



Remembering the past,
building the future:

New ways of seeing

TIMOR - LESTE

Vannessa Hearman, Marisa Ramos Gonçalves, David Webster (orgs/eds)

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REMEMBERING THE PAST, BUILDING THE FUTURE: NEW WAYS OF SEEING TIMOR-LESTE
PENSAR O PASSADO, CONSTRUIR O FUTURO: NOVAS PERSPECTIVAS SOBRE TIMOR-LESTE
HANOIN BA TEMPU ULUK, HARII FUTURU: PERSPETIVA FOUN SIRA KONABÁ TIMOR-LESTE

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Pensar o passado, construir o futuro:
Novas Perspetivas sobre

Hanoin ba tempu uluk, harii futuru:
Perspetiva foun sira konabá

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Organização

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Vannessa Hearman, Marisa Ramos Gonçalves, David Webster

Remembering the past, building the Future: New ways of seeing Timor-Leste

In Timor-Leste, as elsewhere, history is central in looking back and looking forwards; in the development of a national identity through establishing foundational histories, and in mobilising for contemporary social and political objectives. This volume draws together papers that consider the connections between the past and the present in the field of historical and archival research and in the arts; in particular, the papers look at how inequity and injustice over time can be addressed through scholarly research, professional practice, and artistic creations.

In looking at the past, the dominant national narrative in Timor-Leste in the first two decades after independence has focused on the resistance against the Indonesian annexation. More recently, a movement for the ‘Timorisation’ of historical production and memorialisation has gained momentum, however; as well as an expansion of the range of historical subjects. Several oral history research and writing initiatives have attempted to go beyond nationalist narratives, focusing on the role and histories of women, younger generations, diasporas, and international solidarity. Some of this work is featured here. There is, correspondingly, an increasing interest from researchers and the East Timorese public in information and archives on the history of the country, in all their forms, mostly located in places distant from Timor-Leste. Such interest has led to historians and archivists doing more to increase access as our authors show in this volume. Looking at new historical actors and subjects, using recently-available and recently-shared archival and other sources address inequities of the past in multiple ways.

The interest in the country’s past is unsurprising given that it continues to resonate in the everyday lives of the East Timorese people, such as in oral narratives, artistic and cultural practices, and the built environment. The works performed or those which are the subject of the scholarly research featured in this volume reflect on how creative expression can represent the past and, in turn, express aspirations for the future.

Visual and performing arts play a vital role in the task of cultural maintenance and memorialization for the East Timorese. The arts demonstrate the resilience of a people. The visual medium is used not only to relate to the past, but also to intervene in present day struggles for social change. It has critiqued and contested inequitable power structures and shaped the new nation of Timor-Leste. The arts

can provide a way to educate young people about their history in a fun and accessible way, as well as to provide a sharp critique about the society taking shape around them out of the ashes of war and conflict.

The volume consists of new research drawn from a range of disciplines, such as history, architecture, urban planning, anthropology, archival studies, postcolonial studies, and art studies. Many of our authors employ an interdisciplinary approach in keeping with the complex and multi-faceted issues they address in their scholarly research and creative practice. These papers show the vibrancy, as well as the difficulties, of researching and writing about various aspects of East Timorese society past and present.

Finally, the papers bring to the fore plural narratives connecting the local, national, regional, and international dimensions of the history and contemporary life of Timor-Leste. By bringing together researchers based in Timor-Leste and elsewhere, working in multiple languages and archives, and collaborating to produce this volume, we hope that in our own small way, we have contributed to overcoming some of the inequities of the past, too often so inherent in processes of academic knowledge production.

Pensar o passado, construir o futuro: Novas perspetivas sobre Timor-Leste

Em Timor-Leste, como noutras locais, a história é central para olhar para o passado e para o futuro; para o desenvolvimento de uma identidade nacional por meio de histórias fundacionais e para a mobilização de objetivos sociais e políticos contemporâneos. Este livro reúne artigos que contemplam as ligações entre o passado e o presente nas áreas da pesquisa histórica e arquivística e do estudo das artes. Em particular, os textos colocam no centro da sua análise a questão de como pode ser abordada a injustiça e a desigualdade, ao longo do tempo, pela investigação académica, a prática profissional e as criações artísticas.

Na análise histórica das últimas duas décadas, a narrativa nacional dominante em Timor-Leste tem-se centrado na resistência contra a ocupação indonésia. No entanto, mais recentemente, um movimento de “Timorização” da produção histórica e da memorialização tem ganho ímpeto, bem como a diversificação dos temas históricos que são objeto de investigação. Vários projetos de história oral e de escrita têm procurado investigar sobre temas que vão para além das narrativas nacionalistas e que estão praticamente ausentes na historiografia do país –

histórias das mulheres, gerações jovens, diásporas e solidariedade internacional. Neste livro são tratados alguns destes temas. Por outro lado, existe um interesse acrescido da parte dos/as investigadores/as e do público timorense na documentação e arquivos existentes sobre a história do país e que estão localizados, em grande parte, em locais distantes de Timor-Leste. Este aumento da percepção da sua importância tem levado historiadores/as e técnicos/as de arquivo a promover um acesso maior a estas coleções, como alguns autores/as demonstram neste livro. Esta procura por abordar novos/as protagonistas históricos/as e usar uma diversidade de fontes, incluindo fontes arquivísticas disponibilizadas recentemente, abre caminho para colmatar injustiças históricas.

O interesse no passado do país não surpreende, dadas as suas repercussões nas vidas contemporâneas das/os Timorenses – nas narrativas orais, artísticas e práticas culturais, e nos edifícios e monumentos. As criações artísticas e a pesquisa académica realizada a seu respeito, incluídas neste volume, refletem sobre as suas potencialidades para representar o passado e, simultaneamente, imaginar futuros possíveis.

As artes visuais e performativas têm um papel fundamental nas tarefas de preservação cultural e memorialização em Timor-Leste e demonstram a resiliência de um povo. Por outro lado, os meios visuais promovem não só este diálogo com o passado, mas também intervêm nas lutas sociais do presente. As artes abrem espaço para a crítica e a contestação de estruturas de poder desiguais e a formação da nova nação Timor-Leste. As artes são, igualmente, uma forma mais acessível e intuitiva de educar as gerações mais jovens, e também de promover um olhar crítico sobre a sociedade em que vivem, nascida das cinzas da guerra e do conflito.

Este volume apresenta novas investigações provenientes de um leque disciplinar diversificado, que inclui a história, arquitetura, planeamento urbano, antropologia, estudos arquivísticos, póscoloniais e artísticos. Vários/as autores/as usam uma abordagem interdisciplinar quer na pesquisa académica quer na prática criativa, revelando uma melhor adequação à complexidade e multidimensionalidade dos temas que tratam. Os artigos mostram a vivacidade, bem como as dificuldades vividas na pesquisa e escrita sobre vários assuntos relacionados com a sociedade timorense.

Finalmente, os textos revelam narrativas plurais que interligam dimensões locais, nacionais, regionais e internacionais da história e vida contemporânea timorense.

Da junção de investigadores/as a viver em Timor-Leste e outros locais do mundo, trabalhando em várias línguas e arquivos, e colaborando para produzir este livro, esperamos ter contribuído, mesmo que um pouco apenas, para ultrapassar as desigualdades do passado, não raramente inerentes ao próprio processo de produção do conhecimento académico.

Hanoin ba tempu uluk, harii futuru: Perspetiva foun sira konabá Timor-Leste

Iha Timor-Leste, hanesan mós iha fatin sira seluk, istória ne'e sentrál hodi haree ba pasadu no ba futuru; ba dezenvolvimentu identidade nacionál ida liuhosi istória hun sira no ba mobilizasaun husi objetivu sosiál no político kontemporáneu sira. Livru ida-ne'e halibur artigu sira ne'ebé kontempla ligasaun sira entre pasadu no prezente iha area peskiza istórica no arkivística no husi estudu arte sira nian. Haree partikulár, testu sira koloka iha sentru husi ninia análise ba kestaun mak oinsá bele aborda injustisa no dezigualdade, husi tempu naruk, ho investigasaun akadémika, prática profisionál no kriasaun artística sira.

Iha análise istórica husi dékada rua ikus, narrativa nacionál dominante iha Timor-Leste maka sentradu ba rezisténsia kontra okupasaun indonézia. Maski, resente liu, movimentu ida ba ‘Timorizasaun’ husi produsaun istórica no ba memorializasaun, maka hetan ímpetu, buat di'ak hanesan diversifikaun ba tema istóriku sira maka sai objetu ba investigasaun. Projeto husi istória orál oioin no hakerrek nian koko hodi buka investiga tema sira ne'ebé iha, alein ba narrativa nacionálista sira no ida-ne'e prácticamente auzente husi istoriografia país nian – istória feto nian, jerasaun joven sira, diáspora sira no solidariedade internasional. Livru ida-ne'e trata ba tema sira-ne'e balun. Iha sorin seluk, eziste interesse boot husi parte investigadór/a sira no husi públiku timoroan ba dokumentasaun no arkivu ezistente kona-ba istória país nian ne'ebé lokalizadu hela, parte barakliu, iha fatin sira dook husi Timor-Leste. Aumentu persesaun nian ba ninia importânsia lori istoriadór/a sira, no tékniku/arkivu nian hodi promove asesu boot ida ba kolesaun sira-ne'e, hanesan autór/a balun hatudu iha livru ida-ne'e. Hahalok ida-ne'e aborda protagonista istoriku/a foun sira no uza diversidade ida ho fonte oioin, inklindu fonte arkivística sira disponível ohin loron, loke dalan hodi hakat-liu injustisa-istórica sira.

