

# **1999**

## **Pre - Referendum**





### Collective Demonstration

Paris, France

April 1999: We see Antonio Dias (senior activist for Timor) with his wife Jo in the middle. At the right we see Anne Tréhondart (now head of Triangle, the main French NGO active in East Timor).





### Collective Demonstration

Paris, France

April 1999: Ten years after the massacre at Tiananmen Square in Beijing China, dozens of solidarity people march in Paris to ask attention for Democracy and Human Rights in Asian countries, such as: China, Tibet, Burma, Indonesia and East Timor.



# **To Resist is to Win**

**Statements by Xanana Gusmao,  
Leader of the East Timorese Resistance**



**East Timor Action Network / San Francisco**



## East Timor:

### 20 years of Genocide, 20 years of Resistance

On December 7, 1975, Indonesia invaded the newly independent Democratic Republic of East Timor. Since that time, with the constant support of the US and in violation of numerous UN resolutions, the Indonesian military has continued to occupy East Timor, inflicting upon it one of the worst tragedies of recent history. In the nearly 20 years since the invasion, the Indonesian military has:

- Killed more than 200,000 Timorese, approximately one third of the 1975 population, the greatest genocide relative to population since the Holocaust.
- Regularly massacred unarmed civilians and demonstrators.
- Raped thousands of women and practiced torture as policy.
- Created an oppressive society based on terror and intimidation.
- Outlawed Timorese languages & displays of traditional culture.
- Monopolized the economy of East Timor and stolen its oil and natural resources.
- Repeatedly attacked and oppressed the Catholic Church, attempting on several occasions to assassinate its Bishop.
- Moved tens of thousands of Indonesians to East Timor and instituted a program of involuntary sterilization in an attempt to make the Timorese a minority in their own land.

For nearly 20 years, the military has been carrying out these policies of genocide. For nearly 20 years, the US government has been supporting Indonesia, selling billions of dollars of weapons and blocking international action on behalf of East Timor. And for nearly 20 years, the people of East Timor have been courageously resisting, willing to sacrifice anything for their dream of independence and freedom.

The reality of East Timor was demonstrated to the world on November 12, 1991, when the Indonesian opened fire on thousands of peaceful demonstrators who had gathered at Santa Cruz massacre to pay their respects to a youth killed in a church by the military two weeks earlier. 271 people, most of them young students, were killed. Witnesses and survivors were then hunted down and killed, resulting in hundreds

(continued on inside back cover)

## The Resistance Continues On Every Front!

**Key Rala Xanana Gusman,**

*read on his behalf at the  
Plenary of the Inter-Parliamentary  
Conference on East Timor,  
hosted by the Portuguese Parliament.*

Lisbon, 31 May - 2 June 1995

### Distinguished Participants:

On behalf of the Maubere People, I wish to thank the Portuguese authorities, on this particularly significant occasion, for organising this Inter-Parliamentary Conference on East Timor, in conformity with the Portuguese Constitution, which provides for "all necessary acts" to be undertaken to defend East Timor's right to self-determination and national independence.

I would also like to express our gratitude to the participants from all over the world who, by attending the Conference, have endorsed our people's legitimate fight against Indonesian colonialism and denounced international complicity.

My greetings to His Excellency the Chairman of the Assembly of the Republic, Dr. Barbosa de Melo, and to all the distinguished Portuguese deputies who, in their representation of our Portuguese brothers, have been honouring Portugal's responsibilities towards East Timor.

I wish to extend greetings to the Chairman of the Parliamentary Committee on East Timor, Dr. Fernando Amaral, and to all those doggedly working in support of the Timorese cause.

My salutations to His Excellency the Foreign Minister, Dr. Durao Barroso, whose political tenacity has helped keep intact the Maubere resolve to resist the foreign occupier. I would also like to take this opportunity to express our gratitude to Dr. Quartim-Santos and the members of his team, for the commitment they have shown in dealing with the problem of East Timor.

I send my personal greetings, as well as those of my people, to a particularly outstanding friend of East Timor, His Excellency the President of the Republic, Dr. Mario Soares who, in whichever part of the world he happens to be, never passes up an opportunity to talk about the gruelling struggle of the Maubere people and their longings, and to urge the



international community to uphold international law and the universal principles as they apply to the problem of East Timor.

Lastly, to the Portuguese people, to all dedicated friends of East Timor, to the Portuguese people, and the international solidarity movement, I would like to express the gratitude of the Maubere people, and their confidence that the flame of their struggle will carry on burning in everyone's hearts.

#### *Distinguished Participants:*

It was in Lisbon in May 1974 that the right of East Timor to choose its own future was recognised. To choose its own future? - rather a sentence to better captivity for a people to whom that right has been denied all this time. Here, in Lisbon, 21 years later, we must not only acknowledge that very fact, but to seek a way out of the problem.

It has been nineteen and a half years since Indonesia's generals turned East Timor into a military training camp, in which they could test out everything from old war ships acquired after independence to the need to modernise the navy, from small transport aircraft to Hercules C-130s, from Sky Hawks to other modern fighters, from modern ground artillery to the technical tactical efficiency of its ground forces. For nineteen and a half years, the murdering occupation forces have simply been putting into practice Indonesia's strategy of physical and cultural genocide of our people.

In 1974, in this same month of May, two nationalist parties were born. They were to represent the conscience of the Timorese people, to become the reliquary of the ancestral struggles against colonialism, and to secure the promise of a future in which there would be freedom and peace.

The political apprenticeship of the Timorese was a bitter experience, like the early days of all political processes which follow a difficult gestation period. During the course of the fight for the survival of our homeland and our people, we tried to construct an organised resistance which would combine and orientate the participation of all East Timor's citizens, regardless of their political and ideological convictions, in which freedom of choice would be guaranteed, and in which, above all, the precise non-partisan role of the glorious Falintil would be defined.

In Timor there are only two armies: the powerful ABRI and its armed collaborators and the small but invincible FALINTIL guerrilla force.

Sadly, for the puritan spirit of some Timorese, the term Maubere has a stigma attached to it. The Maubere people's sacrifices and suffering have taught us to understand that the only significant disagreement between Timorese should be based on whether one is for or against East

Timor's right. Nothing else should be used to justify less honest attitudes towards our people's heroic resistance.

Highly concerned as the Maubere people are throughout the world (a fact which greatly honours the people of East Timor), we announce here that the CNRT, a term now synonymous with the idealism intrinsic to a life and death struggle, may eventually come to be known as the National Council of Timorese Resistance, a fact which is proof of the good will of all of us who take upon our shoulders the responsibility of liberating the fatherland and people of East Timor.

It should be understood that this gesture means we will do everything to continue honouring and serving the supreme interests of the heroic Maubere people and that, for this tormented people, it will not be us who harbour the self love which always leads to narrow-mindedness and inconsequential actions.

#### *Distinguished participants:*

Each year, tripartite meetings on East Timor are held between Portugal and Indonesia, under the auspices of the UN Secretary General. These meetings have now become routine and practically unproductive.

From the outset, Indonesia has always used its powers of economic persuasion to entice governments to accept its military annexation of the territory as a fait accompli. During the cold war, when the world, split in two, was completely subject to the interests of the super powers, Jakarta enjoyed unequalled impunity to commit the most barbarous atrocities on the people of East Timor.

In September 1975, it invaded the territory at the borders, taking Maliana up to the Atambas line and, on the following 7 December, openly and indiscriminately massacred men, women, children and old people. The West's complicity was obvious, not only in the form of the green light given by Ford and Kissinger who, just days before the invasion, had been meeting with Suharto, but also by the fact that Australia, which had foreknowledge of the invasion and had recalled its own citizens (members of the Australian Red Cross and the ACTOA), did not lift a finger to prevent the events which would violate international law.

Indonesia's generals, who knew where the old Portuguese barracks were located, dropped paratroopers and marines on Dili, then on Baucau, and then on Lospalos. Only a small number of people, those caught unawares, were stopped from fleeing to the mountains. In spite of the military might used by Indonesia, over 90% of the population resisted in the mountains in an organised manner, under the protection of their Armed Forces of Liberation, the glorious FALINTIL.

In May 1976, a so-called Provisional Assembly, the members of



which were picked off the streets, signed a petition calling for East Timor's integration, while the people were being subjected to daily bombardments and were dying in their thousands, blasted away by bullets, stricken by hunger and sickness, and forced to leave their homes and belongings (which were set on fire) and to flee, exhausted, to escape the invading army.

Because the people would rather die than surrender to the new colonialist, from September 1977 the Indonesian generals proceeded to carry out successive, large-scale military offensives, surrounding and attacking the enormous pockets of resistance which, one by one, were overthrown, because of the colossal difference between the Indonesian forces and the Maubere resisters. These offensives, which sowed death and destruction throughout East Timor, only ended on 22 November 1978, with the defeat of the last remnant of popular resistance in Maubian. East Timor's population was, at last, totally under control, but not before hundreds of thousands of its children had paid a high price for defending their country.

Subsequently, the starvation and disease which swept through the enforced amassment of people, together with the interminable mass killings which took place throughout East Timor, resulted in many more thousands of victims, reaching a total of one third of the entire population.

This is the kind of integration which, at the request of that puppet Provisional Assembly, was to have been brought about quickly and without any referendum, and which many Western countries (in order to safeguard their economic relations with Indonesia) either pretend to be unaware of, or openly say is what the people of East Timor deserve!

However, contradictory as it may seem, many governments which, because of their economic links with Jakarta, recognise the "real physical repressive control" of the murdering forces of occupation, which they call sovereign, do not hesitate to state that they do not agree with the way in which East Timor was annexed.

When Namibia became independent after 40 years of South African rule, the East Timorese felt renewed hope that international law and universal standards of justice, freedom and peace had finally caught the attention of the international community and that it would turn to other cases which still shame the world.

When the Cold War ended amid the ruins of the Berlin wall, the Maubere people believed that the changes, which were hoped would benefit all humanity, would eventually have some bearing on their own struggle. One by one, the Baltic Republics became independent sovereign nations, just like those of central Asia that regained their freedom and right to manage their own future - the same freedom and the same right to which

### East Timor inspires

Iraq's invasion of Kuwait was a carbon copy of the East Timor tragedy, from the arguments used to justify it, and the fate of the provisional assemblies representing a country which had just been attacked, to the repression and decimation of the people. The UN's reaction - its condemnation of the invasion, demand for the immediate, total and unconditional withdrawal of the invading forces, and recognition of Kuwait's sovereignty - was identical to the reaction of the UN General Assembly and its Security Council at the time of the invasion of East Timor on 7 December 1975. Up to this point, two aspects made the two events identical: the violation of international law and universal principles that recognise the right of all peoples to self-determination and national independence, and the reaction of the UN, depository of international law and universal principles, which condemned the illegal, forced annexation of another territory.

However, this is where the similarities end, because the reaction of the international community was not the same. In the case of East Timor, the world's vehement condemnation of Indonesia, contained in the first resolutions passed by the UN General Assembly, was gradually overshadowed by the economic interests of the countries calling themselves the champions of human rights and the fundamental rights of peoples.

While the ethnic, cultural and physical genocide perpetrated in East Timor by Indonesia was allowed to drag on for 17 years, with the international community waiting for Jakarta's generals to set the exact date for the extermination of the FALINTIL, so they could finally put the lid on what had been a difficult issue, in the case of Kuwait, because of the oil that was so precious to the West's companies, an international force, unprecedented in the history of the UN, came to the rescue of that small territory full of sand dunes and delivered it back to its people.

Today, while conflicts such as Chechnia and Bosnia reveal peoples' insurgence against foreign domination, they also demand that the international community realise that a New World Order cannot be achieved merely through the rhetoric of globalisation, which tends to assess standards of justice, freedom and peace in terms of the economic interests involved.

When a colonialist regime such as Indonesia is offered the chance to send its murdering troops to join the UN Peace-Keeping Forces, that regime has obviously won silence about the massacre of hundreds of thousands of East Timorese during the past almost 20 years of military occupation.

When a dictatorship that promotes dialogue in the case of other



conflicts in order to improve its image, and yet obstinately denies constructive dialogue to, not only its own people (in violation of international law) but others (as in the case of East Timor's forced annexation), that same regime obviously feels it has sufficient backing to continue, with a degree of impunity, its repressive practices against its own people as well as against the Maubere people. This is what happens when the Clinton Administration considers restoring aid for training Indonesian military personnel, even though this goes against the principles themselves which state that, apart from in exceptional circumstances, military assistance must not be given to any country that engages in gross violations of human rights.

Such is the case of Jakarta: it disregards international law and the principles enshrined in the UN Charter, and does not adhere to the principles of the Non-Aligned Movement, of which it is president, nor does it feel itself to be answerable to the Movement's member states about the violation of one of the basic principles of this organisation, encompassing a handful of troubled and confused third-world nations which have come to be influenced by the political cynicism of the West.

If violations of universal principles are simply accepted as being internal affairs of countries which are usually good areas for financial investment, political morality is far from leading the world to more egalitarian awareness, based on standards of justice for all, freedom for all, and peace for all.

I believe that, after nineteen and a half years of abuses and intolerable violation of human rights in East Timor, and militaristic expansionist ambition which has denied the Maubere people their basic right to choose their own destiny, this Inter-Parliamentary Conference is not going to waste time merely establishing whether the East Timorese are entitled to that right and whether Indonesia has violated it.

Indonesia has almost totally disregarded the resolutions which, at the end of the day, are repetitions of so many others - so many that the regime believes that sooner or later "they'll just get tired of it", and hopes that the following year the number of signatories will be smaller and the resolutions less convincing.

East Timor and its people have been particularly affected by the territory's geographical location, inside a real ring of fire between Indonesia and Australia. The latter allows Indonesia's generals to become brave murderers and turns its own leaders and politicians into their accomplices. Many Western countries are enjoying investment facilities, profits from the purchase and sale of technology and even war equipment, at the expense of the ethnic and cultural genocide of the Timorese.

The Maubere people would accept its own extermination in the

interests of upholding international law and the universal standards of freedom, justice and peace, and would face the consequences alone, encouraged only by the solidarity of peoples and by the sense of justice of men and women of good will, as attested to by this Inter-Parliamentary Conference on East Timor.

However, although its burden becomes heavier with each passing year, and in spite of all the tears and disappointments, reflection and pain (that any people fighting for freedom and independence have to go through) the Maubere people never despaired to the point of giving up the fight! The people of East Timor have their sights set on the future, and the future has, since the beginning of time, meant hope, the future has always held the promise of changes, and the future will always bring us the right moment for the victory of truth over error, and of justice over crime.

I have already said that Jakarta's error is not to be found in all these years of military, repressive occupation of East Timor. Jakarta's error was the act of invasion on 7 December 1975, - the official date which does not erase the vandalism of the border violations from September onwards of the same year. Out of this error, justified by the lies which the international political system of the time used in order to defend the interests of the super powers (former US Secretary of State, James Baker, even admitted recently that, with regard to the invasion of East Timor, the US had made mistakes, and continues to do so), another political error was born, which today frightens Indonesian generals: the fatal lie that the Timorese people freely chose integration.

The former Foreign Minister, Mochtar Kusumatdja, stated not long ago that they could not agree to a referendum because they would lose credibility, they would lose face. Indonesia's generals are still not intelligent enough to admit to political and military defeat by a small, ill-equipped guerrilla force, on a meagre patch of land containing half a million people, and they try at all costs to include East Timor in the chronic problem of "kesatuan e persatuan indonesia". They go to great lengths to convince the Indonesian people that East Timor poses a threat to the unity of the Indonesian state. This is the only political weapon which enables Jakarta's generals to carry on lying to the Indonesian people about a situation which, they know themselves, is going to end badly for them.

Indonesian society is gradually realising that the case of East Timor is a case of international law, and no longer an "internal affair of Indonesia", as government propaganda has been claiming. Gradually, our brothers the Indonesians, eager for democracy and justice, have begun to understand that their own government has been telling lie upon lie about the problem of East Timor.

For as long as the regime is dominated by the military, from



parliament right down to the villages, it is unlikely that Jakarta will ever acknowledge that it cannot regard globalisation merely in terms of economic benefits, or as a phenomenon granting it the right to ignore what it refers to as the "interference" of foreign governments and to use the threat of economic retaliation against them should they dare to raise the East Timor case.

If, however, the West refrained from using double standards with such total insensitivity, Indonesia alone would not be so arrogant. Nevertheless, we believe that the ageing Indonesian regime will soon be finding fewer places to turn to. The wheels of history carry within them the embryos of renovation, and the rusty cogs of yesterday will inevitably be substituted by new parts belonging to a scheme for global transformation of the region.

The East Timorese have been shouldering the burden of resistance to the most sadistic colonialist power since the Second World War. In the year of its 50th anniversary of independence, Indonesia knows that its hands are stained with Maubere blood - blood that debases its own history of emancipation from Dutch colonialism.

The problem lies with Indonesia's generals, who were not made to reflect, but trained to buy weapons, equip armies and plan attacks. These are the men who hold the reins of power in Indonesia, along with major consortiums that are in as much debt as those of any third-world country but which are saved by the country's immense resources - resources which fill the coffers of a small elite of conglomerates at the expense of the great majority. Fifteen million people in Indonesia live below the poverty line. It makes us want to shout out to Suharto to look after those 15 million Indonesians and leave in peace the people of East Timor, whose population is being decimated by the occupying forces.

However, the vicious circle of politics leads us to reconsider outside pressure as a means of persuading the Jakarta regime to change its attitude. The Indonesian solidarity movement put it like this: the invasion of East Timor was an adventure for Jakarta's militaristic regime. If the Indonesian people had been governed by a democratic regime, an Indonesian parliament would never have agreed to the annexation of a territory by force, in violation of the fundamental principles of the Bandung Conference, which created the Non-Aligned Movement! It is a shame that the countries that champion human rights close their eyes, not just to the repressive political situation in Indonesia but also to the violation of international law in the case of East Timor. This is where the international community's responsibility comes in!

### *Distinguished Participants,*

We trust that this responsibility will be in the forefront of the minds of all participants and that this Conference will look closely into the current legal-political status of East Timor.

It is time that a solution to the problem was found. It is time that Jakarta learnt that the case of East Timor can no longer be viewed as a separatist struggle. East Timor has never been a part of Indonesia, just as it has never belonged to Portugal. As was the case with Portugal in the past, Indonesia today maintains a merely physical military and political-administrative presence in the territory, as the colonial power.

