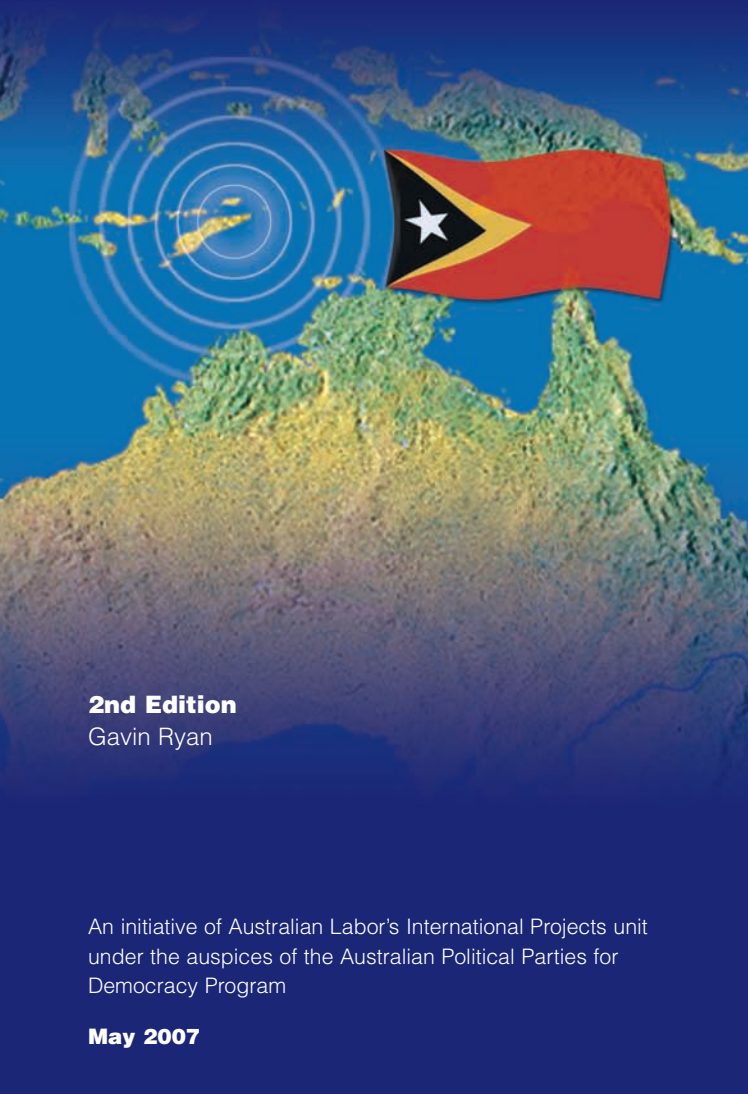


Political Parties and Groupings of Timor-Leste



2nd Edition

Gavin Ryan

An initiative of Australian Labor's International Projects unit
under the auspices of the Australian Political Parties for
Democracy Program

May 2007

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Foreword

The first edition of this guide was completed by Pat Walsh working on behalf of the Australian Council for Overseas Aid (ACFOA). Following events in East Timor closely from 1974–75 when political parties first emerged (after Portugal's decision to decolonise the territory), ACFOA worked as the coordinating body for Australian community organisations involved in overseas aid and development. This meant working closely to aid East Timorese in their struggle throughout the civil war and then the Indonesian occupation.

ACFOA commissioned the first edition of this publication in 2001 to give people a window into the history, people and politics of the political parties of Timor-Leste. After 27 years of occupation, the political parties of Timor-Leste had re-emerged to continue the work they started in 1974, and there was a need for information about the parties given the impending election for the Constituent assembly. For many parties this was the first time they could be politically active in public in living memory and this started a period of political freedom which still exists.

There is still a strong need for information regarding political parties in Timor, especially as political parties make up the basis of Timor-Leste's democracy and have a fundamental impact on the development and direction of the nation that is Timor-Leste.

This update was commissioned by ALP International Projects, under the Australian Political Parties for Democracy Program (*APPDP – see Appendix 1 for detailed information*). APPD programs are designed to assist the major Australian political parties promote democracy in Asia and the Pacific. This briefing note offers people interested in Timorese politics and Timor's many friends around the world up to date information about the political parties and movements which have shaped and will continue to shape the political landscape in Timor-Leste. As the author notes in the introduction, these 'briefing notes' need to be regularly updated as Timor's political scene changes rapidly.

The ALP wishes to express its sincere thanks to the Australian Government for funding the APPDP, George Thompson for his research, Gavin Ryan for the research and writing of this paper as well as ACFOA and Pat Walsh whose work culminated in the first edition of this publication. We would also like to thank the Government of Timor-Leste for their continued support for APPD programs in Timor-Leste.

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 Timor-Leste works toward a sustainable and inclusive democracy.

Michael Morgan Director – International Projects
Australian Labor Party May 2007

Glossary

APODETI	Associação Popular Democrática de Timor (Popular Democratic Association of Timor)	OPMT	(Organização Popular da Mulher Timorense) Mass women's organisation within FRETILIN
ASEAN	Association of South East Asian Nations	PD	Partido Democrático (Democratic Party)
BRTT	Barisan Rakyat Timor Timur (East Timor People's Front)	PDC	Partido Democrata Cristão (Christian Democrat Party of Timor)
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.	PDM	Partido Democrático Maubere (Maubere Democratic Party)
CAVR	Commission for Reception, Truth and Reconciliation. This is the body that was set up under UNTAET to make recommendations that would promote reconciliation, prevent a repetition of human rights violations and respond to the needs of victims of these violations. For more information see their <i>Chega!</i> report.	PMD	Partido Milénium Democrático (Millennium Democratic Party)
CNRM	Conselho Nacional de Resistência Maubere (National Council of Maubere Resistance)	PNT	Partido Nacionalista Timorense (Timorese Nationalist Party)
CNRT (Resistance)	Conselho Nacional da Resistência Timorense (National Council of Timorese Resistance) which was the umbrella body for the resistance movement in the lead up to independence.	PNTL	National Police Force of Timor-Leste
CNRT (Party)	Congresso Nacional para a Reconstrução de Timor (National Congress for Reconstruction of Timor) is the new political party driven by Xanana Gusmao.	PPT	Partido do Povo de Timor (People's Party of Timor)
CPD-RDTL	Conselho Popular pela Defesa de República Democrática de Timor Leste (Popular Council for the Defence of the Democratic Republic of East Timor). Also uses the title CPD-RDTL/FRETILIN.	PR	Partido Republicano (Republican Party)
CPLP	Conference of Portuguese Speaking Nations	PSD	Partido Social Democrata Timor Lorosae (Social Democrat Party of Timor-Leste)
DRET	Democratic Republic of East Timor	PST	Partido Socialista de Timor (Socialist Party of Timor)
ETTA	East Timor Transitional Administration (also UNTAET)	PUN	Partido Unidade Nacional (National Unity Party)
F-FDTL	The Defence Force of Timor-Leste	RDTL	República Democrática de Timor Leste (Democratic Republic of East Timor)
FALINTIL	Forças Armadas de Libertação Nacional de Timor-Leste (National Liberation Forces of East Timor)	Suco	A grouping of villages, the most local office/s to be elected to in Timor-Leste
FRETILIN	Frente Revolucionária do Timor-Leste Independente (Revolutionary Front of Independent East Timor)	Trabalhista	Partido Trabalhista (Timor Labour Party)
KOTA	Klibur Oan Timor Asuwin (Association of Timorese Heroes)	UDC	União Democrata-Crista de Timor (Christian Democratic Union of Timor), who have decided to merge with the Partido Democrata Cristão (Christian Democrat Party of Timor) continuing under the PDC banner
Liurai	traditional king	UDT	União Democrática Timorense (Timorese Democratic Union)
OJETIL	(Organização de Jovens e Estudantes de Timor Leste) FRETILIN youth wing	UNDERTIM	Unidade Nacional Democrática da Resistência Timorense (National Democratic Unity of Timorese Resistance)
		UNTAET	United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor
		UNTAS	Uni Timor Asuwin (United Heroes of Timor), the political wing of the pro-Indonesia militias, created in West Timor in February 2000.

