

*Translation*

**Rape and Sexual Violence in the context of the  
Popular Consultation in East Timor 1999**

*Galuh Wandita<sup>1</sup>*

First I would like to say that I am giving this testimony in a personal capacity, not representing any organisation. Most human rights organisations in Indonesia and East Timor have refused to cooperate with the TFC because of the possibility of recommending amnesty to perpetrators of serious crimes, the fact that the Commission cannot make recommendations on justice. This means that there is a great risk that the TFC can become a vehicle for impunity. Impunity for serious crimes does not only violate obligations under international law but is also a barrier to democratisation in Indonesia. But because I have some hope I can bring some truth about what happened in East Timor in 1999 to the Indonesian public, I have chosen to accept the invitation to testify here.

I began working with NGOs in conflict areas in Indonesia, Eastern Indonesia in particular, in the mid 1990s. In 1997, I facilitated a workshop in Dili which led to the establishment of a women's organisation called the East Timorese Women's Communication Forum (Fokupers). In June 1999, as violence increased in East Timor, I joined the humanitarian effort led by civil society, which included a number of humanitarian organisations from Jakarta, to help with the internally displaced whose numbers were about 60,000-80,000 at the time. I was in East Timor until 6 September, and had to leave Dili in a plane for refugees to Kupang, because I could no longer guarantee my own safety, or any other persons. I returned to Dili a month later, together with Oxfam International's emergency team. Then, together with Fokupers, we designed and implemented a rehabilitation program for women victims of violence. In this capacity, I, together with staff and volunteers from Fokupers, met, documented and accompanied more than 100 women victims, including victims of rape and sexual violence. One year later, I worked for the human rights section in UNTAET, and later joined the Commission for Reception, Truth, and Reconciliation (CAVR) as deputy director and program manager. I can say that consistently, from 1999 to 2005, I studied the issue of violence against women which took place in the context of the conflict in East Timor. I also learned, together with my women colleagues, how to work together with survivors.

It is difficult for me to try to express everything I know and experienced during my six years in East Timor in 20 minutes. But I will try to speak to a number of cases that I am very familiar with, and also the pattern which I understood took place in the context of the violence around the popular consultation.

**The Lolotoe case**

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<sup>1</sup> Statement given at the Truth and Friendship Commission public hearing at the Crowne Plaza Hotel, Jakarta, 29 March 2007.

I and the Fokupers team first heard about this case of rape, conducted directly by the Sub-District Military Commandaer (Danramil) of Lolotoe, and militia members, from a nun working in Bobonaro. After approaching the victim, Witness A, who was then ill, we convinced her to stay at the Fokupers shelter in order to get medical treatment and counseling. She and other witnesses informed us that the following had taken place:

Sometime in May 1999, Witness A and 2 other young women, were taken from their village, the village of Gouda, to Lolotoe town, by KMP [Kaer Metin Metah Putih –hold tight to the Red and White] that operated together with members of TNI. They were taken from their homes by the milita Commander of KMP, who was then wearing a TNI uniform and carrying a grenade. Initially, they were held at the village head's house for a week, but then later moved and detained with about 13 others in the PKK building, across the street from the Koramil (sub-district military post). They were moved again to the home of a militia commander of KMP. During this time they were made to do household chores and also to go to dancing parties organised by the KMP, which involved military personnel, including the Danramil. On about 27 June 1999, the three young women were taken by force from the house of the militia commander, put in the government's health clinic [Puskesmas] "ambulance" and brought to a hotel in Atambua. There the three women were raped, repeatedly for many days, by the Danramil, militia commander and a government health worker. One of the victims was given a contraceptive injection before being raped. During this incident, the KMP commander had an AK-47 and the Danramil wore his TNI uniform.

These rapes took place in a context of violence that was systematic and widespread, aimed at unarmed civilians. The witnesses told us that the KMP militia commanders, for example, could arrest and detain civilians, forcibly keeping them in the Koramil compound or near the Koramil. Numerous witnesses reported that there was no action taken against the perpetrators. Instead, there was support and direct participation in sexual assault and rape by members of the security forces and militia. In a most tragic event in May 1999, a CNRT supporter was attacked by KMP militia, his ear was severed and he was made to eat the severed ear. After the announcement of the results of the popular consultation, the KMP militia, together with members of TNI, conducted attacks which resulted in a number of deaths.