In a few days from now, the all-inclusive intra-Timorese dialogue will take place. To think that the East Timorese are likely to reach some form of reconciliation in Austria is to suggest that the cause of East Timor is nothing more than a problem of differences amongst the East Timorese themselves. If in fact the cause of East Timor's problems resides in the fact of Indonesia having forcibly annexed the territory, then of what importance is reconciliation amongst East Timorese? We say this because, for positive results to be ensured, any solution to the problem, any discussion of the issues, any formulation of new ideas must grow out of consideration of the political situation of the territory. One cannot escape from this. Nor could anyone with any sense applaud the efforts of Galvco de Melo in offering Portuguese language courses to the Indonesians (whilst in East Timor itself use of the language is banned), in encouraging Portuguese youth to perform folk songs and dances in Indonesia, in selling wine, sardines and Portuguese olive oil to Indonesia as significant "confidence building measures".

It is pointless to imagine that a meeting of Timorese integrationists and supporters of the resistance can launch ideas such as respect for Human Rights in East Timor. Resolutions on Human Rights in East Timor, from those passed by the United Nations to the European Community, from those of the European Union to individual governments, have consistently failed to exert any influence upon the Indonesian regime. It is also pointless to dream that the meeting could result in demands for a withdrawal of or even a reduction in numbers of the forces of occupation in the territory. The integrationists make pronouncements in defence of the official position of the colonial regime which they serve, as functionaries of Golkar and of the government from which they enjoy handsome privileges, at the expense of the blood of their own brothers and sisters who they have helped to arrest, torture and murder, only then to deny that any of this has taken place.

If, by some miracle which defies all logic, Antonio Parada, Xavier do Amaral, Abilio Osorio or Chico Lopes were to address any of



the above issues, it is unthinkable to imagine that Indonesia's generals would be immediately predisposed to agree with them. As far as Jakarta is concerned, these Timorese who have proven their willingness to repeat the government's rhetoric, are mere cassettes. For as long as they are able to reproduce intelligible sounds, they are played. When they are worn-out, they are discarded. They are of no importance as human beings. They are important merely for the services they render to the government and only for as long as they are of use to the same. There are numerous examples of Timorese, formerly hailed as indispensable figures in terms of East Timor's integration, who, realising their mistakes, later refused to continue participating actively in genocide, and who are now failures in the eyes of the occupier.

For a long time Jakarta has attempted to sow the seeds of political discord amongst the Timorese, drawing the attention of the world to this contention and away from the facts of its military annexation which has cost the lives of around 300,000 Timorese. Indonesia's Centre for Strategic Studies was indeed clever in its selection of the players, however, as with the entire farce it is promoting, Indonesia is all too aware that it is its own credibility which is at stake.

It is our hope that none of those Timorese participating in the meeting in Austria will forget for one moment that the problem of East Timor is a case of the violation of International Law and of the denial of the universal principles of justice, freedom and peace, and that they acknowledge that only full recognition of the substance of the problem will lead to a solution.

It is also to be hoped that the Timorese participants in the meeting will, in this once in a life time opportunity, act upon their responsibilities as citizens of East Timor and that they will be inspired with the courage and fighting spirit of our ancestors in order to affirm to the world that we are a People with a Homeland which for the past 19 and a half years the complacency of western governments has allowed to be desecrated. For the first time in our lives, may we prove our worthiness as the sons and daughters of our People! By taking a stance of which we can be proud and which will not insult the combative spirit of our small half-island nation, we can be sure of a rapid solution being found in the interests of our people's well-being.

The National Council of Maubere Resistance, along with Fretilin, and with the support of UDT and of all of the nationalist resistance forces such as Renetil, AST and other independent groups, declare that in an independent East Timor, no more Timorese blood will be shed in the process of national reconstruction.

To all of our Timorese brothers and sisters who, motivated by

personal ambitions, have seen in integration a means of improving their lot in physical/material terms and failing to take into account the destruction of the spirit and the historic and cultural uniqueness of our people, we declare that no acts of hatred or revenge will be perpetrated, and that they will be treated with tolerance. It has been the war, provoked by Indonesia's expansionist ambitions, which has divided us, and I truly believe that we Timorese are sufficiently mature to realise true reconciliation in an independent Homeland, consciously closing the book on the dark pages of our history for the purpose of working, hand in hand, for the future of our small Nation and for that of our children.

This is the promise of true reconciliation, just as it is also the deepest desire of our People and the most sacred demand of our Homeland. It would be our symbolic 'hemu ran', an act signifying fraternity/brotherhood, taught to us by the ancestors who also passed down to us the sacred ideal of the Homeland expressed in the words 'fatuk no rai, uma no ahi'!

#### *Dignified Participants,*

We would like to express our appreciation to His Excellency, the Secretary General of the United Nations, for the firmness with which he dealt with the question of East Timor during his recent visit to Indonesia.

Amidst the psychological fatigue common to any nation whose resistance has spanned 20 years and, more tragically still, which has been forced to rely entirely upon its own capacity to resist, the Maubere people are inspired with new hope, renewed faith and full confidence that the United Nations, as the depository of the fundamental rights of man and as guardian of the universal principles of justice, freedom, peace and International Law, will not permit a case such as that of East Timor to be purely and simply relegated to the category of an internal problem of the government of Indonesia.

However, in order to support the United Nations in the performance of its role in terms of conflict resolution, a clear and firm stance on the part of the world's politicians is of vital importance! And today more than ever before, all political stances adopted in defence of law, freedom, justice and peace are crucial in forcing Indonesia's colonial regime to understand that Human Rights are universal and, as a member of the United Nations, that it must abide by International Law.

They are more crucial now than ever before, precisely because the UN Secretary General himself has affirmed that a solution can come only from the UN General Assembly, thus robbing Indonesia of its delusion that reconciliation is synonymous with integration. Indonesia has taken advantage of the deferment of debate on East Timor in the UN General Assembly to display its arrogance and defiance to the interna-



tional community. Indonesia has gone to all lengths, using to maximum advantage the influence it has acquired as the recipient of investment from the Third World, to earn itself a positive image in the case of the problem of Cambodia, advancing its position as a member of the UN Security Council, even proposing itself as a protagonist in the search for a solution to the conflict in the former Yugoslavia.

The UN Secretary General was emphatic when he reminded an Indonesian journalist who was interviewing him on a number of international problems that Indonesia has one of its own on its hands, i.e. East Timor, about which he was not being asked. A reminder to Jakarta that East Timor cannot be considered merely a domestic issue.

Now is the appropriate time for this Conference to adopt firm and clear resolutions. The International Court of Justice in the Hague has the case of the Timor Gap on its hands. We believe that the integrity, professionalism and spirit of justice which are the foundations of the credibility which the Judges of the International Court of Justice have earned for themselves, will determine the outcome of this litigation, brought against Australia by Portugal.

We have no doubt that, despite the fact that it is not a member of the International Court of Justice, Indonesia and its agents are making efforts to exert their corrupting influence in the corridors of the Court, as they have done with numerous human rights experts in Geneva and UN diplomats in New York. This is the pattern of Indonesia's lobby worldwide and one of the most prominent features of Javanese culture.

#### *Dignified Participants.*

What, therefore, is the solution? Any solution to the East Timor case must attempt to respond to two objectives: a - recognition of the international nature of the problem and b- protection of the interests of all involved interested parties.

Jakarta has always resisted recognising the Timorese people as an interested party, despite their being directly involved in the conflict. The intra-Timorese meeting represents, therefore, an important step forward, examined from the point of view of the necessity for Indonesia to officially recognise the Resistance as an element possessing the right to be consulted and, by extension, acknowledging the inappropriateness of the Indonesian generals' use of the GPK (security disruptor gangs) stamp.

If in the defence of what constitutes the substance of the problem, the need for certain norms in the implementation of the solution is foreseen, a referendum is the target to be aimed at. Jakarta has consistently refused to consider the possibility of a referendum, firstly because of the dictatorial nature of the government under which elections have never

been free and, secondly, because it is a colonialistic regime and a consultation of this kind which carries the risk of confirming it as such is unacceptable.

Whatever the solution is, if it is not the freely expressed will of the People of East Timor, it cannot be considered a genuine, let alone lasting, solution. A solution can only be considered just if it is the expression of the sovereign will of the people of the territory. And in this era of worldwide democratic transformation, Jakarta must begin to include a referendum as the most free and democratic form of decision-making in its political dictionary.

We admire greatly the political courage of the governments of those countries which, having recently passed from being dictatorships to democratic regimes, have invited international observers to attest to the free and honest nature of their first general elections. In the case of East Timor, a referendum must be supervised by the United Nations, given that the Indonesia regime clearly fails to understand the true meaning of democracy in its universal sense.

We are within our rights to demand an immediate referendum! This revindication is legitimate since the nature of the problem points to, even demands it!

However, considering various aspects and essentially respecting the democratic principles which are the backbone of the implementation of a referendum, because we respect the interests of Jakarta represented by the interests of the group of Timorese who desire integration, CNRM has formulated a plan which would allow for the safe implementation of political mechanisms aimed at ensuring a situation of political calm and responsibility on the part of all Timorese and essentially on the part of parties and mass organisations, regardless of political tendency or ideology.

Over the past 19 and a half years, Jakarta has shown its bad faith, manipulating the world with its lies and empty promises. The need for international supervision via the mechanisms of the United Nations system is urgent. Portugal's participation in its capacity as administering power will serve to pave the way for the reestablishment of diplomatic relations between Portugal and Indonesia.

CNRM's Peace Plan which has the full support of its constituent elements, Fretilin and of all social forces in East Timor such as the Church, Youth represented by Renetil and AST and other groups existing in the territory, has defined a series of phases which are expected to respond to the unfolding needs of a truly honest and fair solution process.

The combination of the measures proposed in Phase I serve specifically to create an atmosphere of individual and collective security



for all who, at that moment, are living on Timorese soil. Only the presence of the United Nations and of International Organisations can guarantee stability and security, can ensure the realisation of concrete measures on the part of both Indonesia and of the Timorese resistance. What we most fear is the provocation/intervention of salaried agents of the intelligence apparatus, encouraged by the occupying military authorities to continually destabilise the situation.

Over the past 20 years of Indonesian military occupation, Indonesia has armed large numbers of East Timorese who have become as murderous as the Indonesian generals and who, on a daily basis, act as the spearhead of the activities of the intelligence agents, intimidating, persecuting and arresting the people. As with all colonial regimes, the occupying forces have instigated crimes amongst the natives of the territory in order to then justify the continuing deployment of their troops in the territory.

This will be the period of true reconciliation. A sensitive and extremely decisive period in terms of future stages of the process. And it is in this period that the need for a climate of confidence and, above all, for mechanisms which inspire and are conducive to this climate of confidence must be seriously taken account of.

The dismantling of the secret police apparatus is an important condition, as is the withdrawal of Indonesian armed forces. The disarming of all natives of East Timor, formerly provided with weapons by Indonesia, is a precondition of the disarmament of the Falintil.

Such control of the situation, exercised by the United Nations, or by peace keeping forces, possibly originating from Portugal, would be the surest means of burying once and for all the spectre of a civil war, the subject of much Indonesian propaganda to date. We have never believed in the possibility of another civil war breaking out amongst the East Timorese. It is Jakarta which is constantly referring to this possibility, and therefore the most secure solution is the one we are proposing.

Phase II is the period of the readjustment of consciences, the period of political experiments, of technical and professional preparation of the people, of affirmation of socio-economic and cultural potentialities.

The supporters of integration will enjoy the same rights and be subjected to the same obligations as those defenders of the right of our people to self-determination and national independence. We do not deny that tempers are inflamed, because the violence and brutality have been exclusively the practice of the criminal forces of occupation and those in their pay.

We understand the reasons behind a rejection of an immediate referendum, and that the results could be influenced by these inflamed

tempers. It is our desire that our adversaries enjoy the same opportunities as us, and time will not be the only factor in determining the mood of the people, but also our own acts, in defence of true reconciliation, will be proof of our political good-will in solving the problem of East Timor in the light of International Law and according to the norms applied by the UN in solving other identical problems.

It is time that Jakarta realised that dialogue is not just an idea which one proposes to the Cambodians or to the Croats and the Serbs, but a principle to be applied, particularly in view of Indonesia's holding of the presidency of the Non-Aligned Movement! It is time that Jakarta realised that colonialism is any form of oppression perpetrated by one nation over another and that the fight against colonialism is one of the objectives of the Non-Aligned Movement. It is time that Jakarta reflected that its fifty years of independence carry the stain of the blood of some 300,000 Timorese, victims of the repression of a war which is now entering its twentieth year and which has been imposed upon a small and defenceless neighbouring people!

We do not demand to be considered the winners in this war, which would only shame Indonesia. This presumption defies all reason. Accepting one's errors has never been a source of shame to anyone, and is in fact an act which affirms a person's worthiness of respect. Global transformations are no historical accident. Neither are changes for the better, leading to progress. Accidents are attempts to halt the wheels of history, and when these attempts threaten to abusively defy time itself, they are called obsession and arrogance.

Jakarta, on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of national independence, has an opportunity to make the event an historic one by heralding changes which correspond to the rhetoric of globalisation and a New World Order and which are consistent with the United Nations' target of eradicating colonialism by the year 2000. As President of the Non-Aligned Movement and of a State which we respect, and whose fiftieth year of independence we join in celebrating, we appeal to President Suharto for an act of political courage.

Independence is the fundamental right of all peoples of the world. And President Suharto is well aware of this! Our brothers, the people of Indonesia, expect from their President political acts which will result in them being immortalised in history as a great nation of the Third World, poised as it is to face a future of great progress, where democracy, social justice and peace are the parameters of Indonesian society and an example to neighbouring peoples and states, including to the Sovereign State of East Timor!



#### *Dignified Participants:*

We know that Jakarta is not yet prepared to recognise that it is time for political change. Only President Suharto himself knows when the need for such political change will be acknowledged! The CNRM is determined to take all measures necessary to counter the obstacles which Jakarta has thrown in our path.

The Special Representative of CNRM, our beloved brother in the struggle and tireless fighter for the liberation of our people, will continue in his efforts to bring about the gradual implementation of CNRM's program aimed at the creation of favourable socio-political and economic conditions, under the indispensable supervision of the United Nations. And these efforts will continue until Indonesia accepts that East Timor is a non self-governing territory with the right to self-determination and to national independence.

In this we will be intransigent and of this, we have greater conviction than Indonesia's generals! Personally, I believe that the Timorese people are ready to assume their responsibilities! The Maubere people, for their part, are convinced that this Inter-Parliamentary Conference on East Timor, being held for the first time in Lisbon, represents a decisive step forward, as an extension and the result of a long string of magnificent actions, unsurpassable in their zeal and dedication to the Timorese cause, carried out by the international solidarity movement.

We have faith, because you have given us faith, we have hope, because you have helped us to keep it alive. And we know that, with you, with all the men and women of good will world wide, WE WILL WIN!

Long live International Solidarity!

Long live the Just Struggle of the Oppressed!

THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES, WITHOUT RESPITE,

ON EVERY FRONT!

TO RESIST IS TO WIN!

On behalf of CNRM

(signed)

Kay Rala Xanana Gusmao

Commander of the Falintil

Cipinang Prison, 20 May 1995.

#### **Defence Plea of Xanana Gusmao**

*These are excerpts from the 28-page defence plea, hand-written in Portuguese, that was presented in the Dili district court on 17 May 1993 by the defendant, Xanana Gusmao. After reading the first two pages, the court ordered him to stop. These translated excerpts were made available to the press and others on 21 May 1993 by TAPOL.*

First of all, I would like to thank you for the opportunity you have afforded me to express myself freely, without coercion of any kind. This is the appropriate moment for me to explain everything. I hope that Indonesian intellectuals will understand my frame of mind at this moment when I am making use of my freedom of expression as a result of the rights which I have. I hope that the new Indonesian generation, or to be more precise, the Indonesian youth, will appreciate the importance of the law on freedom both as a fundamental aspect of human life today and in the modern society in which we live.

I hope finally that the international community will appreciate the worth of all my declarations, considering the time and place in which they were made.

I am resistance commander Xanana Gusmao, leader of the Maubere resistance against the cowardly and shameful invasion of the 7 December 1975 and the criminal and illegal occupation of East Timor for the last 17 years.

On 22 November last year in Denpasar, I signed a document in which I affirmed that according to international law, I continue to be, like all Timorese, a Portuguese citizen and before my own conscience I am a citizen of East Timor. It is in these terms that I reject the competence of any Indonesian court to try me, and particularly the jurisdiction of this court which has been imposed by force of arms and crimes against my homeland, East Timor.

I believe that the international press has not failed to notice the massive political stage-managing has occurred. In case this has gone unnoticed, I now want to draw the attention of everyone to the fact that I feel like a foreigner in my own land. In prison at Polwil [the regional police command] I am completely surrounded by Indonesians; officers from BAIS [the Strategic Intelligence Agency] and men from Kopassus [the red-beret elite troops] are my warders. I asked for a visit from the Bishop



and they sent me an Indian priest who is a defender of integration.

Here in this so-called court, I see only Indonesians and above all, Indonesian military from Kopassus and Bais. According to Indonesian law, trials of this nature are, or should take place in, public. Every time that I enter this courtroom, the public that I see are these same military authorities, some of whom have been the main actors in my case, throughout my imprisonment. The Timorese, my compatriots, are out in the street under strict surveillance. This is the blatant rule of the occupier. This is the display of foreign oppression, foreign domination which flaunts the arrogant contempt of the colonisers.

The question of East Timor is the responsibility of the international community, a question of international law. It is a case in which universal principles are at stake, a case where the decolonisation norms of the UN have been manipulated, a case where Indonesia has disregarded the resolutions of the UN, a case therefore of the flagrant violation of the principles of the Non-Aligned Movement, and of the universal pattern of law, peace and justice.

This court claims that it is trying me for crimes committed against the Indonesian state and for the illegal possession of firearms. I know that everything has been arranged for me to be acquitted...

The ones who should be standing before an international court are, in the first place;

- the Indonesian government for crimes committed in the past 17 years in East Timor;
- the US administration which gave the green light to the invasion on 7 December 1975 and have since given military aid and political support for Indonesia's genocide in East Timor;
- the governments of Australia and western Europe for their policy of complicity towards Indonesia;
- and finally, the Portuguese government for its grave irresponsibility in the decolonisation of East Timor.