Introduction

Timor-Leste became the world's newest nation in 2001. The nation needed a constitution, so national elections for a Constituent Assembly whose sole purpose was to develop one were held on 30 August of that year.

Over the months that followed, decision-making and power were transferred from the United Nations Transitional Administration (UNTAET) to the democratically elected East Timorese legislative and executive bodies. The final steps came with the Constituent Assembly approving the new Timorese constitution in 2002. Timor-Leste's national legislature came into being when the Constituent Assembly passed an enabling resolution making it the first National Parliament.

The current National Parliament consists of **88 members** who were elected on 30 August 2001 to the Constituent Assembly. With the transformation into the first National Parliament in 2002, the Parliament has a term of up to five years which means that elections are due in 2007.

The Presidential elections held in April and May 2007 resulted in the victory of former Prime Minister Jose Ramos Horta. The President is directly elected, and although the previous election was largely separate from party politics, political parties are taking an increasing interest in this important role, as demonstrated by the current election.

Twelve political parties gained representation in the Constituent Assembly and hence were represented in the inaugural National Parliament of Timor-Leste. The parties are represented as follows:

FRETILIN	Revolutionary Front of Independent East Timor	54 seats
PD	Democratic Party	7 seats
PSD	Social Democratic Party of East Timor	6 seats
ASDT	Social Democratic Association of East Timor	6 seats
PNT	Timorese Nationalist Party	2 seats
UDT	Timorese Democratic Union	2 seats
KOTA	Union of Timorese Hero Sons	2 seats
PPT	People's Party of Timor	2 seats
PDC	Christian Democratic Party of Timor	2 seats
UDC	Christian Democratic Union of Timor	1 seat
PST	Socialist Party of Timor	1 seat
PL	Liberal Party	1 seat

New electoral laws have recently been passed for both the Presidential and Parliamentary elections. Concentrating on the Parliamentary election laws, Parliamentary representation will change from the 88 seats currently to a minimum of 52 and a maximum of 65. There are a number of other significant changes including a requirement for parties to run 90 candidates, and that parties must achieve 3% of the vote to achieve any representation. These changes will make it much harder for smaller parties to be elected, and may lead to many of the smaller parties merging (as some are already doing) or working together in coalition.

In the first few years of nationhood, Timor-Leste's system of Government and governance has faced many varied challenges.

The regrettable re-emergence of political violence in Timor-Leste has been a stark reminder of the continuing gap between the hopes and expectations of the citizens of the young nation and the realities they face of large-scale poverty, youth unemployment and community insecurity.

Challenges have also arisen in the political arena as the political culture grows and matures in Timor-Leste. These include:

- **The existence and use of martial arts groups and political violence** The continued prevalence of martial arts groups and violence in the political arena are a constant source of disquiet locally and internationally. (For previous recommendations made regarding the political culture in Timor-Leste see *Appendix 2*).
- **Resources** There is little in the way of resources available for political parties, except for those in Government. Parliamentary representatives receive no resources apart from their parliamentary salaries, with which to carry out their responsibilities. The advantages of incumbency can be seen as excessive.
- **Access to information** Finding out about what is going on in Timorese politics can depend a lot on who you know and what languages you speak. Parliamentary documents are produced in Portuguese (as are all Government documents) causing problems as only roughly half the current Parliamentarians can read Portuguese well and a large percentage of the population have little or no Portuguese language skills. There is little public consultation. Freely available public information in Tetum about political participation and the political system is rare.

Despite these challenges there have been many positives since independence with political freedom flourishing. Political parties and individuals can organise and campaign freely, with opposition parties

working together and the Government willing to incorporate some minor party policy. The elections in 2007 should allow the consolidation of these gains.

For some parties, politics in Timor-Leste is a case of continuing their historical mission with much the same cast, while for others recent events have given them a much more contemporary focus. Whether old or new, however, one factor is striking – Timor-Leste is starting to see greater political diversity. New faces are entering the political arena, with alternative policies being strongly held and promoted. Contrast this with the first years of Timor-Leste's independence when almost all of the parties, with the exception of one or two, had largely similar platforms and commitments.

This publication is by no means the complete guide to Timor-Leste's political parties. Even now, after a full term of the first Parliament, new parties are still emerging and established parties are refining their policies and platforms, as well as looking to see what structures and activities might best facilitate their aims. It will always be hard to gain an accurate and detailed picture of all the political groupings in Timor-Leste given the fluid nature of politics and the relative youth of the nation's institutions.

It is hoped these notes will assist in answering questions in relation to the political parties of Timor-Leste. Given the scarcity of political information available in Timor-Leste it is hoped that this publication will serve as a handy contact list for Timorese who are interested in social change and the political process. To this end, we will look to have this translated into Tetum. It should go some way to explaining how parties have changed over time, the people behind them, and what ideas and policies parties have for the development of Timor-Leste. More information should become available over time, as parties reach out to more people, civic education grows and the reporting of political events becomes more widespread. This should in turn mean a more responsive and accountable political system.

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. Timor-Leste is in the process of establishing a strong democracy and identity. Its political leaders and parties should be permitted the same freedom.

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: Pat Walsh, George Thompson, Maria Noronha, Manuel Napoleon, Andrew Chin, Senator Gavin Marshall, Michael Morgan, Karen Moyers and Gillian Davenport.

I have drawn on the following works for information: **'A Survey of Gangs and Youth Groups in Dili, Timor-Leste'** (commissioned by AusAID, research by James Scambary, Hippolito Da Gama and Joao Barreto September 2006), **'Anatomy of Political Parties in Timor-Leste'** Joao M Saldanha (ANU, 2005).

Any mistakes are entirely my own work and I would appreciate receiving corrections. Please remember that this is a 'living' document which will constantly be updated given that new parties are still being created and with parties constantly releasing information. I would also appreciate receiving news of policy initiatives and other developments to assist with the updating process.

Gavin Ryan

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Please forward your comments to us via our website www.ip.alp.org.au, email: international.projects@cbr.alp.org.au or by mail to PO Box 6222, Kingston ACT 2604, Australia

All of the parties listed are ones which have registered for the upcoming elections, and in the main most have representation in the current National Parliament. There were many parties which contested the Constituent Assembly election of 2001 who were listed in the last edition of this guide that have not been listed in this current edition. The reason for these omissions is that these have either ceased to operate due to a lack of people, support or resources, have combined with other parties to have a stronger presence (especially important given the changes to the electoral laws) or are considered too small to be viable as political parties.

The parties which have been omitted are:

APODETI	Associação Popular Democrática de Timor (Popular Democratic Association of Timor)/APODETI PRO REFERENDO Associação Popular Democrática de Timor Pro Referendo (Pro Referendum Popular Democratic Association of Timor)
BRTT	Barisan Rakyat Timor Timur (East Timor People's Front)
CPD-RDTL	Conselho Popular pela Defesa da República Democrática de Timor Leste (Popular Council for the Defence of the Democratic Republic of East Timor)
PDM	Partido Democrático Maubere (Maubere Democratic Party)
PL	Partido Liberal (Liberal Party)
TRABALHISTA	Partido Trabalhista (Timor Labour Party)
UDC	União Democrática-Cristã de Timor (Christian Democratic Union of Timor), who have decided to merge with the Partido Democrática Cristã (Christian Democrat Party of Timor) continuing under the PDC banner. See PDC entry in this guide for current information.

For historical information on these parties please see the first edition of this guide (with the exception of PL, who were not included in the first edition).