I know about this case because I was directly involved in providing support and interviewing Witness A, as well as the 2 other victims. This case is also in the CAVR report. The Serious Crimes Panel, of the Dili District Court conducted trials for three persons involved in this case but others whom the witnesses identified had fled over the border into Indonesia. On April 5, 2003 the court, consisting of two international and one East Timorese judge convicted two former militia members and a village head for unlawful deprivation of liberty of persons, murder, serious maltreatment and *rape* as crimes against humanity.<sup>2</sup> The three men were sentenced to

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<sup>2</sup> Other than the Lolotoe case, there were 5 other indictments relating to sexual violence in the Dili Court (Panel for Serious Crimes –a mixed international / domestic court established by the UN as part of the Dili District Court). One of these cases was rejected by the court because it was seen to be outside of the court's jurisdiction; another case received a 4 year sentence for rape. Three other indictments are for rape as crimes against humanity: an indictment against 14 Laksaur militia in Suai (Covalima), indictment against 2 Halilintar militia in Atabae (Bobonaro), an indictment that has not been released to the public against 5 TNI personnel for rape, torture and forced deportation as crimes against humanity.

between three and twelve years in prison for their part in these actions.. The two other persons indicted in the same case were the former Danramil and a health worker who were not within the borders of Timor Leste and therefore could not be tried by that court.

### **Rapes after the Attack at the Suai Church**

The Suai church was a place where civilians sought shelter from the increasing violence. From the beginning of 1999 hundreds of displaced people came to the Suai church, following the ebb and rise of violence in Suai. Because I was part of an initiative led by civil society to deal with the humanitarian crisis in East Timor, I was also involved in attempts to bring food to the Suai church in June and August 1999. At that time, I heard directly from victims about the violence that was taking place all over the Covalima district. From Dili, we followed the developments in the Suai church until the last seconds before the massacre on 6 September 1999. But by that time, we were all running to save our own lives, and could not respond to the calls for help from the three priests at the Suai church.

Sometime at the end of October 1999, I returned to the Suai church complex to find a crime scene. The whole town was like a ghost town with most people still in West Timor. There were charred human remains in the front of the church, clothing and other items strewn all over the place, and blood everywhere. I saw a pink dress with blood stains. Some people who had returned from the mountains placed flowers in the places where there were human remains, including where the three priests were murdered. Again we began speaking to victims and survivors, and we began to understand what took place there –an incident of unspeakable evil.

According to victims' testimonies, after the Suai church attack, those who were still alive were forcibly brought to a number of locations: Kodim Suai, SMP 2 (junior highschool building), an orphanage and the Dharma Wanita building. Rapes took place here against these traumatised women by Laksaur, Mahidi militia and also members of the Indonesian security forces. Indonesian security forces were not only negligent and failed to guard their safety, they also took part in the commission of these crimes. One of the witnesses provided the following statement:

*We were forcibly taken to the junior high school building where we were verbally abused by the militia and were not given food for three days. Every night we were harassed and the young girls were taken away by the militia. On 11 September, precisely at 9.00 pm, a man came in with a torch which he shone into my face. He lifted the sarong I was using to cover my face. The Laksaur militia ordered me to stand up and threatened that if I did not they would shoot everybody around me. I had to stand and they dragged me out of the room. I was taken away by [this] Laksaur militia who raped me and then returned me to the room where all I could do was cry...On the following day we were taken to the Dharma Wanita building. We were terrorised there and the women were taken out. On 14 September a police officer who was said to be a member of SGI forced me inside a vehicle. I was scared and crying. The militia said: "You had better go or I'll shoot you tonight." I was taken to the house owned by a police officer and was raped. After*

*that I was returned to the Dharma Wanita building when the others were already asleep.*

There were dozens of cases like this which we found, and in this hearing, we have already heard testimonies from victims and survivors from the Suai church. For some victims of rape the violations continued when they were moved to West Timor. [See Annex: Rapes and Sexual Slavery after the Suai Church Attack, 6 September 1999, from CAVR report.]