The UN recognises as legitimate all means of opposition to the colonial presence in any part of the world where people are fighting for liberation. My struggle and the resistance of my people and of Falintil [the armed forces of the East Timorese resistance movement, the CNRM, the National Council of Maubere Resistance] should be placed in this context, standing above Indonesian law.

Until this very moment, the UN does not recognise Indonesian sovereignty over East Timor, a sovereignty which was imposed by the means of force, by the practice of violence and the systematic violation of the most fundamental human rights.

This court mentioned the date 17 December 1975 as the day of the formation of a provisional government and a local assembly. And since all the Indonesians have forgotten, it is my duty to recall here the tragic day, 7 December of that same year. The 7 December 1975 which witnessed the cowardly and shameful Indonesian invasion, the day on which Indonesian troops indiscriminately massacred the defenceless population of Dili, causing thousands of deaths among the elderly, women and children, including an Australian journalist. The so-called Indonesian provisional government was formed over the corpses of the Timorese massacred between the 7 and the 17 of December of that year.

A government which was established to the accompaniment of the sound the sea and land shelling of the defenceless population, to the sound of advancing tanks and canons, can such a government claim any juridical standing? In my opinion, it has the same standing as the advance of the Iraqi troops in Kuwait, the same dimension as the advance of Russian tanks into Kabul, the same character as the Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia.

...

The court said that Fretilin was opposed to the referendum, should the people choose integration. However, quoting the so-called petition, the court mentioned that Arnaldo de Araujo, Guilherme Goncalves, and the president, General Suharto, convinced Parliament to approve in haste integration without any referendum. After all, who was it who did not want a referendum, Fretilin or Indonesia?

On behalf of which people was that so-called petition signed? Today, the Indonesian government can show the world its de facto control of the territory, and claims to be developing the territory which is occupying, while at the same time condemning the ones who were not able to do this, namely Portugal. Is it that because Portugal failed to develop East Timor for four hundred years, we Timorese have had to pay for the errors of one coloniser while also paying for the crimes of the other coloniser?

I have been lectured a lot about the backwardness of Portuguese colonialism as if I had not lived under that colonialism. They want to show me the development in East Timor as if this were just a matter of statistics, to be compared with the Portuguese colonial period. I should ask whether colonialism can be quantified as good or bad.

...

I have been in contact with Irian Jayan officers who spoke to me about the great Indonesian family and I was disgusted with these men. I met a Sumatran, a translator from BAIS who speaks Portuguese and had nothing but praise for his Javanese brothers, and I felt repulsion. I have met



officers from Sulawesi who told me about Indonesian "standards" and I felt an emptiness inside me.

In Polwil where they try to flatter me with exaggerated attention, the inscriptions written by the prisoners, my companions, on the prison walls, remind me constantly of the sufferings of many of my compatriots, victims of all kinds of torture and also remind me constantly of the unforgettable 12 November 1991. What did the peaceful demonstration of 12 November want? To remind Jakarta and to remind the world of the need for dialogue, to remind Jakarta and remind the world that there is something profoundly wrong in East Timor.

Were those responsible for these murders ever brought before this court to answer for their crimes? What is the worth of a law which closes its eyes to the ghastly crime of 12 November? Which moral value, which pattern of justice, do the Indonesian uphold, to declare criminals to be heroes and condemn the victims?

On the day of my capture, in the meeting I had with General Try Sutrisno, I mentioned the question of dialogue with representatives of the people of East Timor. One of the twenty generals who were present and were congratulating each other for the imminence of their easy victory, asked me, furiously: "Rakyat mana?" [What people?] and when I answered: "Let's have a referendum", the Indonesian generals had to swallow their own arrogance. On the next day, 21 November - I was already in Denpasar - when the wife of the local panglima [military commander], surprised by the extent of the support I had, said, "after all, many people support him", a high-ranking officer said, "possibly all the people of East Timor."

Mr Pieter Kooijmans was the rapporteur of the UN sent to East Timor with the agreement of Jakarta to investigate in loco violations of human rights in the territory, violations which had always been denied by Indonesia at the UN. During his visit, a massacre was perpetrated in cold blood....

The corpses have disappeared to this day or rather, were thrown into mass graves. Where? Only the forces of occupation know. Many of the murderers are present in this room, men from Kopassus, intel [intelligence] men, the men in whose hands the entire political life in East Timor and also of Indonesia rests.

What or who are the Indonesian forces of occupation afraid of? Of the defenceless population, of a population that you, gentlemen, say are

satisfied with integration? Whom do you want to terrorise?

In the UN, Jakarta cannot suppress the fact that Portugal is an interested party in the solution of the problem. And so, Jakarta should also never forget that the Maubere people [the people of East Timor] have already demonstrated that the idea, the objective for which they have fought and resisted to this day can never die. People die but ideas stay alive. If the Indonesian government does not know this, BAIS knows it very well. The witness, Saturnino da Costa Belo, is a clear example of the heroism of these people. The farce of the hastily drafted medical certificate stating that Saturnino was ill\* should make you blush with shame, all you gentlemen here present, because you know very well that the question rests here with you.

The Indonesian generals do not care about the spirit, the conscience of the people. They are quickly satisfied when we just do what they want. I don't know if this is because of naivety or because of the culture of their military training.

I know that BAIS made the necessary arrangements for me to be spared the death penalty and if I were to praise integration, I would be acquitted.

I remember once while in Jakarta, in order to make a change from recording all my movements in jail, they took me handcuffed for a tour of the city and they showed me the gold of Monas, the national monument of Indonesia. I felt like shouting to my warders that I would never sell my soul for the crest of gold Monas, and still less would I ever sell my people. I cannot betray the hope of my people to one day live free and independent.

I can never recognise the criminal occupation of East Timor only in order to be able to live for a few more years. My struggle is superior to my own life. The people of East Timor have sacrificed their lives and continue to suffer.

I continue to recall the need for dialogue, with the participation of the East Timorese. I have always said to all those who wanted to listen to me that the Maubere people don't like the word, 'pembangunan' [development]. The problem is that it is not free. Freedom is what my people value, the aim of their struggle. Dom Ximenes Belo put it very clearly when he wrote to the UN Secretary-General: "We are dying as a people and as a nation."

All the proceedings connected with my trial are a matter for BAIS and Kopassus, and their officers fill this room, watching everything and everybody. Jakarta should be ashamed of its criminal behaviour in East Timor and should, since long, have recognised that it has lost in East



Timor.

The Indonesian generals should be made to realise that they have been defeated in East Timor. Here, today, as the commander of Falintil, the glorious armed forces of national liberation of East Timor, I acknowledge military defeat on the ground. I am not ashamed to say so. On the contrary, I am proud of the fact that a small guerrilla army was able to resist a large nation like Indonesia, a regional power which in a cowardly fashion invaded us and want to dominate us by the law of terror and crime, by the law of violence, persecution, prison, torture and murder.

The moment has come for Jakarta to recognise its political defeat on the ground. I don't know if it was to impress me that they placed armed tentaras [soldiers] on the route from Polwil to the court.

Minister Ali Alatas in a speech last January said the following: "If we don't accept, if Jakarta, won't accept a referendum, it is not because we are afraid of losing the vote but because many people have already suffered so much." The ambassador to the UN told me: "The problem is that dialogue as it is conceived by us (and therefore by Jakarta) has its parameters. We do not accept a referendum." In 1983, during the ceasefire, the then Majors [name illegible] and Gatot told us clearly: "We don't accept a referendum because we know that all the people belong to Fretilin!"

Who is afraid of a referendum? Why are they afraid of the referendum? I am not afraid of a referendum. And if today, under international supervision, the Maubere were to choose integration, I would make a genuine appeal to my companions in the bush to lay down their arms and I would offer my head to be decapitated in public.

Whoever is afraid of the referendum is afraid of the truth.

Why is there all that military apparatus in front of this disgusting court? Why are their armed soldiers posted along the route with their arms held at the ready?

I appeal to the new generation of Indonesians to understand that the people of East Timor attach much more value to freedom, to justice and to peace than to the development which is carried out here with the assistance of Australia, the United States and other European countries who maintain close economic relations with Jakarta.

I appeal to the people of Indonesia to understand that according to universal principles and international law, East Timor is considered to be a non-autonomous territory in accordance with the norms that govern decolonisation. I appeal to the Indonesian people to understand that East Timor is not a threat to Indonesia or a factor threatening Indonesia's

security. The story they tell you, that East Timor is communist, is old [stale]. We don't want to dismember Indonesia. The fact is that East Timor was never part of Indonesia.

I appeal to the international community to understand that it is time to show that the New World Order is about to begin. This requires acts that will bring to an end the situation inherited from the past.

No agreement can be reached between a prisoner and his warders.

As a political prisoner in the hands of the occupiers of my country, it is of no consequence at all to me if they pass a death sentence here today. They have killed more than one third of the defenceless population of East Timor. They are killing my people and I am not worth more than the heroic struggle of my people who, because they are a small and weak people, have always been subjected to foreign rule.

(signed) X. Gusmao,  
Member of CNRM  
Commander of Falintil.  
Dili, 27 March 1993





Other resources available from the  
East Timor Action Network

- *In Cold Blood: The Massacre of East Timor*. 55-minute British video including the Nov. 12, 1991 massacre. (\$25)
- *Indonesia's Forgotten War: The Hidden History of East Timor*. By John Taylor. The most comprehensive and recent book on East Timor. (\$20)
- *Telling: East Timor Personal Testimonies*. By Michele Turner. A collection of testimonies of East Timorese from World War Two to the present. (\$20)
- *Massacre: The Story of East Timor*. 40 minute audiotape of award-winning radio documentary by Amy Goodman and Allan Nairn, who were present at the Santa Cruz massacre. (\$10)
- Special March 1994 issue of the *New Internationalist* magazine devoted to East Timor. Excellent and up to date survey of the major issues involved. (\$3.50)
- "Free East Timor" button with photo of young Timorese girl. (\$1.25)
- T-shirts: "East Timor: Indonesia's Killing Field," or "To Resist is to Win" with photo. Both say "End US Support of Indonesian Genocide" on back. Specify M, L, or XL. (\$13)
- Postcards with photos of Timorese life. (\$1 for set of six)
- "Timor Leste/East Timor" cast metal key chains made by Timorese refugees in Portugal. (\$5)
- East Timor Documents compilation. Compilation of press reports on East Timor from around the world. (\$10 per bi-monthly issue)
- There are a number of internet resources available on East Timor. Ask for addresses and for information on how to subscribe to the East Timor electronic mailing list.

Please add 20% for postage and order from National office.

East Timor Action Network / US,  
P.O. Box 1182, White Plains, NY 10602  
Tel: (914) 428-7299  
Fax: (914) 428-7383  
email: cscheiner@igc.apc.org

more deaths. Videotape of the massacre was seen around the world and focused the international spotlight on the continuing tragedy of East Timor.

In the summer of 1994, the bishop of East Timor stated that, "It has never been worse here. No one can speak. No one can demonstrate. People disappear. East Timor is an island of total fear and terror. We ask the world to understand this and never forget that we are here, struggling for life everyday." Since that time, the oppression of the Timorese people has increased further. Recently, military-sponsored death squads have begun operation in East Timor, killing and abducting scores of people in just the first few months of 1995.

The East Timor Action Network (ETAN) was formed immediately following the Santa Cruz Massacre, and is a decentralized, grassroots, national coalition with local chapters throughout the US. Along with an increasing number of solidarity and human rights groups around the world, ETAN has helped to greatly expand the awareness of the tragedy of East Timor. With the determined struggle of the Timorese continuing to grab headlines, there is currently unprecedented international support for East Timor.

But there is still much to be done. The Indonesian generals who oppress East Timor (and Indonesia as well) still refuse to give East Timor its freedom and will continue to do so until international pressure forces them to. Please contact ETAN to find out how you can learn more about East Timor and, more importantly, how you can help the Timorese achieve their goal of a free and independent East Timor.

Since the Indonesian invasion of 1975, the people of East Timor have suffered one of the worst catastrophes of this terrible century. The East Timor Action Network has succeeded in bringing this awful tragedy to the awareness of the public and Congress. Its work has made it possible to hope that the people of East Timor may at last enjoy the right of self-determination for which they have struggled with such courage and dedication.

-- Noam Chomsky --



**"Indonesia's generals are still not intelligent enough to admit to political and military defeat by a small, ill-equipped guerilla force, which has been shouldering the burden of resistance to the most sadistic colonialist power since the Second World War."**

Xanana Gusmao has led the resistance against the Indonesian occupation of East Timor since 1979. Widely revered by the Timorese for many years, since his capture in 1992 Xanana has attained a Nelson Mandela-like status, with even the Indonesian generals acknowledging that "probably all" Timorese support him. He continues to lead the political resistance from his prison cell in Indonesia. This pamphlet contains two important statements by Xanana. One consists of excerpts from his defense statement at his trial (which he was prevented from reading), and the other is an address to the Inter-Parliamentary Conference held in Portugal in June of 1995. Both statements were smuggled out from prison.



**East Timor Action Network / San Francisco Bay Area**  
PO Box 420832, San Francisco, CA 94142  
(415) 285-1971: e-mail: gknehans@sfsu.edu



**KAMPANYE**  
**JUSTISA BA TIMOR LOROSA'E**

**LIVRINHO ATU FO HATENE**

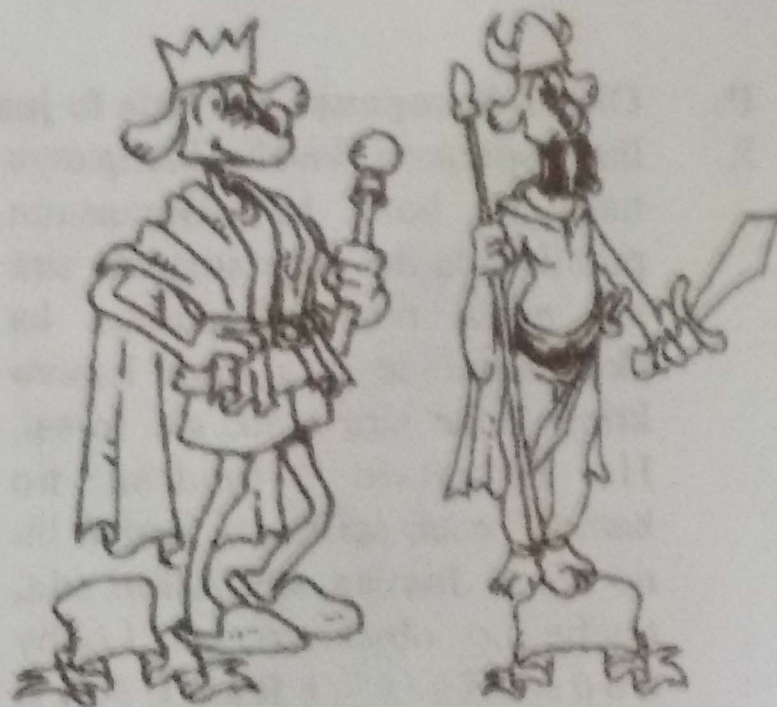




## KAMPANYE "JUSTISA BA TIMOR LESTE"

**P: SAIDA MAK KAMPANYE "JUSTISA BA TIMOR LESTE"?**

**R:** Kampanye Justisa ba Timor Leste ninia objektivo mak atu lori ba tribunal "ulun-nain" kriminozo kontra umanidade iha Timor Leste hahu husi tinan 1975 mai oin. Ida nee inklui mos General Indonesia nian nebe planeia invazaun iha tinan 1975 no mos lider mundial sira nebe hatene no legaliza, suporta no treina tropa Indonesia iha tempo invazaun. Kampanye nee nia target mos sei ba "ulun-nain" tinan 1999 nebe estraga Timor Leste.



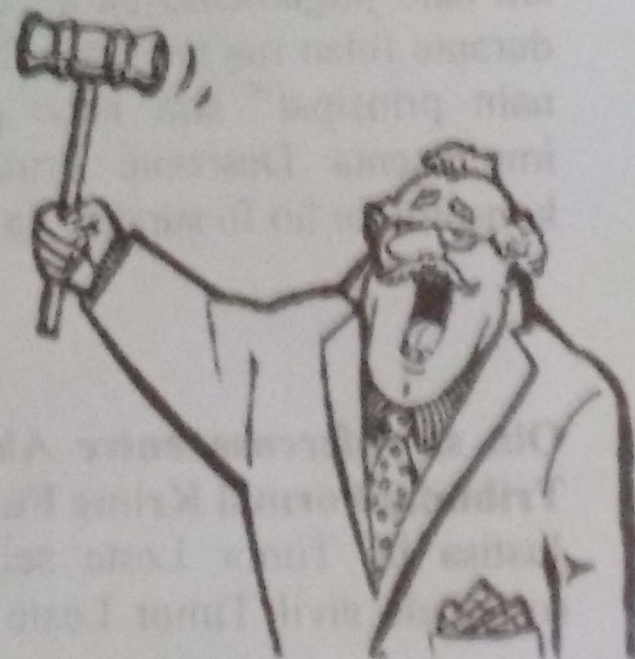
**P: Objektivu husi kampanye nee saida?**

**R:** Objektivu geral mak atu kontinua Advokasia ba justisa atu selu krime funu no krime hasoru umanidade nebe akontese iha Timor Leste.

Objektivu husi kampanye nee atu hari Investigasaun Internasional Independente ida no proseso julgamento ida nebe bele halo investigasaun sira kona ba krime funu no krime hasoru umanidade iha Timor Leste, identifika ema importante nebe tenki responsabliza ba krime-boot, husu reparasaun no tulun buka tuir sira.

