

# Mid-Year Report

## La'o Hamutuk

January - June 2012

### La'o Hamutuk's Vision

The people of Timor-Leste, women and men, of current and future generations, will live in peace and contentment. They will control a transparent, just and sustainable development process which respects all people's cultures and rights. All citizens will benefit from Timor-Leste's resources, and will accept the responsibility for protecting them.

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## La'o Hamutuk

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## **Mission & Situational context**

Established in 2000, La'ó Hamutuk ("Walking Together" in English) is an independent Timor-Leste non-governmental organization which monitors, analyzes and reports on development processes in this country, including policies carried on by international institutions engaged in Timor-Leste and by our own Government. La'ó Hamutuk believes that development should be based in the context of Timor-Leste's history, culture and economic and social conditions. It will be sustainable only if the people are the ultimate decision-makers in a democratic and transparent development process.

La'ó Hamutuk facilitates communication between people in Timor-Leste and decision makers, as well as establishing solidarity links with communities in other countries to explore alternative development models. As a resource center, we also provide literature on development experiences and practices. We believe that the full participation of all communities in the country's development decision making can help ensure that the people of Timor-Leste will benefit the most from their resources, and provide enough space for them to control and take a role in development process, as well as assuming the responsibility of protecting their natural resource wealth.

During the first half of 2012, Timor-Leste celebrated the tenth anniversary of its restoration of independence, freely elected a new President and conducted a peaceful Parliamentary election campaign, paving the way for the withdrawal of the United Nations Integrated Mission (UNMIT) at the end of the year. However, our independence from transient oil revenues and food imports still remains to be achieved. The country took out its first foreign loans, increasing our vulnerability, especially if we pursue the unrealistic and grandiose projects in the Strategic Development Plan.

In the context of the elections, some raised security concerns, focusing on how to prevent crimes and violence. La'ó Hamutuk stressed that people can only feel safe when they have enough food to eat, adequate health services, effective education enabling a better future, and can live free of fear of arbitrary eviction and joblessness.

During these six months, La'ó Hamutuk's work produced significant results, including:

- RDTL President José Ramos-Horta vetoed three land laws which violate traditional and community rights, as La'ó Hamutuk and Rede ba Rai had urged him to do.
- Timor-Leste enacted a Basic Environmental Law which incorporated many of our recommendations.
- Our analysis of the non-sustainability of Timor-Leste's current macroeconomy – rapidly growing state budget, soaring population, increasing debt and limited petroleum reserves – was widely accepted and is beginning to influence policy-makers.
- We gave three trainings on budget and economics, including two from a Gender-Responsive focus, increasing understanding among civil society, Parliamentary staff and the Government.
- Our comprehensive briefings for international journalists and election observers greatly improved media understanding and coverage of Timor-Leste (see Appendix 2).
- Timor-Leste's new president Taur Matan Ruak awarded the nation's highest honor, the Order of Timor-Leste, to La'ó Hamutuk staffer Charles Scheiner.
- The NGO Forum asked us to draft the joint civil society statement to the Timor-Leste and Development Partners meeting, indicating that our perspectives are now shared by civil society organizations.

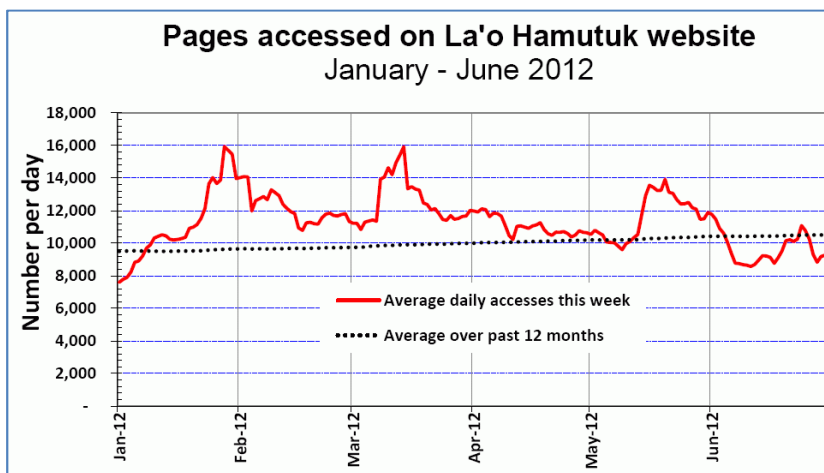
## **Program Activities**

La'ó Hamutuk's main work is to research and report on policies, institutions and systems which affect people here. Our materials are used by Government officials, Parliament, civil society and community groups, journalists, policy-makers, development organizations, consultants, students, academics, diplomats and the public. Every week, people consult LH on a broad range of topics every week.

We often write for local media and meet with local or international journalists. During the first half of 2012, we were quoted or cited in media at least 70 times, some of which are listed in Appendix 2.

We organized a public meeting on justice and impunity issues, and gave several briefings on key issues facing Timor-Leste for international journalists, election observers, academic delegations and others. We gave trainings to Parliament Research Center about Timor-Leste's budget and economy; to Fokupers, SEPI and CEDAW Watch Committee (together with UN Women) about Gender-Responsive Budgeting. We also made the first-ever video submission to a UN Human Rights Commission interactive dialogue when the Special Rapporteur on Extreme Poverty and Human Rights presented her report on Timor-Leste. These and other events are listed in Appendix 3.

Our Tetum/English website <http://www.laohamutuk.org> links to many documents, often unavailable through official channels. Many web pages are "briefing books," with background information, analysis from La'ó Hamutuk and others, and links to related material. During the first six months of 2012, usage of our website increased 22% over last year, averaging 11,400 pages accessed each day. Many online journals, media, Facebook users and blogs repost information from our web pages, so readership is larger.



During the first half of 2012, we added or extensively updated pages on:

- Land issues, including land registration certificates, La'ó Hamutuk and Rede ba Rai lobbying efforts and Presidential veto of land laws<sup>1</sup>
- The 2012 elections<sup>2</sup>, including candidates' and parties' responses to La'ó Hamutuk's questionnaires, our observer reports, and our pamphlet with questions to ask candidates
- The UN Human Rights Council's Universal Periodic Review of Human Rights in Timor-Leste<sup>3</sup>, the Report of the UN Special Rapporteur on Extreme Poverty and Human Rights<sup>4</sup> and the 2012 Timor-Leste Development Partners Meeting<sup>5</sup>
- The terms and consequences of Timor-Leste going into debt<sup>6</sup>, including the legal framework, debt sustainability analysis and details on projects, financing and repayment.
- The Greater Sunrise natural gas project<sup>7</sup>, Tasi Mane South Coast petroleum infrastructure project<sup>8</sup>, and heavy oil electric power plants and national grid<sup>9</sup>
- The new Carbon Tax in Australia and how it will affect Timor-Leste<sup>10</sup>
- Proposed laws with text, translations and analysis, including the 2012 State Budget<sup>11</sup>, Basic Environment Law<sup>12</sup>, Biodiversity Decree-law<sup>13</sup>, Petroleum Fund Law revision<sup>14</sup> and Reparations Law<sup>15</sup>

