIJAR itself. So far, ALDERA has only been able to organise a number of public meetings, however, without significant involvement of the organised working class. Over this time, PIJAR and ALDERA initiatives in 1994 were relatively



sparodic, as a consequence of their dependency on alliances with elite opposition groups, however, in the future they may grow to become a pole of attraction for the radical opposition against the Soeharto dictatorship.

In a situation when the elite opposition cannot move forward (what happened was in fact the reverse, they have faltered after the shock of the press muzzling), there emerged a significant development in the central leadership of PRD (United Peoples' Democracy) which deserves attention. There are two examples which can illustrate this event:

1. In the end of June, 1994, PRD postponed a hunger strike in the grounds of YLBHI in Jakarta to protest the press muzzlings, perhaps in the thought that this action would overtake other forces. Faced with hesitation like this, student activists moved forward and took the initiative to organise the hunger strike which was initiated by SMID national, and PRD was only invited as a speaker. (In a meeting between representatives of the national PRD network and representatives of the SMID national network, it can be concluded that was not just the postponement of the hunger strike which was desired by PRD, but the cancellation of this action, although plans for this action had already been carried in the mass media.)

2. In reality, at PRD's founding congress it had already been agreed by resolution to support the right to self-determination and a referendum for the people of East Timor however, in the PRD manifesto and declaration which was published, this resolution was changed and/or softened to become support for *human rights and the democratic rights of the East Timorese people*.

SMID's technique of taking the initiative in the organisation of political campaigns and actions has continued since the middle of 1994. SMID's major campaign has been directed at an effort to build student-worker alliance, which could campaign both for democratic rights as well as an improvement in economic conditions. The frequency of joint student-worker rallies and demonstrations has increased, both on and off campus. Since the end of October, more and more these actions have been carried out jointly by SMID and PPBI. SMID and PPBI have also raised other issues, such as supporting self-determination for the people of East Timor and the SMID and PPBI delegations who visited Australia in December and openly campaigned on the East Timor issue. PPBI's new bulletin, the *Worker's Banner*, also raises the issue of East Timor. They are also one of the elements which supported the November 12 action in 1994, at the American Embassy -- moreover they assisted in safeguarding the participants of the action (which had escaped arrest and could not enter the embassy) and protested to the National Human Rights Commission over the detention of 30 Maubere comrades who had been arrested on June 4, 1995.

The SMID-PPBI combination is capable of reaffirming the radical strength in PRD -- primarily that based in the provincial branches which have or will be established -- and return

PRD to a more radical course and perspective. The other possibility is that the SMID-PPBI combination will take over the position of PRD, as a pole attraction for radicalising the layers of students and workers, primarily in this country's large cities. In this finally, the SMID-PPBI-STN grouping will be able to lead 10,000 peasants from STN's base, as a reaction against the many peasant land appropriations primarily in Java and Sumatra which have been carried out by the New Order regime.

The same repression, the contemptible and merciless violence has also been experienced by the Maubere people. Since 1975 the New Order military regime has annexed -- in a brutal colonial manner -- East Timor. Thus began the dark times full of suffering for the ex-Portuguese colony. The massacre of two hundred and fifty thousand people is not a thing easily forgotten by the Maubere people, who will never accept the New Order regime as their master. Truthfully, the sprinkling of resistance has arisen (and has still not stopped) is proof that the Soeharto regime is not the choice of the Maubere people to develop their country. The Soeharto regime, which has been there for 19 years, has been unable to gain the Maubere peoples' trust, meaning that basically, it does not have the right to claim that East Timor is the 27th province of Indonesia.

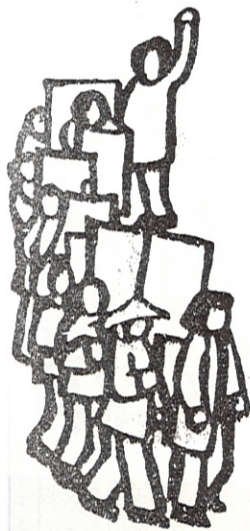
Self-determination

This is because *the right to self-determination is the fundamental agenda* of the struggle of the Maubere people and, thus, *this should become one of the demands of the Indonesian democratic movement*. The resistance for the sake of the struggle is carried by the Maubere youth, beginning with their guerrilla war resisting Indonesian soldiers, popular mass actions in the cities and international campaigns and negotiations under the auspicious of the United Nations and international forums. *And what is being built now, although it has yet to demonstrate its maximum capacity, is a push and unity within the Indonesian democratic movement, so that the Indonesian pro-democratic movement will be able to give genuine support for the Maubere peoples' struggle for their independence.*

All of this must become a part of the strategy and tactics of all Maubere activists to pressure the Soeharto regime to withdraw its soldiers from East Timor and give the Maubere people to right to hold a referendum.