ASDT

Associação Social Democrata Timorense Timorese Association of Social Democrats

Key facts

- **Leading figure/s:** Xavier do Amaral
- **History:** One of the oldest political parties in Timor which has been revived after being succeeded by FRETILIN, and has moved from its left of centre roots to a much more centrist stance
- **Links:** has many links with former independence networks and activists, and works closely with PD and PSD
- **Parliamentary seats:** 6
- **Status:** A party which has moved to the centre, with strong support in many districts which could be poised to be part of a new Government coalition should FRETILIN falter.

CONTACT DETAILS

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OFFICE BEARERS

President: Xavier do Amaral
Philosophy graduate and previously a secondary teacher.

Secretary General: Giall Alves

HISTORY AND ORGANISATION

ASDT was established in May 1974 following the Portuguese Carnation Revolution in April that year. Its co-founders were Francisco Xavier do Amaral and Jose Ramos Horta. It later became FRETILIN on 11 September 1974 which encompassed many of the same people and policies. However the formation of FRETILIN meant a much broader spectrum of members and views committing the new party to a much stronger program of radical social, political and economic change and calling for immediate and total independence.

ASDT has been recently revived by Xavier do Amaral as a political vehicle after his attempts to re-join FRETILIN's ranks were unsuccessful. It relies on many of the networks built through the resistance movement and has a strong following in a number of districts with representation down to the *suco* level. The party maintains links with Jose Ramos Horta (who is an original co-founder of ASDT).

ASDT has been working closely with PSD and PD; the three parties have discussed possible coalition arrangements should they have enough electoral support.

OUTLOOK AND POLICIES

ASDT is committed to wealth creation and redistribution with a strong emphasis on employment creation. ASDT is concerned that there needs to be a greater focus on infrastructure outside Dili, and proposes that more be built and serviced in the districts.

ASDT is also concerned that expectations of growth and prosperity have grown beyond what the country can deliver post independence, and that these expectations must be tempered by appropriate education and civic programs. As part of this approach, there must be a stricter law and order regime with a stronger judiciary and penal system.

ASDT are looking to make English an official language with Tetun and Portuguese.

They did not support the Parliamentary Pension law.

ASDT Sources

– *Meeting with Xavier do Amaral, Giall Alves and ASDT Representatives, November 2006, January 2007*

CNRT

Congresso Nacional para a Reconstrucao de Timor National Congress for Reconstruction of Timor

Key facts

- **Leading figure/s:** Xanana Gusmao, Agio Pereira
- **History:** The CNRT acronym was originally used for Conselho Nacional da Resistencia Timorese (National Council of Timorese Resistance) which was the resistance umbrella body. CNRT is now being launched as a political party – Congresso Nacional para a Reconstrucao de Timor (National Congress for Reconstruction of Timor).
- **Links:** strong links to former resistance elements and networks, including many past supporters of FRETILIN
- **Parliamentary seats:** none – new party
- **Status:** The original CNRT played a key role as an umbrella body in the lead up to elections in 2001, ceased to operate, and the label is now being revived as a political party primarily by Xanana Gusmao. Has the potential to achieve significant support given Xanana's considerable public profile and networks.

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OFFICE-BEARERS

Whilst it has not been officially announced who will be the officebearers in the new party, the first President of Timor Leste, Kay Rala Xanana Gusmao is the driver behind the revitalised CNRT party. He was born 20 June 1946 near Manatuto. Educated at the Catholic seminary in Dare, he did national service in the Portuguese army and worked as a public servant and editor. He joined FRETILIN in May 1975. He was elected Commander in Chief of FALINTIL in 1981 and rebuilt the resistance movement culminating in the creation of an independent Timor-Leste. The pseudonym Xanana derives from the middle syllable of his second baptismal name, Jose Alexandre Gusmao. In 2001, he was elected the first President of Timor-Leste.

HISTORY AND ORGANISATION

The original CNRT was 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 re-structuring of the resistance along inclusive, non-partisan lines, following its near decimation in the late 1970s. Expanding and uniting the resistance also involved Xanana Gusmao's resignation from FRETILIN and decisions by FRETILIN to rescind its claim to be the sole legitimate representative of the East Timorese people and to establish FALINTIL, until then the armed wing of FRETILIN, as a non-partisan, national force. The changes furthermore included recognition of the role of all nationalists – such as students and political parties like UDT – in the struggle for self-determination.

OUTLOOK AND POLICIES

The CNRT party's policies are being drafted currently.

CNRT sources

– UNMIT media Monitoring, various TL media reports late 2006 – early 2007

FRETILIN

Frente Revolucionaria do Timor Leste Independente

Revolutionary Front of Independent East Timor

Key facts

- **Leading figure/s:** Francisco Lu-Olo Guterres, Mari Alkatiri, Estanislau da Silva
- **History:** radical pro-independence party founded 1974 and foremost grouping/party of the resistance struggle. Won a majority in the Constituent Assembly elections and then voted to become the Government of Timor-Leste in 2002. Have suffered a series of damaging internal and external events of late.
- **Links:** extensive former resistance network and support, links to CPLP and Australia. FRETILIN is a member of the Socialist International.
- **Parliamentary seats:** 54
- **Status:** major party in Government with large rural following and large electoral representation. Expected to perform strongly in the coming elections.

CONTACT DETAILS

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OFFICE BEARERS

President: Francisco Lu Olo Guterres
Born in Ossu. A veteran of the resistance struggle and a FALINTIL political commissar during the Indonesian period.

General Secretary: Mari Alkatiri.
Former Prime Minister who resigned after the violence of 2006. Former 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.

HISTORY AND ORGANISATION

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 (Associação Social Democrata Timorense, Timorese Association of Social Democrats) which was formed on the previous 20 May.

As its name suggests, FRETILIN represented a diverse 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.

The party's 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.

FRETILIN created FALINTIL (Forças Armadas de Libertação Nacional de Timor-Leste, National Liberation Forces of East Timor) on 20 August 1975 and declared independence on 28 November 1975. FRETILIN 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 was well organised in the years leading up to UNTAET and ultimately independence, holding a National Conference in Sydney in 1998 which provided a strong basis for its party organisation and policy.

It had in place a mass women's organisation (OPMT) and a youth wing (OJETIL), which are both still active. FRETILIN has strong international links, including in Australia where it has the support of various trade unions.

Over time FRETILIN has lost members to breakaway parties such as the ASDT, PD, PSD, PST and PNT although not in great numbers. Some within FRETILIN see this as inevitable given the scale and dominance of the party.

FRETILIN's record in Government has been uneven. They have made some great strides in health and education, have had good relations with neighbouring countries and have created frameworks for the long term management of oil and gas revenues. Balanced against this, the party has presided over civil chaos and currently face accusations that they have used Government resources for the party, and that the party lacks transparency and accountability in Government.

FRETILIN have the advantage of a large membership, strong party structures and a broad network of militants and sympathisers. However, FRETILIN also face challenges such as a possible loss of public support (with senior members of the party being convicted of criminal offences), and the possibility of party members forming alternative parties (such as UNDERTIM and Mudansa).

OUTLOOK AND POLICIES

FRETILIN supports:

- Democracy and a pluralist political system with universal, free, direct and secret suffrage;
- Free education that is mandatory;
- Greater healthcare;
- The eradication of poverty;
- Universal human rights, specifically the rights of women and children;
- 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 better relationships between Timor-Leste, Australia and Indonesia;
- Economic policies which address the development of agriculture and fishing, cooperatives, tourism, natural resources and foreign investment.