<sup>1</sup> <http://www.laohamutuk.org/Agri/land/2012/12PNpassPRveto.htm>

<sup>2</sup> <http://www.laohamutuk.org/misc/eleisaun2012/12Elec.htm>

<sup>3</sup> <http://www.laohamutuk.org/Justice/UPR/12UPRIndex.htm>

<sup>4</sup> <http://www.laohamutuk.org/econ/SRPoverty/12SREP.htm>

<sup>5</sup> <http://www.laohamutuk.org/econ/12TLDPM/12TLDPMindex.htm>

<sup>6</sup> <http://www.laohamutuk.org/econ/debt/12Borrowing.htm>

<sup>7</sup> <http://www.laohamutuk.org/Oil/Sunrise/10Sunrise.htm>

<sup>8</sup> <http://www.laohamutuk.org/Oil/TasiMane/11TasiMane.htm>

<sup>9</sup> <http://www.laohamutuk.org/Oil/Power/2011/11PowerPlant2011.htm>

<sup>10</sup> <http://www.laohamutuk.org/Oil/Boundary/carbon/12OzCarbonTax.htm>

<sup>11</sup> <http://www.laohamutuk.org/econ/OGE12/10OJE2012En.htm>

<sup>12</sup> <http://www.laohamutuk.org/Agri/EnvLaw/11EnvBasicLaw.htm>

<sup>13</sup> <http://www.laohamutuk.org/Agri/EnvLaw/div/LeiBiodiversidadeMar12En.pdf>

<sup>14</sup> <http://www.laohamutuk.org/Oil/PetFund/revision/10PFRRevision.htm>

- La'ó Hamutuk media briefing presentations<sup>16</sup> and training materials<sup>17</sup>
- In addition, we continue to update pages on other oil and gas projects<sup>18</sup>, the Petroleum Fund<sup>19</sup>, collecting overdue petroleum revenues<sup>20</sup>, the TimorGAP<sup>21</sup> national oil company, transparency<sup>22</sup>, UN activities<sup>23</sup> and many other issues.

Two years ago, we launched our bilingual blog <http://laohamutuk.blogspot.com> to highlight upcoming events and short, timely articles. During the first half of 2012, we wrote 27 entries and people viewed our blog pages more than 10,500 times. Postings on our blog often create debates picked up by the media, such as questioning privileged health care for the staff of the National Petroleum Authority. Our March blog "TL is going for broke"<sup>24</sup>, analyzing sustainability of LH government finances, quickly became the most widely read ever, closely followed by May's "How Timor-Leste got Ten Billion dollars ... and how quickly we will spend it all."<sup>25</sup>

We produced several editions of a DVD-ROM<sup>26</sup> to make web materials available without requiring difficult and expensive internet access. The DVD includes La'ó Hamutuk's website, key documents, and the websites of the Ministry of Finance, Central Bank, National Statistics Directorate, Official Gazette and National Petroleum Authority. We distribute the DVD free to local NGOs, our trainees and journalists, while selling it to internationals for \$20.

Unfortunately, our radio program was not broadcast during the reporting period. However, we trained our staff on production, preparing for the resumption of regular programming.

We did not publish *Bulletins* during the reporting period, but distributed much information through our website and media. We hope to resume the *Bulletin* during the latter half of 2012.

At the occasion of the 2012 parliamentary elections, we wrote a pamphlet with questions for citizens to ask candidates and a questionnaire for political parties. We officially observed all three elections, publishing reports. We also hosted the East Timor Action Network (ETAN) and supported other election observation projects.



<sup>15</sup> <http://www.laohamutuk.org/Justice/Reparations/10ReparIndex.htm>

<sup>16</sup> <http://www.laohamutuk.org/econ/briefing/MediaBriefing3July2012En.pdf>

<sup>17</sup> <http://www.laohamutuk.org/econ/PRCFeb12/PRCindex.html>

<sup>18</sup> <http://www.laohamutuk.org/Oil/Project/Kitan/10EniKitan.htm>

<sup>19</sup> <http://www.laohamutuk.org/Oil/PetFund/05PFIndex.htm>

<sup>20</sup> <http://www.laohamutuk.org/Oil/tax/10BackTaxes.htm>

<sup>21</sup> <http://www.laohamutuk.org/Oil/PetRegime/NOC/10Petronatil.htm>

<sup>22</sup> <http://www.laohamutuk.org/Oil/EITI/10EITIndex.htm>

<sup>23</sup> <http://www.laohamutuk.org/reports/UN/06UNMITcreation.html>

<sup>24</sup> <http://laohamutuk.blogspot.com/2012/03/timor-leste-is-going-for-broke.html>

<sup>25</sup> <http://laohamutuk.blogspot.com/2012/05/how-timor-leste-got-ten-billion-dollars.html>

<sup>26</sup> <http://www.laohamutuk.org/DVD/DVDIndexEn.htm>

## **Analysis, Monitoring and Research**

### **Agriculture**

#### **Food Sovereignty**

In 2012, La'ó Hamutuk continued to monitor and research the Ministry of Agriculture's seeds development policies, exploring the long-term benefits and disadvantages to farmers of the Seeds of Life project. Because of the lack of impartial, objective data, we crossed our information with other partners involved in seeds development. Thus, we researched GIZ and OXFAM's projects and gathered valuable information regarding the performance of imported and local seeds.

In order to work more effectively and improve contact with the grassroots, we reactivated links with other organizations working on agriculture. La'ó Hamutuk organized a discussion with environmentalist Ego Lemos (PERMATIL) and Xisto Martins (Country Director of Unitarian Service Committee of Canada) on food sovereignty and sustainable agriculture.

We work closely with local and international networks including HASATIL and regional *La Via Campesina* to improve our knowledge and advocacy at the international level.

#### **Land Rights**

In 2012 La'ó Hamutuk continued as a principal source of information, advocacy and education regarding the three proposed land laws. We play a key role in the Rede ba Rai coalition (RbR), of which La'ó Hamutuk's Inês Martins is often the spokesperson. Our web pages are the principal public source of information and documents on land access issues.

We participated in Parliamentary hearings, observed the debates and lobbied Members, and wrote a statement with RbR to explain the weaknesses of these laws and urge MPs to reject them. Together with Parliament Committee A, we shared our analysis with other members of Parliament. Unfortunately, Parliament approved the laws in February, and we participated in a "vote against" action there.