Acts of arbitrary and indiscriminate use of power have also been experienced by Acehenese freedom fighters. In 1992, two thousand Acehenese people were slaughtered for being suspected of being involved in the Free Aceh Movement. The Free West Papua Movement has also brutality butchered; more than 800 West Papuan people were killed in 1991. Not yet counting the repression taken against the pro-democracy movement.

The wars in East Timor and Aceh have caused many children of peasants and the urban poor to die in vain - only for defending themselves against the blood sucking and oppressive



regime -- that is the reason for so many provisions and requests from them to end this war, which has consumed so many of their children.

The most effective way to corner this brutal regime, and most certainly one which will broaden the scope of the campaign over the issue of the Maubere peoples' right to independence, is to include campaigning for the Maubere peoples' independence in the political program and agenda of the Indonesian pro-democratic movement.

Such a campaign must be carried out from two sides; from *within the country* -- through the pro-democratic movement, which is active in strategic sectors along with real forces (workers-students-intellectuals-democrats-peasants); in strategic regional areas (JABOTABEK, GERBANGKERTASUSILA, Semarang, Medan, Bandung, Solo, Yogya, Malang, Bali); and with effective political tools (mass actions, dissemination of information, pamphlets, open campaigns). The campaign must also be waged *outside the country* -- united with the democratic movement of workers, students, youth and intellectuals; in countries wherever there are Maubere and Indonesian people with sympathies with the Maubere and Indonesian people. Most East Timorese outside of the sovereignty of our country are in Australia, Portugal, Northern Europe, Japan, America, Mozambique, South Africa, Libya, Iraq, the Philippines, North and South Korea, Nepal and so on). Such a campaign must use mass actions at Indonesian embassies and consulates and a broad campaign of diplomatic pressure.

A struggle for independence confined to activities at the official international negotiating table, through official international institutions such as the United Nations, the European Economic Community, CGI and the Non-Aligned Movement, will confront the Soeharto regime's fear that independence for the Maubere people this action will ignite other separatist movements in Indonesia. A struggle confined to negotiations will not overcome this fear.

Because of this, the moment has already arrived to unite the struggle demanding prosperity, political freedom, social justice, and genuine independence for the Indonesian and Maubere people. We are oppressed by the same power. The bullets which riddle the bodies of Maubere patriots are the same bullets which kill Indonesian pro-democratic activists. The weapons which are imported from America, Australia, England, Sweden and Germany are the same weapons used to kill the Indonesian and Maubere people, as when Indonesia was under the power of Dutch colonialism for 350 years.

About SPRIM

We intend to show the international community that now the Maubere peoples' struggle will obtain support from the pro-democratic movement which has a unique strength in Indonesia; we will reveal to the Indonesian people, the depravity, brutality, and the illegality of the Indonesian occupation of East Timor, it is the

moment for us to gather our new forces to become more confident and sophisticated.

SPRIM is based on a political agenda and program aiming to: *democratise the whole of Indonesian society and support the self-determination and independence of the Maubere people.*

SPRIM is a single organisational front established in March 1995. SPRIM is made up of PPBI, SMID, Serikat Tani Nasional (STN - National Farmers Union), and Jaringan Kesenian Rakyat (JAKER - Peoples Artists Network).

SPRIM in its political activities believes in the strength of mass action, and the forms of official national and international negotiations, to strengthen the struggle of the Maubere people. The diversity of SPRIM's members proves that the struggle of the Maubere people has already received support not only from students, but also from workers, peasants and the artistic community. This therefore, makes it easier for SPRIM's campaign work to be taken to all the layers of oppressed society in Indonesia, which now is already indicating its initial strength which has the potential to develop as a unique democratic strength.