FRETILIN Sources

- *Meeting with FRETILIN Representatives, November 2006, January 2007*
- *Report on FRETILIN Extraordinary National Conference, Sydney, 14–20 August 1998*
- *Report on FRETILIN National Conference, Dili, 15–20 May 2000.*

KOTA

Klibur Oan Timor Asu'wain (KOTA)

Sons of the Mountain Warriors or Association of Timorese Heroes

Key facts

- **Leader:** Manuel Tilman
- **History:** pro-integration party founded 1974, now committed to a range of policies with an emphasis on Timorese traditions
- **Links:** strong links to Portugal, liurais and traditional groupings in the districts
- **Parliamentary seats:** 2
- **Status:** small party

CONTACT DETAILS

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OFFICE BEARERS

President: Leao Pedro dos Reis Amaral

Former teacher.

Secretary General and Parliamentary Representative:

Manuel Tilman

Lawyer and University lecturer, formerly based in Macau, now teaching in Dili.

Vice President and Parliamentary 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.

HISTORY AND ORGANISATION

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.

KOTA was re-constituted at a meeting of some 20 members in Dili on 30 August 2000. In the Constituent Assembly elections, KOTA won two seats in the first parliament. Manuel Tilman has become a leading figure in the party.

KOTA has representatives in each district and is organised down to suco level, although they did not contest the most recent *suco* elections. Its base and head office is in Dili, and it has contacts in Australia and Portugal. KOTA now claims 30,000 members. They will be contesting the Presidential and Parliamentary elections in 2007.

The party will use the forthcoming elections to lift its profile and representation.

OUTLOOK AND POLICIES

KOTA upholds and promotes Timorese culture and traditions and is primarily an association of *liurai* (traditional king) families. As part of this emphasis on Timorese traditions KOTA makes much of the fact that it is the only political party whose original name is Tetum (Klibur Oan Timor Asu'wain – literally “union of the hero sons of mountains of Timor”). KOTA stresses that it is not advocating for the establishment of a constitutional monarchy supervised by traditional elders, but rather that Timor-Leste be organised more strongly along the lines of the traditional kingdoms.

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. One of the two KOTA members of Parliament, Clementino dos Reis Amaral, was a member of the Indonesian Commission for Human Rights for 7 years. KOTA supports the current multi-party system and executive presidency.

KOTA has stated that the party's social policy programs are based on the Socialist Party of Portugal. The support the establishment of a strong welfare state, with a progressive tax system. This is to be combined with developing the national economy through the free market and reducing poverty through development of agriculture, fishing, animal husbandry, tourism and coffee production. In particular, agriculture should move from subsistence to market production. The party advocates the teaching of Portuguese,

Indonesian and English in schools. Foreign policy should emphasise good relations with Timor-Leste's neighbours, especially Australia and Indonesia, and with Portugal and Western Europe. KOTA seeks greater freedom of movement of trade, capital and labour for Timor-Leste given the opportunities in the region.

KOTA is virtually the only party to talk about West Timor, looking to forge a special relationship with Indonesia that permits greater co-operation and freedom for people and trade on the island.

KOTA Sources

– *Meeting with KOTA Representatives December 2006 and January 2007*

PD

Partido Democratico Democratic Party

Key facts

- **Key figure/s:** Mariano Sabino Lopes, Fernando 'Lasama' de Araujo
- **History:** Formed just prior to constituent assembly elections in 2001
- **Links:** links to student and youth movements, works closely with ASDT and PSD
- **Parliamentary seats:** 7
- **Status:** Centre left party which achieved the strongest result behind FRETILIN in the last parliamentary election. Well organised, PD is likely to increase its parliamentary representation significantly, and may form part of the next Government if FRETILIN fail to win a majority.

CONTACT DETAILS

Partido Democratico
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OFFICE BEARERS

President: Fernando 'Lasama' de Araujo

Vice President: Joao Boavida

General Secretary: Mariano Sabino Lopes

HISTORY AND ORGANISATION

Partido Democrático (PD), which describes itself as the major opposition party was established on June 10, 2001. In August 2001, PD ran in the Constituent Assembly election and came second to FRETILIN, achieving a very strong showing, getting just over 8% of the vote.

PD has been driven by young political activists from the student and youth movements, ex FRETILIN members and resistance figures. Many of these ex FRETILIN and resistance figures were quite prominent in the CNRT (resistance) holding leadership positions in the CNRT Frente Política Interna (FPI), and as such, have large networks

in the districts. For these reasons, PD may lose members and electoral support to the newly created CNRT political party.

As the name suggests, PD have a focus on strengthening Timor-Leste's democracy; building a nation through freedom, democracy and a just society.

PD has a strong following in most, if not all, districts with representation down to the *suco* level. PD have worked closely with ADST and PSD, with the three parties having discussed possible coalition arrangements should they have enough electoral support.

PD have grown in size since their inception and have adopted more centrist policies. They have adopted a more limited view of Government action and intervention, espoused family friendly statements, and raised privatisation and deregulation as issues for consideration by the parliament.

PD has stated support for non-violent political solutions and human rights; although it has been alleged they have links to one of the Martial Arts groups in Dili.

OUTLOOK AND POLICIES

As an opposition party, PD points to the poor performance of the Timor-Leste government in unemployment, favourable access to state resources based on political affiliation, inadequate government spending on social programs and inadequate investment in the economic sector. PD have been critical of FRETILIN's law and justice sector management.

In Government, PD aspires to provide law and order, protect the environment, ensure property rights and ownership and public infrastructure, such as schools and hospitals. PD believes this will enable economic growth and greater participation in the economy.

The party will also encourage decentralisation in Government, with improved regional structures and decision making.

PD has committed itself to developing Timor-Leste on the basis of these five 'Principles of Good Governance' listed below:

- **Participative Nation-Building:** Participation of the people is paramount for developing and sustaining democratic institutions and economic prosperity in the long-term;
- **Rule of Law:** All persons, organizations, and the government are equal before the law and answerable to it;
- **Transparency and Accountability:** PD advocates public sector efficiency, transparency and accountability;
- **Quality Management:** There must be high quality management of budgeting and administration in the public sector;

- **Control and Combat Corruption:** oversight bodies must ensure high levels of transparency and accountability in the formulation and execution of public policies and in the administration and expenditure of public institutions.

PD advocates strengthening the national Police Force (PNTL) by better recruitment and training, reviewing international models and using international expertise. The party believes this training should be undertaken by private international agencies rather than in conjunction with other sovereign nations. PD would form an independent formal civilian oversight body for the PNTL.

PD will review judicial processes to ensure proper resources. They will establish a Supreme Court, High Administrative Court, Tax and Audit Court and Military Court. PD will seek to improve the working and understanding of the criminal code, and will also ensure that District courts must sit in their districts.

PD will also reform and professionalise **the military** by strengthening its institutional capacity, by creating a formal civilian oversight body and by improving recruitment practices. Importantly, this latter policy will encourage improved geographical, regional and gender balance. Under the policy, the F-FDTL will also have training in human rights, international law and codes of conduct. There will be a greater F-FDTL focus on areas such as disaster relief and engineering works.

When it comes to the **National Parliament**, PD believes all Parliamentarians and staff should have training provided. Legislation passed by the Parliament will be published in Tetum and widely disseminated.

PD will create a Law Reform Commission to review laws that are out of date or may not comply with international human rights or the Constitution. The Commission will also look at the consistency of legislation and report to the Parliament.

PD will promote Tetum as an **official language**.

PD has also stated that members of the executive should be prohibited from holding key political party posts. They have promised an independent oversight body to stop corrupt behaviour.

They have a youth policy under which selected gang leaders and members may be integrated into nation building programs, giving them opportunities to train as program leaders.

In **education**, PD will encourage religious expression in schools.

Economically, PD plans to implement a progressive taxation system with tax cuts for workers on low wages. Sales tax on basic necessities, taxation on clothing and accessories of goods intended for early childhood will be eliminated. Tariff protection on import and

export goods will be reduced with a view to elimination in the long term. PD's policy is to improve business taxation to enhance Timor-Leste's reputation as an attractive country for foreign investment. PD has stated that Timor-Leste citizenship will be considered for any foreigner who invests USD200 million and above. Any foreigner who invests USD100 million and above will be considered eligible for the right to lease a property for the duration of 40 years. PD aims to encourage investment, market liberalization, privatisation and deregulation once adequate and well-functioning state institutions are in place.