**P: "Ulun-nain" ee-se deit mak sai target iha kampanye nee?**

**R:** Target primeiro kampanye nee mak General Soeharto no General Murdani nebe planeia invazaun tinan 1975 no General Wiranto hanesan arkitekto nebe estraga Timor Leste iha tinan 1999. Target seluk mak sira nebe partisipasa iha invazaun Timor Leste tinan 1975 hanesan Eis-Presidente Amerikano Gerald Ford no Sekretariu do estado Henry Kissinger, Eis-Primeiro Ministro Australia Gough With-

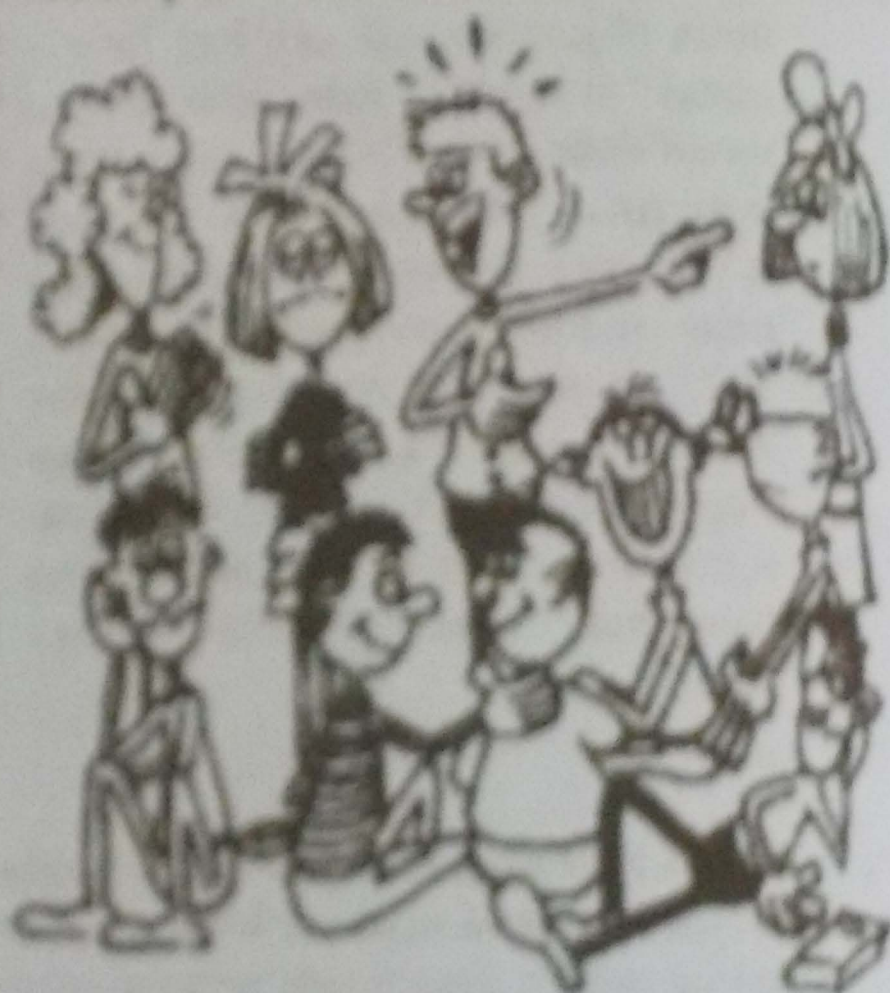




lan, no Embaixador Australia ba Indonesia Richard Woolcott. "Ulu-nain" seluk mak hanesan funsionario senior tropa Indonesia nian, nune mos funsionario civil Timor Leste no lider-lider milisia nian.

P: Oia sa Kampanye nee bele fo justia ba povo Timor Leste?

R: Iha esperansa katak, kampanye nee sei hotu ho Akuzasaun publiko ida iha nebe suspeito sira nia naran no partisipasaun ka akuntabilidade sira nian haseu krime nebe sira halo, sei fo-sai. Ho Exercisio "Hanasan no hanas" ona, sei la sai formal liu no sei fo Justia simbolika ida, maibe ho objektivu atu Lobby hodi Hari TRIBUNAL INTERNASIONAL BA KRIMES GRAVES IHA TIMOR LESTE.



P: Oia sa diferensa entre Akuzasaun Publiko Justia ba Timor Leste ho Tribunal Direitos Unamus iha Indonesia?

R: Tribunal Direitos unamus iha Indonesia so fo kastigo deit ba akuzado nain 18 nebe la halo nia obrigasaun atu previne Masakre no krime sira seluk nebe akontese iha Timor Leste tinan 1999. Nima mandato limitado tebes, nee mak atu halo julgamento ba kazu-kazu krime nebe akontese iha Distritu tolu deit durante talun rua nia laran iha tinan 1999. Iha Dakwaan neba, la inklui "ulu-nain prinsipal" sira nebe planeia stakes iha Timor Leste, formaliza no implementa Desizaun brutal, ka lider mundial nian nebe sai hanesan konspirador ho fo suporta ba Indonesia hahu husi invazaun iha tinan 1975.

P: Oia sa diferensa entre Akuzasaun Publiko Justia ba Timor Leste ho Tribunal Formal Krime Funu nebe hari husi ONU?

R: Justia ba Timor Leste sei sai proseso informal ida, nee iniciativa husi sociedade civil Timor Leste ho grupo solidariedade internacional ba Timor



Leste. Husi Kampanye nee fiar katak so Instituisaun Tribunal Internasional krime funu iha Timor Leste deit mak bele fo kastigo ba ulun-nain prinsipal sira no sei fo justisa ba Timor Leste, no mos sei harahun imunidade lei (kekebalan hukum) ba sira iha Indonesia.

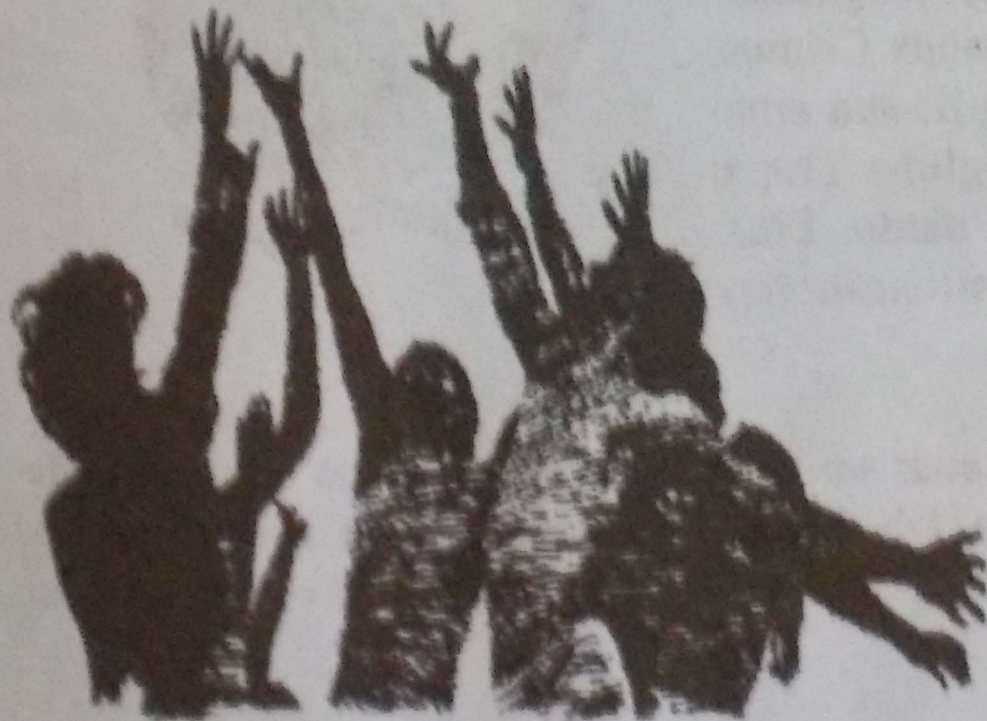
**P:** Tribunal krime funu ba Timor Leste sei hanesan ho Tribunal krime funu ba Ruanda no Eis-Yugoslavia?

**R:** Tribunal krime funu ba Ruanda no Yugoslavia, sira nain rua ONU mak hari. ICTR (Ruanda) hari husi ONU ho Doc/RES/955 tinan 1994, nune mos ICTY (Yugoslavia) hari husi Konselyu seguransa ONU rezolusaun 808 iha tinan 1993. Tribunal krime funu ba Timor Leste bele mos hari husi konsellyu seguransa ONU



**P:** Saida mak sei akontese depois de Akuzasaun Publiko?

**R:** Karik ONU hari duni Tribunal Internasional, folyas-folyas ezizensia, koleksaun dadus durante kampanye Justisa ba Timor sei hato'o ba Tribunal nee tuir dispozisaun lolos. Tuir mai APCET sei halo monitoring ba progresso Tribunal ONU.



Karik ONU seidauk bele hari Tribunal ba Timor Leste, APCET bele halo buat rua: Bele hahu ho halao enkontro Tribunal comunidade Internasional hodi aproveita folyas-folyas akuzasaun no desizaun sira instituisaun ninian atu halo lobby hodi fo sanksaun ka halo lobby diretamente ba comunidade Internasional atu folyas-folyas akuzasaun sira nee

hetan rekonyesimento no sanksaun nasional nian tenki halo duni ba akuzado sira.



**P: Tribunal Ad-Hoc Indonesia bele lori duni Justisa ba Timor Leste?**

**R:** Tribunal Ad-Hoc Indonesia ba Timor Leste hahu iha fulan Marsu tinan 2002. Maibe iha fulan Maio 2003, Tribunal nee fo livre tiha ona ema nain 12 husi akuzado nain 16, inklui Brigadeiro General Tono Suratman, Eis Komandante Tropa Indonesia (iha Timor Leste). Karik sira mos sei fo livre ba Eis Komandante Militar regional Maijor General Adam Damiri, Oficial tropa diviza boot nebe tribunal akuza.

Durante nee, Tribunal Jakarta so bele fo kastigo deit ba akuzado nain lima, nebe hetan prazo de detensaun husi tinan tolu too tinan sanulu. Amnestia Internasional no programa monitoring ba sistema judisial hateten katak proseso nebe Indonesia sira halao la tuir estandar Internasional no la "lori lia-los no mos Justisa".

Tribunal Indonesia mos la konsege halo akuzasaun ba ema nebe tuir lolos sai hanesan ulun nain krime hasoru umanidade iha Timor Leste, hahu tinan 1975 too 1999. Akuzado prinsipal balu ba krime iha tinan 1999, hanesan General Wiranto no Major General Zacky Anwar Makarim, la tama iha lista tribunal Jakarta.

**P: Tribunal Direitus umanus Indonesia la fo justisa karik, Tribunal Internasional nee sei fo saida?**

**R:** Prokurador sira Unidade Investigasaun krime Seriu nasaun Unida (Serious Crimes Investigation Unit) iha Dili akuzasaun ema kuaze nain 250, inklui Eis Panglima Tropa Nasional Indonesia, General Wiranto. Ema nain 30—maioria Eis milisia-hetan desizaun "halo sala".



Maibe Indonesia hatete katak sei la haruka Oficial Tropa ka polisia ida mos atu halao julgamento iha Dli husi Panel Espesial ba krimes graves (Special panel for serious crimes), Timor Leste Laiha akordo estradisaun ho Indonesia.

Komisaun Inkerimento Internasional ONU iha Timor Leste halo relatorio katak resultado investigasaun iha tinan 2000 propoem atu hari Tribunal kriminal Internasional (International criminal court). Nunee mos,



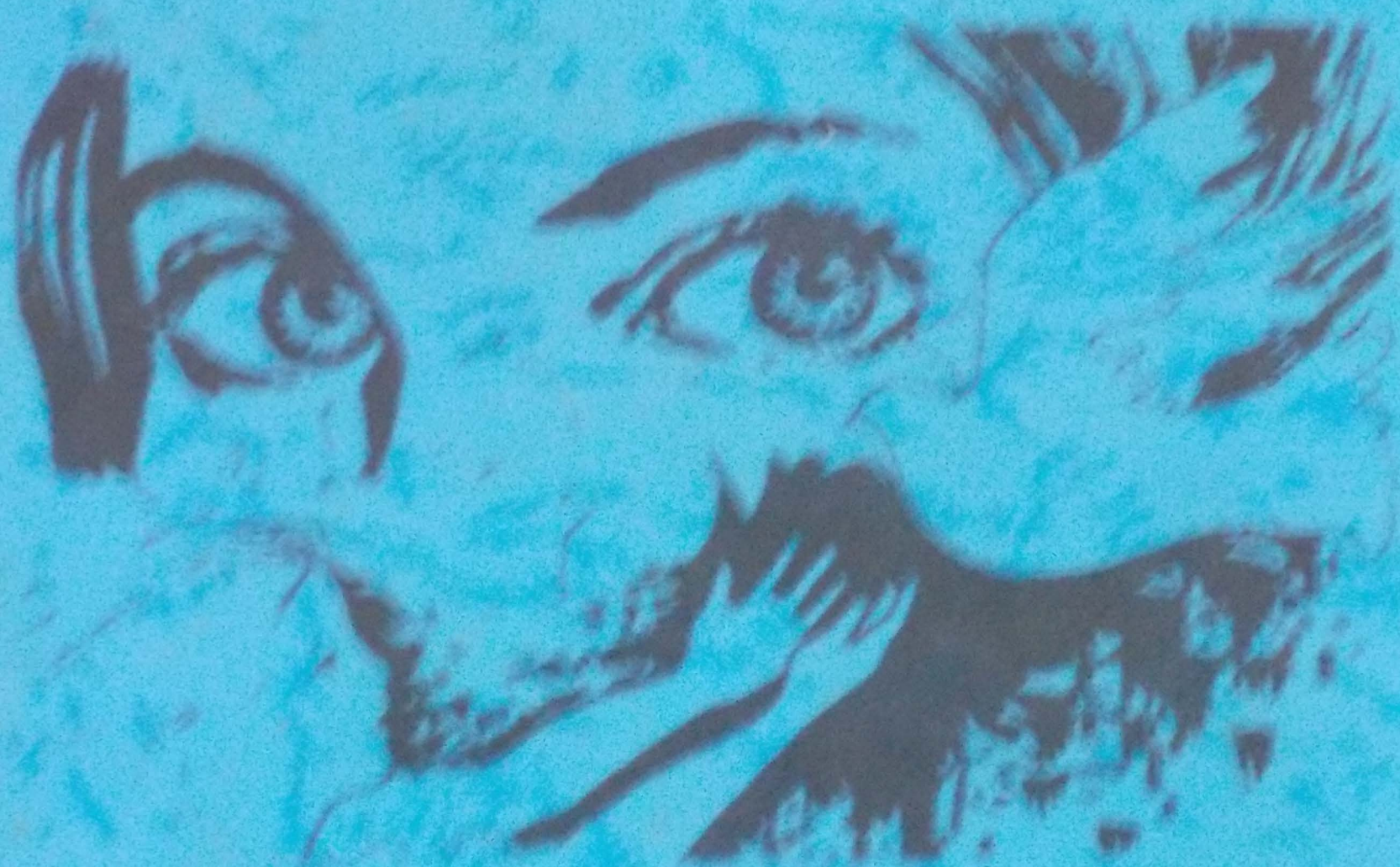
komisaun investigasaun kona ba krime direitus umanus iha Timor Leste (KUTP-HAM) husi Indonesia, fo sai emat nam 32 nebe presiza hetan investigasaun hanesan akusado ba krime kontra umanidade. Relatorio nee hatoa katak General Wiranto hanesan panglima Tropa nian tenki responsabliza ba instabilidade iha tinan 1999.

Hanesan resposta husi desizaun Institusaun Tribunal Indonesia kona ba direitus umanus, husi lan Martin, Eis xefi Misaun ONU aebe responsabliza Referendum 1999 (L NAMED), no mos Mary Robinson, Xefi komisioner Direitus Umamus ONU nian, propoem mos atu ONU hari Tribunal Kriminal internasional ba Timor Leste. Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo, ema nebe simu Nobel Paz nian no Eis Bispo Dile, mos suporta ideia atu hari Tribunal internasional ba vitima krime kontra umanidade.

So husi tribunal internasional deit mak bele feni dignidade ba direitus umamus, no prevene atu repete fali krime-krime grave sira iha fali seluk iha lora ikus nian.







*Hau buka justisa*

*Hau buka lialos*

*Hau buka dame*



Prepared by:

Asia-Pacific Coalition for East Timor

Phone: Tel. 724-0770



24 Abril 1999: Manifestasaun iha Embaixada Indonesia nia oin, iha Stockholm. Organiza husi *Östtimorkommittén* (Komité Timor-Leste) Swedja no membru sira husi movimentu ba independensia Acheh (GAM). Orador primeiru maka Sra. Eva Zetterberg, iha tempu ne'eba maka Membru Parlamentu husi faksau eskerda nian.



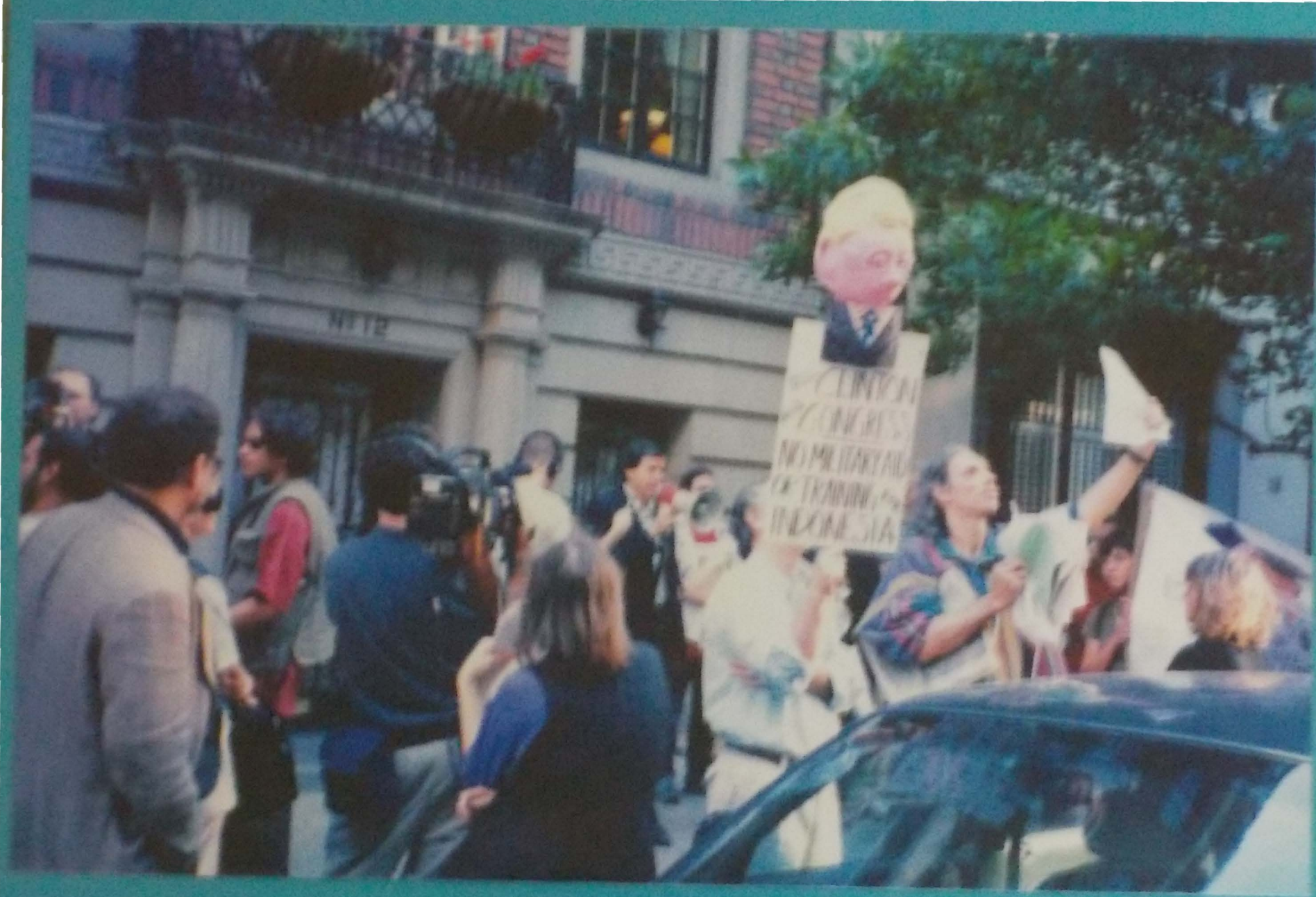
### Rally with speakers

Stockholm, Sweden

24 April 1999: Rally in front of the Indonesian Embassy in Stockholm. Organized by the Swedish East Timor Committee (*Östtimorkommittén*) and members of the Movement for a free Acheh (GAM). Main speaker was Mrs. Eva Zetterberg, at that time MP for the Left.







