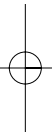
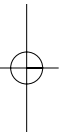


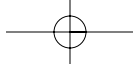
Special Addresses of World Leaders
세계 지도자 특별연설



Xanana Gusmao, President, East Timor

동티모르, Xanana Gusmao 대통령





From Stalemate to New Progress for Peace in Korea

Xanana Gusmao
President, East Timor

His Excellency, Roh Moo-hyun, President of the Republic of Korea

His Excellency Kim Dae-jung, former President of the Republic of Korea

Mr. Sang-young Rhyu, Director of Kim Dae-jung Presidential Library

Distinguished Guests and Scholars

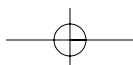
Ladies and Gentlemen

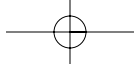
It is a great pleasure to come here again to Seoul to feel the continued sympathy and solidarity of our friends, the Korean people.

It was precisely on this day in 2000 that the leaders of the Korean Peninsula changed the course of Korean history from hostilities and distrust to mutual understanding, reconciliation and cooperation. It was on June 13th that His Excellency Kim Dae-jung, leading a strong delegation, made an unprecedented trip to Pyongyang for the historic summit which became a turning point for peace and reconciliation. After long sessions of frank and heart-to-heart talks, the two leaders of the Korean Peninsula reached a consensus that peace, reconciliation and cooperation coincided with national interests which led to the agreement that was perpetuated in a South-North Joint Declaration.

We are here today to contribute and support the peace initiative, join efforts and explore avenues that lead to peaceful reunification of the Korean Peninsula.

And it is in this context that I wish to express my appreciation to H.E. Kim Dae-Jung and to Mr. Sang-young Rhyu, the Director of the Kim Dae-jung Presidential Library,





for having invited me to participate in this International Conference to commemorate the 5th anniversary of the June 15 South-North Joint Declaration and to share my thoughts on the peace and reconciliation process in Timor-Leste with the distinguished participants of this conference.

Ladies and Gentlemen

Timor-Leste is a country that has suffered centuries of foreign domination, devastation of war, separation of families and division among countrymen, and we have just opened a new chapter in our history. Coming from a history of political violence and decades of oppression, Timor-Leste is finally able to initiate the building of its own path towards peace and stability. It is, undoubtedly a long path with numerous and complex factors determining its outcome.

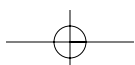
The Timorese people have come to know well the meaning of Peace. The 24 years of a difficult resistance war; the 24 years of unrestrained suffering, created the desire for peace within the Timorese people. The struggle for self-determination and independence also yearned for this objective: to live in peace!

The prolonged war in Timor-Leste enabled the people to convince themselves that peace meant more than the simple end to the war.

Ladies and Gentlemen

Building peace must begin within the mind and spirit of each citizen. It is a process that is based on the reconciliation of mind and spirit.

Peace can only be enjoyed by society if each individual is at peace. To be reconciled with the 'other' and with society depends greatly on the ability to reconcile with oneself. This is the hardest part of the process of reconciliation because any war always



starts from within oneself and never between two individuals.

Peace must arise from people's behaviour and it can only be established in a society when it thrives in the conscience of each individual as a treasure to be protected and cherished. Peace is an outcome of the interaction of behaviours within a society and peace must be an act of sovereignty by the people. Towards this noble objective, the reconciliation of spirit and minds gains even greater importance.

When we fail to attain this, the need for revenge will prevail over the need for tolerance; the feeling of hatred will prevail over the need for forgiveness. No society can institute social harmony if hatred and revenge take over the hearts of the people.

Peace is not won by putting an end to war. It is established over time, when there is a capacity to formulate a more prudent policy to put an end to hatred and revenge.

Within this line, long before being president, I personally promoted the policy of reconciliation by approaching the militias and their leaders to cease hostilities and open a new chapter in our history. As part of this policy, numerous reconciliation meetings among the Timorese were held along the border with Indonesia. In these meetings, the perpetrators confessed their misdeeds to the victims and we witnessed on the one hand, the ability of the perpetrators to recognize their crimes and on the other, the ability to forgive and accept the declaration of regret. This event became the starting point of a new dynamism in the relationship between victims and perpetrators. It created favourable conditions for the reception of the refugees who decided to return to Timor-Leste. Out of more than two hundred thousands refugees who were forced to flee to West Timor, only around 15 thousand remain in Indonesia.

Ladies and Gentlemen

We were determined to eradicate hatred from the hearts and minds of our people. We learned from the experiences of post-conflict countries around the world that hatred

gives no ground for reconciliation and peace.

Thus, we established the CAVR (Commission of Reception, Truth and Reconciliation) to seek the truth regarding human rights violations in Timor-Leste within the context of political conflicts, as we started with a civil war. It was also created to provide a truth-telling mechanism for victims and perpetrators to describe, acknowledge, and record past human rights abuses. CAVR also facilitates community reconciliation by dealing with past cases of lesser crimes and mediates between the victims and perpetrators to reach agreement on each act of reconciliation to be carried out by the perpetrator and then to report on its findings and make recommendations to the government for further action on reconciliation. CAVR is due to end its mandate next month.

Ladies and Gentlemen

Human beings, by nature, always possess differences in attitudes, as a result of the differences in the shaping and development of individual or group feelings. But more importantly is the overall conscience of common interests.

When it was defined that the policy on National Unity could only be achieved in practice if, in their minds, the people broke down the barriers of differences, the Timorese began to give shape to the concept of reconciliation; they began to unite in the goal for reconciliation.