Interesse ba pasadu país nian la halo hakfodak, haree husi ninia reperkusaun sira ba timoroan ninia moris kontemporánea – iha narrativa orál sira, artística sira no prática kulturál sira, no iha edifísiu no monumentu sira. Kriasaun artística sira no pekiza akadémika realiza ho ninia respeitu, inklui iha volume ida-ne'e, reflete sobre ninia potensialidade sira hodi reprezenta ba pasadu no, simultaneamente, habele imajina futuru sira tuirmai.

Arte vizuál sira no performativa sira iha papel fundamental ida ba tarefa preservasaun kulturál nian no memorializasaun iha Timor-Leste no hatudu povu ida ninia resiliénsia. Husi sorin seluk, meiu vizuál sira la'ós de'it diálogu ho pasadu,

maibé mós intervein iha luta sosiál ohin loron nian. Arte sira loke espasu ba krí-tika no ba kontestasaun husi estrutura podér deziguál nian no ba formasaun NASAUN foun Timor-Leste nian. Arte sira maka, igualmente, forma ida asesível liu no intuitiva hodi eduka jerasaun sira joven liu, nomós hodi promove fihir ida krítiku kona-ba sosiedade ne'ebé moris hela, mai husi ahi-kdesan funu no konflitu nian.

Volume ida-ne'e apresenta investigasaun foun sira mai husi dixiplina oioin, ne'ebé inklui istória, arquitetura, planeamento urbanu, antropolojia, estudu arkivistiku, póscolonia no artístiku sira. Autór/a oioin utiliza adordajen interdixiplinár ida ba peskiza akadémika, ba práтика kriativa, hato'o adekuasaun ida di'akliu ba kompleksidade no multidimensionalidade husi tema sira ne'ebé trata hela. Artigu sira hatudu vivasidade, hanesan mós difikuldade ne'ebé mosu iha peskiza eskrita kona-ba asuntu relacionadu oioin ho sosiedade timoroan.

Ikusmai, testu sira haktuir narrativa plurál sira ne'ebé interliga dimesaun lokál, nasional, regional no internasional sira husi istória no timoroan nia moris contemporánea. Tau hamutuk investigadór/a sira ne'ebé moris iha Timor-Leste no iha lokál seluk iha mundu, haknaar iha lian no arkivu oioin, no kolabora hodi prodús livru ida-ne'e, ami hanoin bele kontribui, maski ida uitoan de'it, hodi ultrapasa dezigualdade pasadu nian, la'ós mesak inerente iha prosesu ba produsaun husi koñesimentu akadémiku rasik.

1. A Construção de Timor Colonial (1894-1975): Manifestações de poder na estruturação do espaço

Isabel Boavida¹

A Construção de Timor Colonial (1894-1975): Manifestações de poder na estruturação do espaço

A arquitetura e a estruturação urbana e territorial constituíram ferramentas às quais a administração colonial portuguesa recorreu para se afirmar e autorrepresentar como estrutura de poder dominante em Timor.

Com o presente artigo pretende-se demonstrar como se processou essa marcação do domínio colonial empregando a restruturação territorial e a edificação. Ao mesmo tempo, procura-se identificar as intenções de fabricação de uma imagem da colonização portuguesa de Timor não só nos processos de edificação, mas também na documentação produzida pelas antigas autoridades coloniais, que constitui a fonte primária desta análise.

Timor. Colonização portuguesa. Séc. XIX-XX. Ordenamento do território. Edificação.

Construction of Colonial Timor (1894-1975): Demonstrations of power in the structuring of space

Architecture and urban and territorial planning were used as instruments for the Portuguese colonial administration to assert and represent itself as the dominant power structure in Timor.

The aim of this article is to demonstrate how this demarcation of colonial dominance occurred through the use of territorial restructuring and construction. At the same time, the paper seeks to identify the intentions in creating an image of the Portuguese rule, both in the building processes and in the documentation produced by the former colonial authorities, which constitute the primary source of this analysis.

Timor. Portuguese colonialism. 19th-20th centuries. Territorial planning. Construction.

1. Doutoranda em Patrimónios de Influência Portuguesa (CES | III – Universidade de Coimbra). Contacto: isabelboavida@ces.uc.pt.

Harii Timór iha tempu koloniál (1894-1975): buka podér bainhira haloot fatin

Arkitetura, estrutura urbana no territoriál maka nu'udar besi-dulas ne'ebé administra-saun koloniál portugeza sadere ba hodi hatuur estrutura podér nian iha Timór.

Artigu ida-ne'e mos hakarak hatudu oinsá maka prosesu domínasaun koloniál la'o tiha liu estrutura territoriál foun no konstrusaun. Ami buka mós identifika hakaran oinsá atu tada imajen ida kolonizasaun portugeza nian liuhosi harii uma nomós liuhosi dokumentasaun ne'ebé hetan hosi autoridade koloniál, hanesan hun ba lehat ida-ne'e.

Timór. Kolonizasaun portugeza. Sék. XIX-XX. Ordenamento territorial. Edifikasaun.

Introdução

O presente artigo debruça-se sobre parte da tese de doutoramento em curso, intitulada “A Construção de Timor Colonial. Marcas Políticas e Administrativas na Arquitetura, Urbanismo e Ordenamento do Território (1894 -1975)”, que analisa a forma como o espaço – nas suas dimensões territorial, urbana e arquitectónica – reflete e representa as relações de poder inerentes à situação colonial, bem como as políticas implementadas no sentido do controlo económico e social, no caso específico da colonização portuguesa de Timor.

Para o desenvolvimento da tese em curso, e deste artigo, parte-se do conceito de colonialismo como forma de dominação – controlo de indivíduos ou grupos sobre o território e/ou comportamento de outros indivíduos ou grupos –, exploração económica e processo de alteração cultural (Horvath, 1972), e da premissa que o território resulta do poder que sobre ele exercem as comunidades humanas que o dominam e lhe imprimem marcas identitárias que anunciam a sua posse (Fadigas, 2017).

A arquitetura e a estruturação urbana e territorial constituíram ferramentas às quais a administração colonial portuguesa recorreu para se afirmar e autorrepresentar como estrutura de poder dominante em Timor. Através de episódios concretos, o artigo clarifica como se processou essa marcação do domínio colonial empregando a restruturação territorial e a edificação.

O estudo integra-se na temática “Remembering the past, building the future: New ways of seeing Timor-Leste” na medida em que propõe uma leitura descontrutiva que tenciona identificar as intenções de fabricação de uma imagem da colonização portuguesa de Timor tanto nos processos de edificação, como na documentação produzida pelas antigas autoridades coloniais, que constitui a fonte primária deste estudo².

2. Isabel Castro Henriques sugere como a releitura atenta e inovadora das fontes produzidas durante o período colonial pode ser capaz de corrigir realidades deformadas pela ideologia colonial (HENRIQUES, 2020a).

A colonização do território

Até finais do século XIX, a presença portuguesa em Timor³ cingiu-se a Díli e a pontos costeiros parcamente guarnecidos militarmente. O momento de viragem que dita o início do período cronológico desta análise corresponde à governação de José Celestino da Silva (1894-1908), impulsor da chamada “pacificação”, durante a qual o Governo português recorreu a um conjunto de campanhas militares contra os reinos timorenses considerados “insubmissos” com o objetivo de expandir o controlo sobre o território interior da ilha⁴.

Devido à escassez de europeus, as próprias forças militares portuguesas eram compostas maioritariamente por naturais de Timor – *companhias de moradores* e *arraiais* –, em que os *arraiais* correspondiam a grupos de guerreiros recrutados aos reinos considerados “vassalos”. Por seu lado, para estes, a aliança bélica com o Governo português representava uma forma de resolverem, através da força, os seus conflitos de vizinhança e de alargarem o território e a população tributária (*finta*) sob seu domínio. Assim, tirando partido das rivalidades pré-existentes entre povos timorenses vizinhos, o Estado colonial português logrou instalar-se no interior da ilha recorrendo à restruturação forçada da divisão territorial, ao fomentar a alteração das hierarquias de poder timorenses nas diferentes regiões consoante os interesses de dominação governamentais.

A restruturação política da região de Lamaquitos exemplifica este procedimento. Segundo o então governador José Celestino da Silva, D. Cleto ter-se-á tornado régulo dos povos de Lamaquitos, Raimean e Camenassa graças ao auxílio bélico que recebera do Governo que, por seu lado, através da ampliação do domínio territorial de uma autoridade tradicional da sua confiança, lograva estabelecer-se numa região onde antes a sua presença era nula (Silva, 25 janeiro 1901: 17r-18r). Não se pretende discutir neste artigo a complexa questão da estrutura política tradicional dos povos timorenses, no entanto, importa atentar que, através deste relato, José Celestino da Silva pretendia demonstrar que a categoria de “régulo” havia sido uma fabricação introduzida em Timor pelas autoridades portuguesas para alegar que, como governador, detinha legitimidade para depor e confirmar entidades para tal posição (Silva, 25 janeiro 1901) e assim justificar as

3. Para uma compreensão geral do período de administração portuguesa anterior à ocupação japonesa ver Figueiredo, F. (2011). *Timor: A presença portuguesa (1769-1945)*. Centro de Estudos Históricos da Universidade Nova de Lisboa.