PD is also looking to:

- Establish a Government Bank;
- Set local employment quotas for projects;
- Revise visa arrangements to allow for increased labour mobility; and
- Increase trade and labour partnerships with both Australia and Indonesia by the establishment of a free trade zone between Timor-Leste, Indonesia and Australia.

In regards to **foreign policy**, PD supports better regional ties (working more closely with Indonesia and Australia especially) increased co-operation with ASEAN, and a continuing strong relationship with both the US and China.

PD Sources

- PD website www.partidodemocratico.org/home.htm
- PD Electoral Manifesto 'An Outline of Democrat Party's Policies for Improvement in Nation-Building and Good Governance' November 2006
- Meeting with Mariano Sabino Lopes, Joao Boavida and PD Representatives December 2006 and January 2007

PDC

Partido Democrata Cristao Christian Democrat Party of Timor

Key facts

- **Leader:** Antonio Ximenes
- **History:** Christian party established in 2000
- **Links:** links to both the Catholic and Protestant churches and Australian and Portuguese networks
- **Parliamentary seats:** 3 (PDC 2, UDC 1)
- **Status:** small Christian party, looking to consolidate its support and place within the political system, undertaking the major step of merging with UDC (Uniao Democrata Crista de Timor – Christian Democratic Union of Timor)

CONTACT DETAILS

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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. Was a director of the National Commission for Study on the Future of East Timor, a local NGO, and is currently a University lecturer in Dili.

General Secretary: 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. He is currently the Timorese ambassador to Indonesia.

HISTORY AND ORGANISATION

PDC was established in Dili on 5 August 2000. It has positive links with some other small Christian democrat parties in the region (such as the Indonesian National Christian Democratic Party, PDKB) and plans to establish links with several others.

PDC has representatives in all districts. It is represented down to *suco* level and claims significant support; support which they hope will be consolidated after they join forces with UDC. PDC and UDC (Christian Democratic Union) initially joined forces and participated in the August 2000 CNRT Congress under joint leadership. PDC was then seen as leftist inclined and closer to FRETILIN, and UDC as an offshoot of the conservative UDT with a leaning toward Portugal. The parties parted ways before the constituent assembly election in 2001.

Both PDC and UDC are strongly based on principles of Christian social justice values and are ecumenical and pluralist.

A number of factors have led to the decision of the PDC and UDC to merge under the PDC banner. The changes to the electoral laws requiring parties to achieve a certain percentage of the vote, the continuing difficulty of funding and resourcing a political party, and the compounding factor that PDC may have been targeted in the recent outbreaks of violence (their headquarters were burnt down in mid 2006), made it more difficult for them to organise separately.

The natural similarities between the parties and platforms of PDC and UDC, coupled with their previous shared history, also made the merger attractive.

PDC 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.

OUTLOOK AND 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 by the erosion of Christian morality in Timor-Leste.

The party holds the stance that 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 Timor-Leste. Programs should be established to promote the moral development of youth.

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.

There will be more on PDC policy once it is translated for the benefit of the author.

PDC Sources

—*Meeting with Antonio Ximenes and PDC Representatives*
November 2006, January 2007.

PMD

Partidu Milénium Demokrátiku Millennium Democratic Party

Key facts

- **Leading figure/s:** Ermenegildo Lopes (Kupa) Msc
- **History:** established December 30th, 2005
- **Links:** links to Timorese academics and student movements
- **Parliamentary seats:** none – new party
- **Status:** new centre party with a reconciliation and democracy focus

CONTACT DETAILS

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OFFICE BEARERS

President: Ermenegildo (Kupa) Lopes
Ermenegildo is the initiator of the new party. He has worked and studied overseas (studying in England) and during the independence struggle was involved in pro-independence activities in Indonesia and Europe. He is originally from Lospalos.

Vice President: Lettu Purn. Melio de Jesus

Vice Secretary General: Lettu Purn. Melio de Jesus

HISTORY AND ORGANISATION

Partido Milénium Demokrátiku was officially registered in 2005, although the party had announced its formation in 2004.

The Party's name comes from the fact that on entering a new millennium, Timor-Leste faces a number of challenges in its development, and that it must build better living conditions for Timorese with democracy and the spirit of reconciliation, employing such tools as the Millennium Development Goals.

PMD claims support in all 13 districts, with its motto reflecting its primary goals – *Democracy, Reconciliation, Development*. PMD support Jose Ramos Horta for President, and were one of two political parties/groupings to put forward his nomination.

OUTLOOK AND POLICIES

As stated before, PMD concentrates on a strong democracy, a commitment to reconciliation for the people of Timor-Leste and better

living standards for Timorese through greater prosperity.

As a centrist party, PMD believe that their party is best placed to offer solutions to the problems the nation faces, as they can work with all manner of people and approaches. PMD aims to create prosperity and a sense of solidarity in a future where conflict is not encouraged.

Through reconciliation, PMD are looking to unite Timor-Leste once again and rebuild the nation, fostering greater harmony and governing objectively for the nation.

PMD encourages young people and women to participate politically, (although it is yet to be seen whether this is reflected in the membership of the party).

This newly established party has set out a number of priorities. It will concentrate on the following areas:

- The economy;
- Strengthening and reforming the judiciary;
- Education;
- Health; and
- Stability and security.

PMD have made a number of commitments as part of this focus. It has pledged to create a Reconciliation Department and a Department of Religion, as well as establishing a quota of 35% for women's participation in public political life, and promoting English as an official language (in recognition of the benefits this would bring in trade and better relations with other countries in the region and the world).

PMD sources

– PMD Policy Leaflet 2006

– Meeting with PMD Representatives January 2007

PNT

Partido Nacionalista Timorese Timorese Nationalist Party

Key facts

- **Leading figure/s:** Dr Abilio Araujo, Alianca Conceicao de Araujo
- **History:** founded 1999 to support broad autonomy within Indonesia, now a centrist party
- **Links:** still retain links to Indonesia
- **Parliamentary seats:** 2
- **Status:** small party with controversial leader

CONTACT DETAILS

Alianca Conceicao de Araujo

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OFFICE BEARERS

President: Dr Abilio Araujo

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.

Vice President and Parliamentary Leader:

Alianca Conceicao de Araujo

Member of current Parliament, resides in Dili. Sister of Dr Abilio Araujo.

HISTORY AND ORGANISATION

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 accepted the results of the ballot and recognised UNTAET as the legal international authority in East Timor during the transition to what

PNT called the Second Republic. PNT recognises the proclamation of the Democratic Republic of East Timor on 28 November 1975.

PNT is now largely organised and run by its vice president and Parliamentary Leader, Alianca Conceicao de Araujo.

OULOOK AND POLICIES

PNT is looking to create a more professional police and defence force. PNT does not see the need for a much larger defence force if the current force is more professional in outlook and better equipped.

PNT is dismayed by the rhetoric shown by the larger parties in their public statements and speeches regarding human rights and political violence, feeling that FRETILIN and the major parties are ignoring or actively condoning the activities of the martial arts groups in Dili.

PNT's stance on Justice and reconciliation for the events of 1974 onwards (covered in the CAVR report 'Chega!') is one of advocating amnesty from 1974–1999 and then looking to prosecute and take action on events in 1999 onwards (see *appendix 2* for recommendations made by 'Chega!' regarding the political

community of Timor-Leste).

