

**FRETILIN POPULAR EDUCATION 1973-1978 AND ITS
RELEVANCE TO TIMOR-LESTE TODAY**

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DEDICATION

This is first and foremost in memory of my ancestors: Maulero-Dadakou, Gono So-Bo So, Daeloi-Daraloi of Makasae-speaking Matebian and Abu-Afaloicai clan, and the Naueti-speaking Bina-Borabo'o clan of Uato-Carbau, who provided me protection throughout the years of the Resistance.

One day, in early 1976, my mother's loud cry reached my ear. I run to the kitchen wanted to know what was happening to her. The ladies at the entrance door did not let me in. I was angry, fought, quarrelled and said many strange words. And I heard mother said: "Let him in!" Mother embraced me so tight and asked me to go, a baby girl was born, mom passed away and the baby was named after my mother, Maria Bendita. Sadly the young Maria Bendita died in Matebian in early 1978. When we got news from uncle Horacio Guterres and Aleixo Guterres who had travelled all the way from Matebian to Atantele in Uato-Lari, Grand Mother Maria Lurdes was heart broken. She was in her 70s, did not have second chance to know Maria Bendita.

I would like to recall those relatives and cousins of my father Agostinho da Silva who either died of diseases or were killed by the occupying forces namely: Napoleão da Silva, a common soldier of FALINTIL who was the first one killed by the Indonesian forces in his home place Malele-Borabohae; my father's brother Lucas Baptista died of sickness after returning from a communal work in Mahele-Uato-Lari in the early 1978; Adelino de Carvalho of Afaloicai killed in a battle in Uato-Lari in 1990; João Boilo, a member of FALINTIL who was been killed but his whereabouts are still unknown; Alfredo Lhare who was a FALINTIL Company Commander and had been killed in a battle; José Henrique 'Ko Susu' (FALINTIL) who supported Xanana Gusmão to re-organise the resistance but was killed by diarrhoea in Same; Júlio Pires (Zone Secretary) executed in Uato-Lari; Acácio Carvalho executed in Uato-Lari; Luís da Silva, a member of the Intervention Forces was executed in Uato-Lari; my adopted father Ricardino Madeira executed by the Indonesian Special Forces in 1984; Relatives and friends of my father who had been massacred along a dozen of people from Uato-Carbau in 1984 namely Ernesto Konidere (Borabohae), António Nokorau, Luís and Carlos (Borabohae), Bernardo Liurai

(Borabohae), Gaspar Alacho of Irabin, and Chiquito Bahatata; and Martinho da Silva who was arrested due to riot in Uato-Lari in 1995, imprisoned, tortured, got sick and eventually died. I lost my brother Anacleto Benedito da Silva who was more a friend than a brother to me, when Battalion 745, the last Indonesian troops to leave, captured him on 21 September 1999. He is believed to have been executed in a military parade in Comoro, but his remains are nowhere to be found.

I am indebted to Agosto Gamma 'Teki', a Leader of HPP-MAI, whom Indonesian forces executed following the November 12 Massacre in 1991; Alberto from Vemasse, with whom we shared a student dormitory, who was killed in the November 12 Massacre; José da Costa 'Mau Hodu Ran Kadalak', Jacob Fernandes, and José António da Costa 'Ma'Huno', Nino Konis Santana. From them I learned to become a mature political activist and today an activist-scholar.

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ABSTRACT

The Timor-Leste independence movement sustained a twenty-four year struggle against a genocidal occupation by the Indonesian military dictatorship, from the Indonesian invasion in December 1975 until the UN-supervised vote for independence in August 1999. This thesis argues that the capacity to resist was built through mass popular education work led by the first independence party, FRETILIN, both prior to the invasion and in FRETILIN-controlled Resistance Bases where the majority of people lived for the first three years of the occupation, from 1976-1978.

This popular education work was initiated by a small number of educated leaders who had formed two groups during the last years of Portuguese colonialism, the Informal Anti-colonial Discussion Group of Nicolau Lobato in Dili, and the Casa dos Timores university students in Lisbon. These early leaders adapted the popular education philosophy and methods of Amílcar Cabral, Paulo Freire and Mao Tse Tung to the language and cultural reality of Timor-Leste, to develop their own Pedagogy of the Maubere Revolution, whose twin goals were the liberation of the land and the liberation of the people. When the two groups came together to form FRETILIN in Dili in September 1974, they organised a campaign of 'base work' in the rural areas, working through a student organisation, UNETIM to undertake a literacy campaign employing Freirian-style themes to conscientise the population about independence. As the Indonesians began their incursions, the student organisation became the base for new popular mass organisations of women (OPMT), of youth (OPJT), and of workers (OPTT).