Demonstration and media

Indonesian Consulate, New York

17 July 1999: Journalist Allan Nairn addresses one of many demonstrations held across the street from the Indonesian Consulate in New York City.





(before referendum)  
Across from the UN, New York City  
August 1999





(Before referendum)

Chicago

1999 ETAN chapters across the United States joined in the effort. This sign was carried on a bicycle-pulled trailer through Chicago.





*(before referendum)*

Across from the UN, New York City, USA

August 1999: As the referendum approached, people around the world mobilized to support a free, fair and peaceful vote. This banner was displayed at the "Isaiah Wall" directly across the street from the UN Secretariat.





1999: Robert Wesley Smith  
Australia

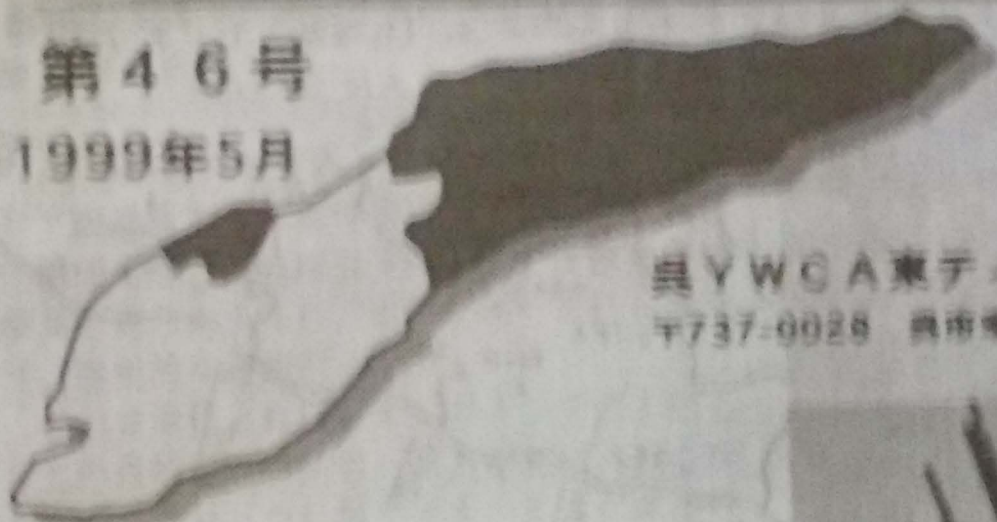


EAST TIMOR CORRESPONDENCE

# 東ティモール通信 (1982~2000)

第46号

1999年5月



呉YWCA東ティモール問題を考える会

〒737-0028 呉市幸町3-1 電話0823-21-2414



住民投票を決めたアラダス外相（左）、アナン  
国連事務総長（中）、丹マ外相（右）



全土を巡れぬ民族音楽隊  
(4月17日、デオリ)

8月8日の住民投票に向けて動き出す。  
平和環境づくりこそが課題だ！ (2ページ参照)

## 今号の内容

- |                      |          |
|----------------------|----------|
| ■東ティモールの川            | 1ページ     |
| ■8月の住民投票、決まる         | 2~4ページ   |
| ■現地NGO紹介 (ギヤサンハタ)    | 5ページ     |
| ■東ティモールの戦いは終わらない (3) | 6~10ページ  |
| ■トビックス               | 11~14ページ |
| ■新刊紹介/編集後記           | 裏表紙      |



## 東ティモールのための 緊急支援のお願い

### トラウマ(心の傷)の癒しの専門家の養成 一般教員養成その他の支援

インドネシアによる占領時代、東ティモールの人々にとって、海外からの援助は独立の希望をつなぐ糸の端でした。とりわけ、人々の精神的な支えである教会への支援は重要な役割を担っていました。しかし、人々が独立を遂げた直後に暮ったおびただしい難民と、暴力的な破壊により、東ティモールへの支援はますます緊迫のこととなってきました。カトリック教会もまたターゲットにされ、地盤・施設等を占領軍の兵隊が襲撃され、聖堂や教会が破壊されてしまいました。

それらの援助や支援を利用するのにも必要なことですが、それよりもまず安全や安心、教育リーダーを育てるための人々の心の傷(トラウマ)を癒すことが最優先です。そのための専門家を養成することを緊急課題として認識します。また、占領下においては学校教員のほとんどがインドネシア人であったため、民族紛争後に東ティモールから逃げ出しでしまった教員が少なくないりました。新たに育つて東ティモールの社会を築き立て行く上で教員養成も緊要な課題です。その一般教員養成への支援も必要とされています。



### ご入会、ご援助のお願い

以上の報告に賛同し、援助していただくための会費を募集します。

入会を希望される方は、お近くの事務局に郵便振替または直接にてお振替(一円一円単位で可)をお送り下さい。会費の方にはニュースレターをお送りいたします。

お款も随時受け付けています。その旨を御記入してお送り下さい。

経済的援助ができない方は、是非、御知りを通して助成をえていただければ幸いです。

東ティモールへのいろいろな御知りを寄せていただくための情報も随時いたします。事務局までお気軽にご相談ください。

### 東ティモールのためのカトリック者の会

当会は、1989年に東ティモールのカトリック学校を支援する会として発足(当初東ティモール)として発足いたしました。その後、より正確にカトリックを通して東ティモールの人々と関わり、支援していくために、活動を「東ティモールのためのカトリック者の会」と変更し、カトリック教会を中心とした東ティモールへの関わりと支援を呼びかけました。地元の司教区長、司教区副司教を経て現在は司教区副司教に就任が代わりを継いでいます。

これまで教会、修道院、個人から手元はご寄付をいただき、東ティモールからの留学生を受け入れ、ティモールの学校、スアイカレチオカトリック学校に寄付金援助、奨学金援助などを行なって参りました。スアイカレチオカトリック学校は東ティモールのカトリック教会からの援助を受けています。

また、当会の活動範囲「東ティモールと私たちを分けて結ぶ」は、ティモールの地方を通して東ティモールの支援をしてきましたが、現在は1999年秋で活動を中止しています。



### 東ティモールのためのカトリック者の会

(代表 文部省 1999)

事務局

〒380-0805 長野市 堀町 35

☎ 026-235-7808 (午後3時～5時) FAX 事務局

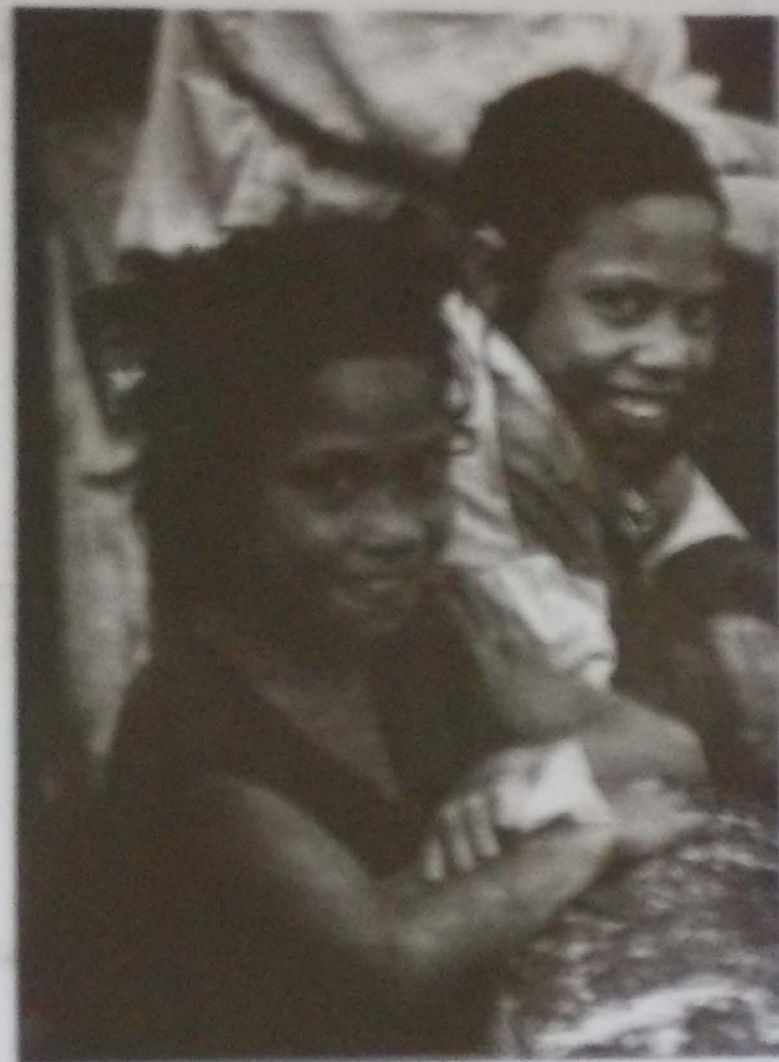
郵便振替 00580-05-19380

□ 届 名 東ティモールのためのカトリック者の会

E-mail: ap2ly-hk@nifty.ne.jp

ヒーロー

## 救いを求めて 必要としている人々の ために



### 東ティモールのためのカトリック者の会

(1989～2002)



# 東ティモールの教会・自由と独立を求める人々の支え

## ポルトガルと日本の侵略

第二次大戦中、ポルトガルは中立を宣言していましたが、連合国のオーストラリアの東ティモール駐留を認め、日本軍が東ティモールに侵襲しました。日本の戦いの戦場となった東ティモールで、日本軍の犠牲となった住民は4万人に上ります。これに対し、日本は何の償いもしていません。

第二次大戦中、ポルトガルは中立を宣言していましたが、連合国のオーストラリアの東ティモール駐留を認め、日本軍が東ティモールに侵襲しました。日本の戦いの戦場となった東ティモールで、日本軍の犠牲となった住民は4万人に上ります。これに対し、日本は何の償いもしていません。

## インドネシアの侵襲

第二次大戦後、世界的に植民地の独立運動が起こり、東ティモールを食ったインドネシアがオランダから独立しましたが、東ティモールはポルトガル領のままです。しかし、1974年、ポルトガルのクーデターで独裁政権が倒れると、植民地に独立が約束され、東ティモールも独立の準備に入りました。

ところが1975年、インドネシア軍が東ティモールに侵襲を仕掛けました。東ティモールの住民から犠牲があったというの理由ですが、それは偽りに作られた虚構でした。そしてインドネシアは1975年、合併を宣言しました。この結果にはインドネシアの領土拡大への野望と、連合下、教会主義的権威に押し付けられたアメリカを中心とする西側諸国の利益が一役した、という事情があります。結果にはアメリカやイギリスから供給された武器が用いられました。

## インドネシアの占領とカトリック教会

インドネシア軍は占領後も東ティモールの人々に対し、暴行の繰り返りを続けました。拷問、集会、移動など、あらゆる自由が奪われ、連年々々に対しては暴力を、女性に対しては性的暴力をもって加行しました。そんな状況の中、

うな生活を強いられていた人々にとって唯一の避難場となったのは教会でした。司祭や修道士はその犠牲の使命の中で人々を勇気づけ、信徒たちはお互いに励まし合い、支え合いました。軍に追われた人々の避難場となったのも教会です。1991年に起こったサンタクルス事件も、モタエル教会に避難していた青年が銃撃被害に遭ったことが契機でした。

そうした教会の役割が人々に受け入れられ、その結果ポルトガル領時代には30%だったカトリック人口が、インドネシア占領下においては90%以上になりました。



ベロ司教の教会訪問

## 日本における東ティモール支援活動

1985年、前ディリ（東ティモール）教区長、ホセ・コスタ・ロペス司教が来日し、東ティモールの実情を訴えられ、日本の教会に対し、東ティモールと連帯してほしい、と要請されました。その声に応え、故郷の司教はじめその他の日本のカトリック教会による支援活動が始まったのです。東ティモールでのボランティア活動や、カトリック学校の姉妹関係、教会による教会支援、医療や農業の分野での支援など、様々な形で日本の教会が関わりをもっています。

日本の教会関係者による訪問も度々行われ、関係が密に繋がれている現状の人々を勇気づけてきました。1992年には高橋司教、1993年には故郷の司教、1999年には高橋大司教がそれぞれ訪問され、日本の教会が東ティモールと連帯していることを身をもって知られました。

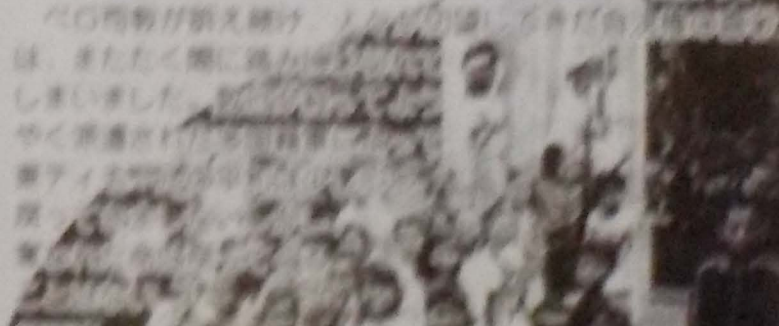
## ベロ司教のノーベル平和賞受賞

1995年のノーベル平和賞、大方の予想を裏切って、その受賞は東ティモールの人々の上に輝いたのです。ディリ教区長、シメオス・ベロ司教とベロ司教（東ティモール民族抵抗評議会＝独立運動の連合体）海外特別代表ラモス・ホルタ氏の二人に与えられた賞は、そのまま即座に西も東ティモールの人々に対する賞であったのです。特に、ベロ司教は東ティモールの人々の精神のよりどころである教会を代表する者として、世界に対して東ティモールの現状と自決権を訴えてこられました。インドネシア政府はこの受賞に困惑し、批判しましたが、東ティモールの人々にとっては大きな希望が与えられる出来事でした。

## 住民投票とその後の悲劇

1998年に経済危機と民主化運動によって、選挙を準備なくされたスハルト大統領は東ティモール独立の立役者でした。ところが、その後継者となったハビビ大統領は突然、方向転換を行い、連立は独立を容認する意思を行なったのです。そしてとうとう1999年8月30日、国連監視の下、独立を問う住民投票が実施されたのです。インドネシア軍や軍が属する民兵の脅しにもかかわらず、98%の人々が行なった投票の結果は、圧倒的な多数で独立選択でした。

ところが、独立を拒否したいインドネシア軍は、恐ろしい手段で報復に出たのです。軍が育て、持っている「併合派民兵」が、インドネシア占領下で建てられた公的施設を破壊し、独立を叫ぶ人々を襲い、ついに人々の精神的よりどころである教会を襲い始めたのです。遺物は破壊、放火され、司祭や修道士を食む多くの人が殺され、傷つけられました。インドネシア軍にとって、人々に独立への希望を与えてきた教会は、恨み重なる宿敵だったのです。





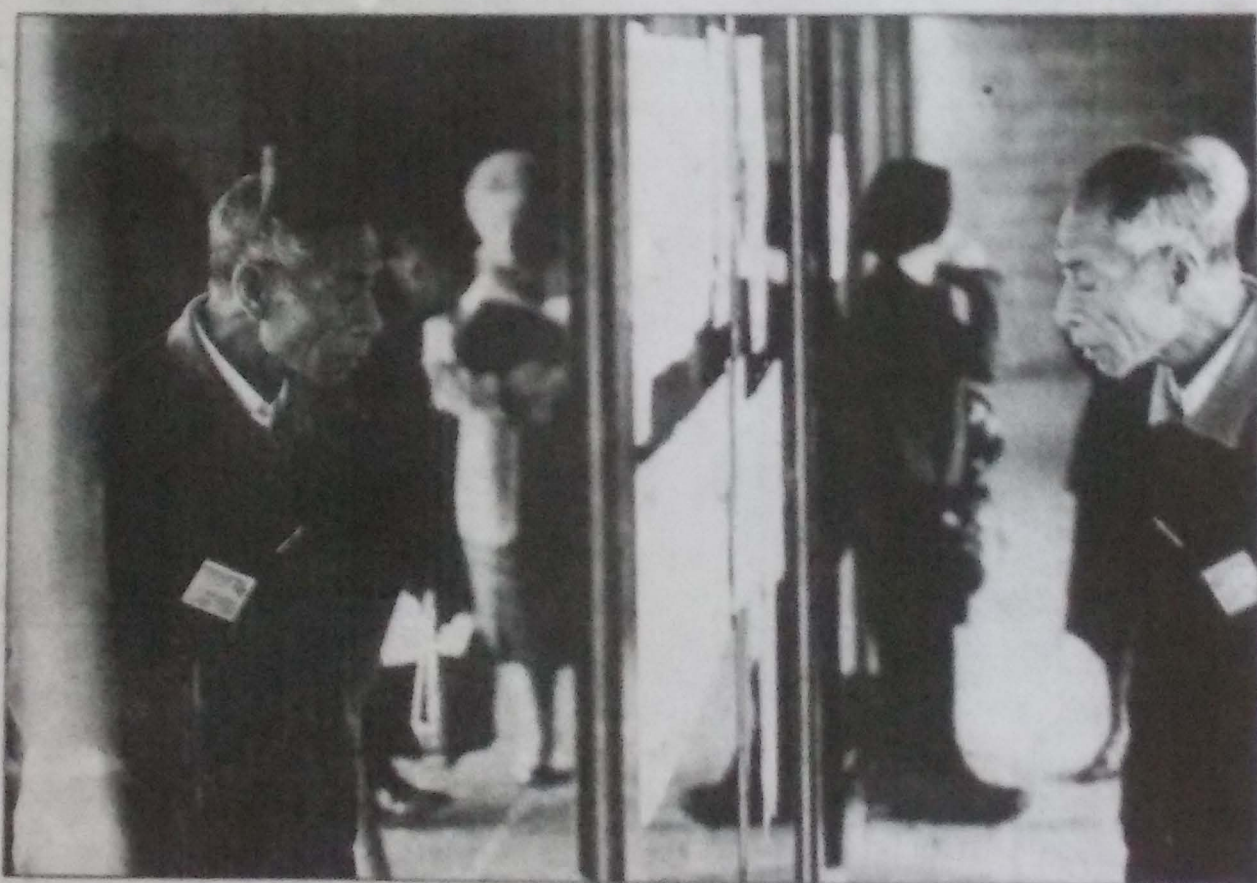
*\* Free to read*

*\* Bele le*



East Timor Human Rights Centre

# Human Rights in East Timor: Indonesia Defies UN & the International Community



Bi-Annual Report of Human Rights Violations in East Timor  
January to June 1999

August 13, 1999 Ref. SR1/99

East Timor Human Rights Centre Inc.  
124 Napier Street, Fitzroy 3065 PO Box 1413, Collingwood 3066, Australia  
Telephone: +61 3 9415 8225 Fax: +61 3 9415 8218 E-mail: ethrc@minihub.org  
Chair: Bishop Hilfon Deakin, Director: Ms Ana Noronha



# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>Glossary of Terms</b>	ii
<b>ETHRC Mission &amp; Methodology</b>	1
<b>Executive Summary</b>	2
<b>A. INTRODUCTION</b>	3
1. Security Crisis in East Timor	3
2. Alarming Increase in Human Rights in 1999	4
3. Uncovering Violators	6
4. Lack of Response to the Crisis	8
5. Crimes & Impunity	9
<b>B. RECOMMENDATIONS</b>	9
1. Recommendations to Government of Indonesia	9
2. Recommendations to the East Timorese Resistance (CNRT)	11
3. Recommendations to the International Community	11
<b>C. HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS</b>	12
1. Violations of the Right to Life	12
1.1 Extrajudicial executions	13
1.2 Attempted extrajudicial executions	23
2. Violations of the Right to Individual Liberty	25
2.1 Arbitrary detention	25
2.2 Enforced disappearances	33
3. Violations of the Right to Integrity and Security of Person	35
3.1 Torture	36
3.2 Rape and Sexual Abuse	40
3.3 Systematic Destruction of Property & Persecution	42
4. Violations of the Right to Due Process	42
4.1 Breaches of procedural guarantees	42
5. Violations of Freedoms of Expression and Association	43
6. Unreported Cases - 1998	43
<b>Appendix A: Other Violations Reported to the ETHRC</b>	
<b>Appendix B: Liquica Victims</b>	
<b>Appendix C: Documented Destruction of Property</b>	



Violations of Civil and Political Rights: 1999		
	1998	Jan. to June 1999
Violations of Right to Life		
Extrajudicial Execution	51	215
Attempted Extrajudicial Execution	8	149
Violations of Right to Individual Liberty		
Arbitrary Detention	256	201
Enforced Disappearances	21	67
Violations of Right to Integrity & Security of Person		
Torture (& Other Inhuman Treatment)	352	220
Rape	5	3
Attempted Rape	3	2
Sexual abuse	2	12
Property Destruction	-	112
Right to Due Process		
Breach of Procedural Guarantees	22	-
Violations of Political Rights		
Freedom of Expression and Association	1,567	-

The most alarming violation, after President Habibie's commitment in January, was the massacre carried out by the 'Red and White Iron' militia in the Liquica parish on 6 April. It took place in front of many witnesses while the Indonesian National Army (TNI) participated and other army officials and the police refused to intervene.

The ETHRC has reported at least 46 deaths in the Liquica massacre and has identified several military members as the perpetrators.<sup>6</sup> These figures are similar to Bishop Belo's, who believes that at least 35 people were killed. Indonesian authorities said an inquiry would be held but no action has taken place to date, in this or other atrocities.<sup>7</sup>

The ETHRC has documented rising patterns of extrajudicial executions, arbitrary detentions,

torture and ill treatment, and disappearances. Amnesty International confirmed a distinct pattern of human rights violations, the victims of which are overwhelmingly supporters of independence for East Timor. According to Amnesty, the current level of violence by militias in East Timor was part of a well organised campaign to prevent Timorese from voting for independence.<sup>8</sup>

An Australian Council for Overseas Aid (ACFOA) delegation that visited East Timor from 5 to 12 June reported on "a pervasive climate of intimidation and human rights violations."<sup>9</sup> The delegation said that evidence indicated that a concerted effort was being orchestrated by government officials and the military to ensure a vote for autonomy which was in direct breach of the 5 May agreement.

The systematic persecution of human rights defenders is a clear pattern in East Timor. Soon after the Liquica parish massacre, for

<sup>6</sup> See Case 1.1.14.

<sup>7</sup> *The Age*, 14 April. See also *Back to the Beginning*, Report of Australian Council for Overseas Aid (ACFOA) Delegation to East Timor, 5-12 June 1999.

<sup>8</sup> Amnesty International, *East Timor: Seize the Moment*, 21 June 1999.

<sup>9</sup> ACFOA Report, op. cit.





Case 1.1.7 – Julia (no surname), covered in her own blood, wearing victimisation card before her death.

forth by the General Assembly in 1948 when it adopted the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, which succinctly states in Article 6: "Every human being has the inherent right to life. This right shall be protected by law. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his life." Extrajudicial executions and attempted extrajudicial executions are also in violation of articles 53 and 338 of the Indonesian Penal Code (KUHP). There were 215 reported incidents of extrajudicial execution, and 149 reports of attempted extrajudicial execution.

### 1.1 Extrajudicial Executions

#### Case 2.1.1

On 3 January 1999, at about 10:00 am, Mubutu, Nko Hlulup, Pungu, Ingwase, "Death is Life with Ingwase" militia were implicated in the shooting of several individuals in Ntsumbe village, Anzani district.

Initially, Mubutu shot at several Tutsi Tswana youth, Atoni Pundl, Fanyana, Jume Nkanyis and Jume (no surname), in Ntsumbe village after the youth travelled to a Mubutu post in Ntsumbe village to meet him in attempts to reconcile past differences during the new year with Mubutu who are

reportedly alleged to impose violence on the people of Anzani. When the youth were attacked in Ntsumbe village they fled and went back to Anzani. Meanwhile, a large group of youth went to the Mubutu post to plead for reconciliation, shortly thereafter Mubutu members attacked the groups of youth killing the following individuals: **Renaude Chikane**, 23, from Xoso village (shot in chest and liver), **Julia (no surname)**, 24, from Mubutu village. **Renaude Chikane**, after being shot, was subject to mutilation. He was also stabbed repeatedly, his left foot and left ear were cut off and part of his liver was thrown away. Many others were also seriously injured in the incident (see case 3.1.18, Appendix A). There are also unconfirmed reports that **Juliana da Costa** died from a gunshot injury after giving birth to her child, and **Nkanyis (no surname)** died from similar attacks on January 5 by Mubutu.



Case 2.1.1 – Renaude Chikane before dying, suffered from gunshot, and wounds, his left ear was cut off, and his left foot was cut off and thrown away.

#### Case 2.1.2

In January, these youth were killed while in the custody of BTT 243 Post and Chikane (no surname), a Mubutu member. The following youth were executed: **Jume Nkanyis**, 25, a married Tswana from Chigulung village, Anzani



cases of people being subjected to violations at the time of their arrest and within their homes.

### 3.1 Torture

#### *Case 3.1.1*

KORAMIL 03 Maubara forces arrested and tortured several youths on 1 January 1999. During a Christmas party in KORAMIL 03 Maubara Hall, Jose Afat, the Maubara sub-district head, got in a fight with **Martinho** (no surname). KORAMIL members got involved and helped Jose Afat beat Martinho. Martinho's friends complained to KORAMIL that the treatment was unfair. Subsequently, the following youths, Martinho's friends, were arrested, and tortured for one hour and released: **Rosario Lay**, 26, **Tobias da Silva**, 23, farmer, **Bendita Marings**, 27, **Manuel Boavida**, 24, **Francisca Dos Santos**, 26. The five young men suffered cuts and bruises to their face and stomach.

#### *Case 3.1.2*

**Carlito de Araujo**, 22, from Webaba hamlet, Raimea village, Suai Covalima district was detained and tortured in Casa village, Ainaro Kota sub-district on 2 January 1999 at 10:30 am for one week by members of Mahidin. He was on his way home from visiting his parents for a New Year's celebration when Mahidin members stopped the mikrolet, dragged him from the vehicle and tied his hands and feet together with a piece of rope. They proceeded to beat him with their shoes, fists, and rifle butts on his face, chest, and stomach. He was repeatedly beaten that morning until he had difficulty breathing because of the pain in his chest and lungs. The initial torture lasted from 10:30 am until 6:00 p.m. when the Mahidin stopped the brutalisation because they were tired. They then blindfolded Carlito and threw him into the truck of the Mahidin Commander, Cancio de Carvalho. After driving around Casa village several times the Mahidin members let Carlito out near the bank of the Saram River, where subsequently he was tortured again in a hut near the river. He was beaten until blood was flowing out of his nose and mouth which he swallowed for strength. The torture continued until about 4:00, January

3 when Carlito went unconscious. He regained his consciousness at about 6:00 am, in the river, and his hands and feet were still bound. The Mahidin members then dragged Carlito from the river and began to try to pressure him into joining the militia. They offered 250,000 rupiah monthly as compensation, however, Carlito refused. Carlito was subsequently locked up by the head of the village, brother of Cancio de Carvalho, and militia for one week. During detention he was continually brutalised and intimidated and was only fed food resembling bird food. His wife pleaded to Indonesian security forces who refused to come to Carlito's aid or do anything else about the situation. His wife was able to visit him only three times while in detention.

#### *Case 3.1.3*

On 8 January 1999 the following seven individuals were arbitrarily detained and subjected to torture in Ranaba quarter, Gugleur village in the Maubara sub-district: **Guido Reis Ramos**, 28, Ranaba Head, **Crisanto dos Santos**, Lauvo quarter Head, 40, farmer, **Saturnino dos Santos**, 35, farmer, **Flaviano dos Santos**, 35, farmer, **Libertine dos Santos**, 28, farmer, **Abrao** (no surname), 21, farmer, **Jose Sarmiento**, 20. The individuals were detained and tortured in their homes. Guido Ramos Reis subsequently lost the use of one of his legs and is crippled.

A few of the specific perpetrators of the intimidation, torture, and detention have been identified as the following members of the Naga Merah: **Graciano** (no surname), 30, Vataboro village, Maubara, **Humberto** (no surname), 31 Gugleur village, Maubara, **Joao Loumesa**, 29, Vaviquima village, Maubara, **Ilidio Riberio**, 30, Vataboro village, Maubara, **Marculino**, **Marciano**, and **Mateus Conceicao**.

Approximately 70 members of the local Gardapaksi militia, supported by members of Battalion 143 attacked the civilians. The victims sustained injuries from sticks and sharp weapons, such as machetes and spears wielded by the Gardapaksi members, and were also beaten and kicked. In addition, the victims houses were ransacked, and livestock such as goats and chickens was stolen.



# Appendix A: Other Violations

Violation Abbreviation Key:						
EJE - Extrajudicial Execution; AEJE - Attempted Extrajudicial Execution; AD - Arbitrary Detention; ED - Enforced Disappearance; TORT - Torture						
Case	Name, age	Residence	Date	Violation Location	Perpetrators	Violation Details
1.1.33	João Marques, 41	Lour village	10-Jan-99	Lour village, Bobonaro	local villagers	EJE Beaten to death with sticks and rocks
1.1.34	Abel Martins, 61	Faturase village, Audebaste sub-district	Jan-99		Hamlet members and the SGI	EJE Hamlet and SGI were guarding suspected Falintil supporter, Jorge Masa, house. When Abel Martins lit his torch inside he was shot.
1.1.35	João Branco, 35	Maururu village	5-Mar-99			EJE Also tortured
1.1.36	Jerônimo Amaral, 18, José de Andrade dos Santos		20-Mar-99	Lacuta, Viqueque	militia and Makik	EJE Combined force of unknown militia and Makik. Killed because his father was suspected of being a Falintil supporter, he was also tortured.
1.1.37	Manuel Placido		25-Mar-99	Viqueque	Viqueque militia	EJE Dead body eaten by dogs
1.1.38	Mau Tessa (no surname), 22	Vatuvou village	5-Apr-99	Vatuvou village	Maubara BMP	EJE
1.1.39	Henrique Borges		5-Apr-99		BMP Bazarate (Alonso de Jesus, Zacarias Correia) and Louisa KODIM (Domingos Mendes)	EJE
1.1.40	Agosto Campos, 30	Hatuquess village	10-Apr-99		Maubara BMP led by Sebastião of Manhuga Hamlet	EJE
1.1.41	Julio Amaral, 5	Becbe village, Viqueque	11-Apr-99	Becbe village, Viqueque	SGTS Junior Militia	EJE The militia ran him over while he and his parents (Lourença and Francisco Amaral) were fleeing from a militia attack.
1.1.42	Agosto dos Santos	Hatuquess village	12-Apr-99	Maubara, Kamahorou Hamlet, Dato village	BMP	EJE Killed at city beach.
1.1.43	Domingos (no surname), Agostinho Soares, 20, Lima-Lim, Bazo, Martinho de Carvalho, 25, SMA student, Rafanokai, Uatkar	Lacuta village, Louisa	12-Apr-99	Maubogu, Kamahorou Hamlet, Dato village	BMP	EJE
1.1.44	Lamberto da Silva	Lospalos	19-Apr-99	Viqueque	KODIM 1530 in Viqueque, Gilberto (no surname), Kapassus, or Alpha Team of Jai Marek Puth	EJE He was a known supporter of CUPERT.
1.1.45	Martinho (no surname), 27	Uatkar District, Monumento village, Viqueque	22-Apr-99	Lospalos	SGTS Junior Militia	EJE Stopped by militia members while driving, and then beaten, stored, and stabbed to death.
1.1.46	Agostinho Soares, 28, André dos Santos	Vatuvou village	24-Apr-99	Monumento village	SGTS Junior Militia	EJE Militia shot him in his home, he was buried by family.
1.1.47	Elas Alves Correia	Lacuta village	25-Apr-99	Vatuvou village office	BMP	EJE Taken from Manuel Tessa's home, killed at office.
1.1.48	Talles dos Santos	Lacuta village	Apr-99		BMP	EJE Also tortured.
1.1.49	Victor dos Santos	Edo, Vatuvou	Apr-99		BMP members Manuel Felipe, Victor Felipe, Hap Duarte Detaining	EJE Injured in Maubara and killed in Edo.



1.1.52	Pedro (no surname), 28, Agusto (no surname), 40	Bazartete	2-May-99	Bazartete, Liquica	BMP, BTT 143 members	EJE	Victims were arrested on 1 May, brought to KOPASSUS base camp, and found dead the next day
1.1.53	Antonio Piedade, 38	Samalete village, Railaco, Ermera	3-May-99	Hatolia	KORAMIL Railaco, and members of KODIM Ermera	EJE	Unconfirmed report
1.1.54	Eugenio Antonio Fatima, 29	Bemori	9-May-99	Acadiru Hun neighbourhood and Mercado Lama, Dili	Besi Merah Putih and Aitarak	EJE	UNTIM Student; others were injured in the attack see case 1.2.6
1.1.55	Floriano (no surname), 40 Domingos (no surname), 28 Antonio (no surname), 20 Sebastiao (no surname), 18 Armando (no surname), 15	Fatobosu village, Hatolia	10-May-99	Fatobosu village	Pancasila and Hatolia military members	EJE	All shot dead by perpetrators
1.1.56	Moises Salsinha, 34	Ponilala village, Ermera	10-May-99	Ponilala village	BTT 143, SGI, Darah Merah, BMP, KODIM 1637	EJE	Unconfirmed report
1.1.57	Natalino dos Santos, 23	Ponilala village	10-May-99	Ponilala village	BTT 143, SGI, Darah Merah, BMP, KODIM 1638	EJE	Unconfirmed report
1.1.58	Sebastiao da Silva, 26	Fatubou village, Hatolia, Ermera	10-May-99	Ponilala village	BTT 143, SGI, Darah Merah, BMP, KODIM 1639	EJE	Unconfirmed report
1.1.59	Abras (no surname)	Fatubou village	10-May-99	Ponilala village	BTT 143, SGI, Darah Merah, BMP, KODIM 1640	EJE	Unconfirmed report
1.1.60	Luis Madeira, 36	Subo village, Hatolia, Ermera	10-May-99	Hatolia	BTT 143, SGI, Darah Merah, BMP, KODIM 1641	EJE	Unconfirmed report
1.1.61	Albino da Costa, 35	Subo village	10-May-99	Hatolia	BTT 143, SGI, Darah Merah, BMP, KODIM 1642	EJE	Unconfirmed report
1.1.62	Constancia Soares, 25	Subo village	10-May-99	Hatolia	BTT 143, SGI, Darah Merah, BMP, KODIM 1643	EJE	Unconfirmed report
1.1.63	Luis Birati, 50	Subo village	10-May-99	Hatolia	BTT 143, SGI, Darah Merah, BMP, KODIM 1644	EJE	Unconfirmed report
1.1.64	Mateus Tilman, 24	Legomes, Ermera sub- district, Ermera	10-May-99	Hatolia	BTT 143, SGI, Darah Merah, BMP, KODIM 1645	EJE	Unconfirmed report
1.1.65	Heider Sequeira Martins, 25	Legomes	10-May-99	Hatolia	BTT 143, SGI, Darah Merah, BMP, KODIM 1646	EJE	Unconfirmed report
1.1.66	Filipe dos Santos, 20	Legomes	10-May-99	Hatolia	BTT 143, SGI, Darah Merah, BMP, KODIM 1647	EJE	Unconfirmed report
1.1.67	Elias (no surname), 17	Legomes	10-May-99	Hatolia	BTT 143, SGI, Darah Merah, BMP, KODIM 1648	EJE	Unconfirmed report
1.1.68	Floriano de Araujo, 40	Legomes	10-May-99	Hatolia	BTT 143, SGI, Darah Merah, BMP, KODIM 1649	EJE	Unconfirmed report
1.1.69	Antonio Brites, 42	Fatubou village, Hatolia, Ermera	10-May-99	Hatolia	BTT 143, SGI, Darah Merah, BMP, KODIM 1650	EJE	Unconfirmed report
1.1.70	Agostinho (no surname), 18	Fatubou village	10-May-99	Hatolia	BTT 143, SGI, Darah Merah, BMP, KODIM 1651	EJE	Unconfirmed report
1.1.71	Martinho (no surname), 22	Fatubou village	10-May-99	Hatolia	BTT 143, SGI, Darah Merah, BMP, KODIM 1652	EJE	Unconfirmed report
1.1.72	Graciano Borromeu, 58	Poerema village, Ermera	10-May-99	Hatolia	BTT 143, SGI, Darah Merah, BMP, KODIM 1653	EJE	Unconfirmed report