President José Ramos-Horta's legal advisors asked for our analysis of the land laws, and we presented to them and then to the President himself. After hearing our objections, the President vetoed the three laws in March, sending them back to Parliament for revision. La'ó Hamutuk translated and circulated his veto messages.<sup>27</sup> With RbR, we organized a press conference to express our satisfaction.

As July elections were imminent, we and RbR wrote an open letter<sup>28</sup> urging Parliament not to revise or approve the laws in a rush, but to wait for the next Government and Parliament, and the laws are likely to be discussed in Parliament later this year.

We were invited by KSI and UNTL to discuss the impacts of the land laws on vulnerable people's land rights with community people of aldeia Vakili, suku Maubara Lisan. At the request of the Haberan Institute, we gave a similar presentation in Lautem, Los Palos.

#### **Environment**

During 2011 we made two submissions to the legislative process for the Basic Law on Environment,<sup>29</sup> and we continued our involvement during 2012. Parliament delegated enactment of this law to the Council of Ministers, and the Council passed the Basic Environment Law in April. La'ó Hamutuk wrote to President José Ramos-Horta<sup>30</sup> urging him to send the law back to Parliament for more democratic consideration. Although we hadn't seen the latest version, we were concerned about the closed legislative process on a fundamental policy issue. The Government delayed sending the law to the President's office until Taur Matan Ruak had become President, and in June the new President's

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<sup>27</sup> <http://www.laohamutuk.org/Agri/land/2012/12PNpassPRveto.htm>

<sup>28</sup> <http://www.laohamutuk.org/Agri/land/2012/RbRPN2May2012Te.pdf>

<sup>29</sup> <http://www.laohamutuk.org/Agri/EnvLaw/11EnvBasicLaw.htm>

<sup>30</sup> <http://www.laohamutuk.org/Agri/EnvLaw/2012/LHPresEnvLaw9May2012pdf.pdf>



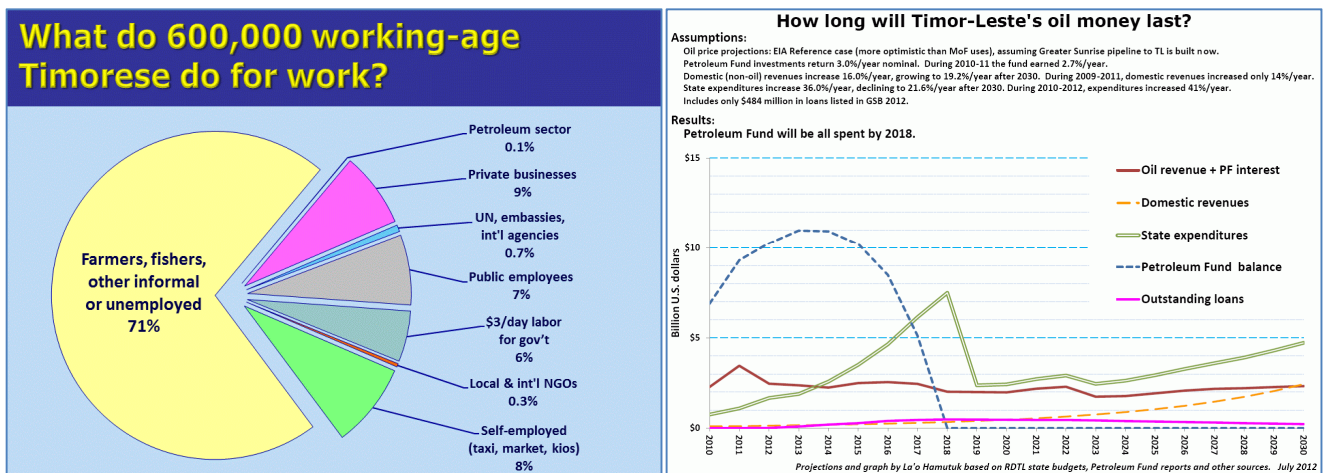
advisors asked us for input. When we saw that many of our suggestions had been incorporated in the latest version,<sup>31</sup> La'o Hamutuk recommended<sup>32</sup> that the President sign it, which he did in late June.

In April, on the request of the National Directorate for Environment, we wrote a submission<sup>33</sup> on the draft Biodiversity Decree-Law.

## Economics

La'o Hamutuk's analysis and publications on Timor-Leste's economic situation are broadly valued as an alternative to politically-influenced government forecasts and the self-censorship of multilateral agencies. We are often contacted by delegations from foreign capitals or organizational headquarters, journalists, academics and other researchers. As policies moved Timor-Leste deeper into the "resource curse," La'o Hamutuk advocated strengthening the productive, non-oil economy.

During the first half of 2012, we researched and analyzed key issues to help explain Timor-Leste's current and future economy. Our findings about employment and the sustainability of state finances have raised awareness, helping citizens and policy-makers understand that this second-most petroleum-dependent country in the world needs to change direction, as shown on these graphs:



Our macroeconomic model for how long Timor-Leste's oil money will last is based on a spreadsheet which can test different assumptions about expenditure growth, domestic revenues, world market oil prices, Sunrise development, Petroleum Fund investment return, borrowing and other factors. We also had several discussions with the Asian Development Bank (ADB) about their dissimilar analysis – claiming “inclusive economic growth” based on service delivery – and agreed to disagree.

Timor-Leste's consumers knew that inflation was high even before official statistics confirmed that it was 15.4% (17.4% in Dili) during 2011, which La'o Hamutuk has often explained is called “Dutch Disease,” a symptom of the resource curse when more money is circulating than the local economy has productive capacity to absorb.<sup>34</sup> In addition to disseminating this perspective to journalists, election observers, academics, civil society and others, we used it to inform the UN Human Rights Council's Special Rapporteur on Extreme Poverty and Human Rights Magdalena Sepulveda and in comments on her report<sup>35</sup> and to the Timor-Leste and Development Partners Meeting.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>31</sup> <http://www.laohamutuk.org/Agri/EnvLaw/2012/BasicEnvLawCoMApr2012En.pdf>

<sup>32</sup> <http://www.laohamutuk.org/Agri/EnvLaw/2012/LHtoPREnvLaw20Jun2012.pdf>

<sup>33</sup> <http://www.laohamutuk.org/Agri/EnvLaw/div/LHSubDNMABiodiversityApr2012En.pdf>

<sup>34</sup> The IMF has explained that most inflation here comes from domestic factors, rather than inflation and exchange rates in the countries Timor-Leste imports from. The Government published an in-depth analysis of inflation; they removed it from the Ministry of Finance website but we posted it at <http://www.laohamutuk.org/econ/OG12/MFInflation7Feb2012En.pdf>.