4. Sobre as campanhas militares de “pacificação” ver Davidson, K. G. (1994). *The Portuguese Colonisation of Timor: The Final Stage, 1850-1912* [Ph.D Thesis]. University of Melbourne; Pélissier, R. (2007). *Timor em Guerra. A conquista portuguesa, 1847-1913*. Editorial Estampa. [orig. 1996]

várias exonerações que executara com o propósito de gerir os territórios dos reinos sem encontrar oposição.

A região oeste do território então administrado pelos portugueses foi a primeira a despertar a ambição governamental de ocupação efetiva por ser muito fértil e própria para o cultivo de café. Para se apropriar da região, cuja produção era livremente escoada para o território além-fronteira com prejuízo para as receitas aduaneiras portuguesas, o governador acusou os povos de insubordinação, alegando a influência do “mau exemplo” de “perfeita e livre selvageria” em que viviam os povos sujeitos à administração holandesa (Silva, 26 de janeiro de 1897: 74v). Assim, usando-se como justificativa a ameaça de revolta ou a recusa da aceitação da autoridade governamental após várias intimações, alguns reinos de oeste sofreram campanhas militares muito violentas que os dizimaram, sendo as suas chefias perseguidas, eliminadas, e os reinos declarados extintos. O Governo procedeu então à distribuição dos seus territórios pelos diferentes grupos que haviam integrado as forças governamentais como forma de recompensa pelos serviços prestados durante as operações de “submissão”, e reservou para si, como propriedade direta do Estado, as áreas sobre as quais detinha algum interesse estratégico. Após a guerra contra os reinos de oeste (1896), os reinos de Deribate, Cotubaba, Sanir e Cová foram declarados extintos⁵, sendo os terrenos do extinto reino de Deribate divididos pelos reinos “vassalos” seus vizinhos – Ermera, Mahubo, Atsabe, Cailaco e Leimean – e pelas *companhias de moradores* de Díli, e os de Sanir entregues ao reino de Balibó. Como sua propriedade direta, o Governo reservou os domínios territoriais do reino de Cová, pela sua adequação ao estabelecimento de uma colónia militar, e a área do bosque de Taló, localizado no reino de Deribate, onde planeava instalar uma companhia agrícola, uma vez que, graças à sua amenidade climatérica, era favorável a qualquer cultura e à fixação de colonos europeus (Silva, 26 janeiro 1897).

Segundo Francisco Duarte, comandante militar responsável pela “pacificação” de Deribate, o bosque de Taló era considerado sagrado (*lulik*) pelas populações timorenses (Duarte, 6 outubro 1896), o que comprova que as operações de estruturação do território colonial implicaram o desmantelamento dos espaços de socialização autóctones, incluindo a dessacralização da terra e a sua laicização e restruturação por sistemas de organização europeus⁶.

5. Permanecem muitas incertezas quando se procura fazer a reconstituição da gestão dos territórios dos reinos pelo Governo usando como fonte os escritos do governador José Celestino da Silva, uma vez que estes são muitas vezes ambíguos e, em parte, contraditórios. Enquanto em 1897 o governador afirmava a extinção dos reinos de Cotubaba e Deribate (Silva, 26 janeiro 1897), em 1901 indicava, de forma imprecisa, a substituição ou demissão dos seus régulos (Silva, 25 janeiro 1901).

6. Isabel Castro Henriques refere-se a este processo para o território angolano (Henriques, 2004).

Sobre todo o território do reino de Deribate recaía um grande interesse económico devido à fertilidade do solo e aptidão para a cultura do café, que aí era já praticada pelos timorenses em quantidades domésticas, tendo sido estas as únicas plantações poupadadas à devastação aquando da campanha de 1896 (Duarte, 6 outubro 1896). Após a extinção do reino, o Governo procedeu ao parcelamento e distribuição das terras para fins agrícolas a novos proprietários. Para tal, desenvolveu mecanismos legais – concessões e autorizações governamentais – para legitimar a aquisição de terras aos timorenses, bem como a propriedade de terrenos por colonos portugueses (Figura 1).

Luiz Gonzaga Ribeiro	11 janeiro 1901	concessão governamental de terreno baldio para exploração de café-cultura e outros gêneros de exportação colonial
	13 maio 1902	autorização governamental para entrar com terreno em companhia agrícola portuguesa de grande escala
Carlos Mariano de Carvalho	11 janeiro 1901	concessão governamental de terreno baldio para exploração de café-cultura e outros gêneros de exportação colonial
	13 maio 1902	autorização governamental para entrar com terreno em companhia agrícola portuguesa de grande escala
José Maria Paes de Sousa Andrade	8 agosto 1902	autorização governamental de compra de terreno a Nai-Billi
	8 agosto 1902	autorização governamental de compra de terreno a Lecata
	8 agosto 1902	autorização governamental de compra de terreno a Manu-Sesso
	21 novembro 1902	autorização governamental de compra de terreno a D. Duarte
	21 novembro 1902	autorização governamental de compra de terreno a Sama-Lelo
	21 novembro 1902	autorização governamental de compra de terreno a Nai-Billi
	11 novembro 1902	autorização governamental de compra de terreno anexo à SAPT a Mau-Luca
Jose Abellard Borges	11 novembro 1902	autorização governamental de compra de terreno anexo à SAPT a Loi-Mali
	11 novembro 1902	autorização governamental de compra de terreno anexo à SAPT a Coli-Bere
Sociedade Agrícola Pátria e Trabalho	7 novembro 1902	autorização governamental de compra de terreno com cafeeiros a Bera-Pello
	7 novembro 1902	autorização governamental de compra de terreno com cafeeiros a Mau-Clau
	22 novembro 1902	autorização governamental de compra de terreno com cafeeiros a Rai-Loi
	28 janeiro 1903	autorização governamental de compra de terreno com cafeeiros a Rai-Loi

Figura 1. Concessões e autorizações governamentais para aquisição e utilização de terrenos para uso agrícola na região de Deribate (1901-1902).

Governo do Distrito Autônomo de Timor, 11 janeiro 1901a, 11 janeiro 1901b, 8 agosto 1902a, 8 agosto 1902b, 8 agosto 1902c, 7 novembro 1902a, 7 novembro 1902b, 11 novembro 1902a, 11 novembro 1902b, 11 novembro 1902c, 21 novembro 1902a, 21 novembro 1902b, 21 novembro 1902c, 22 novembro 1902, 28 janeiro 1903; Ministério dos Negócios da Marinha e Ultramar, 13 maio 1902a, 13 maio 1902b.

Com o avanço da “pacificação”, o Governo garantia as condições de segurança de que necessitava para se instalar efetivamente no interior de Timor, empreendendo uma restruturação do território em comandos militares, subdivididos em

postos (Boavida, 2014), cujas sedes comunicavam entre si por via telefónica, servindo as exigências e os interesses estratégicos da colonização dos pontos de vista militar, de controlo fronteiriço e de exploração económica.

Perspetivando a manutenção da “ordem pública”, o Estado redigiu também legislação que objetivava controlar as comunidades que habitavam os territórios dos reinos devastados e desprovidos das suas chefias, legitimando assim medidas de deslocação forçada e imposições ao nível da ocupação do solo. Após a guerra contra os reinos de oeste (1896), parte da população do extinto reino de Cová foi colocada sob administração direta do comandante militar de Batugadé e obrigada a agrupar-se em duas povoações cuja localização e ordenamento espacial deveriam obedecer ao que por ele fosse determinado, salientando-se que “Nas povoações que construir não poderá o povo alterar o plano que lhe tiver sido determinado, nem cercal-as com tranqueiras, pallissadas, ou quaesquer meios de defesa” (Governo do Distrito Autonomo de Timor, 12 fevereiro 1901: 31).

As medidas de concentração das populações timorenses em aldeamentos não foram exclusivas do período da “pacificação”. Em 1939, o engenheiro António Jacinto Magro, no papel de encarregado do governo de Álvaro Fontoura, referia estar em curso a construção de mais de uma dúzia de aldeias com o propósito de contrariar a dispersão característica das habitações timorenses que descrevia como “miseráveis palhotas, onde a promiscuidade é confrangedora, alcandoradas aqui e além em lugares quasi inacessíveis”, que considerava constituírem um desafio à constituição d’ “o lar”, tido como condição ao cumprimento da chamada “acção civilizadora”⁷ (Magro, 25 outubro 1939: 10-11).

Arquitetura e estruturação urbana como estratégias de representação do poder e das políticas coloniais

As sedes de comando e posto eram edificadas nas proximidades das residências das chefias “fiéis” ou em locais devastados após campanha militar de “submissão”, considerados assim “pacificados”, onde os agentes governamentais se conseguiam estabelecer dispensando uma guarnição militar numerosa.

Hoje temos em GÔ-NARO ou BOBO-NARO [...] um posto militar com uma pequenissima guarnição de seis soldados que ninguém se lembra de atacar, e, junto do posto, comerciantes com os seus estabelecimentos que ninguém se lembra de roubar. (Silva, 25 janeiro 1901: 18r-18v)

7. A “missão civilizadora” baseava-se no imaginário eurocêntrico de atraso dos povos indígenas (Meneses, 2018).

Estes núcleos representativos do novo poder imposto encerravam em si violência simbólica⁸, onde as chefias timorenses deveriam apresentar-se regularmente para cumprir com as obrigações para com o Estado colonial, tais como a regulamentação do imposto e a resolução de determinadas questões judiciais – delimitação de áreas de domínio (fronteiras entre *sucos* e reinos) – relativamente às quais os chefes tradicionais não chegavam a consenso.