1.1.73	Agostinho Soares, 24	Poerema village	10-May-99	Hatolia	BTT 143, SGI, Darah Merah, BMP, KODIM 1654	EJE	Unconfirmed report
1.1.74	Silverio Soares, 27	Poerema village	10-May-99	Hatolia	BTT 143, SGI, Darah Merah, BMP, KODIM 1655	EJE	Unconfirmed report
1.1.75	Sebastiao Soares, 22	Fatubou village	11-May-99	Hatolia	BTT 143, SGI, Darah Merah, BMP, KODIM 1656	EJE	Unconfirmed report
1.1.76	Belarmino Alves, 55	Leimea Craik village, Hatolia, Ermera	13-May-99	Hatolia	BTT 143, SGI, Darah Merah, BMP, KODIM 1657	EJE	Unconfirmed report
1.1.77	Natalio Babo, 19	Ponilala village, Ermera	17-May-99	Hatolia	BTT 143, SGI, Darah Merah, BMP, KODIM 1658	EJE	Unconfirmed report
1.1.78	Sabino da Luz, 32	Ailelo, Hatolia, Ermera	23-May-99	Hatolia	BTT 143, SGI, Darah Merah, BMP, KODIM 1659	EJE	Unconfirmed report
1.1.79	Barnabe Martins, 30	Legomea	23-May-99	Hatolia	BTT 143, SGI, Darah Merah, BMP, KODIM 1660	EJE	Unconfirmed report
1.1.80	Antonio de Deus, 36	Leimea Craik village, Hatolia, Ermera	25-May-99	Hatolia	BTT 143, SGI, Darah Merah, BMP, KODIM 1661	EJE	Unconfirmed report
1.1.81	Calistro Goncalves, 18	Leimea Craik village	25-May-99	Hatolia	BTT 143, SGI, Darah Merah, BMP, KODIM 1662	EJE	Unconfirmed report
1.1.82	Armando dos Reis, 17	Leimea Craik village	25-May-99	Hatolia	BTT 143, SGI, Darah Merah, BMP, KODIM 1663	EJE	Unconfirmed report
1.1.83	Domingos Martins, 24	Manasae village, Hatolia	25-May-99	Hatolia	BTT 143, SGI, Darah Merah, BMP, KODIM 1664	EJE	Unconfirmed report
1.1.84	Ismael dos Santos, 66	Fatubou village	25-May-99	Hatolia	BTT 143, SGI, Darah Merah, BMP, KODIM 1665	EJE	Unconfirmed report
1.1.85	Venancio Soares, 28	Poerema village, Ermera	25-May-99	Hatolia	BTT 143, SGI, Darah Merah, BMP, KODIM 1666	EJE	Unconfirmed report
1.1.86	Duarte dos Santos	Guico village, Liquica	May-99		BMP	EJE	
1.1.87	Lamberto da Costa Amaral, 43	Hatuquesi village	5-Jun-99		BMP	EJE	
1.1.88	Amandio Cesar dos Santos, 32	Hatuquesi village	17-Jun-99		Ebeno BTT members	EJE	
1.1.89	Silvano dos Santos	Guico village, Liquica		Guico village	BMP	EJE	
1.1.90	Sabino (no surname), 17	Caicassa-vou hamlet		Guico village	KORAMIL 03, BMP Maubara	EJE	Shot to death.
1.1.91	Silvano Cardoso, 35	Pande-vou hamlet		Guico village	KORAMIL 03, BMP Maubara	EJE	Shot to death.
1.1.92	Antonio Soares, 45	Pande-vou hamlet		Guico village	KORAMIL 03, BMP Maubara	EJE	Shot to death.
1.1.93	Eduardo (no surname), 16	Irtelo hamlet		Guico village	KORAMIL 03, BMP Maubara	EJE	Shot to death.
1.1.94	Mau Buca, 40	Caicassa-vou hamlet		Guico village	KORAMIL 03, BMP Maubara	EJE	Shot to death.
1.2.8	Julio da Costa, 36, village head	Metiaut village	28-Feb-99	Metiaut village, East Dili sub-district	Aitarak militia under the leadership of Eurico Guterres	AEJE	Shot in the stomach during the attack while standing in front of his home.
1.2.9	Regina Belo, 27, Alberto Mendes, 27,	Dili	18-Mar-99	Becora, East Dili	ABRi	AEJE	Military shot at these 2 and others while driving in 9 trucks on the way to a funeral.



1.2.10	Mateus Afonso de Jesus, 28 Luís da Cunha dos Santos, 17, Carito da Cunha dos Santos, 30, Isabela Inaculada da Silva, 13 Nacelso Damiano dos Santos, 18 Belandina de Jesus, 15		19-Mar-99	Malubu hamlet, Ritabou village, Maliana District	Maliana Hallinter, led by João Távares, and the Indonesian Army	AEJE	See case 1.1.11 for details; they all suffered serious gunshot wounds.
1.2.11	Abel Aziz, 20, farmer, Bernardo Verdial, 20, farmer, Agostinho Cardoso, 35, government employee	Sukar Laron & Transmigration area of Salete, Tilomar sub-district	26-Mar-99	Suar	Laksaur Marsh Putih	AEJE	Shot and severely wounded.
1.2.12	Antonio Alfredo Moniz	Manatuto	15-Apr-99	BTT Manatuto	BTT	AEJE	
1.2.13	Luís Francisco Alves		10-May-99	Covalima village	unknown	AEJE	Shot and subsequently treated at Motasi Clinic.
1.2.14	Armando (no surname), 30, Loro Ana, 30, farmer	Uma-Tola village, Viqueque	13-May-99	Luca village, Viqueque	Viqueque military, 89/75 Junior militia, Raimundo Soares (KORAMIL 08), Filipe Parada, Marcelino Soares, Afonso Soares (KORAMIL 08), Rogério Carvalho, Miguel Amaral, João Amaral, João Calares, KORAMIL 03, Santopakei, Naga Marsh, BMP	AEJE	Suffered from gunshot injury.
2.1.32	Manuel dos Santos, 22, Domingos Baptista, 24, Venancio Sarmiento, 19, Celestino do Rego, 20, António Soares, 23, Domingos Marques, 37, Luis Soares, 35	Vatu Boro	6-Jan-99	Maubars		AD	Also tortured.
2.1.33	Vasco Ximenes, 25		20-Mar-99	Viqueque city, Viqueque	Ruth Makot	AD	Arrested, tortured, brought to RODIM Viqueque.
2.1.34	Agapito Gomes, 35	Petutele village, Zumalai	21-Mar-99	Zulo village, Zumalai	Mahidin, led by Camilo Lopes de Carvalho	AD	Arrested during Mahidin operation, brought to Cassa village.
2.1.35	Afonso Magno, 30	Zulo village, Zumalai	21-Mar-99	Zulo village, Zumalai	Mahidin, BTT 143	AD	Arrested during Mahidin operation with BTT 143 troops.
2.1.36	Rui (no surname), 35	Petu village, Zumalai	21-Mar-99	Zulo village, Zumalai	Mahidin, BTT 144	AD	Arrested during Mahidin operation with BTT 143 troops.
2.1.37	Mateus dos Reis, 27	Baco II village, Zumalai	22-Mar-99	Belaku transmigration area, Zumalai	Mahidin, including Guilherme Alves and Agostinho Saqueira	AD	Arrested, bound at hands & feet, brought to Cassa village.
2.1.38	Luis Soares, 40	Raimas village, Zumalai	22-Mar-99	Belaku transmigration area, Zumalai	Mahidin, including Guilherme Alves and Agostinho Saqueira	AD	Arrested, bound at hands & feet, brought to Cassa village.
2.1.39	João Ribeiro, 25	Luar village, Zumalai	22-Mar-99	Zumalai	Mahidin	AD	Arrested while setting up tent.
2.1.40	Arturo Alves, 20	Zumalai	22-Mar-99	Zumalai	Mahidin	AD	Arrested and brought to RODIM, Headquarters.
2.1.41	Leandro (no surname), 27	Cua Can, Baco II village, Zumalai	22-Mar-99	Zumalai	Mahidin	AD	Arrested on way to Cua Can and killed and thrown with rifle.



2.1.42	Lucas de Araujo, 25	Ritabou village	23-Mar-99	Maliana	KODIM Maliana members	AD	Also tortured
2.1.43	Candido Dasi Mau, 58	Ritabou village	23-Mar-99	Maliana	KODIM Maliana members	AD	Also tortured
2.1.44	Jose Loco Leto, 18	Ritabou village	23-Mar-99	Maliana	KODIM Maliana members	AD	Also tortured
2.1.45	Aquelino Mateus Guterres, 24	Gariuai, Baucau	16-Apr-99	Manatutu	unknown	AD	
2.1.46	Antonio Barbosa		17-Apr-99			AD	Arrested at his home; current whereabouts unknown
2.1.47	Jeremy da Costa		19-Apr-99	Becora, Dili KORAMIL		AD	Beaten while being arrested; current location unknown
2.1.48	Alito Soares, 30	Beaco hamlet, Beaco village, Beaco District, Viqueque	22-Apr-99	Beaco village	Darah Merah militia	AD	His current location and condition is unknown, however, he was originally taken to Darah Merah headquarters in Beoba village, Viqueque. The militia arrested Alito during a large scale arrest and intimidation campaign
2.1.49	Jorge Joao, 24	Gada-Rato, Uatolia, Venilale	24-Apr-99	Baucau District	KODIM 1628 in Baucau	AD	
2.1.50	Virgilio Ribeiro, 23	Buro-Uma, Buro-Uma	26-Apr-99		KODIM 1628 in Baucau	AD	
2.1.51	Tobias da Costa, 28	Darasula, Gariuai, Baucau	27-Apr-99	KORAMIL post	BRIMOP	AD	Also subject to severe beating in detention
2.1.52	Armando da Costa, 25						
	Justino da Costa, 23						
	Abel da Costa, 19				Mahidin, lead by Sabino de Oliveira	AD	Arrested and brought to Beikala village, they were subsequently forced to join the militia
2.1.52	Domingos da Costa, 17	Hato-Udo	2-May-99	Hato-Udo, Ainaro		AD	
2.1.53	Sr. Valenti, Manatuto Parliament	Manatuto	2-May-99	Manatuto	SGI	AD	Kidnapped by militiamen named Mahdomi and Morok using the Manatuto Regent's car, and tortured in unknown place and later released
2.1.54	Zaulino Alves, Soibada Administrator	Manatuto	3-May-99	Manatuto	SGI	AD	Kidnapped by militiamen named Mahdomi and Morok using the Manatuto Regent's car, and tortured in unknown place and later released
2.1.55	Joao da Costa	Manatuto	13-May-99	Manatuto	SGI and militia	AD	Also tortured
2.1.56	Paulino Alito Soares	Sau village, Manatuto	14-May-99	Manatuto		AD	Also tortured
2.1.57	Jacobs Martins Reis Fernandes, head of Hatiola sub-district			Hatiola sub-district, Ermera District	unknown	AD	He was subsequently released. Before this, Mr. Fernandes went into hiding in April 1999 after an attempt on his life by the paramilitaries. He was accused of supporting Falintil after publicly criticising the killing of displaced people in East Timor
2.2.11	Domingos Arbeka, 28	Vaviquina village, Labuneta	26-Jan-99	BTT 143 Post	military	ED	The location of Domingos Arbeka is currently unknown, however, locals of Babiquin believe he was killed
2.2.12	Marcel da Silva Belo, Angelo da Silva Freitas, Abrao da Costa Belo, Aquilio Ximenes, Mariano (no surname)	Baucau District	14-Feb-99	Baucau District	unknown	ED	
2.2.13	Armando Lokomau, 26	Morobu hamlet, Bobonaro	21-Mar-99	KODIM Bobonaro	military	ED	He was abducted while walking past KODIM headquarters and released in early April
2.2.14	Mario (no surname), 27		23-Apr	Ralaco village	unknown militia	ED	The militia members were driving in three Kijangs. Mario is the brother of Samalaten village Head
2.2.15	Borges Timan, 17						
2.2.15	Alarico Pereira, 50	Bazartete	1-May-99	Bazartete, Liquica	BMP, BTT 143 members	ED	Brought to KOPASSUS base camp
2.2.16	Domingos Pires, 28	Leorema, Bazartete	1-May-99	Bazartete, Liquica	BMP, led by Miguel Metan	ED	Whereabouts currently unknown



3.1.18	Celestino da Silva Pereira, 19, from Manutasi village. Ermenegildo Barros, 20, Manutasi, Marcos de Andrade, 23, from Soro village. Domingos de Andrade, 20, Soro village, Alpio Monteiro, Aam Mario Dutel Ferreira, 20, Soro village, Armando Araujo, 20, Jamito de Costa, 24, Manutasi village, Anaro		3-Jan-99	Manutasi village	Mahidin	TORT	See case 1.1.1 for details.
3.1.19	Maria A. Salasinha, 32	Lete Foho village, Ermera sub-district	6-Jan-99		Serka Antonio dos Santos, Lete Foho village Head	TORT	
3.1.20	Tomas de Costa, 31	Central hamlet, Lospalos, Lautem district	7-Jan-99	Laru Ada hamlet, Lospalos town	three members of the Laru Ada KOPASSUS	TORT	Beaten with pistol. Arrested in Loes and brought to BTT 143 post 03. He was reported to have been tortured at BTT 143 Post 03, and sustained cuts and bruises to his chest and face. He was subsequently released.
3.1.21	Julio Alves, 25, farmer	Loes	9-Jan-99	BTT 143 post 03		TORT	
3.1.22	Manuel Pinto, 35, farmer, wife Isabel		10-Jan-99	Loes transmigration area	Gadapkal, Naga Merah, and Beai Merah Putih	TORT	Attacked and tortured, and suffered severe bruising.
3.1.23	Rui de Silva, 25, Mikrotel Driver		14-Jan-99		eight Mahidin members, including Joao Loumessa, who struck Rui de Silva with machete	TORT	Beaten in his home. He was struck with a Machete on the head and suffered severe injuries.
3.1.24	Honorio do Santos, 40, driver Paulino Alfonso	Guico village, Liquica	27-Jan-99	Guico village, Liquica and BTT 143 Post	Indonesian security forces and Ratih members	TORT	Arrested then beaten and released two days later.
3.1.25	Jose Sarmiento	Lavu, Gugleur village, Maubara sub-district	5-Feb-99	Lavu, Gugleur village, Maubara sub-district	BTT 143 Maubara	TORT	Several other unidentified youths may have been arrested at the same time.
3.1.26	Domingos de Oliveira		18-Feb-99	Guico village transmigration area, Liquica	Beai Merah Putih	TORT	Severely beaten by members of the BMP and suffered stab wounds to the head, leg, and arm.
3.1.27	Marcelino de Araujo, 23 Florindo Afonso, 25 Joaquim Afonso, 24		9-Mar-99	Beikala village, Hato-Udo, Anaro	Mahidin militia	TORT	Arrested and beaten with wood until he vomited blood for refusing to join Mahidin.
3.1.28	Vicente Joao, 27		16-Mar-99	Loes village, Maubara, Liquica	Halintar led by Joao de Silva Tavares, and BMP led by Manuel de Sousa	TORT	Stopped near Loes bridge and stabbed with spears and robbed of 100,000 Rp.
3.1.29	Abelino (no surname), 22	Cassa village, Anaro	21-Mar-99		Mahidin	TORT	Bus conductor arrested by Mahidin during identification check, detained and subjected to brutal torture.
3.1.30	Armando de Silva, 30	Cassa village, Anaro	21-Mar-99	Cassa village	Mahidin Cassa	TORT	Apprehended by Mahidin and tortured unconscious.
3.1.31	Isabelino Alves, 19	Tudolpo, Baco village, Zumalai	23-Mar-99	Zumalai	Mahidin	TORT	Arrested on LITHA Mikrotel to Bary village, beaten, kicked and burnt with cigarettes.



3.1.32	Jorge Soares, 24		23-Apr-99	Pasar Baru, Baucau	Baucau Police District officers	TORT	He was charged with being a perpetrator of a kidnapping a member of TNI at Buboli. The victim was last known to be held at Baucau Police Headquarters.
3.1.33	Ilario da Costa Barreto, 43 Eugenio da Costa, 23	Manumera, Turiscail, Same	14-Apr-99	Manumera	unknown	TORT	Subjected to electric shock torture and other brutal beatings.
3.1.34	Jose Fatima Xavier		14-Apr-99	Tilomar subdistrict, Covalima	Laksaur Merah Putih and ABRI members in Maudemo village	TORT	He was captured, tied up with plastic bag over his head, and beaten by roughly 30 people, and suffered knife wounds to his mouth. Money and other property were taken from him. He was subsequently released.
3.1.35	Raimundo Amaral, 40	Ossu Sub-district, Viqueque	24-Apr-99	Ossu Sub-district, Viqueque	BTT 131 Garuda Hitam	TORT	BTT members attacked the house with family inside and Raimundo was tied and beaten during the attack.
3.1.36	Antonio Vicente, Head-District Assistant for Viqueque	Viqueque	1-May-99	Viqueque	Front 59 militias	TORT	Attacked by Front 59 militias at his home.
3.1.37	Virgilio Xavier	Wailili village, Baucau	2-May-99	Wailili village, Baucau	Baucau KOPASSUS, Baucau KODIM	TORT	Shot in hands by KOPASSUS members.