PNT supports:

- Democracy and a multi-party system;
- Bahasa Indonesia and English to be taught in schools and for English to become an official language. PNT believes the three official languages should be Tetum, Bahasa Indonesia and English, with Portuguese becoming a historical or working language; and
- Better relationships with the region through membership of ASEAN and cooperation with neighbouring states, especially Indonesia and Australia. PNT believes this will lead to better economic outcomes for the country and ordinary Timorese.

PNT has voiced their opposition to the Parliamentary pension law.

PNT Sources

- Dr Abilio Araujo, 'East Timor: To be or not to be a X(B)anana Republic', *The Jakarta Post*, 19 February 2001.
- Meeting with Alianca Araujo and PNT representatives November 2006, January 2007.

PPT (ex-MPTL)

Partido do Povo de Timor

People's Party of Timor

Key facts

- **Leading figure/s:** Dr Jacob Xavier
- **History:** formerly pro-integration party established in 2000 by a former militia leader, now a monarchist party
- **Links:** strong links to Portugal, and claims links to various Monarchies
- **Parliamentary seats:** 1
- **Status:** Small personalised party with poor electoral prospects

CONTACT DETAILS

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OFFICE BEARERS

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.

HISTORY AND ORGANISATION

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 formerly 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.

It is not clear whether da Costa has any current involvement with the party, and it seems that Dr Xavier is driving the PPT agenda.

Due to a lack of resources and supporters, their electoral prospects in 2007 are slim.

OUTLOOK AND POLICIES

PPT supports the current system of Government, barring their modest monarchist intentions. PPT has supported FRETILIN in the Parliament on several pieces of legislation and has further increased the likelihood that they will not gain any representation in the new parliament due to their support of the unpopular parliamentary pension laws. This may be in no small part due to the age and small electoral chances of their one representative, Dr Xavier.

PPT sources

– *Meeting with Dr Jacob Xavier and PPT Representatives*
January 2007

PR

Partidu Republikanu Republican Party

Key facts

- **Leading figure/s:** Joao Saldanha
- **History:** established December 30th, 2005.
- **Links:** strong links to Timorese academics and student movements
- **Parliamentary seats:** none – new party
- **Status:** new social democratic centre party with promising long term prospects

CONTACT DETAILS

PR Head Office

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OFFICE BEARERS

President: Joao Mariano Saldanha

He is the initiator of the new party. He is a leading Timorese academic, member of TIDS (Timorese Institute of Development Studies), and member of an influential Timorese family which includes the proprietor of Suara Timor Lorosae, and acting Rector of Dili Institute of Technology. They were pro-autonomy in the past. Joao is also a member of the Council of State.

HISTORY AND ORGANISATION

Partidu Republikanu began on December 30th, 2005. In January 2006, after three lengthy discussions, the proponents decided to call the party Partidu Republikanu, as the party believes all Timorese are familiar with the term and that a republic means that all people can participate in the decision making process of the state. This is shown in the party's motto: *The Voice of the People is the Highest Law.*

Since 2005, Partidu Republikanu has held regular meetings among members to finalise the party's program, constitution, manual and policy documents. Partidu Republikanu has finalized its temporary structure; it is now mobilising members and supporters across the districts.

The Party's highest decision making body is the National Conference, and the party is directed on a more regular basis by their National

Executive. Partidu Republikanu has formally registered as a political party with all necessary requirements and is now fully eligible to join the upcoming election of 2007.

PR seems to have a well-organised approach (including a quota system for financial contributions from members and supporters) although whether or not this results in a good electoral performance is yet to be seen. The Party emphasises non-violence, values internal democracy, has policies to strengthen political inclusion and the political system, and looks to serve with professionalism.

Interestingly, the party seems to be the first to look to involve their membership through the internet and SMS.

OUTLOOK AND POLICIES

This newly established party has as its political objective to ensure a social democracy in Timor-Leste that guarantees equality, justice and tolerance. Partidu Republikanu has outlined six priorities in its policies for the nation:

- Security;
- Employment Creation;
- Law and Order;
- Education;
- Health;
- Decentralization; and
- Gender Equality.

PR has also indicated that it would move to professionalize PNTL by conducting more training and by creating a clear division between political appointments and a professional PNTL Command. They have flagged changes to the Defence force by redefining the role of the F-FDTL to focus on emergency, peace keeping, and natural disaster.

In regards to employment creation and economic growth, their objective is to eradicate poverty through the promotion of industry and production, ensuring better access to commercial activities and prosperity for all Timorese people. They have stated in their policy that the party will move to bring down taxes to zero for capital and basic need goods. To strengthen the private sector, PR will nurture competition, especially in the telecommunications industry, to bring down prices and provide better services to the consumers.

In an effort to promote national unity, PR will criminalize lorosae/loromunu (a label for people from the east/west) as discriminatory words.

PR wants Tetum as the number one official language in Timor-Leste. All official documents must be written in Tetum before translating into Portuguese and the working languages. To help youth, the private sector, and government to participate in globalization, PR plans to promote English as the third official language in Timor-Leste, alongside Tetum and Portuguese.

PR will look to create a Ministry of Gender and Minority Affairs with the objective to increase the participation of women in politics, public administration, military, and other sectors.

PR sources

- *PR Guiding Principles 2006*
- *Speech by President Joao Saldanha, Venture Hotel, 18 December 2006*
- *Meeting with PR Representatives January 2007*

PSD

Partido Social Democrata Timor Lorosae Social Democrat Party of East Timor

Key facts

- **Leading figure/s:** Mario Carrascalao, Zacarias Albano da Costa, Joao Goncalves
- **History:** established 2000 as a moderate alternative to FRETILIN and UDT
- **Links:** Links to youth movements and Australia. Has worked closely with ASDT and PD
- **Parliamentary seats:** 6
- **Status:** Centre party which has been vocal on issues of concern. Is well placed to increase their representation, and has a strong chance of being a part of a coalition Government if the possibility arises given its good relations with other parties.

CONTACT DETAILS

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OFFICE BEARERS

President: Mario Viegas Carrascalao
Previously Vice President of CNRT. Former senior member of UDT, Indonesian Governor of East Timor (1982–1992) and Indonesian Ambassador to Romania

Secretary General: Zacarias da Costa
Formerly a vice-president of UDT.

Parliamentary Leader of PSD: Joao Goncalves
Lived in Australia for several years during the occupation and was heavily involved in Australian East Timorese resistance networks and the Australian Labor Party in Victoria.

HISTORY AND ORGANISATION

PSD was launched on 20 September 2000 at CNRT headquarters. Speakers at the launch included Xanana Gusmao. The party polled well in the constituent assembly elections securing almost 7% of the vote, equating to six seats in the first parliament.

PSD have been one of the more outspoken parties during the FRETILIN Government, most recently leading all the opposition parties against

FRETILIN electoral law proposals and having their Parliamentary spokesperson, Joao Goncalves, as the public face of the campaign.

The party has members in all districts and is organised down to the *suco* level. It is well organised, and finds itself in a strong position given its networks and capacity to appeal to the younger post-UDT/FRETILIN generation. The arrival of the CNRT party should not affect its support dramatically.

OUTLOOK AND POLICIES

A self-described moderate centrist party, PSD views itself as a viable alternative government to FRETILIN.

PSD seeks to protect universal human rights, pluralism, participation, creativity, social justice, the rule of law, equality, human rights and the rights of women, children and minorities. PSD prioritises education, culture, health, housing and good governance. PSD opposes the death penalty and abortion.

PSD is looking to incorporate the recommendations of CAVR into their party's policy and operation.

PSD health policy will target HIV, dengue fever, malaria, TB and leprosy. PSD will work to decrease the mortality rate of mothers and newborn babies, ensuring better vaccination and training for nurses and doctors. The party will establish a strong national health service with a hospital or health centre in each district and clinics in the villages and suburbs.

