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E.O. 12958: DECL: 06/01/04

TAGS: PGOV, PHUM, PINR, EAID, MARR, MOPS, UN, ID SUBJECT: EAST TIMOR: A FORAY INTO MAHIDI COUNTRY

- 1. (U) CLASSIFIED BY ACTING POLCOUNS GREGORY FERGIN; REASON 1.5(D).
- (C) SUMMARY. IN A MAY 28 VISIT TO THE AINARO AND AILEU DISTRICTS SOUTH OF DILI, POLOFF FOUND MUCH EVIDENCE OF A

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE REVIEW AUTHORITY: CHARLES E LAHIGUERA

CLASSIFICATION: CONFIDENTIAL REASON: 1.4(D) **DECLASSIFY AFTER: 1 JUN 2014**

DATE/CASE ID: 15 JUL 2004 200300722

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CONTINUING REIGN OF TERROR CARRIED OUT BY TNI-BACKED PRO-INTEGRATION MILITIAS WHO ARE A LAW UNTO THEMSELVES! THEIR ACTIVITIES HAVE SEVERELY DISRUPTED ECONOMIC LIFE, MEDICAL CARE, AND THE EVERYDAY LIVES OF ORDINARY PEOPLE, MOST OF WHOM ARE TOO TERRIFIED TO SPEAK TO OUTSIDERS OR TO TRAVEL OUTSIDE THEIR VILLAGES. THAT THE MILITIAS AND THE LOCAL MILITARY WERE WORKING HAND IN HAND WAS TAKEN AS A GIVEN BY LOCAL OBSERVERS, AND THERE WAS LITTLE EFFORT TO DISGUISE THIS COOPERATION. THE CAMPAIGN FOR INTEGRATION/AUTONOMY ALREADY WAS IN FULL SWING, AND, GIVEN THE STRONG INFLUENCE OF TRADITIONAL BELIEFS, COMPELLING LOCAL VILLAGERS TO SWEAR BLOOD OATHS TO VOTE FOR AUTONOMY WAS SEEN AS A PARTICULARLY EFFECTIVE TACTIC. THE PRO-INTEGRATION FORCES ALSO WERE THREATENING THAT REJECTION OF AUTONOMY WOULD RESULT IN A BLOODBATH REMINISCENT OF 1975-76. THE NON-EAST TIMORESE LOCAL DISTRICT CHIEF/MILITIA LEADER IN AILEU HAD MADE HIMSELF THE AREA'S TRADITIONAL CHIEF AS WELL, ENRAGING SOME LOCAL RESIDENTS. AS BAD AS CONDITIONS WERE IN AILEU AND AINARO, CONTACTS SPOKE OF A MUCH WORSE SITUATION IN DISTRICTS TO THE WEST. END SUMMARY

(C) POLOFF ACCOMPANIED AN AMCIT EMPLOYEE OF THE USAID-SUPPORTED NCBA COFFEE PROJECT AND AN AUSTRALIAN DOCTOR ON A MAY CONFIDENTIAL

JAKART 02672 01 OF 02 011003Z 28 VISIT TO MAUBISSE, IN AINARO DISTRICT, SOUTH OF DILI ABOUT HALFWAY TO THE SOUTHERN COAST. NCBA NORMALLY UTILIZES AN ARMED TNI ESCORT FOR TRIPS INTO THIS AREA, BUT IN THIS CASE THE ESCORT DID NOT MATERIALIZE. NCBA IS CONSTRUCTING A HEALTH CLINIC IN THE SUB-DISTRICT SEAT OF MAUBISSE, AND ALSO MAINTAINS A COFFEE PROCESSING FACILITY IN THE AREA. WE ALSO VISITED THE MARYKNOLL SISTERS IN AILEU, THE MOUNTAINOUS DISTRICT SOUTH OF DILI.

IN MAUBISSE, MAHIDI REIGNS SUPREME

4. (C) MAUBISSE EFFECTIVELY IS UNDER THE CONTROL OF THE "MAHIDI" ("LIVE AND DIE FOR INTEGRATION") MILITIA BASED IN AINARO. A NUMBER OF WHAT WERE SAID TO BE NEW MAHIDI CHECKPOINTS HAD SPROUTED ALONG THE MAIN ROAD. GROUPS OF MAHID! PATROLLED THE ROAD, SOME CARRYING GOVERNMENT-ISSUE FIREARMS (IDENTIFIED BY WHITE SERIAL NUMBERS PAINTED ON THE RIFLE BUTTS), AND OTHERS WITH TRADITIONAL WEAPONS. CONTACTS POINTED OUT THAT FEWER THAN NORMAL MILITIA AND LOCAL RESIDENTS WERE PRESENT BECAUSE EARLIER THAT MORNING LOCAL LEADERS HAD ROUNDED UP MOST PEOPLE AND TRUCKED THEM TO AINARO, WHERE A MAJOR CEREMONY WAS BEING HELD TO MARK THE AREA'S "ACCEPTANCE OF AUTONOMY." THE MILITARY REPORTEDLY HAD PUT UP PRO-AUTONOMY BANNERS AT EVERY VILLAGE BETWEEN DILI AND MAUBISSE. REGULAR TROOPS WERE LESS IN EVIDENCE