## Appendix B: Liquica Victims

Liquica Victims Key: \* indicates confirmation by the ETHRC.

### Extrajudicial killings - Liquica Parish

- \* 1 Jacinto da Costa Canigio Pereira, 47, village head Dato
- \* 2 Antonio Dos Santos, 24, Hatukesi village
- \* 3 Joao Baptista (Joni) Mausoko, 28, killed by Tome Maria Goncalves
- 4 Francisco (no surname), 30, Dato village
- \* 5 Rafael Maria, 18, Dato village
- \* 6 Herminio dos Santos, 35, Maumeta, killed by Antonio Kopas, TNI
- \* 7 Fernando da Costa S, 29, Dato village
- \* 8 Eildio Araujo dos Santos, 20, Hatukesi village, killed by Victor
- 9 Abel Babo, 26, Vatuva village
- \* 10 Julito Maria, 18, Metabou
- \* 11 Manuel Lisboa, 40, Dato village
- \* 12 Floriano Santos, 30, Vatuva village
- \* 13 Joanico de Sa Freitas, 35, Dato village
- \* 14 Francisco do Santos, Gugleur village
- \* 15 Jose Ribeiro, Gugleur village
- 16 Julio Verancio, 25, Vatuva village
- \* 17 Agostinho dos Santos, 42, Darulete village
- 18 Manuel da Costa, 30, Dato village, Liquica
- \* 19 Gil Tiago dos Santos, 17 years, student SMPK Liquica
- \* 20 Afonso (no surname), 35, Dato village
- \* 21 Cesar do Carmo Santos, SMA Student, 21, Guico village
- \* 22 Mauna (no surname), 40-50, Guico village, Maubara
- \* 23 Augusto dos Santos Mouzinho, 36, Leotata village
- 24 Paulino Boavida, 22, Vaviquinia village
- 25 Adios (no surname)
- 26 Victor da Costa, 30 years
- \* 27 Thomas dos Santos, 26, Liquica, died at Tokoh Baru public hospital
- \* 28 Tobias Ataide, 23, Dato village, parish volunteer
- \* 29 Oscar Dos Santos, public servant, 42
- \* 30 Tito Afonso Serrao, 29, Gugleur village
- \* 31 Andre (no surname)
- \* 32 Guilherme da Silva
- \* 33 Elias da Ataide

### Extrajudicial killings - Liquica Parish (Cont.)

- \* 34 Narciso de Jesus Lopes
- \* 35 Bernardino dos Santos, Hatuquesi
- \* 36 Bere Ana, Guico village, Maubara

### Attempted extrajudicial killings - Liquica Parish

- \* 1 Jose Mesquita, 25, Leopa village
- 2 Agostinho dos Santos, 37, Dato village
- 3 Joao Mautea, 23, Dato village
- \* 4 Joao dos Santos (Kuda), 34, Hatukesi village
- \* 5 Calisto de Jesus, Hatuquesi
- \* 6 Geraldo Soares, 31, village Maumeta
- \* 7 Mario Martins, 26, village Darulete
- \* 8 Miguel dos Santos, 30, Loidahar village
- \* 9 Adao Sanches, 25, Vatuva village
- \* 10 Manuel da Costa, 27, Vatuva village
- \* 11 Jose Ramos, 22, Vatuva village
- \* 12 Jose Nunes Soares, 35, Vaviquinia village
- \* 13 Francisco Zafreus, 27, Dili hamlet, Vatuva village
- \* 14 Mateus Alves Correia, 35, Dato village
- 15 Juvito (no surname), 23, Dato village
- \* 16 Jaimito Serrao, 26, Vaviquinia village
- \* 17 Sergio Serrao, 21, Vatuva village
- 18 Fernando Serrao, 23, Vatuva village
- \* 19 Zeca Serrao, 22, Vatuva village
- \* 20 Clara Nunes, 16, Vatuva village
- 21 Maria Lurdes, 34, Dato village
- 22 Bento (no surname), 49, Dato village
- 23 Maubusa (no surname), Gugleur village
- 24 Alberto (no surname), Vatuva village
- \* 25 Jaime do Santos, 25, Hatukesi village
- 26 Jose (no surname), Vaviquinia village
- \* 27 Ramiro dos Santos Ximenes, 70, Hatuquesi, Liquica



#### Attempted extrajudicial killings - Liquica Parish (Cont.)

- \* 28 Isabel (no surname), 35, Pukelara Dato
- \* 29 Januario Oliveira, Dato village
- \* 30 Paulino Boavida, 22, Vaviquina village
- \* 31 Francisco dos Santos, severe machete head wound
- \* 32 Abras dos Santos, Hatuquesi village
- \* 33 Ricardo R Pereira
- \* 34 Eduardo dos Santos
- \* 35 Afonso (no surname)
- \* 36 Julio (no surname)
- \* 37 Armando dos Santos
- \* 38 Alarico dos Santos
- \* 39 Antonio Alves Correia
- \* 40 Filomeno dos Santos Martins, 19, STM Fatumaca Student
- \* 41 Julio Serras, 25, Vaviquina village

#### Extrajudicial killings - Dato village

- 1 Afonso (no surname), 28, Dato village
- 2 Cesar da Carmo Santos, 21, Guilos village
- 3 Maubasa (no surname), 22, Vatuveu village
- 4 Julio, 25, Kukae Laran hamlet, Dato village, sub-district Liquica city
- \* 5 Laurindo da Costa Goncalves, 40, Head the Livestock Department
- 6 Felix, 27, Dato village, Liquica City
- 7 Francisco, 25, village Vatuveu, sub-district Maubasa
- \* 8 Paulino Ribeiro, 28, civil servant (High School I Liquica) Manumeta
- 9 Manuel Lisboa Flores, 27, Dato Village
- \* 10 Maubasa, Guilos village

#### Attempted extrajudicial killings - Dato village

- \* 1 Americo (no surname), 28, Dato village
- \* 2 Bento Quintas, 24, Loidahar village
- 3 Felix de Carvalho, 26, Hatuquesi village
- \* 4 Laurindo dos Santos, 29, Maumeta village, tortured and seriously injured
- \* 5 Matias da Silva, 50, Dato village
- \* 6 Jose Cerilio dos Santos, 18, Hatuquesi village
- \* 7 Jacinto da Costa Freitas, tortured and hospitalized, Leopa, Dato village
- \* 8 Domingos Mendes, tortured and hospitalized
- \* 9 Jorge dos Santos, LisaLau, tortured and hospitalized
- \* 10 Joaquim Afonso Brites, shot in right foot
- \* 11 Felix Mendes, 27, Dato village
- \* 12 Felix Rodrigues, 32, Dato village
- \* 13 Joni da Costa
- \* 14 Augusto Oliveira
- \* 15 Manuel dos Santos

#### Liquica Disappearances

- 1 Ernesto (no surname), 28
- 2 Mario da Costa, 22, Dato village
- 3 Paulo Mendes, 27, Dato village
- 4 Francisco, 19, Dato village
- 5 Americo de Carvalho, Dato village



### Appendix C: Property Destruction

Case	Owner	Property Location	Date	Perpetrators
3.3.1	Cancio Moraes	Vaviquinia village, Liquica	16-Jan-99	BTT 143
3.3.2	Jose dos Santos	Rainaba hamlet, Gugleur village, Maubara, Liquica	18-Jan-99	Mahidin
3.3.3	Jose Lino dos Reis	Guico village, Maubara, Liquica	27-Jan-99	Jorge Viegas (military), Antoninho Martins (KORAMIL 03), Teofilio da Silva (KORAMIL 03), Graciano (no surname)(Garda Paksi), Domingos dos Santos (Garda Paksi), Humberto (no surname) (Garda Paksi)
3.3.4	Liberato Beremau	Guico village, Maubara, Liquica	27-Jan-99	" "
3.3.5	David Mausaco	Guico village, Maubara, Liquica	27-Jan-99	" "
3.3.6	Felix da Costa	Vaviquinia village, Liquica	27-Jan-99	Silvino (no surname), Celestino Soares, Angelino Soares, Benditu Nunes, Paulino da Silva, Marculino (no surname), Julio Venancio, Manuel Lucio, and other Garda Paksi members
3.3.7	Vasco Alexandrino de Jesus	Vaviquinia village, Liquica	27-Jan-99	" "
3.3.8	Eusebio Sousa Silva	Maubara sub-district, Liquica	29-Jan-99	Garda Paksi members including: Marculino Soares, Eusebio Tilman, Simiao Soares, Jose da Silva, Jose Besivili, Adelino dos Santos
3.3.9	Agusto do Santos	Maubara sub-district, Liquica	29-Jan-99	" "
3.3.10	Leonel de Jesus Carvalho	Vila hamlet, Vaviquinia village, Liquica	30-Jan-99	Mauleki (no surname) and other Mahidin members
3.3.11	Anselmo do Santos	Vila hamlet	30-Jan-99	Mauleki (no surname) and other Mahidin members
3.3.12	Jose Benevides	Vila hamlet	30-Jan-99	Mauleki (no surname) and other Mahidin members
3.3.13	Sivino dos Santos	Vatuguli hamlet, Maubara Lisa village	1-Feb-99	Mahidin, Naga Merah, and Besi Merah Putih members
3.3.14	Agusto (no surname)	Darulara hamlet, Vaviquinia village	2-Feb-99	Mahidin
3.3.15	Flaviano TB Amaral	Manapa village, Samutabe hamlet, Cailaco, Bobonaro	5-Feb-99	Ermelindo Borges, Clementino Soares
3.3.16	Carlos Alberto	Vaviquinia village, Vila hamlet	5-Feb-99	Mahidin members
3.3.17	Valente Maia da Cruz	Gugleur village, Palistela	5-Feb-99	Mahidin and Naga Merah members
3.3.18	Luis (no surname)	Delesovati hamlet, Vaviquinia village, Liquica	5-Feb-99	Mahidin
3.3.19	Maufalo (no surname)	Delesovati hamlet, Vaviquinia village, Liquica	5-Feb-99	Mahidin
3.3.20	Jose (no surname)	Delesovati hamlet	5-Feb-99	Mahidin
3.3.21	Mariano (no surname)	Delesovati hamlet	5-Feb-99	Mahidin
3.3.22	Laurindo Afonso	Lepumeta hamlet, Vaviquinia village, L	5-Feb-99	Mahidin
3.3.23	Manuel Almeida	Samanro village, Vatubou, Liquica	5-Feb-99	Naga Merah
3.3.24	Rogério Lai	Delesovati hamlet	7-Feb-99	Mahidin
3.3.25	Florentino da Silva Nunes	Morae hamlet, Vaviquinia village	7-Feb-99	Mahidin



3.3.26	Domingos dos Santos	Numuana hamlet, Viviquina village	7-Feb-99	Matidin
3.3.27	Fernando da Silva Luis	Maubaralisa village	7-Feb-99	Matidin
	Cesar (no surname), 28			
3.3.28	Domingos (no surname), 35	Maubaralisa village	8-Feb-99	BMP, BTT 143 destruction of village offices
3.3.29	Narciso da Silva, 30, farmer	Mauro Rt. 01 hamlet, Guco village	3-Mar-99	KORAMIL 03
	Mau Gunda, Jorge Salus, Felisberto dos Santos, Jorge dos Santos, Salustiano Barros, Calisto dos Santos, Vicente dos Santos (Leko), Manuel Luis, Filomena Oliveira, Filomeno dos Santos, Augusto Fries, Florinda Abelar Borges, Jose Lakamali, Agostinho dos Santos, Domingos (no surname), Mateus dos Santos (Bazuca), Fernando da Silva, Jacinto Da Costa Conigo Pereira, Manuel dos Santos, Filomeno da Paixao, Gregorio N.W. dos Santos, Amadeus Dias dos Santos,			Teofilo (no surname), member of TNI-AD, Koramil Maubara, Jacob da Conceicao, TNI-AD, Liquica Kodim, Tome Diogo, TNI, Liquica Kodim, Victor, Pukelara hamlet, Liquica, member of BMP, Francisco (no surname), member of Police, Pukelara hamlet, Pedro (no surname), Pukelara hamlet, member of BMP, Tomas Mau-Onas, member of BMP, Romaldo, Pukelara hamlet, Abril (no surname), Pukelara hamlet, Hendrik (no surname), SGI, Jorge Viegas, Koramil Maubara, Antonino Martins, Koramil Maubara, Jose Mateus,
3.3.30	Mateus Hulamuda, Fernando Da Costa	Oato village, Liquica, see case 1.1.14 for details	5-6 April	Koramil Maubara
3.3.31	Anacleto Barneto	Maliana, Bobonaro District	12-Apr-99	Hallintar, Bobonaro Military District Command security forces
3.3.32	Lourenco Goncalves	Maliana	12-Apr-99	Hallintar, Bobonaro Military District Command security forces
3.3.33	Marcus de Jesus	Maliana	12-Apr-99	Hallintar, Bobonaro Military District Command security forces
3.3.34	Amindo Barneto	Maliana	12-Apr-99	Hallintar, Bobonaro Military District Command security forces
3.3.35	Manuel Magalhães	Callaco, Bobonaro District	13-Apr-99	Hallintar, Callaco Security Forces
3.3.36	Joao Vicente	Callaco	13-Apr-99	Hallintar, Callaco Security Forces
3.3.37	Clonano do Rego Amara	Callaco	13-Apr-99	Hallintar, Callaco Security Forces
3.3.38	Anacleto (no surname)	Callaco	13-Apr-99	Hallintar, Callaco Security Forces
3.3.39	Joao Lopes	Callaco	13-Apr-99	Hallintar, Callaco Security Forces
3.3.40	Adriano Afonso	Callaco	13-Apr-99	Hallintar, Callaco Security Forces
3.3.41	Guilherme Coiro	Callaco	13-Apr-99	Hallintar, Callaco Security Forces
3.3.42	Joao Godinho	Callaco	13-Apr-99	Hallintar, Callaco Security Forces
3.3.43	Jose Andrade	Callaco	13-Apr-99	Hallintar, Callaco Security Forces
3.3.44	Bonifacio (no surname)	Callaco	13-Apr-99	Hallintar, Callaco Security Forces
3.3.45	Apolinario (no surname)	Callaco	13-Apr-99	Hallintar, Callaco Security Forces
3.3.46	Adao (no surname)	Callaco	13-Apr-99	Hallintar, Callaco Security Forces
3.3.47	Warten (no surname)	Callaco	13-Apr-99	Hallintar, Callaco Security Forces
3.3.48	Ludo Marques	Callaco	13-Apr-99	Hallintar, Callaco Security Forces
3.3.49	Quarte Woris	Callaco	13-Apr-99	Hallintar, Callaco Security Forces
3.3.50	Lorenzo (no surname)	Callaco	13-Apr-99	Hallintar, Callaco Security Forces
3.3.51	Hermans das Dones	Oti	17-Apr-99	Atarak



3.3.52	Leandro Isaac	Dili	17-Apr-99	Alarak
3.3.53	Antonio Lafu	Pasabe sub-district	19-Apr-99	Sakunar, security forces
3.3.54	Leovegildo Rui	Pasabe sub-district	19-Apr-99	Sakunar, security forces
3.3.55	Manuel da Conceição	Pasabe sub-district	19-Apr-99	Sakunar, security forces
3.3.56	Marcus Bobo Emanuel de Conceição	Pasabe sub-district	19-Apr-99	Sakunar, security forces
3.3.57	Jose Antonio Lafu	Pasabe sub-district	19-Apr-99	Sakunar, security forces
3.3.58	Jose Barros	Bandole Hamlet, Purugoa village, Bobonaro	20-Apr-99	Guntur, Halilintar
3.3.59	Cornelio da Silva	Maumela Hamlet, Atudara village, Cailaco, Bobonaro	20-Apr-99	Guntur, Halilintar
3.3.60	Cornelio (no surname)	Maubesi Ainaro District	21-Apr-99	Halilintar, armed forces
3.3.61	João Tabes	Ambeno District	21-Apr-99	Sakunar
3.3.62	Xaveria da Costa	Ambeno District	21-Apr-99	Sakunar
3.3.63	Antonio Bazilio	Bobonaro District, Cailaco	21-Apr-99	The following Halintar militia members: Paulo (no surname), Atabae, Adao Babo from Ermera, Flaviano Dasilelo from Meligo village, Cailaco
3.3.64	Armando Belaku	Bobonaro District, Cailaco	21-Apr-99	
3.3.65	Flabiano Tarabesi	Manapa village, Cailaco sub-district, Bobonaro district	21-Apr-99	
3.3.66	Raul (no surname)	Manapa village	21-Apr-99	
3.3.67	Roberto Dasimau	Manapa village	21-Apr-99	"
3.3.68	Agustinho Calveliera	Manapa village	21-Apr-99	"
3.3.69	Lourenco dos Santos Fatima	Manapa village	21-Apr-99	"
3.3.70	Feliciano Soares	Manapa village	21-Apr-99	"
3.3.71	Raimundo Amaral	Ossu District	24-Apr-99	BTT 131 Garuda Hitam
3.3.72	Manuel Tilman Fernandes	Hera village	22-Apr-99	Alarak
3.3.73	Maria Filomena Camara	Hera village, Dili Leste	25-Apr-99	Alarak, Mateus de Carvalho
3.3.74	Jose Antonio Ote	Leia-Ufe village, Pante Makasar Sub-district	Apr-99	Sakunar
3.3.75	Andre Leo	Leia-Ufe village	Apr-99	Sakunar
3.3.76	Vicente Lafu	Leia-Ufe village	Apr-99	Sakunar
3.3.77	Xisto de Sousa	Leia-Ufe village	Apr-99	Sakunar
3.3.78	Cipriano da Cunha	Leia-Ufe village	Apr-99	Sakunar
3.3.79	Paul Diaz 55	Mota Ulun, Maubara	1-May-99	BMP
3.3.80	Octavia Gusmao Carmo, 28	Bemori village, Quintal Kilk	10-May-99	
3.3.81	Patrocínio Sequeira Alves, Manuel Reis, Jacob Fernandez	Quintal Bo'ot	10-May-99	
3.3.82	João Atilelo, Antonio Bertana, Fernando do Rego, Clito Moniz and Manuel Oliveira	Atara village	16-May-99	see case 2.2.8