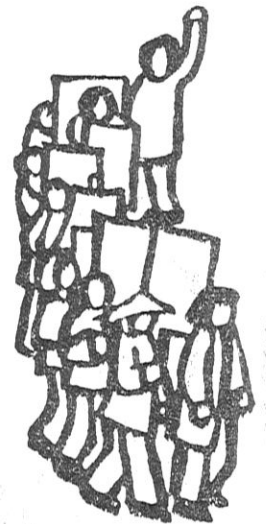
SPRIM has already planned an initial work agenda formed of: publications -- primarily large scale information distribution -- campaigns -- most importantly those which push the issue of independence for the Maubere people to become part of the political agenda of the pro-democratic movement, for example its inclusion in the agenda of newly formed alliances, KPRI (the Indonesian Peoples' United Movement) -- and mass actions principally aimed at related institutions, which are bear responsibility for the independence of the Maubere people.

SPRIM's Strategy and Tactics

1. Distribution of information throughout all sectors of Indonesian society about the Maubere Peoples's independence struggle;
2. Distribution of information and build a reaction in Indonesian society and internationally about the acts of the New Order regime against the Maubere people;
3. Push pro-democratic movement groups to support the independence struggle of the Maubere people in their political agendas;
4. Convince the international community that the people of Indonesia support the independence struggle of the Maubere people;
5. Seek an opportunity and basis of mass support -- with a unique strength in political bargaining with the New Order regime -- to demand:
 - a halt to war,
 - the withdrawal of all Indonesian military powers (including police) from East Timor,
 - the formation of a provisional Maubere peoples' government,
 - and to value the right to self-determination -- as independence -- of the Maubere people through referendum, as soon as possible.

Translated by James Balowski

SPRIM



APPENDIX:

MESSAGE TO AKSI FROM XANANA GUSMAO

IN THE LEAD UP TO THE MAY 13, 1995 EAST TIMOR NATIONAL DAY OF ACTION, ORGANISED BY RESISTANCE YOUTH ORGANISATION. AKSI WAS ONE OF THE MAJOR SPONSORS.

Cipinang prison, Jakarta, 9 April, 1995.

Max Lane,
National Co-ordinator,
Indonesia Solidarity Action (AKSI)
Broadway, NSW, Australia.

On behalf of CNRM and the Maubere people, I present my warm greetings and struggle greetings to you and all those in AKSI.

I have received your letter. Your plans and actions make me and the oppressed Maubere and Indonesian people very proud. Your plans point to a dawning in the darkness that engulfs the Indonesian and Maubere people

...
Your initiative to intensify the co-ordination of your actions and activities with CNRM represent an honour for all of us fighting the dictatorial New Order regime.

I am in full agreement with you that it is time for all progressive forces and all the pro-democracy forces to unite to smash the fascist dictatorship of the New Order so that a new democratic climate can be instituted for the Indonesian people and liberation can be won for the Maubere people.

Your initiative is an expression of the reality of the commonality of suffering of the Maubere and Indonesian people under the same oppressor. The solidarity that AKSI is building together with other organisations in Australia and in other countries is a solidarity between societies that shows that the suffering that is

experienced by one part of society will always be felt by others.

My comrade, Max Lane and other honoured comrades, in the name of the Maubere people I welcome and value highly your initiatives which have been developed into concrete actions and plans. I hope that this can be an inspiration for other organisations, especially the non-government organisations in Indonesia.

Just recently one of our friends from PIJAR (Information Centre and Action Network for Reform) and three people from the Independent Alliance of Journalists have been arrested, and four more are being hunted out. In this regard I urge AKSI to launch continuous protests demanding their freedom and also freedom of opinion in Indonesia.

I am sure that the Indonesian people will be applauding the actions taken by our friends in Germany against Suharto. Perhaps this is the first time His Majesty this Javanese King has received such treatment. We know that in the future he or his ministers will receive this same treatment in the country of the Kangaroo.

... I promise to send such an address for May 13th, if there is nothing which prevents me. ...

A warm embrace for you and once again, warm greetings and solidarity for all the friends in AKSI.

Success to you always,
your friend

Xanana Gusmao