<sup>35</sup> <http://www.laohamutuk.org/econ/SRPoverty/12SREP.htm>

<sup>36</sup> <http://www.laohamutuk.org/econ/12TLDPM/FONGTILtoTLDPM14May2012En.pdf>

## Borrowing

Timor-Leste took out its foreign loans ever in 2012, \$69 million from Japan and \$40 million from the ADB, with \$350 million more announced for the next few years, and perhaps billions to follow. For several years, La'o Hamutuk has advocated that Timor-Leste should remain debt-free, analyzing and sharing information about the future impacts of loans on Timor-Leste's economy.<sup>37</sup>

We collected information from lenders and Government officials about projects and loans, and calculated Timor-Leste's repayment obligations; debt service will increase to about \$45 million per year starting in 2023. This imperils the country's future, as Bayu-Undan will run out at the same time and the number of young people entering the work force will have doubled.

## State Budget and Transparency

As in past years, La'o Hamutuk was the principal source of information on the 2012 State Budget for 2012. We published Budget documents, execution reports, and analysis.<sup>38</sup> We called the Ministry of Finance's attention to a significant error in the final budget books released in January, which they quickly corrected. Although we are no longer formally part of the Core Group on Transparency, we participated in their strategic planning, provided information and continue to work with members.

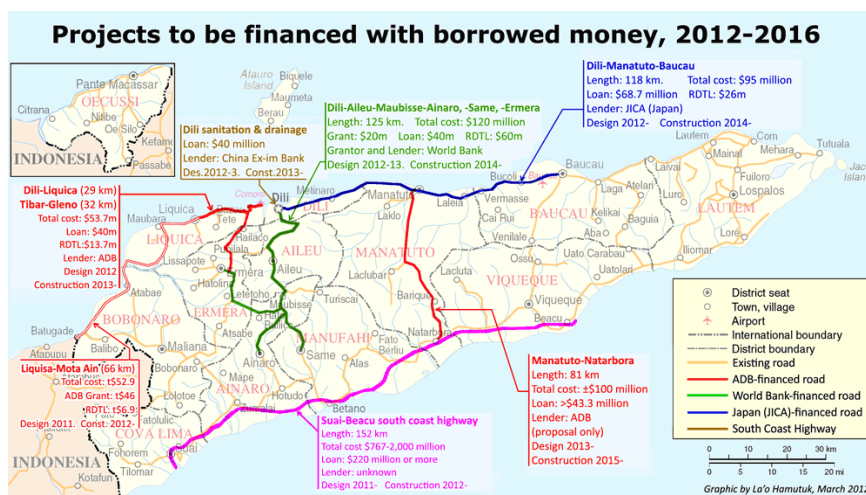
During the reporting period, we trained the Parliamentary Research Center about Timor-Leste's budget and economy, contracted by The Asia Foundation.

La'o Hamutuk increased our knowledge and activities on Gender-Responsive Budgeting (GRB) during this period. Our staffer Juvinal Dias participated in a GRB Study Tour in India. In addition to including a gender perspective in our other budget work, La'o Hamutuk gave two trainings on GRB: for SEPI and the CEDAW Watch Committee, (supported by UN Women) and for Fokupers district contacts.

We utilized and reviewed the Government Transparency Portal and encouraged the Government to improve its completeness through private discussions (about the Aid Effectiveness Portal) and an open letter<sup>39</sup> (regarding the nonfunctional Procurement Portal and intermittent Budget Portal).

## The Petroleum Fund

La'o Hamutuk continued to update our website regarding the Petroleum Fund,<sup>40</sup> and it remains the global reference for this information. We attended the Central Bank's press conferences on the fund, helped the Bank fix a problem with its website, and developed and published our analysis that the fund could be emptied by 2018 if current trends continue.<sup>41</sup> We also analyzed Timor-Leste's past petroleum receipts and deepened our understanding about overdue taxes being collected by Timor-Leste,<sup>42</sup> as well as working with journalists investigating these issues.



<sup>37</sup> <http://www.laohamutuk.org/econ/debt/12Borrowing.htm>

<sup>38</sup> <http://www.laohamutuk.org/econ/OG12/100JE2012En.htm>

<sup>39</sup> <http://laohamutuk.blogspot.com/2012/05/lh-urges-more-effective-tl-transparency.html>

<sup>40</sup> <http://www.laohamutuk.org/Oil/PetFund/05PFIndex.htm>

<sup>41</sup> Published in many places, including <http://laohamutuk.blogspot.com/2012/03/timor-lestes-is-going-for-broke.html>

<sup>42</sup> <http://www.laohamutuk.org/Oil/tax/10BackTaxes.htm>

As questions arose regarding the Chairman of the Petroleum Fund's Investment Advisory Board, we provided background information to journalists and others, explaining the issue when it hit the Australian press in early July.<sup>43</sup> We also revealed and explored the appointment of two Petroleum Sector officials to the Investment Advisory Board, asking if this was appropriate.<sup>44</sup>

### **International Assistance and Aid Effectiveness**

La'o Hamutuk continued to urge donors and others to give more attention to human security in their programs, rather than focusing on police, military and courts. We wrote to the UN Security Council<sup>45</sup> in February and published an article in local newspapers<sup>46</sup> about the distorted picture of security in the upcoming election process. As our Finance Minister is a global leader on aid effectiveness for "fragile states," we encourage donors to see aid as more than a state-building exercise.

Although donor assistance is now less than 20% of Timor-Leste's Combined Sources Budget, it is still important. Therefore, we took the lead in preparing the NGO Forum submission<sup>47</sup> to the annual May Timor-Leste and Development Partners meeting, and met with many participants.

### **Natural Resources**

More than 95% of Timor-Leste's state expenditures are paid with money from oil and gas exploitation, creating a rentier economy which inflicts the resource curse on this country. In addition, the disparity between the size and experience of Timor-Leste's regulators and transnational petroleum companies puts this country at a disadvantage. La'o Hamutuk monitors the extraction of oil and gas from under the Timor Sea, including contracting, taxes and revenue management, transparency, utilization of funds, policy decisions, agreements, and their impacts and benefits. Some of these issues are discussed under "Economics" above; this section focuses on the petroleum-specific aspects.

In March, we revealed that the National Petroleum Authority was seeking preferential healthcare for its staff and their families.<sup>48</sup> We warned that "In many resource-curse afflicted countries, people with the opportunity to skim money from oil and gas activities become a privileged, corrupt class. We do not think this has happened yet in Timor-Leste, and hope it never will." The article stimulated articles and commentary from journalists, Parliamentarians, citizens and the President of the Republic.