Para controlar as transações comerciais, os comandantes militares eram instruídos para instalar mercados nas sedes de comando (Secretario do Governo, 31 março 1896). Assim, o Governo colonial circunscrevia as interações das populações recorrendo à mimetização de uma prática tradicional⁹, adicionando-lhe simbolismos representativos da nova autoridade instituída, como o içar da bandeira (Sousa, 2019).

Inicialmente, os edifícios da administração colonial eram construções improvisadas – muros de pedra solta, paliçadas – erguidas com os recursos locais, entre os quais a mão-de-obra timorense fornecida pelos reinos “vassalos” como parte das imposições governamentais, a título de “serviço de utilidade publica” (Silva, 25 janeiro 1901: 41v).

Os trabalhadores são os indigenas de diversos reinos denominados auxiliares que são requisitados ao governo conforme a necessidade do serviço assim o exigirem e este conforme a requisição, ordena aos regulos de diversos pontos da ilha que forneçam o numero pedido como tributo ao Estado; são estes substituidos de tres em tres mezes conforme os seus usos e costumes; o salario diario d'estes auxiliares é de réis 77. (Carlos, 26 agosto 1902: 3-4)

Com o passar do tempo, as construções iniciais foram sendo substituídas por edificações definitivas, o que se traduziu no surgimento de exemplares de arquitetura militar por todo o território durante as primeiras décadas do século XX cujos vestígios podem ainda hoje ser identificados na paisagem de Timor-Leste. Ao longo deste processo de consolidação das edificações militares, os Timorenses mantiveram-se como a principal força de trabalho nas obras públicas do Governo colonial, uma vez que, mesmo após a substituição do sistema de tributação da *finta* pelo *imposto de capitulação*, a prestação de “serviço de utilidade pública” continuou

8. Exercida por sistemas simbólicos, que detêm a função política de impor ou legitimar a dominação de uma classe sobre outra, conseguindo obter os mesmos resultados alcançados pela força sem recorrer a ela (Bourdieu, 2020 [1977]).

9. Sobre a mimetização de práticas tradicionais timorenses no período da colonização portuguesa ver Roque, R. (2011). Etnografias coloniais, tecnologias miméticas: a administração colonial e os usos e costumes em Timor Leste no final do século XIX. Em K. Silva & L. Sousa, *Ita maun alin. O livro do irmão mais novo* (pp. 155-168). Colibri.

a ser aplicada como forma de compensação ao Estado em situação de incumprimento do pagamento (Ministério da Marinha e Ultramar, 23 abril 1908).

Embora obtido por processos de coação mais ou menos explícitos, o sustento que o Estado colonial encontrava na população constava nos relatórios governamentais como a comprovação da colaboração dos Timorenses no projeto colonial, servindo os desígnios de propaganda sobre sucesso da colonização portuguesa de Timor. Desta forma, generalizou-se o discurso colonial da existência de um sentimento patriótico dos povos timorenses em relação a Portugal, inclusivamente recorrendo a observações comparativas relativamente aos africanos, que mencionavam uma maior predisposição dos Timorenses para a colonização portuguesa. No entanto, é importante ressaltar que o pensamento europeu da época era marcado pela hierarquização das “raças” e das culturas (Henriques, 2020b [2014]).

os regulos de Timor não teem nem a ligeira semelhança com os de Africa, são mais civilizados, mais intelligentes e muito menos dados ao vicio; têem muito orgulho e bem arreigado o sentimento dos seus direitos, e o respeito pelos portuguezes é com raras exceções para elles uma especie de religião porque como portuguezes se consideram, e a não ser nos reinos fronteiriços das possessões hollandezas, não se encontra quem não conserve e respeito a nossa bandeira como veneração (Silva, 26 janeiro 1897: 64r-64v)

No seguimento desta lógica, o Governo colonial defendia que o sistema de colonização mais adequado a Timor era um “tendente a fazer dos timorenses bons portuguezes” (Silva, 26 janeiro 1897: 68v) que fomentasse esse suposto sentimento patriótico. Com este objetivo, em coordenação com as missões católicas, o Estado investiu numa política indígena orientada pela denominada “missão civilizadora”. Assim, simultaneamente às operações de “pacificação” que ocorriam nas regiões do interior da ilha com o propósito de diminuir a resistência das populações à instalação colonial, os postos do litoral norte, onde Governo considerava estar já consolidado como poder legitimado, perderam a sua função militar, sendo transformados em sedes administrativas civis, e passaram a instalar também equipamentos religiosos e escolares. No entanto, a função utilitária destes edifícios mostrava-se diminuta uma vez que os serviços que prestavam não eram frequentados pela larga maioria da população timorense. Desta forma, a sua função de representação das políticas de colonização sobreponha-se ao uso para a qual haviam sido concebidos.

Este procedimento de monumentalizar as políticas de colonização através do edificado verificou-se em diferentes períodos da administração portuguesa de Timor. Enquanto administrador da circunscrição civil de Baucau, Armando Pinto

Correia – que defendia a necessidade de conhecer os costumes dos povos timorenses, sobretudo o seu direito costumeiro, para se conseguir uma administração colonial eficaz (Corrêa, 1935) – ordenou a construção de alguns dos exemplares de arquitetura colonial mais imponentes em Timor. As escolas que mandou construir para os reinos da circunscrição de Baucau exemplificam a situação em que a função representativa se sobrepôs à utilitária, uma vez que algumas não foram sequer concluídas durante a sua administração, razão pela qual as obras chegaram a ser consideradas como exemplos de gestão danosa, por terem esgotado os recursos locais sem que surtissem resultados políticos efetivos (Ministério das Colónias, 24 janeiro 1941).

Após a II Guerra Mundial, o plano de reconstrução generalizado a que Timor foi sujeito teve não só o propósito de restabelecer a estrutura administrativa colonial, devastada no contexto da ocupação japonesa, mas também o de afirmar a legitimidade de Portugal como potência administrante em reação aos movimentos de descolonização que se sucederam e abrangeram a vizinha Indonésia.

A “obra imensa de reconstrução [...] a mais vasta de toda a História de Timor” (Ruas, 2 janeiro 1949: 63) funcionou como ação de propaganda da colonização portuguesa, para cuja divulgação contribuíram as publicações da Agência Geral das Colónias (*Boletim Geral das Colónias*, 1946; *Boletim Geral do Ultramar*, 1957). Por todo o território, as antigas sedes administrativas coloniais foram reconstruídas e retomaram a sua atividade. Para reerguer a capital da colónia, em 1951 foi elaborado o *Plano Geral de Urbanização de Dili* que previa a criação de um importante núcleo representativo que significasse a sede do Governo da Província de Timor, o *Centro Cívico*, onde seriam concentradas as principais atividades da administração, cujos edifícios deveriam ser concebidos segundo uma arquitetura “estudada de modo a estabelecer um ambiente de carácter oficial” (AGUIAR, 1951: 31-32).

Novamente, a participação dos timorenses nos trabalhos de edificação foi usada como evidência do seu apoio ao restabelecimento da administração portuguesa. Segundo o governador Óscar Ruas (1945-1950), o auxílio timorense era manifesto sobretudo no campo da instrução, dando como exemplo a construção do colégio feminino de Ossú.

no que diz respeito a escolas, em que o concurso gratuito das populações se pode avaliar em dezenas de milhar de patacas para cada obra.

No caso concreto do colégio feminino de Ossú, em que houve por parte do velho liurai D. Francisco e dos povos da região a imposição amiga de que tivesse o meu nome [...] esse auxílio pode reputar-se a centenas de milhares. (Ruas, 25 maio 1950: 27)

Durante o período da reconstrução, o discurso colonial sobre a assimilação dos timorenses intensificou-se recorrendo-se a um novo fator: o da resistência conjunta de portugueses e timorenses contra a ocupação japonesa em prole do alegado patriotismo que partilhavam. Assim, tirou-se partido da necessidade de reconstrução para embutir esta ideologia no seio espacial dos núcleos administrativos coloniais. Em diferentes sedes administrativas foram introduzidos elementos que remetiam para a ligação estreita entre o poder colonial e o poder tradicional. Entre estes incluíam-se os chamados “bairros indígenas” (Ruas, 25 maio 1950), que concentravam as *casas da guarda*, cada uma representativa e pertencente a um *soco* dos que integravam o posto administrativo, reservando-se assim um lugar de representação do poder tradicional no interior das sedes coloniais. Com o mesmo objetivo, em locais centrais de várias localidades reconstruídas foram erguidos memoriais aos régulos locais mortos durante a ocupação japonesa com inscrições que os relembravam como mártires da pátria portuguesa (Ruas, 25 maio 1950).

Conclusão

Durante a sua vigência, a administração portuguesa reestruturou o território timorense, estabelecendo uma rede de núcleos administrativos coloniais que constituía em si mesma um sistema simbólico de imposição e legitimação do poder do Governo colonial.

Como em qualquer processo de colonização, a instalação do Estado colonial português em Timor envolveu violentos processos de expropriação que implicaram coação física e a criação de mecanismos legais próprios que visavam legitimar a nova estrutura administrativa. No entanto, a carência de quadros europeus em Timor e a alegada predisposição dos timorenses para a colonização, levou o Governo a apoiar-se nas suas estruturas políticas tradicionais para assegurar a colonização do território. Essa situação ao início aparentemente desvantajosa, transformou-se numa vantagem quando passou a servir o discurso assimilacionista adotado por Portugal face aos movimentos de descolonização que se sucederam após a II Guerra Mundial.