In the Resistance Bases, FRETILIN developed a new popular democratic one-party state, the Democratic Republic of Timor Leste (RDTL 1), proclaimed just days before the invasion, with its own organs of popular power, including an armed force, FALINTIL and its auxiliaries, popular schools and health services, systems of food production and popular justice. When the Bases fell in December 1978, RDTL1 was re-organised as a clandestine nationalist movement in the Indonesian-occupied territories, led by the people who had learned through the revolutionary pedagogy and practice in the mountains. Finally, when the majority of the population voted in

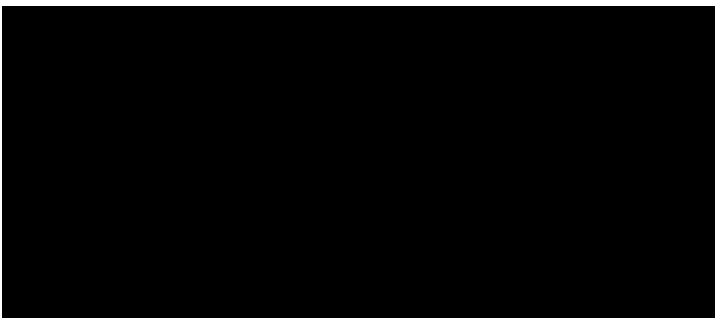
favour of independence in a UN-supervised ballot in August 1999, radical student resistance organisations continued the work of mobilisation and conscientisation in the districts, now under the conditions of a new occupation, by the United Nations and the international community. Today, the challenge for FRETILIN and the social movements is to find ways to adapt this historic revolutionary pedagogy to conditions of a modern multi-party democratic state.

This thesis is the first insider account of the period from the perspective of popular education. It draws on the personal experiences of the author, who lived in the Resistance Bases as a child, and became a leader of the student movement in the 1990s. The evidence collected includes testimonies and recollections of over seventy people, the majority of whom worked at middle and lower levels of the Resistance in the Bases and in the rural areas in the years following. This evidence has been supplemented with extensive original documents retrieved from archives in Portugal, Timor-Leste and Australia.

Candidate's Certification

I certify that the substance of this thesis has not already been submitted for any degree and is not currently being submitted for any other degree or qualification.

I certify that any help received in preparing this thesis, and all sources used, have been acknowledged in this thesis.



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Signature

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

- ACFOA - Australian Coalition for Overseas Aid
- AETA - Australia East Timor Association
- AIDG - Anti-Colonial Informal Discussion Group
- ALP - Australian Labor Party
- AMP - Aliança de Maioria Parlamentar
- APCET - Asia Pacific Coalition for East Timor
- APODETI - Associação Popular Democrática de Timor
- APSOC - Asia Pacific Solidarity Coalition
- ASEAN - Association of South East Asian Nations
- ASDT - Association of Social Democrats of Timor
- AST - Association of Socialist Timor
- ATT - Alternative Trade of Timor
- BAC - Boletim Anti-Colonial
- BAKIN - Badan Koordinasi Intelijen Negara
- BTLF - Buka Tuir Liman Fatin
- CAA - Community Aid Abroad
- CAF - Comité de Acção da FRETILIN
- CAVR - Comissão de Acolhimento, Verdade e Reconciliação
- CCF - Central Committee of FRETILIN
- CCO - Cooperative Caffee Timor
- CCO - Cooperative Caffee Organic
- CCP - The Chinese Communist Party
- CDF - Comité Directiva da FRETILIN
- CDPM - Centro da Defesa do Direito do Povo Maubere
- CIDAC - Centro de Informação e Desenvolvimento Amílra Cabral