Since 2008, we have monitored and published information on the Hera heavy oil power station, as well as the national power grid and Betano power plant construction site, part of a billion-dollar boondoggle to produce dirty electricity.<sup>49</sup>

As the small Kitan oil field entered its second quarter of production, we published information on its activities and revenues.<sup>50</sup>

For many years, La'o Hamutuk has worked together with the global OilWatch network, particularly its affiliates in Southeast Asia. We helped Arakan OilWatch prepare their report on Burma's Resource Curse<sup>51</sup> which used Timor-Leste as a case study, and prepared to go to Rangoon (Yangon) to present at July workshops on petroleum and revenue management.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> <http://laohamutuk.blogspot.com/2012/07/ten-billion-dollars-is-tempting-target.html>

<sup>44</sup> <http://laohamutuk.blogspot.com/2012/07/wading-deeper-into-oily-swamp.html>

<sup>45</sup> <http://www.laohamutuk.org/reports/UN/LHtoUNSC15Feb2012En.pdf>

<sup>46</sup> <http://www.laohamutuk.org/econ/fragile/GuteSeguransa19Mar2012.pdf>

<sup>47</sup> <http://www.laohamutuk.org/econ/12TLDPM/FONGTILtoTLDPM14May2012En.pdf>

<sup>48</sup> <http://laohamutuk.blogspot.com/2012/03/petroleum-regulators-to-get-better.html>

<sup>49</sup> <http://www.laohamutuk.org/Oil/Power/2011/11PowerPlant2011.htm>

<sup>50</sup> <http://www.laohamutuk.org/Oil/Project/Kitan/10EniKitan.htm>

<sup>51</sup> [http://www.laohamutuk.org/Oil/EITI/Burma/Burma%27s%20Resource%20Curse\\_Report\\_English.pdf](http://www.laohamutuk.org/Oil/EITI/Burma/Burma%27s%20Resource%20Curse_Report_English.pdf)

<sup>52</sup> <http://www.laohamutuk.org/Oil/EITI/Burma/12EITIBurma.htm>



## Greater Sunrise LNG plant and Tasi Mane project

During the reporting period, we continued to update our Sunrise web page<sup>53</sup> with information about the stalemated negotiations between Timor-Leste's Government and the Woodside-led joint venture. Despite the information and misinformation circulating in Dili political discourse, there has been no progress in Sunrise development. However, with the 2012 elections and the possible unilateral withdrawal from relevant treaties in early 2013, the issue is still in the public eye.

We analyzed how Australia's new Carbon Tax will affect Timor-Leste,<sup>54</sup> sharing our conclusions with Timorese and Australian media.

Timor-Leste's 20-year National Strategic Development Plan is centered on the Tasi Mane project,<sup>55</sup> a multi-billion-dollar petroleum infrastructure complex, including a supply base for offshore oil operations, a refinery, an LNG plant and a highway along Timor-Leste's south coast. La'o Hamutuk and others doubt the project's economic viability and are worried about its environmental and social impacts. As budget appropriations and contract-signing advanced, we continued to reveal information and express concerns about the project and the new TimorGAP national oil company<sup>56</sup> which is leading it. We were interviewed by the Australian company doing an Environmental Impact Assessment for Tasi Mane, and by a German consultant assessing the impacts of south coast ports.

## Governance and Democracy

### Justice for Indonesia-era crimes

Thirteen years after Timor-Leste emerged from Indonesian occupation, no effective processes have held perpetrators accountable for crimes against humanity in Timor-Leste between 1975 and 1999. La'o Hamutuk continues to engage with the UN and other agencies to encourage ending impunity, which can best be done via an international tribunal established by the Security Council. We work on our own or through the Timor-Leste National Alliance for an International Tribunal (ANTI).

In February, as the UN Security Council prepared to discuss UNMIT, we urged its members<sup>57</sup> to consider CAVR's recommendations for the international community and the 2005 report of the independent UN Commission of Experts, and reminded it of unfulfilled obligations to end impunity.

In March, President José Ramos-Horta asked Parliament to pass an Amnesty Law for serious crimes from 1975-1999. ANTI disagreed in a press release, La'o Hamutuk wrote an open letter asking the President to open a dialog, and we also organized a discussion with civil society organizations.

We raised justice concerns at many opportunities, including with visiting UN missions and at an inter-parliamentary conference. In May, we organized a public meeting at UNTL to raise awareness among students and others about justice, and to remind UNMIT about UN's unmet responsibility. We also publicized the UN Human Rights Commission's Universal Periodic Review (UPR)<sup>58</sup> of Timor-Leste, and raised impunity at the Commission itself.<sup>59</sup>

We met with HAK, JSMP, FONGTIL and ICRC to strategize on lobbying the new Government and Parliament to ratify the International Convention against Enforced Disappearances.

In order to strengthen our struggle for justice while contributing to Indonesia's democratization, we organized a meeting with IKOHI and KONTRAS and discussed disappeared people and justice issues.

After a long delay, Parliament began to discuss the laws on Reparations Program and Memory Institute in February, but the process failed due to lack of quorum.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>53</sup> <http://www.laohamutuk.org/Oil/Sunrise/10Sunrise.htm>

<sup>54</sup> <http://www.laohamutuk.org/Oil/Boundary/carbon/12OzCarbonTax.htm>

<sup>55</sup> <http://www.laohamutuk.org/Oil/TasiMane/11TasiMane.htm>

<sup>56</sup> <http://www.laohamutuk.org/Oil/PetRegime/NOC/10Petronatil.htm>

<sup>57</sup> <http://www.laohamutuk.org/reports/UN/LHtoUNSC15Feb2012En.pdf>

<sup>58</sup> <http://www.laohamutuk.org/Justice/UPR/12UPRIndex.htm>

<sup>59</sup> <http://www.laohamutuk.org/econ/SRPoverty/12SREP.htm>

<sup>60</sup> <http://www.laohamutuk.org/Justice/Reparations/10ReparIndex.htm>

## Elections

During the first half of 2012, Timor-Leste held two Presidential elections, and the Parliamentary election took place during the first week of July. We observed all three processes and tried to deepen the discussion and enhance people's participation in the campaigns. In March, we wrote an article in local newspapers explaining that elections are about democratically choosing leaders and policies, rather than merely preventing violence.<sup>61</sup>

For the second round of the Presidential election, we circulated a questionnaire to the candidates, publishing their answers<sup>62</sup> to help voters make an informed choice. During the Parliamentary campaign, we gave a questionnaire to 21 political parties and coalitions.<sup>63</sup> To improve citizens' participation, La'o Hamutuk published a pamphlet with questions for voters to ask,<sup>64</sup> and we joined Rede ba Rai to organize a debate on land rights.

The East Timor and Indonesia Action Network (ETAN) from the United States organized observers for the Parliamentary election, and we provided office space and other support. We also organized our own observers, publishing reports on the Presidential<sup>65</sup> and Parliamentary elections<sup>66</sup> and cooperating with other observer missions. Following the Parliamentary vote, our blog<sup>67</sup> and website<sup>68</sup> were the first public source with accurate information on party representation.



## Corruption

Most oil-dependent countries are challenged by corruption, an element of the "resource curse." La'o Hamutuk tries preventing Timor-Leste from going down the same path. We don't monitor or analyze specific corruption cases but advocate for policies and institutions which help prevent corruption by increasing transparency, accountability and checks and balances.