Além de servir o seu propósito funcional, a edificação constituiu também um mecanismo ao qual o Governo colonial recorreu para representar a sua posição de domínio sobre o território, bem como para propagandear as suas políticas de colonização. Neste contexto, o discurso da participação das chefias timorenses na atividade administrativa colonial foi, em diferentes fases da colonização portuguesa de Timor, reforçado e monumentalizado através da arquitetura e do ordenamento espacial.

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2. Everyday lives and resistance of East Timorese women under colonialism and occupation

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Everyday lives and resistance of East Timorese women under colonialism and occupation

National historical accounts of the East Timorese people's struggle against foreign rule during the long years of Portuguese colonialism (1769-1975) and Indonesian occupation (1975-1999) have been dominated by male heroes engaged in armed resistance and in clandestine networks, with only a few exceptions. There has been scant research into everyday life under colonial rule and occupation, especially women's lives and roles, nor has there been substantive analysis on how colonialism and occupation impacted women's daily lives. This paper shares the results of an oral history research project which recorded women's daily lives in rural areas and the capital during Portuguese late-colonialism (1950-1975) and Indonesian occupation (1975-1999) in the districts of Bobonaro, Dili, Ermera, Lospalos and Suai. This was a research project carried out by a team of researchers based in Timor-Leste, from the Commission for Researching and Writing the History of Timorese Women (CPEHMT) and the Popular Organisation of Timorese Women (OPMT) which aimed at 'documenting the experience of women who lived through the Indonesian occupation' and interviewed nearly 800 people.

The histories told by these women do not carry the self-identification of 'heroic actions' in the sense that is attributed in contemporary Timor-Leste. The research shows that women from all social classes and occupations were engaged in essential roles which sustained their families and their communities' socio-economic lives, extending from Portuguese colonial times through to independence.

Women's histories. Everyday lives' resistance. Portuguese colonialism. Indonesian occupation. Timor-Leste.

Moris loroloron no feto timoroan nia rezisténsia iha kolonializmu no okupaun okos

Relatu husi istória nasional nian kona-ba povu timoroan nia luta hasoru domíniu koloniál durante durasaun naruk husi kolonializmu portugés (1769-1975) no okupaun indonézia (1975-1999) sei domina ho eroi mane nia narrativa ne'ebé envolve iha rezisténsia armada

ka iha rede klandestina sira, ho de'it exesaun uitoan. Aleinde ne'e, istória husi moris loroloron iha domíniu koloniál no okupasaun nia okos ladún sai objetu ba peskiza, particularmente kona-ba vida no feto nia papél iha períodu ne'e, no análise sira sobre oinsá impaktu husi kolonializmu iha feto nia moris loroloron.

Artigu ida-ne'e ezamina resultadu husi istória orál ne'ebé konsege rejistra feto nia moris loroloron iha área rurál no iha capitál durante períodu ikus husi kolonializmu portugés (1950-1975) no okupasaun indonézia (1975-1999), iha munisípiu hotu iha Timor-Leste. Projeto peskiza ne'e nian realiza husi ekipa peskizadór sira iha Comissão de Pesquisa e Elaboração da História da Luta da Mulher Timor (CPEHLMT) no Organização Popular da Mulher Timor (OPMT) ne'ebé iha objetivu 'dokumenta feto sira-nia esperiénsia ne'ebé moris iha okupasaun indonézia no resulta entrevista besik ema na'in 800'.

Istória sira ne'ebé feto sira haktuir la'ós identifika an ba 'asaun eroíka sira', ho sentidu ne'ebé atribui ba Timor-Leste komtemporáneu. Peskiza hatudu feto husi klase sosiál no okupa-saun hotu envolve iha papél esensiál sira ne'ebé sustenta vida sósiu-ekonómika ba sira-nia família no komunidade, hahú husi tempu koloniál portugés to'o independénsia.

Istória feto sira. Rezisténsia moris loroloron nian. Kolonializmu Portugés. Okupasaun Indonézia. Timor-Leste.

Vidas quotidianas e resistência das mulheres timorenses durante o colonialismo e ocupação

O relato nacional da história da luta dos timorenses contra a governação estrangeira durante os longos anos de colonialismo português (1769-1975) e ocupação indonésia (1975-1999) tem sido dominado por heróis masculinos na resistência armada e nas redes clandestinas, salvo algumas exceções. O estudo acerca do quotidiano sob domínio colonial e sob a ocupação tem sido escasso, sobretudo no que se refere à vida das mulheres e o seu papel, nem tem sido feita uma análise substancial do impacto do colonialismo e da ocupação no dia-a-dia das mulheres.

Este artigo partilha os resultados de um projeto de investigação de história oral que registou relatos da vida quotidiana das mulheres em áreas rurais e na capital durante os períodos do colonialismo tardio (1950-1975) e da ocupação indonésia (1975-1999) nos distritos de Bobonaro, Díli, Ermera, Lospalos e Suai. Este projeto foi desenvolvido por uma equipa de investigadores com assento em Timor-Leste pertencentes à Comissão de Pesquisa e Elaboração da História da Luta da Mulher Timor (CPEHLMT) e à Organização Popular da Mulher Timor (OPMT) com o objetivo de "documentar a experiência das mulheres que viveiram durante a ocupação indonésia", tendo resultado em entrevistas a quase 800 pessoas.

As histórias contadas por estas mulheres não se enquadram no conceito de "ações heroicas" do Timor-Leste contemporâneo. A investigação demonstra como as mulheres de todas as classes sociais e ocupações desempenhavam um papel essencial no sustento das suas famílias e da vida socioeconómica das suas comunidades, desde o tempo colonial português até à independência.

Histórias das mulheres. Resistências quotidianas. Colonialismo Português. Ocupação Indonésia. Timor-Leste.

Introduction

Efforts to write the history of women in Timor-Leste are highly relevant, because research and narratives are still male-dominated. Being a male writing Timorese women's histories can lead to bias and other difficulties; I cannot completely avoid my subjectivity and male viewpoint. Furthermore, because few Timorese were involved in this research, I am merely presenting this as one of the researchers.

The research was initiated by the Organização Popular da Mulher Timor (OPMT), which founded the Commission for Research and Historical Production of Timorese Women's Struggle (Comissão de Pesquisa e Elaboração da História da Luta Mulher de Timor) in 2011. The goal was to write a book about women's participation in the struggle against the Indonesian occupation.¹ It was methodologically challenging to reconstruct the facts with a coherent interpretation into a book composed of thirteen chapters, using the broad temporal and spatial scope to provide various thematic divisions. In the process of writing, the Commission had limited resources to listen to and analyze all the interviews, including verifying all facts by cross checking with other documents. Also, some of the writers were not involved from the beginning of the research, which prevented all writers from having the same perspective.

The research used oral history methodology and included interviews with nearly 800 people, mostly women. Both women and men were involved as interviewers, transcribers, and administrators. The OPMT used its network to identify members during the period of resistance. However, due to various obstacles and limitations, there are still many women who have not been interviewed.

Interviews were conducted both with women from elite groups in Dili as well as with ordinary people from remote areas. These focused on each woman's life history from an early age and expanded to their involvement in historic events throughout the Indonesian occupation period. While interviews were done largely with individuals, there were several occasions where the researchers organised group interviews to better reflect the collective memory of events.

Few works have so far focused on telling East Timorese women's histories. Michele Turner's *Telling* (1992), whose historical reconstruction of Timor-Leste centres on common people during the Japanese and Indonesian occupation, also uses oral history to convey the lives of women. Sally-Anne Watson's *Buibere: Voices of Timorese* (1999) documents women's testimonies during a conference in Dili

1. The result of the research is published in *Buibere Ukun Rasik An* (2021).

in 1998. Irena Cristalis and Catherine Scott's *Independent Women's Activism in East Timor* (2005) covers the period during and after the Indonesian occupation. Jude Conway's *Step by Step: Women of East Timor, Stories of Resistance and Survival* (2010) is a compilation giving the opportunity for thirteen outspoken East Timorese women to tell their life stories.

Teresa da Cunha's research has emphasized the roles and functions of East Timorese women during and after the war, highlighting a feminist and post colonial critique.² Hannah Loney's *In Women's Words: Violence and Everyday Life during the Indonesian Occupation of East Timor, 1975-1999* (2018) draws primarily upon oral history interviews, presenting a women-centred history of the Indonesian occupation. It reveals the pervasiveness of violence – as well as its gendering dynamics – within women's social and cultural “everyday” lives. The National Truth, Reconciliation and Reception Commission's (CAVR) *Chega! Report* (2005) is also rich with testimonials from Timorese women about human rights' violations during the Indonesian occupation.

These stories of women's resistance and survival through extreme hardship provide insights into women's lives which can contribute to a world historiography on women's roles and human experiences during war and struggles for peace. In this context, it is not possible to generalize Timorese women's history because of its uniqueness. This project interviewed nearly 800 people and was funded, conceptualized and conducted by East Timorese. The stories below provide a sample of stories gathered from the interviews conducted between 2011 and 2017; I have tried to choose these stories randomly and without prejudice, while representing the diversity of individual experiences, and including women from various districts and socio-economic profiles.