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THAN THE MAHIDI. WE DID OBSERVE ONE TRUCKLOAD OF SOLDIERS ESCORTING A VIP CAR BACK TO DILI FROM THE AINARO CEREMONY.

5. (C) MAUBISSE RESIDENTS WERE FEARFUL WHEN APPROACHED BY POLOFF AND RELUCTANT TO SPEAK. IN THE GROUP OF PEOPLE WHO GATHERED AROUND AT THE CLINIC, ONE MAN NERVOUSLY TOLD POLOFF THAT "EVERYONE HERE SUPPORTS AUTONOMY." WHEN ASKED IF ANYONE AT CONFIDENTIAL

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ALL BACKED INDEPENDENCE, HE LOOKED AROUND QUICKLY AND WHISPERED
"YES, THERE ARE SOME." THE CONTRACTOR FOR THE CLINIC, A SINOEAST TIMORESE FROM DILI, HAD BEEN ACCOSTED BY MILITIA WHO HACKED
OFF HIS LONG HAIR. PART OF THE HOUSING COMPLEX THAT HAD BEEN
PREPARED FOR THE TWO AUSTRALIAN DOCTORS AND OTHER PERSONNEL WHO
WILL BE OPERATING THE CLINIC WAS LOCKED UP AND UNACCESSIBLE.
THE LOCAL CARETAKER SAID THE MAHIDI HAD "TAKEN OVER" THESE UNITS
AND WAS IN POSSESSION OF THE KEYS.

TERROR IN AILEU

6. (C) IN AILEU,
DESCRIBED A CONTINUING REIGN OF TERROR IN THE AREA!
HAD RECEIVED DEATH THREATS AND BEEN DRIVEN INTO HIDING AFTER HE
ATTEMPTED TO
THE MILITIA WERE "ARRESTING"
PEOPLE FROM LONG LISTS OF SUPPOSED INDEPENDENCE SUPPORTERS AND
ANYONE WHO HAD ATTENDED THE STUDENT-SPONSORED "DIALOGUES" OF
LATE LAST YEAR. EMPHASIZED THAT AN ATMOSPHERE OF
TERROR EXISTED IN WHICH LOCAL RESIDENTS WERE DENOUNCING AND
BETRAYING EACH OTHER. THOSE WHO WERE DETAINED WERE TAKEN TO A
"CLUBHOUSE" ON THE EDGE OF TOWN WHERE THEY WERE SEVERELY BEATEN,

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AND ACCCORDING TO TORTURED WITH ELECTRIC SHOCKS.

THE MARYKNOLL CLINIC RECENTLY HAD TREATED FIVE SEVERELY INJURED YOUNG MEN WHO HAD BEEN VICTIMIZED. MAINTAINED THAT THE GROUP CARRYING OUT THESE ABUSES INCLUDED REGULAR SOLDIERS FROM "RAJAWALI" UNITS AS WELL AS MILITIA. THE BUPATI (DISTRICT CHIEF) WAS THE NOMINAL HEAD OF THE LOCAL "AHI" (I LIVE FOR INTEGRATION) MILITIA BUT THE ACTUAL OPERATIONAL LEADER WAS DESCRIBED AS A WELL-KNOWN LOCAL THUG WHO HAD BEEN INVOLVED IN AN ABORTIVE SCHEME TO ATTACK BISHOP BELO DURING ONE OF HIS VISITS TO ALIEU LAST YEAR.

DOCTORS AND PATIENTS THREATENED

7. (C) OUR CONTACTS SAID SOME GOVERNMENT DOCTORS WERE INCREASINGLY UNWILLING TO TREAT VICTIMS OF MILITIA VIOLENCE BECAUSE THE DOCTORS THEMSELVES WERE COMING UNDER THREAT IF THEY DID SO. ANOTHER MAJOR CONCERN OF HEALTH PRACTIONERS WAS THE RELUCTANCE OF PEOPLE TO LEAVE THEIR VILLAGES, EVEN FOR URGENTLY

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NEEDED MEDICAL CARE. AT THE MILITIA CHECKPOINTS, ANYONE FOUND AWAY FROM THEIR HOME VILLAGE COULD BE ACCUSED OF WORKING WITH THE GUERRILLAS OR "RUNNING AWAY." ACCORDING TO VARIOUS CONTACTS, MANY YOUNG MEN WERE FLEEING THE VILLAGES TO AVOID BEING FORCIBLY CONSCRIPTED INTO THE MILITIAS.