We participated in the Anti-Corruption Commission's (CAC) presentation of its Assessment of Corruption Prevention, but we decided not to join CAC's working group on thematic discussions, although we continued to share our views on draft documents and strategies.

We shared our information and maintain good relations with the recently formed Anti-Corruption Parliamentary Group (GOPAC), helping them in their evaluation of corruption and discussing the global GOPAC questionnaire with members of Parliament.

At their invitation, we shared our views with the UN Convention Against Corruption's team assessing corruption prevention in Timor-Leste. We also participated in a two-day UNDP/Parliament/European Union workshop on Corruption, raising concerns about lack of openness in the petroleum regulatory sector here.

<sup>61</sup> <http://www.laohamutuk.org/econ/fragile/GuteSeguransa19Mar2012.pdf> (Tetum)

<sup>62</sup> <http://www.laohamutuk.org/misc/eleisaun2012/PerguntaKaprezEn.htm>

<sup>63</sup> <http://www.laohamutuk.org/misc/eleisaun2012/RespostaParpolTe.htm> (Tetum)

<sup>64</sup> <http://www.laohamutuk.org/misc/eleisaun2012/PreguntaParPolEn.pdf>

<sup>65</sup> <http://www.laohamutuk.org/misc/eleisaun2012/ElecObsReport30Apr12En.pdf>

<sup>66</sup> <http://www.laohamutuk.org/misc/eleisaun2012/LHParIElectionReportJuly2012Te.pdf> (Tetum)

<sup>67</sup> <http://laohamutuk.blogspot.com/2012/07/seats-resulting-from-parliamentary.html>

<sup>68</sup> <http://www.laohamutuk.org/misc/eleisaun2012/12Elec.htm>

## United Nations and UNMIT transition

Since 2000, La'ó Hamutuk has monitored the activities of international organizations in Timor-Leste, including the United Nations, and we often meet with leaders of the UNMIT mission here. We write regularly to the Security Council<sup>69</sup> and Human Rights Council as discussed above, and interacted with UN Special Rapporteur on Extreme Poverty and Human Rights Magdalena Sepulveda, submitting written and video responses to her report on Timor-Leste.<sup>70</sup>

As a member of the UN's Civil Society Advisory Committee, La'ó Hamutuk shared our thoughts on elections, human rights, justice and the expiring UN mandate. In January, we organized informal meetings with visiting UN officials from New York about the UN's presence after UNMIT leaves Timor-Leste at the end of 2012, including the economic impact, human rights presence, and other aspects.

We also helped UNMIT's Democratic Governance Unit improve the effectiveness of its reports, and disseminated their information more widely.

## Solidarity

In solidarity with the people of West Papua, we organized discussions for visiting Papuan leader Jakob Rumbiak with activists and students from UNTL, UNITAL and UNDIL to share information about human rights violations in West Papua and continuing unpunished crimes committed by Indonesian police and military.



## NGO coalitions

To share information, strengthen advocacy and reinforce local and global civil society movements, La'ó Hamutuk often joins with other organizations in coalitions or networks who focus on issues linked to our concerns. During the first part of 2012, we worked with the following:

### Timor-Leste coalitions

- Rede ba Rai (Land Rights Network)
- National Alliance for an International Tribunal (ANTI)
- HASATIL (Sustainable Agriculture Network)
- Mokatil (Timor-Leste Peasants Movement)
- Movimento Kontra Deve (against state borrowing)
- Rede Justisa Klimatika (Climate Justice Network)

### International coalitions

Much of La'ó Hamutuk's research and advocacy also relies on informal partners in other countries. These are the coalitions we relate to more formally:

- OilWatch, especially in Southeast Asia
- Climate Justice Now! Network
- International solidarity and human rights organizations, especially ETAN
- Publish What You Pay (PWYP)
- ASEAN People's Forum

<sup>69</sup> <http://www.laohamutuk.org/reports/UN/LHtoUNSC15Feb2012En.pdf>

<sup>70</sup> <http://www.laohamutuk.org/econ/SRPoverty/12SREP.htm>

## **Organizational report**

At the beginning of 2012, our staff included Alexandra Arnassalon, Juvinal Dias, Mariano Ferreira, Celestino Gusmão, Inês Martins, Odete Moniz, Guteriano Neves, Charles Scheiner, three security people and one cleaner. During this period, two new staff -- Tonilia De Fatima Dos Santos and Adilsonio Da Costa Junior -- joined La'ó Hamutuk. One person graduated: Guteriano Neves left to work at the Foreign Ministry and is now an advisor to President Taur Matan Ruak.

Our new office in Bebora has a separate library/resource center, so we hosted four interns from the Dili Institute of Technology (DIT) for two months. This was an opportunity to share our experience and knowledge and to help educate Timorese students, while benefiting from the interns' support. We will continue such programs with DIT and other universities.

We continue to build the capacity of our staff, most of whom participated in a week-long radio production training given by ABC journalists Steve Holland and Helene Hoffman, who volunteered their time.

In January, we finalized our Strategic Plan for 2012-2014, taking into account our external evaluation last year and trying to look at the medium and long term. Copies of both are available on request.

We met regularly with our Board and with our Donors, updating them about LH activities and discussing our financial sustainability. Two of La'ó Hamutuk's three long-term donors (Irish Trocaire and Canadian Development and Peace) have decided to stop working in Timor-Leste, so we began approaching potential new funders. We hope to maintain our longstanding policy of not accepting contributions from institutions with a significant vested interest in Timor-Leste. We also increased our earned income, giving three paid trainings to other institutions.

We prepared La'ó Hamutuk's 2011 Annual Report<sup>71</sup> and submitted the financial report for external audit. Our financial systems are now well-developed, so this went smoothly and we do not expect the auditor to identify significant issues.

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<sup>71</sup> <http://www.laohamutuk.org/AREpt/2011/LHAR11.pdf>

## Appendix 1: Financial Report

This report is being written before we prepare a financial report for the full year 2012. The final annual report will include more information and will be submitted for external audit. The figures below are preliminary and may differ from the final version. All amounts are in U.S. dollars, on a cash basis.

### Balance sheet

A more detailed and comprehensive balance sheet will be included in our annual report, with details on reserve funds and cash flow during the entire year.

Date	Cash & bank balances (including salary advances)	Receivables (salary advanced)	In reserve or committed	Unrestricted funds on hand
31 December 2011	\$205,094	\$4,770	\$135,640	\$69,454
Income during Jan-Jun 2012	\$43,817	\$410 advanced	\$4,248	\$39,569
Expenses Jan-Jun 2012	\$56,875	\$975 repaid	\$2,748	\$54,126
<b>30 June 2012</b>	<b>\$192,036</b>	<b>\$4,205</b>	<b>\$137,140</b>	<b>\$54,897</b>

### Revenues

As two of our funders decided not to continue supporting organizations in Timor-Leste, we found ways to increase our earned income, and we continue to look for new donors.