To bolster the economy, PSD will strengthen and diversify the agricultural and tourism sectors. PSD supports the creation of a Timorese currency and will develop oil and gas revenues, giving preference to companies that employ Timorese. The party will also introduce minimum wage provisions and a micro-credit scheme to increase commerce within Timor Leste.

To protect the environment, PSD will set up a system of reserves and special environmental laws to protect Timor's flora and fauna. The party will also develop and utilise renewable energy sources such as wind and solar energy.

PSD will move to fund political parties that achieve representation in the Parliament, and create a Register of Interests for leaders in the Parliament, the Government and Judiciary.

PSD foreign policy supports membership of ASEAN and CPLP. PSD support a small and professional defence force subject to civilian control. PSD support the maintenance of Tetum as the official language but will support the teaching of English schools in primary schools and above.

PSD Sources

- *Meeting with Zacarias Albano da Costa, Joao Goncalves and PSD representatives November 2006, January 2007.*
- *PSD policy document (2003).*

PST

Partido Socialista de Timor Socialist Party of Timor

Key facts

- **Leading figure/s:** Avelino Coelho da Silva, Nelson Correia
- **History:** established in the 1990s with a strong Left agenda
- **Links:** links to Timorese labour groups and works to organise collective agriculture. International links with a range of political organisations and trade unions from Portugal, Western Europe, Australia and Indonesia.
- **Parliamentary seats:** 6
- **Status:** strong on policy and internal organisation but continues to be unlikely to gain wide electoral support given the party's lack of campaigning and low public profile.

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OFFICE-BEARERS

President: Nelson Correia

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 the city of Same and head of the Tourism Department during the Indonesian period.

Secretary-General: 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.

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 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 has international links with a range of political organisations and trade unions from Portugal, Western Europe, Australia and Indonesia.

PST has mainly concentrated on gaining leverage for issues they feel strongly about rather than building a strong electoral following. The party has continued its focus on workers and farmers, focussing on their work in the rural co-operatives and their emphasis on collective organisation and ownership. They have faced criticism that this is to the detriment of their political message and party political campaigning, however PST see this as part of their drive for broader social change. PST is distinctly disadvantaged by the lack of an organised labour movement and the absence of a market economy in large parts of Timor-Leste.

OUTLOOK AND POLICIES

PST policies include support for the following:

- A multi-party, democratic, parliamentary system and separation of powers;
- Universal, free and compulsory education;
- The further development of Tetum as a national language, to be used in national institutions, and for Portuguese to be a working language;
- Universal human rights and equality;
- Workers rights, including free trade unions and equal pay for equal work;
- Prohibition of child labour;
- Equality between men and women, including the ability to divorce;
- 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;

- Religious freedom, including for the traditional religions/beliefs of East Timor;
- Reconciliation;
- Free and universal healthcare;
- Freedom of the press and free access to information;
- Protection of the environment and anti-pollution programs, combined with greater attempts to bolster tourism;
- Prohibition of the death penalty and sentences over 10 years;
- Prison regimes aimed at rehabilitation of prisoners; and
- Good relations with countries in the Asia-Pacific region and the CPLP.

PST Sources

- *Report on first PST National Congress, Dili, 10-11 February 2000*
- *PST Constitution*
- *Meeting with Avelinho Coelho, Nelson Correia and PST representatives November 2006, January 2007*
- *UNMIT Media Monitoring 2007.*

PUN

Partidu Unidade Nacional National Unity Party

Key facts

- **Leading figure/s:** Fernanda Borges
- **History:** a new party established in late 2006.
- **Links:** Strong links to Australian academic and Timorese networks
- **Parliamentary seats:** none – new party
- **Status:** new Christian democratic centre party which has only just emerged

CONTACT DETAILS

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OFFICE BEARERS

President: Dra Fernanda Borges
Dra Borges is the main person behind the new party, and was previously a Finance Minister under the UNTAET administration.

With the internal structure currently being worked out, more details will be available soon.

HISTORY AND ORGANISATION

The party have stated they are currently garnering support in the districts and claim their membership base as 100,000. They have also claimed 426 directly elected delegates (coming from 131 villages in 8 districts) for their inaugural party conference.

Given the recent arrival of the party it is hard to judge what support PUN has – other political parties claim PUN's support and resources are small.

After a dispute with the Ministry of Justice over their registration, recently settled through the Tribunal de Recurso, the party is now officially registered to participate in the 2007 election.

OUTLOOK AND POLICIES

The new party has a strong focus on strengthening equality and democracy, and a commitment to human rights and Christian values. PUN policy is to ensure the basic needs of all people are met and to distribute income, wealth, social services and opportunity more equitably. PUN believes that what has been lacking in Timorese political life is a moral dimension – and that their Christian principles and policy are the way forward. The Party promotes family policies as they believe the family is one of the strongest foundations of society.

Much like UDT, PUN believes that part of their role is to counter the influence of communists, communism and their destructive influence in Timorese politics.

In **economic policy**, PUN has a strong focus on private enterprise for expanding the economy and ensuring better living standards and prosperity. The party believes in minimal Government intervention, and will promote freer access to local markets.

PUN will also encourage decentralization of industries and agricultural development in rural areas for export.

In **governance** PUN will promote participatory democracy, freedom of speech, religion and association. PUN believes in a separation of powers and is committed to justice, fairness and equity for all. It will encourage equal treatment of women in the workforce and in all aspects of life.

PUN will promote community security and access to justice, as well as introducing anti-corruption laws and increasing the independence and capacity of oversight institutions.

The party will facilitate local government elections at a district level.

In regards to **security and policing**, PUN will seek justice for the crimes committed against humanity from 1975 to 1999. The party will implement reform and better training for PNTL to ensure a respect for human rights and will implement the recommendations of the Independent Commission.

PUN will criminalize abortion and prostitution.

When it comes to **health, education and infrastructure**, PUN will provide free education for all Timorese studying in public institutions and develop Timor's human resources through quality education and training.

PUN will promote ante-natal and post-natal programs for mother and child, increase efforts to reduce infant mortality rates (under 1 to 5 year olds) and promote local government action on basic sanitation.

PUN will invest in public infrastructure such as water, electricity, education and access to health services in all districts and remote rural areas.

PUN have committed to preserving the natural beauty and environment of Timor Leste for future generations.

PUN sources

- *Meeting with PUN Representatives January 2007*
- *PUN Principles, Platform, Values and Programs 2007*
- *Speeches to the inaugural PUN Party Conference by Fernanda Borges, PUN President, 24th and 25th of January 2007*
- *UNMIT media Monitoring, various TL media reports late 2006–early 2007*

UDT

Uniao Democratica Timorese Timorese Democratic Union

Key facts

- **Leading figures:** Joao Carrascalao, Quiteria da Costa
- **History:** major conservative pro-independence party established in 1974
- **Links:** has strong links to Portugal, and to a lesser degree Australia
- **Parliamentary seats:** 2
- **Status:** once a major party that is now struggling to adapt to the current realities of the social and political situation in Timor-Leste.

CONTACT DETAILS

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OFFICE-BEARERS

President: Joao Viegas Carrascalao
Previously 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.

Secretary-General: Domingos de Oliveira

Parliamentary Leader: Quiteria da Costa

HISTORY AND ORGANISATION

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 associated with PSD), 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 previously UNTAET Cabinet member responsible for Infrastructure).

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

- Self-determination in support of an 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 communiqué 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. This resulted 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 furnished them with international contacts, resources and experience. 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 later withdrew from the CNRT. It lost several key people to PSD since the latter’s establishment in September 2000.

Currently, UDT are a minor party, however they still retain some networks and support in most districts. The party faces a number of significant political and organisational challenges, including making their party’s platform, political goals and charter more relevant to the current political situation.

OUTLOOK AND POLICIES

UDT has held regular National conferences where it has adopted a variety of policy positions. UDT continues to perceive their role as defending Timor-Leste from Communism/Marxism-Leninism.