### **Rape and Murder of Ana Lemos**

Ana Lemos was a teacher who was active in CNRT in the Ermera district. When violence broke out in Ermera on the day of the ballot Ana was evacuated to Dili. However, a few days later she returned to Ermera. Her mother, Ines Lemos, gave her testimony at the CAVR:

*At approximately 8.00 pm, an East Timorese TNI soldier from Battalion 744 named H and his members...arrived at my neighbour's...house where we were staying because our house had been burned down a few days before. Before H entered the house we were already surrounded by Rajawali troops. H came into the house and sat in the front room. Then he called Ana to come out from the back [of the house] and made her sit next to him. In front of me, he pulled Ana towards him, hugged and kissed her...I went into the back room because it upset me to see my daughter treated like that. At that time my neighbour's wife told Ana's daughter and her own daughter to go into the back room. She locked them in so that they would not have to see what H did to Ana.*

*After my neighbour left the front room, H dragged Ana to the front of the house next to the stairs on the verandah, and there he raped her. We watched from the window...We heard Ana scream but we could do nothing. Perhaps because his cohorts felt they had been kept waiting too long, they fired one shot in the air and H stopped what he was doing [and left]...When we went out, Ana was crying. She said, "I feel ashamed because I have been treated like an animal"...*

*On 12 September they came again to pick up Ana [and] she went with them. We went to mass and then we too were picked up with a car and taken to Gleno...After that Ana was made to cook for TNI, the police and militia. On 13 September 1999, a commander from the Darah Merah militia known as Z arrived with his associates. Z said to Ana: "Teacher, get into the car." I said if that was the case I wanted to accompany my daughter, but they refused...Ana said to me: "Mother, now it is Z taking me off. I know I will be killed." I waited from morning until 5.00 that afternoon, but Ana did not come back. Suddenly (another) Darah Merah militia arrived. He said to me: "Mama, stop waiting because the teacher has been killed... This is the first time I've ever seen someone from Ermera kill a woman."<sup>3</sup>*

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<sup>3</sup> Testimony of Ines Lemos at the Women's Hearing held by CAVR, in Dili, April 2003. See, CAVR Report, Chapter 7.8 on Sexual Violence, page 45

I was in the same car with Ana when the UNAMET office was evacuated in Ermera, because all observers, international and national, were also made to evacuate in one convoy. I also saw how an Indonesian policeman tried to save Ana Lemos and helped secure her in the vehicle in which I was travelling. We all arrived safely in Dili. Until now I feel regret about how Ana ended up dying in such an inhumane manner.

### **CAVR’s data on rapes in 1999**

What I want to say here is that the rapes and sexual violence that took place in 1999 cannot be seen in isolation from the sexual violence which took place before 1999. From CAVR’s statement-taking process, CAVR documented 853 counts of sexual violence, and interviewed another 200 cases of sexual violence which took place during the whole period of the conflict (1974-1999).

The most frequently reported form of sexual violence was rape at 46.1% (393 out of 853 cases), other forms of sexual violence at 27.1% (231 out of 853), and sexual slavery<sup>4</sup> at 26.8% (229 out of 853). Ninety-two point seven percent (92.7%, or 791 out of 853) of sexual violence incidents were committed by Indonesian security forces, (from 791 counts: 518 perpetrators were police and TNI, 184 militia, and 89 perpetrators were security forces together with militia.) Whereas 3.3% of the perpetrators were committed by members of the resistance movement (28 out of 853), and 4% by others (34 out of 853). Of all reported incidents of sexual violence, 16.7% (142 out of 853) occurred during the violence surrounding the referendum in 1999.<sup>5</sup>

Data on the perpetrators of sexual violence provides a clear picture of who committed these crimes:

#### *Perpetrators of Sexual Violence in 1999 reported to CAVR*

	<b>Total</b>	<b>Militia Acting on Their Own</b>	<b>Military &amp; Police Acting on Their Own</b>	<b>Military &amp; Police Acting Together</b>	<b>Fretilin/ Falintil</b>	<b>Other</b>
Sexual Violence	142	93	31	11	2	4

#### *Other violations in 1999 reported to CAVR*

	<b>Total</b>	<b>Militia Acting on Their Own</b>	<b>Military &amp; Police Acting on Their Own</b>	<b>Military &amp; Police Acting Together</b>	<b>Fretilin/ Falintil</b>	<b>Other</b>

<sup>4</sup> CAVR found a pattern where Indonesian soldiers “used” women like their own property, described as euphemism “wives of ABRI.” According to CAVR this was a human rights violation more appropriately called sexual slavery.

<sup>5</sup> Data from CAVR’s Final Report. CAVR found that there was an increase in the numbers of sexual violence at the same time there was an increase in military operations: at the time of invasion, in the mid-1980s, and then in 1999.