Rikabete³

Rikabete was born in 1935 in Suai, a town in Covalima close to the Indonesian border. Rikabete worked as a nurse during the Portuguese colonial period and she lost her husband during the Indonesian occupation. She was a child when World War II ended, which meant that she faced significant challenges, including

2. Teresa Cunha. *Depois da Guerra e Antes da Paz As Vozes das Timor Leste* (2005); *Sete Mulheres de Timor. Foto Timor na'in hitu* (2007); *Vozes das Mulheres de Timor-Leste* (2007); *Para além da ortodoxia nacionalista timorense: a estória de Bi-Murak*, (2012).

3. Rikabete is a clandestine code name, a common way that Timorese hid their identity from Indonesian security forces. Three women chose to be referred to by their code names, with the exception of Elisa Amaral.

with accessing education. There were no teachers and many buildings were in ruins. At the time, most women didn't continue their schooling beyond elementary level. Rikabete asked for help from a Catholic Bishop to continue her studies. Opportunities for girls to get an education were only available through Catholic missions – specifically the orders of nuns. Girls had to live in dormitories and, in addition to their standard school lessons, they also learnt other skills like sewing clothes. Rikabete stayed with the Dominican Congregation in Ermera for 10 years.

After graduating, Rikabete started teaching in a primary Dominican Congregation school. She decided to resign because of the extremely low salary, and to instead continue her education. She went on to study nursing for 3 years at the Dr. Carvalho Hospital in Dili. At that time, there were only 2 female and 3 male students; all of them were *mestiço*/mixed race (one Timorese and one Portuguese parent). During her studies, Rikabete met her husband who was the first Timorese chief nurse in the 1960s. They had 8 children together.

Rikabete was placed in the city of Lospalos as a maternity nurse and soon entrusted to work as a midwife. Rikabete often attended births in rural areas, and was one of only 4 nurses working at the time in Lospalos. There was no laboratory for diagnostics, so patients had to go to the Referral Hospital in Baucau or to Dili. According to Rikabete, the predominant health issue was a skin problem that caused red and blotchy skin, similar to parasitic infections or eczema. Despite the availability of medical treatments, most people preferred treatment with traditional medicine rather than going to hospital.

In April 1976, Rikabete's daily life began changing. As she recounted, “aircraft would fly above; warships appeared in the sea and military trucks dominated the road. The sound of gunshots firing back and forth were heard everywhere in Lospalos. We panicked, gathered our things together and fled to the mountains⁴ on a horse”. After a few months of sheltering in Mount Matebian, the ongoing aerial bombardment and lack of food forced them to surrender and return to Lospalos. Indonesian forces found out that her husband was an important resistance leader and took him to be interrogated. One of their sons went to Kodim's (Komando Distrik Militer/District Military Commands) interrogation site in Lospalos to see what they might do to his father, and only returned home once the soldiers asked his father to persuade him.

In the same time, her husband returned home at 2 a.m, Rikabete asked him, “What have they done to you?”. He answered, “They just interrogated me. I told them what I know, I did not make anything up. They demanded I go back at 5

4. Mountains is a reference to the area where the guerrilla fighters gathered to organize the fighting against the Indonesian military occupation.

o'clock tomorrow afternoon for further interrogation." The next morning, her husband spent time with his youngest daughter. Just before dusk, he called their children together to do a rosary prayer because he had a bad feeling that he would not be coming home. As if it was his last day, he gave Rikabete and his children parting kisses on their foreheads. To his wife, he said, "Rikabete, I am leaving. I do not know if I will be back or not. Look after our children, send them to school, do not let them get married too early. Let them get a diploma and bread in their hands before getting married." Before he left, Rikabete said to him, "You are going now, but you will come home." From that moment, however, her husband was lost to her.

After that day, Rikabete decided to move to Dili where she raised her children and continued being part of the struggle for independence. Being a nurse, she was not directly involved in clandestine activities, but she helped her son who was the founder of a youth organization that helped with the logistics of getting critical supplies, such as medicine, clothes and food, to the guerrilla fighters.

Ursula

Born in Ermera in 1941, Ursula graduated from 4th grade during the Portuguese occupation. She spoke of how during the Japanese occupation, Timorese people were tortured, including one of her older brothers. Parents were terrified of leaving their daughters alone, fearing that Japanese soldiers would rape and impregnate them.⁵

Ursula's village was full of coffee plantations. During harvesting time, *mordores*⁶ organised women from other areas to go and pick the coffee along with the men. However, women were treated as servants (*asuliar*) and only received food in exchange for their work. They were not paid a cent for the three months that they toiled. Almost all of the coffee was sold to Chinese traders.

Ursula was from a family of the 'nobility' class so she was able to study in a Dominican congregation college from 1953 onwards, instead of working the coffee plantations. It was fascinating for us as researchers to discover that Rikabete was one of her teachers!

Classes started at 8:00 a.m until 4:00 p.m.; the students had to bring their own lunch. They learnt Portuguese, counting and Catholic doctrine. Boys and girls

5. Akihisa Matsuno (2005) relates the experience of Timorese women as sex slaves of Japanese military in Timor-Leste (1942-1945).

6. *Mordores* are Timorese people recruited to become soldiers by the Portuguese colonial government and local kings.

were separated; if any girl was caught mixing with the boys, she would be kicked out of the school. Their skirts had to be below the knee and their shirts had to cover their shoulders.

The school introduced a rule that any relationship should receive parental permission, and marriage was only permitted after the age of 18 years. Female students could be punished by being forced to stand under the hot blazing sun for one to two hours if they got caught by the nuns having a relationship with a boy.

All the girls had to stay at home and they had to get permission from their parents before going to any parties. The girls were afraid of the Portuguese military because they could be taken by force and made to serve as a *nona* (prostitute). “This is why there are a lot of Portuguese descendants in Timor-Leste”, said Ursula. Only Portuguese who worked and lived permanently in Timor would ask a girl’s parents directly for marriage.

In 1975 and 1976, Ursula was the Fretilin delegate for Ermera. She surrendered after a short time and a lot of women became prisoners in the Indonesian military company for a month. Ursula’s husband remained in the mountains and, as happened to many other women in this situation, Ursula was forced to marry an Indonesian soldier. As if that was not bad enough, because their husbands were still fighting as guerrillas in the mountains, Ursula and the other women would be taken and interrogated whenever there were attacks from Fretilin.

Elisa Amaral

Elisa was raised on a coffee plantation, so her parents focused on teaching her skills related to farming coffee. Her father worked as a *moradór* (servant) for the Portuguese administration.

One of her father’s roles was working as a security guard at the Portuguese Administrator’s residence in Aileu – turning on the lights and guarding the house through the night. Every single night, Elisa brought her father food, packed inside hollow bamboo. If she got bored or fed up, she would ask her relatives to help her bring food.

Elisa spent most of her time with her mother, trying to make money through any means possible to help her father paying taxes imposed by the Portuguese colonisers on all men.⁷

7. In 1906, on the recommendation of Celestino da Silva, the system of *fintas* that reached back to the first day of Portuguese contact was replaced with a capitation tax.

Elisa earned money through trading coffee. She would load up a horse with coffee and walk from her village to Aileu. If she was not able to get a horse, she would stack the coffee on her head and carry it herself – navigating rough, rocky paths and crossing rivers. The journey took half a day, so setting off in the early morning, she would arrive at midday to sell the coffee to Chinese traders. She had to work hard every day to prepare the coffee – picking the beans and drying them.

Elisa also sold fruit and vegetables to earn money. She planted the vegetables herself, fertilized them with horse manure and watered them every day. During the mandarin season, she picked the fruit and took them to sell in Dili, a 25km journey from her village. They travelled in groups of 4 to 5 people, returning back home in the late afternoon. They would make this trip four times a week.

Their journey was not easy. They were frightened of being kidnapped by *ahu*.⁸ They believed that, “If you were a young woman travelling alone, you could easily be attacked and seized. That was why we always walked in a group with a male accompanying us”.

Even with all her hard work, Elisa was not able to fully pay her father’s tax debt to the Portuguese administration. Luckily, her uncle helped her financially. Her grandpa forced her to work instead of getting an education. She recalled, “My grandpa was not a good person, he did not allow me to get a proper education. He would say, ‘If you go to school then who would look after me?’ One of my cousins was also treated in the same way. It was not the same then as it is nowadays”.

When Timor-Leste was invaded by Indonesia in 1975, Elisa was 12 years old. Along with her community, she fled to the mountains of Aileu. Elisa, with some other women, created a *rancho*, or base camp, to help look after the guerrillas by cleaning, sewing and washing their military uniforms. They planted some root vegetables like corn, cassava, and potato in communal fields. Once they harvested them, they shared the vegetables with the guerrillas and took a little bit for their families. They also collected wild foods, some of which were bitter or poisonous. It took a long time to process and prepare the food so that it was safe to eat. Elisa was part of a collective which involved working once a week, weaving baskets and processing coffee – picking, drying, pounding to remove the skins, frying/roasting, and finally grinding. Their productive work was their way of contributing to the resistance against the armed Indonesian invasion.