CEFORPOL - Centro de Formação Política

CDR - Conselho Democrático Revolucionário

CIA - Central Intelligence Agency

CIDA-C - Centro de Informação e Documentação Anti-Colonial

CIDAC - Centro de Informação e Documentação Amilcar Cabral

CIDA-C - Centro de Informação e Documentação Anti-Colonial

CIET - Campaign for Independent East Timor

CIPM - Centro de Instrução político-militar

CNRM - Conselho Nacional da Resistência Maubere

CNRT - Conselho Nacional da Resistência Timorese

CNRT - Conselho Nacional da Reconstrução de Timor

COCAE - Comissão Organizadora e Controla dos Assuntos de Economia

COMSEC - Commando Sector

COPCON - Comando Operational do Continente

CPA - The Communist Party of Australia

CP-FORPOLA - Centro para Planamento, Formação Política e Liderança Alternativa

CPS - Commissariado Político do Sector

CRRN - Conselho Revolucionário da Resistência Nacional

DFSE - Delegação da FRETILIN em Serviço no Exterior

DOPI - Department de Orientação Política e Ideologica

DK - Delegado Komissariadu

DSMPPTL - Dewan Solidaritas Mahasiswa Pemuda dan Pelajar Timor-Lorosae

DSMTT - Dewan Solidaritas Mahasiswa Timor-Timur

ERPOLEKS - Ermera/Potete/Lequisi

ETADEP - The East Timor Agricultural Development

ETNA - East Timor News Agency

ETRC - The East Timor Red Cross

ETSSC - East Timor Students' Solidarity Council

ETTU - East Timor Teachers' Union

FAB - Forças de Armas Brancas - the White Force army

FALINTIL - Forças Armadas de Libertação Nacional de Timor-Leste

FARP - Forças Armadas de Revolução Popular

F-FDTL - FALINTIL-Forças de Defesa de Timor-Leste

FOKUPERS - Forum Komunikasi Perempuan

FORSAREPTIL - Forum Sarjana Pro-Referendum dan Pembangunan Timor-Lorosae

FRETILIN - Frente Revolucionária de Timor-Leste Independente

FRELIMO - Frente Revolucionária da Libertação Moçambicana

FULINTIDI - Frente Unida de Libertação Nacional de Timor Dili

GCRET - Grupo Coordenador para a Reformulação do Ensino em Timor

GERIPOTA - Guerilla Political Military

GFFTL - Grupu Feto Foinhae Timor-Lorosae

HANSIP - Pertahanan Sipil

HASATIL - Haburas Agrikultura Sustentavel Timor-Leste

HPP-MAI - Himpunan Pemuda Pelajar Mahasiswa Anti-Integrasi

ICRC - the International Red Cross Committee

IDP - Internally Displaced People

IFET - International Federation for East Timor

IID - International Initiative for Dialogue

ISFIT - International Students Festival in Thronheim

IWDA - International Women's Development Agency

JPM - Jornal do Povo Maubere

KJHR - Klibur Juventude Haburas Rai

KOHA - Cooperativa Haburas Komunidade

KOTA - Klibur Oan Timor Aswain

KSI - Kdadalak Sulimutuk Institute

LENAT - Liga de Estudantes Nacionalistas de Timor

MAC - Movimento Anti-Colonial

MFA - Movimento das Forças Armadas

MIPLIN - Milícia Popular da Libertação Nacional

MPAC - Movimento Popular Anti-Colonial

MPLA - Movimento Popular da Libertação Angolana

MRA - Movimento de Reforma Agrária

MRPP - Movimento Reorganizativo do Partido Proletariado

MST - Movimento Sem Terra

MLSTP - Movimento da Libertação de São Tome e Príncipe

CMLK - the Centre for Martin Luther King

NCBA - National Business Cooperative of America

NFSA - the National Film and Sound Archive

NGO - Non-Governmental Organization

ODM - Organização das Massas

OJETIL - Organização da Juventude Estudantil de Timor-Leste

OPJLATIL - Organização Popular da Juventude Loriku Aswain de Timor-Leste

OSIS - Organization of Students Intra-School

OSKTL - Organizasaun Klosan Solidariedade Timor-Lorosae

OISCA - Organization for International Spiritual and Cultural Advancement

OJECTIL - Organização Juventude e Estudantil de Timor-Leste

OPJT - Organização Popular da Juventude Timoreense

OPMT - Organização Popular das Mulheres de Timor

OPS - Organização Popular da Segurança

OPPT - Organização Popular dos Trabalhadores de Timor

PAIGC - Partido Africano para a Independência dea Guiné-Bissau e Cabo Verde

PASMAR XI - Pasukan Mariner X

PIDE-DGS - Policia Internacional para a Defesa do Estado-Direção Geral de Segurança

PNTL - Polícia Nacional de Timor-Leste/East Timor National Police

PKI - Partai Komunis Indonesia

PSRI - Popular Socialist Research Institute

PSD - Partido Social Democrata

PML-F - Partido Marxista-Leninista-FRETILIN

RATIH - Rakyat Terlatih

RDTL - República Democrática de Timor-Leste

RENAL - Reabilitação Nacional

RP - Responsible Principal

ROB - Resistência Organizada de Base

RPAC - Resistência Popular Anti-Colonial

RPKD - Regimen Para Komando

RPKAD - Regime Para Komando Angkatan Darat

SALC - Southern African Liberation Centre

SAPT - Sociedade Agricola, Pátria e Trabalho

SECAE - Secção de Controlo de Assuntos de Economia

SGL - Sociedade Geografica de Lisboa

SMKTA - Sekolah Menengah Kejuruan Tingkat Atas

SSB - Single Side Band Radio

TLRC - Timor-Leste Red Cross

TVTL - Televisaun Timor-Leste

UDT - União Democrática Timorese

UNAER - Union of Agriculture of Ermera

UNAEPTIM - União Nacional dos Agentes do Ensino Primário de Timor

UNDP - United Nations Development Program

UNE - University of New England

UNESCO - The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

UNMET - The United Nations Mission in East Timor

UNETIM - União Nacional de Estudantes de Timor

UPI - The Unilateral Proclamation of Independence

UNTAET - United Nations Transitional Administration of East Timor

UNTIM - Universitas Timor-Timur

UNTL - Universidade Nacional Timor Lorosa'e (UNRTL)

URT - Uni Republica Timor-Dilly

USET - University Students For East Timor

USSR - The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

WTO - World Trade Organization