Category	Budget 2012	Half Budget	Actual	Difference	Explanation
Donations	200	100	0	-100	
General support grants	128,000	64,000	37,745	-26,255	Two payments from Trocaire received. \$55,000 expected from Development and Peace in 2012.
Bank interest	400	200	278	78	
Project grants	0	0	0	0	Nothing envisioned for this year.
Sales	300	150	160	10	
Earned by LH	5,000	2,500	5,634	3,134	LH was paid for giving three trainings to other institutions.
<b>Total</b>	<b>133,900</b>	<b>66,950</b>	<b>43,817</b>	<b>-23,133</b>	



## Expenditures

The following are the principal categories on which we spent money during the first half of 2012. We have tried to reduce or defer many expenses until our funding situation becomes clearer.

Category	Budget 2012	Half Budget	Actual	Difference	Explanation
Auditor	1,200	600	700	(100)	
Bulletin	1,900	950	0	950	No <i>Bulletins</i> published; we hope to do one in the second half of the year.
Capital equipment	2,500	1,250	968	282	
International conferences	1,500	750	0	750	All were fully reimbursed.
Office building	1,500	750	0	750	Some repairs remain to be done.
Operations	7,200	3,600	4,406	(806)	
Personnel	90,500	45,250	41,666	3,584	
Public meetings	3,200	1,600	2,067	(467)	
Radio/TV production	1,800	900	150	750	Radio program temporarily off-air
Rent	5,100	2,550	1,800	750	
Research	3,300	1,650	40	1,610	Field research deferred to dry season
Resource Center	1,200	600	517	84	
Surat Popular	900	450	0	450	None published
Telephone and Internet	8,800	4,400	3,962	438	
Training for staff	900	450	0	450	Training provided by volunteers
Transportation	1,400	700	473	227	
Miscellaneous expenses	1,000	500	127	373	
<b>Total</b>	<b>\$133,900</b>	<b>\$66,950</b>	<b>\$56,875</b>	<b>\$10,075</b>	

## Appendix 2: Media coverage of La'ó Hamutuk

The following is some of the coverage in local and international media and reports during the first half of 2012 resulting from La'ó Hamutuk's work. We also briefed and interacted with many journalists from non-Anglophone publications; most of their coverage is not listed here.

Title	Date	Medium	Comment
Sunrise Pipeline Negotiations	11 Jan.	RTL news	Interview with Charlie
Woodside's triple LNG trial	1 Feb.	Petroleum Economist	Cites LH information on cost of Tasi Mane project, events relating to Sunrise negotiations
Lei ba rai	3 Feb.	RTL	Interview with Ines
Will Timor-Leste avoid the resource curse?	7 Feb.	Lowy Interpreter	Extensively cites LH information on resource curse
Eletridade sei domina infraestrutura	8 Feb.	Timor Post	Interview with Juvinal
Oil in Timor-Leste – A Kick-Start or a Kick-Back?	22 Feb.	In Asia: Weekly Insight and Analysis from The Asia Foundation	Cites LH as "repeatedly warning" political leaders about the consequences of spending oil money quickly.
Challenging the Therapeutic Ethic: A Victim-Centred Evaluation of Transitional Justice Process in Timor-Leste	Feb.	International Journal of Transitional Justice	Cites LH, "the only literature on CAVR that comes from Timorese who did not work with the Commission," on CAVR reliance on international support
Sustainable Development in Timor-Leste	Feb.	TL National Report to UN Rio+20 conference	Cites LH as source of information; uses or references LH materials on non-green practices, heavy oil project, Sunrise LNG, Balance of Trade, oil companies, and farmers' wisdom.
Small Country, Big Year	10 March	The Economist	'More important, argues Charles Scheiner, over-reliance on oil "crowds out the policy space" for other ways to increase national income. Oil still accounts for 95% of government revenues—and production has peaked.'
Wealth gap growing in East Timor	15 March	SBS-TV, Australia	Interview with Charlie
Justisa Timor-Leste & masa lalu Indonesia	16 March	BBC Indonesia	Interview with Celestino
Peaceful Elections a Symbol of Timor's Maturing Democracy	17 March	Voice of America	Quotes Charlie on peaceful election, oil dependency
East Timor's Oil Not Enough	18 March	AFP	Based on LH information, quotes Charlie
Eleisaun no distorsaun atensaun públiku ba Seguransa	19 March	Timor Post and Independente	By Guteriano
East Timor's road: to riches or ruin?	19 March	The Global Mail (Aust.)	Based on LH information, quotes Charlie
TL Infrenta Krizi Ekonomia tanba Folin Sasan Aas	25 March	Bisnis Timor	Misquotes Charlie on inflation
Benefisiu boot ba TL ekidade Fundu Minarai ba 20%	26 March	Bisnis Timor	Interview with Charlie & Gute on PF diversification
Concerns raised over East Timor's spending	26 March	Australia Network TV	Interviews Charlie on wealth gap
Sosiedade sivil husu konsulta kle'an Lei Rai	28 March	Independente	Quotes Ines
La'ó Hamutuk: Petroleum regulators to get better health care	28 March	Petroleum Reviews blog	Reposted La'ó Hamutuk blog article
Deve osan husi Japaun "Sosiedade sivil konsiensa tusan ba jersaun foun"	29 March	Diario Nasional	Quotes Juvinal
Prezidente Veto Lei ba Rai	30 March	TVTL news	Press conference with Ines