There will be more on UDT policy once it is translated for the benefit of the author.

UDT sources

- *UDT Provisional Statutes, 1 August 1974*
- *UDT Statutes as revised by National Congress, Perth 3–6 December 1997*
- *Meeting with UDT Representatives December 2006 and January 2007*

UNDERTIM

Unidade Nacional Democrática da Resistência Timorese

National Democratic Unity of Timorese Resistance

Key facts

- **Leading figure/s:** Cornelio Gama (aka L7), Cristiano da Costa
- **History:** UNDERTIM was a faction of FRETILIN composed mostly of former resistance/independence activists, and the party was established by the UNDERTIM group splitting away from FRETILIN after disagreement in 2005.
- **Links:** has strong links to FRETILIN networks
- **Parliamentary seats:** none – new party
- **Status:** party that were considered a small faction of FRETILIN so may struggle to be recognised and gain support as a separate entity.

CONTACT DETAILS

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OFFICE-BEARERS

President: Cornelio Gama (L7)

High profile resistance fighter from Laga who fought for over 20 years with FALINTIL during the Indonesian occupation.

HISTORY AND ORGANISATION

UNDERTIM originally constituted a faction of FRETILIN. After disagreements within FRETILIN over policy, methods and behaviour they decided to form their own party in early 2005. The party is comprised mainly of former independence activists and is led by high profile President Cornelio Gama (aka L7). The party was launched on 30 August 2005, and is registered to contest the upcoming Parliamentary elections.

OUTLOOK AND POLICIES

UNDERTIM campaigns on the following issues:

- Reasonable standard of living, including food security for all Timorese;
- Assured housing for Timorese;
- Ensuring health and social welfare;
- Ensuring equality and social justice;
- Eradication of poverty & illiteracy; and
- Maintenance of a healthy environment.

The Party's policy 'blueprint' outlines a number of domestic policy priorities. UNDERTIM will:

- foster a diverse economy with only selective government intervention in economic management.
- create a new Timorese currency, boost the agricultural and tourism sectors and increase exports.
- encourage an inclusive policy on languages, keeping Tetum as national and official language along side Portuguese, English and Bahasa.
- establish pilot education centres for adult literacy and training.
- increase employment through private and selective public investments.
- pursue equal opportunity, the equal participation of women within Timorese society, social justice and the even distribution of national/public resources.
- create an independent anti-corruption body, a land/properties tribunal and provide housing grants to the homeless.
- act on national, regional and international concerns, implementing environmental protection policies.
- develop renewable energy sources, special environmental protection laws and community education.
- restructure the military and introduce compulsory 18 months military service.
- establish means for customary justice in all villages and sucos.
- establish regional hospitals, and health centres in the sub-districts and villages.
- provide better medical education and specialist training, as well as access to family planning and a "free medical access scheme" to vulnerable people.
- encourage active engagement with the region and would secure bilateral security relations with Australia as a 'strategic neighbour' and also Indonesia in the future.

UNDERTIM sources

- *UNDERTIM Manifesto, December 2006*
- *UNDERTIM 'blueprint' and provisional structure 2007*
- *Discussions with UNDERTIM spokesperson, May 2007*

Appendix 1

Australian Political Parties for Democracy Program (APPDP)

APPDP is a brand new program designed to assist Australia's major political parties in their international work and in promoting strong and robust democracies in Asia and the Pacific.

ALP's contributions to this innovative program are designed to strengthen political parties in the region as the institutions through which popular interests are reflected in government decision-making.

ALP International Projects draws on our people from state branches and federal politics with skills in party organization and policy development in the planning and delivery of our programs.

Our technical assistance to political parties in the region focuses on the fundamentally democratic process of the political campaign.

We believe that the campaign necessarily draws everyday people into the process of governing.

Through our programs we will assist political parties in the region to become the foremost institutions through which popular interests are reflected in government.

Who will receive ALP assistance?

To receive ALP International Projects technical assistance, political parties:

- Must support democratic frameworks;
- Must oppose violence as a means of achieving political aims; and
- Must be viable, sustainable and relevant.

What issues will our APPD Programs Target?

ALP International Projects offers a range of technical assistance programs, including guided study missions to Australia, and workshops and seminars to be undertaken in recipient countries.

Depending on local needs, the following approaches to training will be used in the course of party strengthening activities:

- Single party programs (party-to-party), including training, party dialogue and special advisory sessions;
- Multiparty programs;
- Party working groups, involving only the ALP and a number of local parties;
- Policy workshops and training programs conducted in concert with international partner organizations; and,
- Assistance in the management of internal disputes, mediation and negotiation.

Our experience in party-building and policy development will be reflected in our programs. Our programs will include the following strands:

Party Building

- Internal governance, developing unified party structures and resource sharing;
- Branches as membership and campaign resources;
- Internal party democracy, membership management, candidate scrutiny, pre-selections, caucus discipline;
- Relationship with parliamentary party;
- Constitutions, rules and procedures;
- Campaign roles and structures;
- Campaigning, marginal seats, broad strategies and mini-campaigns; and,
- Campaign finance, funding and disclosure, fundraising codes of conduct, candidate pledges/signed declarations.

Policy Development

- Policy development, process, lobbying and advice, identifying and pursuing government priorities;
- The role of the media and media liaison;
- Political advertising, political communication and message delivery; and,
- Public opinion, research, electoral statistics analysis, focus group polling.

Appendix 2

Excerpt from the Commission for Reception, Truth and Reconciliation

Chega! CAVR Report Chapter 9 – Reconciliation in the East Timorese political community

The Commission worked to understand the underlying causes of the political conflict in Timor-Leste and the violence committed by East Timorese and the Indonesian armed forces. It listened to victims of violence from all sides, and interviewed political leaders from all points of view, including conducting interviews in Indonesia. The Commission believes that the deep divisions in Timorese society from 25 years of conflict, and the violence which entered East Timorese political life in 1975, remain a potential stumbling block to the development of a sustainable culture of democracy and peace in Timor-Leste.

Violence and intimidation have no place in political life in Timor-Leste – the cost is too great. The Commission was encouraged by the

humility of political leaders who testified at the National Public Hearing on the Internal Political Conflict of 1974–76, and the positive community response to their openness. However more needs to be done to heal the deep hurt from this period and to consolidate the development of pluralistic and peaceful political life in Timor-Leste.

The Commission recommends that:

- All political parties ensure that the universal principles of human rights enshrined in the Constitution of Timor-Leste are fully respected in their policies and practices.
- All political parties respect the neutral role of the Police Service, Defence Forces and other state security bodies and include a commitment to respect this principle of neutrality in their party policies.
- All political parties make a public commitment to conduct their political activities in a peaceful and non-threatening manner and to take strong disciplinary measures against any party member who advocates or uses the media to ferment aggression or fear in the community.
- All political parties make a public commitment that they will never mobilise youth groups for political purposes other than in peaceful and lawful ways.
- The five historical political parties – Apodeti, ASDT/FRETILIN, KOTA, Trabalhista, and UDT – institute processes, where necessary, to address human rights violations committed in the past by their members or those linked to them, and undertake to work for the implementation of the recommendations in this Report, in particular those directed at permanently removing the threat of violence from political life in Timor-Leste.
- The former pro-autonomy political groups still in existence in Indonesia undertake to work for the implementation of the recommendations in this Report, in particular those directed at permanently removing the threat of violence from political life in Timor-Leste.
- Civic education programmes make use of the material in this Report to impress on the community the importance of non-violence and the appalling cost of political violence.
- The President undertakes new initiatives to foster political, social and cultural dialogue between East Timorese in Indonesia and Timor-Leste, and that this initiative seeks the involvement of political leaders from all backgrounds and the support of the Government of Indonesia.

Source:

Chega! CAVR Report Chapter 9 – Reconciliation in the East Timorese political community



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