Another challenge for Elisa was looking after her mother who had a serious leg wound. She would attend to the wound, as well as gather and prepare food for her. Indonesian military planes would regularly bomb the area and, each day,

8. *Ahu* or *ahu-na'in* refers to people who use black magic to assault and rob.

more and more people would run to the caves to hide and seek shelter. Elisa, together with 4 to 5 other women, would keep watch during the day. They had to keep an eye on people's movements, looking out for enemies. Some of them had arrows that they could shoot to protect themselves. During quiet times, Elisa would join a literacy class, using charcoal and bamboo to practice writing. Eventually, she had to stop because her hand was hurting and it would constantly shake when she tried to write.

Elisa had to face the bitter reality of life hiding in the mountains as her mother's life started to slip away from a black snake bite – she scratched the itchy bite until it became swollen and infected. When the Indonesian military launched a large-scale attack, her mother could not run away and had to be left lying on the ground in the mountains. She remained there, unburied. Her elder brother was shot one night and suffered the same fate.

The attack forced them to flee suddenly – and Elisa lost contact with her relatives. She fled with her grandmother, who soon after passed away. Elisa wrapped her grandmother's body in a woven mat, and dug a shallow grave with a long metal bar that she had. The attacks were relentless. They were constantly chased and besieged, eventually completely surrounded by the Indonesian military. Elisa started to get sick and could no longer run. Along with the others, Elisa was captured and interrogated about the movements of resistance fighters. She was lucky that, unlike many other women, she was not tortured. She witnessed her male relative's punishment and torture at the hands of the Indonesian military inside the detention centre.

Bikara

Bikara was born in 1964 and she was 10 years old when Indonesian paratroopers descended on Lospalos, causing her life to change completely. Frettilin issued orders to evacuate to Mount Matebian so that they would not fall under enemy control.

During the Portuguese colonisation, Bikara was only able to complete the second grade at school; she forgot everything she learnt. She used her talents in singing and theatre to organise groups of children in their mountain hideouts. They could not stay long in Mount Matebian. Helicopters regularly circled them, observing them from the skies. Aircraft bombarded them with artillery fire, causing rocks to explode and fragment, blocking the exits from the caves in which resistance fighters were hiding. The best thing to do during aerial fire was to just lie down flat on the ground.

When they were surrounded and aerial bombardment became heavier, people had to flee in all directions. Bikara's family was forced to leave their grandmother behind as she could not walk. Until this day, there is no grave to mark her death. To climb down the mountain, they had to use two ropes wound together. All her family members climbed down, but Bikara could not do it because she was too small. She had to wait for other families to join her. They made a makeshift ladder using bamboo. But, by the time she got down, her own family had fled because of the daily artillery assaults.

The family that helped her eventually surrendered to the Indonesian military, so Bikara decided to join the guerrilla fighters. Together with other women and men, she helped to gather and prepare food, and she sewed the resistance emblem onto uniforms. Throughout this horrid time, they tried to survive by eating wild leaves and grasses. At first, this diet would cause blood in their urine; it took months for their bodies to adjust.

Hiding in the mountains, Bikara had to be on guard every day. When walking, she would have to conceal herself carefully, ensure no smoke from cooking fires could be visible and keep a close eye on cooking materials so that she could grab them quickly if the enemy attacked.

It was there that she met her husband, a political *aide-de-camp*. They had three children together. Giving birth was extremely difficult. Her husband had to attend to her and cut the umbilical cord. In Timorese culture, the placenta and umbilical cord are hung from a tree. But to make sure the enemy didn't discover them, they had to bury them instead.

When the baby cried, they had to cover the mouth so that the enemy would not hear. This put women at extreme risk, forcing some women to throw their children over the side of the mountain to save the larger group. Once her child was old enough to walk, she tried to find a family in the town to take care of her. Through clandestine networks, she found a home for her first child in Lospalos. But due to poor treatment, the child eventually died.

Bikara's second child was born in Soibada in 1987. She left the baby near a church with a note saying, "This child is Fataluku, if someone finds the baby, please hand my baby to the nuns or priests".

When her third child was five years old, she placed him in the care of a pregnant woman who had decided to surrender in Viqueque. Bikara told her, "When I and the baby's father are dead, you can adopt him as your own. But if we are still alive, and things get better, we will come back and get him".

Bikara's husband accepted her decision to find a secure place for their children while he was away. "When things are peaceful, everyone can play with them happily. But in those trying times, I suffered and stressed a lot. Will we

die together? Will our children die? It was not manageable, so I had to let my children go”.

When she surrendered in 1992, she tried to find her children to get them back. But the in-laws of the woman who had taken care of her third child resisted. She had to pay them a significant amount of money to be able to take her child back.

Conclusion

Despite the diversity of women’s stories, interviews reveal some common topics such as women’s childhood, education, domestic work, the impact of coffee plantations, economic work, women’s involvement in clandestine and resistance organizations during the Indonesian period. This research provides a foundation for further research in the future, especially on themes such as the socio-economic status of women, biographies,⁹ portraits, women’s movements, family histories, and the relationships between women and men, among other potential themes. The recordings have their own strength, allowing the listeners to hear women’s true “voice”, and to understand the detailed aspects of their expression. Research, including interview transcripts, is accessible to the public.¹⁰

Despite the success of the project and in conducting the research via oral history interviews, there were many challenges when interviewing women about their histories, such as limited human resources and issues with the methodology. For instance, because some of the interviewers lacked historical knowledge, the final result of interviews was not always optimal. An additional challenge was related to Timor-Leste’s diverse socio-linguistic reality; some interviews had to be conducted in Timorese indigenous languages. In these cases, the interview was conducted in the appropriate language and then transcribed into Tetum. The sensitivity of discussing episodes of sexual violence, and other sensitive or controversial issues like murder, torture, and execution, also presented challenges.

9. Autobiographies and biographies about Timorese women are still lacking. There are some, such as *Princesa Mártir em Timor: Virgínia das Mercês Doutel Sarmento e Cardoso* about Timorese women who became martyrs for the Catholic church written by Eusébio Álvarez (2003); the autobiography of Fátima Guterres, *Timor Paraíso Violentado* (2014), shares her childhood story through the Indonesian occupation; and Sara Niner’s *Bisoí: A Childhood Veteran of Timor-Leste’s Independence Movement*, about Bisoí’s childhood, life in the jungle, and including post-independence politics, in *Women in Southeast Asian Nationalist Movements*, edited by Susan Blackburn and Helen Ting (2013).

10. Research results are available at the Comissão de Pesquisa e Elaboração da História da Luta Mulher de Timor. Hopefully, there will be a new project to improve the quality of the transcripts.

The interviewers needed the attitude of empathy, not to be offended, and the ability to hear and record all of the testimony.

These narratives offers another perspective to help understand ordinary women's lives. The research to date has mostly focused on women resistance leaders; in contrast, the struggles of ordinary women have not been valued since Timor-Leste's independence. Marisa Gonçalves (2016) states that injustice towards these women is further aggravated by the lack of recognition of their role in the struggle for Timor-Leste's independence. While male veterans have been celebrated as heroes of the independence struggle and have benefited from political positions, jobs and veteran pensions, the role of women has been relegated to victimisation and martyrdom. For this reason, the research described in this paper is especially important, and we need to continue the process of documenting the stories.

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List of Interviews

Elisa Amaral. Remexio (Aileu), 13 June 2011.

Bikara. Sorulua (Lospalos), February 2012.

Rikabete. Dili, August 2013.

Ursula. Ermera, 10 July 2012.

3. The Evolution of Women's Emancipation Movement in the Struggle of National Liberation ¹

Nuno Rodriguez Tchailoro

The Evolution of Women's Emancipation Movement in the Struggle of National Liberation

The women's emancipation movement that emerged during the struggle for national liberation played a pivotal role in the overall process of national liberation. This means that at some stages the national liberation movement gave birth to the women's emancipation movement. The origins of the POPULAR Organisation of Timor Women (OPMT) cannot be separated from its involvement in FRETILIN as the first nationalist movement which paved the way for its existence. The birth of the OPMT encouraged the common objective of women's struggle to not merely to liberate the people, but to liberate women as well. However, the transformation in the direction of the struggle has affected the struggle for women's emancipation to a great extent since FRETILIN cast aside its revolutionary programme, along with the ideal for women's emancipation, in 1981. This study will shed light on the struggle for women's emancipation during the war for national liberation. Surrounded by limited space in the course of the struggle for independence which tended to be dominated by men, women nevertheless remained deeply engaged in the struggle for their emancipation and laid the groundwork for national liberation.

Women's movement History. Emancipation. Independence struggle. Timor-Leste.

A Evolução do Movimento de Emancipação Feminina na Luta pela Libertaçāo Nacional

O movimento de emancipação das mulheres que emergiu durante a luta pela libertação de Timor-Leste teve um papel crucial no processo global da independência deste país. Em determinados momentos do movimento pela libertação nacional, o mesmo deu origem ao

1. This paper is based on the research conducted by the Comissão de Pesquisa e Elaboração da História da Luta da Mulher Timor (the Commission for Research and Historical Production of Timorese Women's Struggle). The commission was created in 2010 by OPMT to research the participation of East Timorese women during the struggle for liberation from Indonesian occupation.

movimento de emancipação feminina. O nascimento da própria Organização Popular da Mulher Timor (OPMT) esteve em linha com o objetivo comum das lutas das mulheres, uma vez que promovia não apenas a libertação do povo, mas também a emancipação feminina. As mudanças de orientação da luta, contudo, exerceram, também, impacto na luta pela emancipação das mulheres, sobretudo a partir do momento em que a FRETILIN colocou de lado o seu programa revolucionário, em 1981. Este estudo debruça-se sobre a luta pela emancipação feminina que deflagrou durante a guerra de libertação nacional, apesar do espaço limitado para a primeira, uma vez que esse tende a ser dominado pelos homens. Contudo, as mulheres mantiveram todos os seus objetivos, continuando a luta pela sua emancipação, a qual serviu de trabalho preliminar para a libertação nacional.