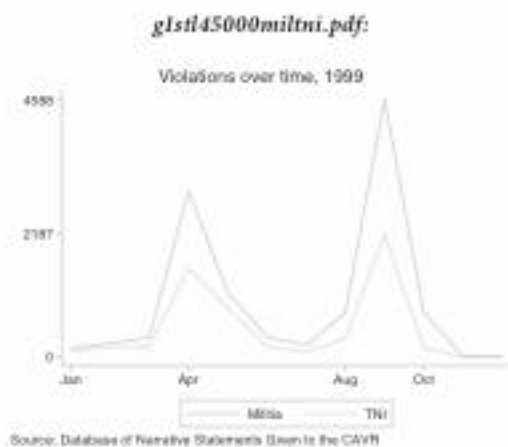
Killing	840	417	84	258	31	48
Disappearance	60	29	15	7	2	7
Torture & Ill treatment	4,324	2,310	805	968	52	146
Detention	2,779	1209	529	890	24	121

Data: From Table 15 & 16 “Violations by perpetrators, 1999” CAVR Report : Chega!, Chapter 12 Accountability, p. 98-99.

The data collected by CAVR on sexual violence that occurred in 1999 show a pattern which must be noted. There were two peaks in the number of sexual violence cases: in April and September 1999, both committed by Indonesian security forces and militia.



This graph on counts of sexual violence, when compared to the graph of all violations<sup>6</sup> by security forces and militia, show a consistency in this pattern, with the same peaks in April and September 1999. This shows that rapes did not take place randomly, that there was a design, a pattern.



## Rape in the Context of Widespread and Systematic Attack

<sup>6</sup> All violations include killings, disappearances, torture, detention, cruel treatment, sexual violence, forced displacement, forced recruitment, and destruction of property. The total counts of violations which took place in 1999 reported to CAVR 15,681. 56.3% committed by militia, 14% by Indonesian security forces, and 24.4% by security forces together with militia, 0.20% by the resistance movement, and 4 % by others.

In international law jurisprudence, one case of rape which takes place in the context of a widespread or systematic attack on civilians is sufficient to prove that rape as a crime against humanity has taken place. In East Timor in 1999 there were hundreds of rapes, if not more. The reported cases are likely to represent a far greater number which were not reported, due an unwillingness of victims to tell others of their suffering. Unfortunately the stigmatisation of victims of sexual assault, who deserve honour and help, continues .

The many cases of sexual violence in East Timor reported by victims appear to fulfil the legal definition of crimes against humanity by fulfilling the essential elements of that crime as follows:

- *There was an attack* (in this case, the attack takes the form of killings, detention, etc as well as sexual violence) *against civilians* ( in this case most victims were refugees, including women, all unarmed).
- *The attack was widespread*: that is, the attacks were frequent, took place in many locations and were conducted collectively, against many victims. Rapes took place in all districts, in many cases perpetrators jointly committed these crimes. In other cases commanders of those who committed the crimes were responsible because they knew the crimes were being committed and failed to take effective steps to prevent them, or to punish the perpetrators. ,
- *The attack was systematic*—CAVR’s findings that show the two peaks in the number of counts of sexual violence coincided with the peaks in the counts of all other violations in April and September 1999. This indicates that there was a pattern and a design involved in the commission of the crimes . The fact that rapes took place in military compounds, and the perpetrators used vehicles, weapons, and other state assets to commit these crimes support a finding that the crimes were systematic.
- The perpetrators of these crimes knew about the wider context and knew that their acts were part of these attacks. Also, the perpetrator knew that if he attacked a victim (raped), his action would be tolerated.

Additionally, international jurisprudence accepts that policy can proven by demonstrating a pattern. Gay Mc Dougal, a UN Special Rapporteur, summarizes that “proof of policy, plan or design is generally considered to be a necessary element of a prosecution for crimes against humanity. The failure to take action to address widespread or systematic attacks against a civilian population can be sufficient to establish the requisite element of policy, plan or design.”<sup>7</sup>

## Closing

I hope this Commission will recognise how important acknowledging the truth is for our nation’s journey towards democratization.

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<sup>7</sup> United Nations, *Contemporary Forms of Slavery: Systematic Rape, Sexual Slavery and Slavery-like Practices during Armed Conflict*, Gay J. McDougal New York: United Nations, 1998, E/CN.4/Sub.2/1998/13. See also Theodor Meron, "Rape as a Crime under international humanitarian law", *American Journal of International Law*, vol. 87, 1993, p. 428.