Many Timorese who were against independence and were among the high ranks of the Indonesian Administration, are now among the high ranks in the institutions of the new democratic State of Timor-Leste. Many war veterans frequently complain to me saying: *“We would not have dedicated our whole lives to the struggle had we known that we would end up in misery”*. This is a question of inner peace which I deal with almost everyday. I explain to them that we fought to free this country and we had attained our objective and warned them that hatred will never help us to rebuild our country. We have to unite our

efforts to give value to the sacrifices we made during 24 years. They now understand that we cannot rebuild our country with deep division among the Timorese. They now understand that peace, reconciliation and understanding among the Timorese are necessary conditions to rebuild our country.

This spirit of reconciliation was fundamental in bringing inner peace to the people, as they were capable of forgiving and capable of believing in the transformation of their peers.

I should therefore affirm that reconciliation was not an act of post-1999. Reconciliation was already a practice of the communities in Timor-Leste. Dialogue and reconciliation are part of our culture, which we call "Badame". It is a compound word of "ba & dame" which literally means "go for peace". This is a tradition of public apology in Timor-Leste. It is an event where the perpetrator confesses publicly his/her crimes to the victim, before all the elders and members of the community. This kind of public apology is an indispensable condition for the perpetrator's reinsertion in the community and for saving the victim's reputation as well.

Ladies and Gentlemen

We are fully aware that the time for reconstruction and development of Timor-Leste should be the time for reuniting and reconciliation, which are indispensable for bringing solutions to the various difficulties that afflict our society. Reuniting the dispersed families but above all reuniting new perceptions for the future. We cannot have a common perception about the future of our country by constantly living in an atmosphere of hatred and revenge, by permanently looking to the past.

We cannot, of course, forget the past so that we avoid making the same mistakes, but we have to break away with the past by offering our former enemies and ourselves a new opportunity to reconcile with our past, with ourselves and with our former enemies as

well as with our betrayers.

It is within this spirit that we continue to actively work to forge better relations of cooperation with Indonesia and, consequently with all the neighbours in the region.

We have no doubt that building Peace is the greatest contribution we can offer our people, the South-East Asian region and the international community. To reinforce this contribution, Timor-Leste and Indonesia recently established the Commission of Truth and Friendship as a means of further consolidating our friendship.

I would like to underline that there are no identical solutions for similar issues. What is important to remember is that the differences should not be used as the basis for antagonism but rather for cooperation.

Ladies and Gentlemen

On 15th June 2000, the Korean people opened a new chapter in their history. It was on this historic day that the Korean People, through their leaders, showed the world their wisdom and courage to do away with distrust and hostilities and to choose, instead, the path that leads to peace, reconciliation and cooperation.

2005 is a historical year, not only for the Korean Peninsula but for the entire world. It marks the 5th anniversary of the historic inter-Korean summit meeting and the adoption of the South-North Joint Declaration and the 60th anniversary of the end of the Second World War as well.

Sixty years ago, the Korean people were liberated from foreign occupation and oppression. The triumph, however did not last long due to the territorial division that followed soon after. As every Korean is fully aware, the territorial division was not the choice of the Korean people but was imposed and became the Cold War structure that still remains until today in the peninsula.

The task ahead for the Korean people will be to remove the remaining structure of the Cold War and to begin fresh with a new era of reconciliation, peace and cooperation, replete with challenges and difficulties. You will need to reflect upon the pain of division, suffering and forgiveness but above all to explore common grounds that will enable cooperation and development for co-prosperity.

Five years have gone by but the desire of the Korean people to pursue peace, promote mutual understanding and develop South-North cooperation towards a peaceful reunification that were imprinted in the joint-declaration document, still needs to be translated into practice.

Despite the challenges and difficulties that are yet to be transformed into opportunities, we need to recognize that within this period some imperative steps have been taken to pave the way towards a sound relationship between the two countries.

I welcome and highly appreciate the gathering of more than 10,000 separated families and the cooperative projects such as the "Gaeseong Industrial Complex project", "Kumgang-san tourism project", and the "re-linking railroad and roads" aimed at creating an environment that will bolster common prosperity. I congratulate the resumption of the inter-Korean talks. I wish to refer precisely to the most recent Inter-Korean Vice-Ministerial talks that took place in Gaeseong on May 16-19, as they reveal the determination of the Korean People to search for everlasting peace in the peninsula.

Ladies and Gentlemen

The Joint Declaration and the outcomes of the recent inter-Korean Vice-Ministerial talks reflect the need for dialogue and cooperation as the only way to prevent the deepening of the division, to achieve common prosperity and to pursue peaceful reunification. Cooperation for economic development between North and South was a starting point towards confidence-building and the realization of the legitimate aspirations

of the Korean People to live in peace and harmony.

The need to join and strengthen efforts is vital so as not to lose sight of the ultimate objective - to put a complete end to hatred and hostilities in the Korean Peninsula. Since dialogue and cooperation are recognized as indispensable for peace in the Peninsula, I am confident that North Korea will return to six party talks so that a peaceful and diplomatic resolution for the nuclear issue will be attained.

Finally, I wish to extend my gratitude to the organizers of this conference for allowing me to speak about the reconciliation and peace-building process in my country. Your gesture reveals, first and foremost, the recognition of the efforts undertaken towards peace-building and development of Timor-Leste.

Allow me to address a special word to our friend Mr. Kim Dae-jung, the mentor of the "Sunshine policy". My heartfelt gratitude for the sensitivity and in-depth understanding you have always shown towards Timor-Leste.

I believe that the sunshine policy, based on three principles, namely the renunciation of war in the peninsula, peaceful coexistence and cooperation will continue to enlighten the path towards peaceful reunification of the Korean peninsula. It is my fervent hope that the aspirations of Korean people to live in peace and harmony will soon be fulfilled.

Thank you very much.