BLOOD OATHS COULD BE A MAJOR FACTOR CONFIDENTIAL

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8. (C) THE PRO-INTEGRATION FORCES ARE PUTTING GREAT EMPHASIS ON CEREMONIES IN WHICH VILLAGERS TAKE A BLOOD OATH (DRINKING THE BLOOD OF GOATS OR OTHER ANIMALS) TO VOTE FOR AUTONOMY. SAID SUCH CEREMONIES WERE TAKING PLACE IN VIRTUALLY EVERY VILLAGE IN THE AREA. TO REFUSE PARTICIPATION WAS TO BE BRANDED PRO-INDEPENDENCE. ACCORDING TO TRADITIONAL BELIEFS, ANYONE VIOLATING SUCH AN OATH COULD BECOME SICK AND DIE. IN WHAT SEEMED PART OF THE AGE-OLD STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE CHURCH AND ANIMISM IN EAST TIMOR, PRIESTS WERE ATTEMPTING TO CONVINCE RESIDENTS THAT THESE OATHS WERE NOT BINDING. EXPRESSED CONFIDENCE THAT THE PARISHIONERS IN THE RELATIVELY SOPHISTICATED DISTRICT SEAT OF AILEU WOULD RESIST THE VARIOUS FORMS OF INTIMIDATION AND VOTE AS THEY WISH (I.E., OVERWHELMINGLY FOR INDEPENDENCE IN THEIR VIEW.) GIVEN THE LOW EDUCATION LEVELS AND CONTINUING STRENGTH OF TRADITIONAL BELIEFS IN THE RURAL AREAS OF EAST TIMOR WHERE MOST PEOPLE LIVE, IT WOULD APPEAR THAT THESE OATH TAKING CEREMONIES COULD HAVE A SIGNIFICANT IMPACT ON THE VOTE. CONTACTS SAID ANOTHER EFFECTIVE TACTIC OF THE PRO-INTEGRATIONISTS WAS TO WARN LOCAL RESIDENTS THAT REJECTION OF AUTONOMY WOULD GUARANTEE A BLOODBATH REMINISCENT OF 1975-76. THE PRIMARY MESSAGE OF THE PRO-AUTONOMY BANNERS WAS THAT AUTONOMY EQUALLED PEACE.

JAVANESE BUPATI BECOMES TRADITIONAL CHIEF

DESCRIBED AS AN "OBSCENE" 9. (C) IN WHAT VIOLATION OF LOCAL TRADIONAL CUSTOMS, BUPATI (AND AHI LEADER) SUPRAPTO TARMON, A TNI OFFICER FROM JAVA, HAD HIMSELF CORONATED CONFIDENTIAL

JAKART 02672 02 OF 02 011003Z AS THE LOCAL TRADITIONAL CHIEF OF ALIEU, ON MAY 20! RECEIVED FRONT-PAGE COVERAGE IN THE DILI NEWSPAPER! THEORIZED THAT THIS MOVE WAS AN ATTEMPT TO CONVINCE RESIDENTS THAT THI AND THE MILITIAS WERE COMPLETELY IN CHARGE AND THAT

THIS EVENT

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OPPOSITION TO AUTONOMY WAS FRUITLESS.

WORSE IN THE WEST

10. (C) CONTACTS IN AILEU AND MAUBISSE, AS WELL AS IN DILI, STRESSED THAT AS BAD AS THE SITUATION WAS IN AILEU AND AINARO DISTRICTS, CONDITIONS WERE FAR WORSE IN THE DISTRICTS TO THE WEST, INCLUDING ERMERA, LIQUICA, AND BOBONARO. THESE COFFEE-GROWING DISTRICTS REMAINED A NO-GO AREA FOR NCBA AND IT WAS STILL IMPOSSIBLE FOR THE CURRENT COFFEE CROP TO BE HARVESTED AND PROCESSED, A DEVELOPMENT WITH RUINOUS ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES FOR THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE. KILLINGS BY PRO-INTEGRATION MILITIAS ALSO WERE SAID TO BE MORE WIDESPREAD IN THE WESTERN AREAS.

SAID THAT WHILE THE LOCAL MILITIAS WERE
CARRYING OUT INTIMIDATION, BEATINGS AND TORTURE, THERE HAD BEEN

NO RECENT KILLINGS IN AILEU.

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