In Indonesia the truth is usually avoided and compromised for political interests. And the cost is that the terrible, inexcusable crimes continue to be committed against women in conflict areas in Indonesia. Denying the truth which victims bravely speak will guarantee that such crimes continue to be committed in the future.

Most of the women survivors whom I have met, whom I know, are simple peasants with no particular political beliefs or agenda. They became victims when violence was allowed to dominate. There is still no justice for them, their lives still very difficult.

Indonesia is now increasingly taking a place as an important member of the United Nations. Our government now has a seat on the UN Security Council and is a member of the UN Human Rights Council. It has recently ratified important international human rights conventions and plans to become a member of the International Criminal Court in 2008.

According to UN principles,<sup>8</sup> victims of serious crimes have three main rights: the right to truth, to justice and reparations. Because crimes against humanity are committed not just against a country's laws or standards, but are a violation of the humanity that each of us shares there is no statute of limitation for these crimes, . Instead, there is universal jurisdiction. This means that according to international law there is an obligation for all states to prosecute or extradite those suspected of committing crimes against humanity and this obligation does not expire over time. These three rights of victims –the right to truth, justice and reparations are indivisible and are the essence of the healing process for victims, and the healing process of a nation.

Isn't it time that we honoured our obligations by fulfilling these duties to establish the truth, bring those responsible for atrocities to justice and provide reparations to victims? In our experience as a nation, denial and impunity has encouraged the commission of such crimes against innocent victims. Yesterday's denial made today's crimes a reality. And today's denial will make tomorrow's crimes inevitable

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<sup>8</sup> Basic Principles and Guidelines on the Right to a Remedy and Reparation for Victims of Gross Violations of International Human Rights Law and Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law.

**Rape and sexual slavery after the Suai Church Massacre,  
6 September 1999**

The rapes and sexual slavery of women after the attack on the Suai Church on 6 September 1999 were organised systematically. Rape occurred in several places where women, who had been refugees at the Suai Church were temporarily accommodated, namely at the Suai Kodim, at a junior high school building (SMP 2), an orphanage and the Wives of Civil Servants (Dharma Wanita) building. Women were also raped in transit to Atambua, West Timor and during their stay in refugee camps there. The Commission received evidence of rape and sexual slavery from 11 testimonies that name Laksaur and Mahidi (Mati Hidup Integrasi dengan Indonesia, Dead or Alive Integration with Indonesia) militias as well as the Indonesian security forces as perpetrators of these crimes.

CF was one of the refugees attacked in Suai Church who personally witnessed the killing of one of the priests, Father Francisco. After that she was detained in the high school building and witnessed women being taken out by militia. Eventually, she too was raped by a militia member and, a few days later, by a police officer. CF told the Commission:

*We were forcibly taken to the junior high school building where we were verbally abused by the militia and were not given food for three days. Every night we were harassed and the young girls were taken away by the militia. On 11 September, precisely at 9.00pm, a man came in with a torch which he shone into my face. He lifted the sarong I was using to cover my face. The Laksaur militia ordered me to stand up and threatened that if I did not they would shoot everybody around me. I had to stand and they dragged me out of the room. I was taken away by PS185, a Laksaur militia who raped me and then returned me to the room where all I could do was cry... On the following day we were taken to the Dharma Wanita building. We were terrorised there and the women were taken out. On 14 September a police officer who was said to be a member of SGI forced me inside a vehicle. I was scared and crying. The militia said: "You had better go or I'll shoot you tonight." I was taken to the house owned by a police officer and was raped. After that I was returned to the Dharma Wanita building when the others were already asleep. A Lauksar militia threatened me, "Today you went with a policeman, if tomorrow we call you and you refuse, you will die." 110*

Irene dos Santos also testified to the Commission about the rapes that took place after the attack at the Suai Church. On 7 September 1999, Irene saw two women, DF and EF, taken away forcibly by Laksaur militia known as PS186, PS187 and PS188. The three men beat DF severely until her mouth and nose were bleeding. Eventually DF fell to the ground and there she was raped while unconscious. As a result of the beating, the victim hemorrhaged for four months and then died. 111

EF is a courageous young woman who testified at the Commission's First National Victims' Public Hearing Rona Ami-nia Lian (Hear our voices) in Dili from 11-12

November 2002. She witnessed the murder of many people in the Suai Church, including her own family. The survivors were divided into two groups - approximately 75 were taken to the Kodim and another 50 to the school building. EF told the Commission:

*We were taken to the school building - approximately 50 people, including children. I overheard the militia say: "Don't kill that one, we'll rape her." I was scared and did not have the courage to look at them. On the way to the high school, we were escorted by Javanese police in uniform...At the school, we were all put into a dark room...A militia called PS189, a teacher from the village of Leogor, came to force me to sleep with him. But I refused. He became angry, kicked me in the back and slapped me on the face till it was swollen and I fell to the ground. Then he forced me he took off my clothes and raped me.*

EF was repeatedly raped in the junior high school building. "On the night of 10 September, they interrogated me and demanded money. Because I was scared I gave Rp100,000 to PS398, Rp100,000 to PS399 and Rp50,000 to PS400. In the darkness we were raped together with other women." According to her testimony, at least three other women were raped that night by militia members named PS190 and PS191. On 13 September 1999 the refugees were put into a Hino truck with Indonesian soldiers and militia and taken to a camp [in West Timor] to stay with other refugees. Shortly afterwards PS189 found EF and forced her into a situation of sexual slavery. EF stated:

*He said he had been looking for me for two days. He hit me with his handmade weapon right in the mouth, kicked me in the chest and hit my back in front of several people. That night he moved me to his house and when we arrived...he raped me again. I was with this man for three months and 16 days. During the day he would go out and keep me locked inside a room and when he returned he would open the door and do it again.112*

Those who were kept in the Suai Kodim headquarters experienced the same sexual violence. FF sought refuge in the Suai Church in July 1999. Her husband was a member of CNRT who had already fled into the forest. She stated:

*[T]he large-scale attack by the Laksaur militia in the Suai Church. Also taking part in the attack were Indonesian soldiers out of uniform. They were using handmade weapons - fire arms, machetes, samurai swords...I saw many dead people.*

FF escaped death only to become a victim of rape and sexual slavery. After the massacre, the survivors were mustered:

*We were made to gather and not move. They threatened to shoot anyone who moved. At about 3.00 pm my family and I were moved to the Kodim. At about midnight on 7 September, PS192 threatened and raped me. I did not resist because I was too scared.*

After five days FF was moved to the Koramil and then to an orphanage where she was raped again by the same man:

*When he did that, there were four TNI soldiers outside on night duty. At 6:00am the following morning PS192 took me on a Yamaha motorcycle from the orphanage to Rai Henek Oan [Betun, West Timor]. There, he threatened me with a knife. As long as I was there I was his “wife”. He said I had to be his mistress because my husband [did not support autonomy]. I had to become his mistress because I was a survivor of the Suai Church tragedy.113*

GF was 15 when she, with her aunt and younger brother, sought refuge in the Suai Church. Her aunt testified about GF’s kidnapping and sexual slavery:

*During the massacre...GF’s 13-year-old brother was killed. We were made to leave the church with other refugees. We were divided into two groups - some [were taken] to the Kodim and some to the high school in Suai. GF and I were in the Kodim for one week until 12 September 1999. At the Kodim, in front of me, PS193 and a member of Laksaur [militia], PS194, put a necklace around GF’s neck. PS194 said: “This is my war prize. As of now, GF is my third wife.” From that moment on GF was separated from her family and taken wherever PS194 went. GF was taken to live in the Laksaur headquarters in Raihenek, Betun, West Timor.114*

In her testimony to the Commission, HF described how she was forcibly taken from the Suai Church to the Kodim after the massacre. During the eight days of her detention there she was repeatedly raped by PS195, PS196 and four other militia. On 14 September she was moved to Atambua where she was repeatedly raped by PS197, PS198 and four other Laksaur militia. 115

A young woman, IF, narrowly escaped death during the massacre at the Suai Church. As the situation quieted:

*My aunt and I and other refugees were staying at the Kodim. We were harassed throughout our stay there. Women were taken away at night. They would come with torches and shine them on us while we were sleeping. Then they would make the women go out with them.*

IF said that on 14 September she was taken to Betun, West Timor, and that night she was raped:

*At about 6.00pm or 7.00pm four men came in a hardtop jeep. Two of them were armed. They took me in the jeep to a forest where two Laksaur militia took turns raping me.116*

JF was one of the refugees taken to the Kodim then forcibly displaced to West Timor, where many survivors of the Suai Church Massacre were taken:

*At the time, the survivors...women and children, were separated in two groups of approximately 100 people. We were taken to the Kodim and the others to the junior high school building. PS194, his brother, who was the village head of Moruk, and several other militia wearing black Laksaur T-shirts took us there. They were carrying handmade*

*weapons, machetes and AR [a kind of semi-automatic rifle], whereas the military and police officers were in uniform but unarmed.*

On 11 September, JF was taken to a refugee camp in Wemasa, Timor Barat. Nine days later some Laksaur militia - PS194, PS199, PS200, PS201 (a primary school teacher), PS202 and PS203 - grabbed JF, who was holding her child, and her sister-in-law and put them in a car with other women. They were taken to an isolated area where JF was raped in turns by PS199 and PS201. She described the rape:

*PS199 took me away from the vehicle, told me to put my child on the ground and to take my clothes off. Then he raped me. When he finished I held my child again. When I got back to the car, I was taken away again by PS201 and he did the same to me. The child was crying, but there was nothing I could do because at the time I was feeling severe pain. After they raped me I was taken back. It was 1.00am. On the way back they were merry and laughing.117*

A week later JF was raped again, this time by a member of the civilian staff of the Suai Kodim named PS204. The rape took place in the refugee camp in front of her mother and sister-in-law.

KF remembers in detail how the refugees were deported to West Timor and how she was raped in a refugee camp. She testified:

*On Wednesday [15 September 1999], a member of Kodim 1635, a Pratu [Private First Class] whose name I did not know, arrived in a truck and took 57 of us, including children, to Wemasain West Timor...At 11.00 on the night of 5 October 1999, Commander PS194, PS202, PS200, PS190 and Pratu [Private First Class] PS206 from unit 144 came to our place while we were asleep. They were dressed in army fatigues and armed. They threatened to kill us. I was raped by [Laksaur] Commander PS194. When he was finished he said: "You are just like a slut to be used and then thrown away."118*

LF1 also told about her experiences after the murder of Father Francisco and her husband during the massacre:

*[T]hose of us who survived were ordered out [of the church]. We were shoved, kicked with boots, trodden upon and beaten. They pointed guns and machetes at us all the way from the church to the Kodim 1635 house...There were many people at the Kodim, among them Domingas, the wife of the [CNRT] zone leader of the Zumalai Sub-district, with her daughters, Zulmira, Fatima, Agustinha, Cinta and Monica...While at the Kodim we were verbally abused, ridiculed and given leftover food. The other women and I did not eat because we were afraid of being poisoned. On 13 September 1999...the Kasdim [Kodim chief of staff] ordered our move to Betun [West Timor] on four trucks...but at the Camenasa [Suai, Covalima] crossroads we were left by the side of the road.*

*On 14 September 1999, at about 7.00pm, a Laksaur member, PS208, took away my niece who was with me at the time. She was forced into a hardtop jeep and taken away. On the*

*same evening at 7:30, a friend and I continued [our journey] with the help of a Mahidi member we knew...He took us by foot to Betun. We were escorted by two police officers on motorcycles. Walking from the Camenasa crossroads to Betun, West Timor, took eight hours. We arrived on 15 September 1999 at 10:00am. [Just as we arrived] my niece was brought back by Laksaur member PS208 on a motorcycle. When she got off the motorcycle she could not walk because she had been raped. She had injuries and blood on her genitals, I treated her...she drank [a concoction of] water and sirih [betel leaf], I washed her with sirih water and leaves that I had boiled.119*

MF was abducted by a Laksaur militia, PS209, and taken to the Kodim. 120 After a short while there, MF and other refugees were moved to Wemasa, West Timor. On 21 October 1999 she was assaulted by a Laksaur militia, PS210. On that night, two Laksaur militia members, PS194 and PS190, forced her into a vehicle. At first they invited her to a party under the pretext that she could meet her husband there, but when she refused they just shoved her into the car. There was already another woman in the car. "At that time I said to my parents, 'If I am not back by morning, it means I am dead.'" At the Wemasa crossroads, PS190 raped MF and PS194 raped the other woman.

The rape and sexual slavery experienced by the women who survived the Suai Church Massacre show elements of a pattern:

- collaboration between the Indonesian security forces and the militia at the time of the massacre and afterwards
- the placement of the victims in the Suai Kodim, school building, and in other places guarded by security forces
- militia and police personnel had unimpeded access to the women staying in those places
- the security forces and police did not protect these women from becoming victims of sexual crimes.