Title	Date	Medium	Comment
Burma's Resource Curse: The case for revenue transparency in the oil and gas sector	March	Report by Arakan OilWatch	Draws extensively from LH material on EITI and TL's petroleum revenue management system (seven footnotes refer to LH materials).
Tamba la fo benefísiu ba comunidade, PR entrega fali lei rai nian ba PN	2 April	Dili Weekly	Interview with Ines
East Timor's Future Without Gusmão	2 April	New Matilda	Cites LH on low priority for education and health in state budget
Privileged health care services for ANP staff	2 April	TVTL news	Interviewed Charlie on ANP health care issue
MPs Oppose ANP Plan for Special Health Treatment	3 April	Independente	Interview with Charlie
ANP kria Grupu Sosial Elitu Konsidera sosiedade sivil balun la Etiku	3 April	Independente	Based on LH press release
Editorial: Povu barak kiak, ANP Goza diak	4 April	Independente	Initiated by LH press release
Estudante: ANP kria politika Deskriminativu ba povu kiak	4 April	Independente	Initiated by LH press release, interview Juvinal
Mina folin sa'e Tuir Merkadu Global	5 April	Diario Nasionál	Interview with Charles
	5 April	Timor Post	Ines statement on presidential veto of land law
ANTI Komemora Masakre Liquica "Ejiji Harii Tribunal Internasional"	11 April	Diario Nasionál	Interview with Celestino
PR Horta Trata Saude iha ONGV, ANP iha Klinika Espesial	12 April	Independente	Quotes LH's blog article
HNGV Good Enough for President but not for ANP	12 April	Independente	Quotes LH's blog article
Sintoma Malisan Rikusoin sei mosu iha ANP	13 April	Independente	Interview with Juvinal
Duel de guérilleros pour la présidence du Timor-Oriental	13 April	Le Monde	Quotes Charlie on need for non-oil development
Resposta husi kandidatu presidente nain rua	13-15 April	Timor Post	Publication of La'o Hamutuk's questionnaire and answers (in three parts)
LH questionnaire of Presidential candidates		Linked from several blogs	Reprints or links to LH questionnaire
Timor-Leste to choose new President (in French)	17 April	Radio France, <i>Grand Reportage</i>	Interviews Juvinal on economic development, Charlie on justice.
Tougher line expected on Timor oil and gas	18 April	The Age (Melbourne)	Quotes answer from LH questionnaire
Familia Masakre Likisa Eziji Justisa	20 April	Tempo Semanál	Interview with Celestino
ANP Gasta \$2000 kada fulan ba saude Espesial	26 April	Independente	Quotes LH's blog article
Clinic Reveals ANP Already Spends \$2000 a month on Health care	26 April	Independente	Quotes LH's blog article
ANP halo krimi	27 April	Timor Post	Quotes LH's blog article
PR Horta husu hapara Tratamentu Saude Espesial iha ANP	27 April	Diario Nasionál	Quotes LH's blog article
PR Konsidera ANP halo pratika Krimi	27 April	Independente	Quotes LH's blog article
East Timor and Australia's Carbon Tax	27 April	ConnectAsia, Radio Australia	Interviews Charlie about maritime boundaries, climate change
Scarred leader seeks healing role	28 April	Brisbane Times and other Australian newspapers	Cites LH on government spending not developing economy

Title	Date	Medium	Comment
Abandona Agrikultor, estraga Futuru Nasaun	30 April	Independente	Interview with Charles
Security Sector Reform in Timor-Leste: Missed Opportunities and Hard Lessons in Empowering the Host-Nation	April	Paper published by US Army Peacekeeping and Stability Operations Institute (PKSOI)	References LH on UNMISSET police training
Land reform in Timor-Leste Country plots: Reassuring the little coffee growers proves hard	5 May	The Economist	LH helped the journalist understand land issues
Karta Husi La'o Hamutuk ba Ministra Finansas Emilia Pires konaba Transparensia	11 May	Independente	By LH Natural Resources and Economy Team
East Timor's gas legacy - Will it benefit future generations?	16 May	ABC Radio Australia (Asia Pacific)	Interviews Charlie on non-oil development
'Two Sharp Eyes' For Timor	17 May	New Matilda	Cites LH survey of presidential candidates
Justice	18 May	TVTL	Interview with Mariano
East Timor's oil sector 'no solution' to poverty	19 May	AFP/Reuters, Taipei Times	
Shadow of the past haunts nation's future	19 May	Sydney Morning Herald	Quotes Charlie on limited oil reserves, import dependency
Cooking Up a Deal across the Timor Sea	19 May	The Age (Aust.) Opinion	Cites LH on limited benefits from Sunrise LNG
Asuntu Pipeline TL-Woodside Mantein idak-idak nia Pozisaun	21 May	Bisnis Timor	Interview with Juvinal and Charlie
Report of the Mission to Timor-Leste by the Special Rapporteur on Extreme Poverty	24 May	UN HRC, Doc. A/HRC/20/25/Add.1	Cites LH on sustainable of TL's petroleum-dependent economy.
Ten years on, the myths of East Timor independence stand exposed	28 May	World Socialist Web Site	Cites LH on Petroleum Fund running out soon
Climate Change and Energy Poverty in Timor-Leste	May	Report by University of Melbourne	Makes extensive use of LH materials on heavy oil and other topics.
	May	ABC Radio	Interviews Juvinal on investment
Sentral Eletrika fo Ameasa ba komunidade	8 June	Independente	Interview with Juvinal
Timor-Leste: the parliamentary campaign begins	8 June	Inside Story	Cites LH on unsustainable spending policies
Governu foin gasta OJE \$431 Millaun	13 June	Independente	Interview with Charles
Povu iha direitu ba rai	13 June	Tempo Semanal	Interview with Ines
Trip of a lifetime to Timor Leste	15 June	Bega District News (Aust.)	Lists Charlie to give briefing to coming delegation

## Appendix 3: Presentations and programs given or organized by La'ó Hamutuk

Topic	Date	Presenters	Audience / forum
State Budget and Economy	27 Feb – 2 March (5 half-days)	Charlie, Juvinal, Gute	Training for the Parliamentary Research Center
Rights and Sustainability in Timor-Leste's Development	9 March	All LH staff	Briefing for international journalists and others
Gender Responsive Budgeting	19 March	Guteriano	Training for Fokupers
Foreign aid	28 March	Guteriano	Discussion at Liceu, UNTL
Land Laws	5 March	Ines	Presentation to RDTL President's Legal Advisers
Land Laws	15 March	Ines	Presentation to President José Ramos Horta
Land laws' impact on vulnerable people's rights	31 March	Ines	Discussion with communities in Maubara Lisan (organized by KSI)
Sustainable Economic development	3 April	Charlie	Speaker at Luta Hamutuk seminar
Food sovereignty and sustainable agriculture	13 April	Ego Lemos (PERMATIL) and Xisto Martins (USC Canada)	Discussion at PERMATIL
Civil society statement	14-15 May	LH wrote FONGTIL statement	Written presentation to TL and Development Partners meeting
Justice and Impunity	17 May		LH Public meeting
Rights and Sustainability in Timor-Leste's Development	18 May	All LH staff	Briefing for international journalists and others
The current situation in West Papua	18 May	Jacob Rumbiak	Discussion for students and others at La'ó Hamutuk
Gender Responsive Budgeting	23-24 May	Juvinal	Training for SEPI (organized by UN Women)
Gender Responsive Budgeting	5-6 June	Juvinal and Charlie	Training for Fokupers
Land Laws	6 June	Ines	Communities in Lautem
Briefing on Timor-Leste	19 June	Charlie	Study group from Victoria University
Report of UN Special Rapporteur on Extreme Poverty on Timor-Leste	21 June	Ines (by video)	UN Human Rights Council in Geneva
Briefing on Timor-Leste	27 & 30 June	Charlie	Briefings for EU, FOM and ETAN international election observer projects

In addition, we presented comments and submissions to hearings of Parliamentary committees, Government public consultations, institutional strategic planning processes, stakeholder meetings and other events.