História do Movimento feminista. Emancipação. Luta pela independência. Timor-Leste.

Movimentu ba Feto nia ‘emansipasaun’ – ninia evolusaun iha luta ba libertasaun nasionál

Feto sira la’o-sai ho liberdade, liuhosi movimentu ‘emansipasaun’ nian iha tempu hanesan bainhira hala’o tiha knaar iha prosesu ba ukun rasik-an. Ne’e dehan katak movimentu ba libertasaun nasionál hahoris movimentu ‘emansipasaun’ ba feto. La bele haketak Organização Popular Mulher de Timor (OPMT) nia hun hosi FRETILIN nu’udar movimentu nasionalista ne’ebé haloos dalan ba OPMT nia ezisténsia. Bainhira OPMT moris-mai maka fó biban ba feto hotu hodi luta la’ós de’it ba ukun rasik-an maibé luta mós ba sira-nia an. Maibé, tanba iha mudansa iha diresaun luta nian, ne’ebé kona feto nia haka’as-an hodi hetan ‘emansipasaun’, liiliu bainhira FRETILIN husik tiha nia progarama revolucionáriu, iha tinan-1981. Ensaiu ida-ne’e sei haroman oinsá maka feto sira hasusar iha funu nia laran hodi hetan ukun rasik-an. Fatin ne’ebé feto sira iha maka nu’udar kloot iha luta nia laran tanba, baibain, knaar hirak hotu mane maka hala’o. Maski nune’e, feto sira moris hela, la’o ba oin no tuir dalan ba sira-nia ‘emansipasaun’ no libertasaun nasionál ka ukun rasik-an.

Movimentu feminista nia Istória. Emansipasaun. Luta ba Ukun rasik-an. Timor-Leste.

I. The establishment of the women’s movement

The political associations established after the Carnation Revolution in Portugal on April 25, 1974, paved the way for women to participate in the struggle for national liberation. Among the parties that emerged, the Democratic Social Association of Timor (ASDT) was the only party that placed women’s role as imperative to the struggle for national liberation. Although emanating from the same colonial education system, other political parties – namely the Democratic Union Timor-Leste (UDT), the Association of Timorese Warriors (KOTA), the Labour Party and the Timorese People’s Democratic Association (APODETI) – did not include women’s liberation as an objective. Further, the founders of all three

political parties were male. This reflects that in the process of founding the parties, the issue of emancipation was not a topic of focus. The manifesto of UDT and APODETI, for example, did not state the need for women's organization to struggle for women's emancipation. Even though UDT acknowledged that individuals of both sexes could join the party, (Pires, 2013) the political manifesto made no mention of women's organizations in the struggle for independence, and the emancipation of women did not resonate in the mindset of the people. ASDT was different: the founders had studied the national liberation movements of the Portuguese colonies in Africa, where the emancipation of women was an important part of the struggle for independence.

The goal of education under Portuguese colonial rule was to prepare the *assimilado/a letrado/a* (educated assimilado/a) to serve the colonial interests, however, the *assimilado* became the first nationalists to wage war against colonialism. In the 1960s, the colonial administration provided scholarships to Timorese students to continue their higher education in Portugal. Out of this scheme, a small number of Timorese women obtained the opportunity to pursue their higher education in Portugal. In 1973, approximately 38 Timorese students were studying in Portugal. (Morlanes, 1991) These students had been selected by the colonial administration on the basis of the administration's needs. Of the 38 studying in Portugal, majors such as school teachers, medicine, pharmacy, accountability were all given to women. The majors studied chosen by the women were based on colonial conceptions of the role of women in society, and thus were fields that were considered "feminine" forms of knowledge. Many of the students pursued these degrees with the aim of returning to Portuguese Timor and securing a privileged position in the colonial administration.²

Women were not involved in the founding of the anti-colonial clandestine network pioneered by Nicolau Lobato, Mari Alkatiri, Francisco Borja da Costa and Justino Mota in 1970, but this does not mean that the founders did not debate women's emancipation in the process of national liberation struggle. According to José Ramos-Horta, since the establishment of ASDT, the founding members defended women's emancipation as an important part of the national liberation struggle. (J. Ramos-Horta, personal communication, 8 February 2012) This can be seen in the case of Maria do Céu Pereira 'Bi-Lear', who became the only found-

2. Of the students on scholarships, six students studied agriculture, 5 studied medicine (all women), four studied primary education (all women), four studied engineering, three studied law (one woman), two studied English and German (all women), two studied social and political science, two studied agriculture, one studied physical education, one studied economics, one studied agronomy, one studied nautical science, one studied art (a woman), one studied pharmacy (a woman), and one studied accounting (a woman).

ing women of the party and actively participated in its organisation. (“Associação Social Democrata Timorense,” 1974) Before the Carnation Revolution, Bi-Lear was involved in political discussions with male students, namely António Carvaino ‘Mau-Lear’ and Vicente Reis ‘Sahe’, in Lisbon.

Before the formation of ASDT, women fought individually against discrimination of the colonial forces. The establishment of the ASDT party structure at the village level provided space for women to be involved in party programmes. Although women did not hold high-level positions, they occupied roles such as delegates at the village level, who were in charge of recruiting family members and socialising the party’s programmes. Fernando Barreto was appointed as a delegate in Holsa Village iha Bobonaro with the task of socializing the ASDT program for the independence of Timor-Leste and registering new militants from house to house. (R. S. Ximenes, personal communication, 2 January 2011) Their involvement in ASDT created space for the women to express themselves. ASDT also functioned as a forum for women to speak out about forms of discrimination that they faced. For example, ASDT tackled the issue of discrimination committed by the Portuguese military company. A party leader in Baucau assisted Isabel Correia, a local staff member at the Pousada Baucau, to file a case of discrimination against her manager. (Fernandes, 1974) The staff appealed for the intervention of ASDT to find a solution to her problem.

The founding members of the anti-colonial clandestine networks during the Portuguese colonial period gained their inspiration mostly from the national liberation movements in Portugal’s colonies in Africa, especially Mozambique, Angola, Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde. In particular, the members of the network who studied in Angola and Mozambique made use of their time by not only focusing on their studies, but also observing how these national liberation movements organised themselves, including how women’s organisations were established. (M. B. A. Alkatiri, personal communication, 20 November 2010)

In Portugal, women’s engagement in politics intensified in the aftermath of the Carnation Revolution. Both male and female students (Amélia Sequeira, Alice Casimiro, Filomena de Almeida, Palmira Rodrigues, Olga Guterres) who formed part of the Casa de Timor sought to transform the organisation to become the first formal body for the Timorese to discuss their national liberation struggle. Rosa Filomena Bonaparte Soares ‘Muki’ was one of the female students who actively participated in discussions of the national liberation struggle’s ideas and practices, supporting the independence of Portuguese colonies in Africa and the democratization process in Portugal. *Casa dos Timores* functioned as a political training ground for Timorese students in Lisbon. Rosa ‘Muki’ was not among the five students who returned to Timor-Leste in September 1974; she remained in

Portugal until mid-1975.³ In Lisbon, Rosa Muki took part in the mobilisation and politisation of students that became stronger during the period of revolutionary activities known as the Ongoing Revolutionary Period (Processo Revolucionário em Curso – PREC), which occurred during the Carnation Revolution. Rosa Muki's knowledge and political consciousness increased during the period of revolutionary activities. In theory, Rosa Muki understood the concept of women's emancipation more than the other female students who returned to Timor-Leste before and after the Carnation Revolution.⁴

Casa dos Timores was a forum for Timorese students to learn about liberation theory and practice from revolutionary thinkers.⁵ In terms of women's emancipation, the Chinese experience greatly influenced the members of the *Casa dos Timores*. According to Filomena de Almeida, the thoughts of Mao Tse Tung on women's emancipation became the main subject that all students ought to understand (F. de Almeida, personal communication, 11 June 2014). Claudie Broyelle's book, *A Metade do Céu* (Half of Heaven), which the students read, described the emancipation practices of women at the village level. It showed that initially, most women in China stayed at home and worked for their family, doing housework and looking after the children. After taking the route towards their liberation by participating in production, they began to play a decisive role in their emancipation. The practice of women's emancipation in China reflects Mao's famous appeal 'to rely on our own strength, to breakaway from our housework and participate in the productive and social activities.' (Broyelle, 1975)⁶ Although the students took part in activities in Lisbon and had in-depth discussions about the struggle for national liberation, in the publications that were produced by the students of the *Casa dos Timores*, there was no mention of the emancipation of women.

Casa dos Timores decided to send five students – Vicente Reis 'Sahe', António Carvarinho 'Mau-Lear', Abílio Araújo, Guilhermina Silva and Venâncio Seran

3. Rosa Muki was in Lisbon when Vice-President of Fretelin Nicolau Lobato visited the city in mid-May 1975, before attending Mozambique's Proclamation of Independence.

4. In an interview with Roque Rodrigues, Díli, February 20, 2013, he mentioned that Rosa's active involvement in the *Casa dos Timores* discussions and longer periods spent there, compared to other women before returning to Timor-Leste, enabled her to have very clear ideas about women's emancipation.

5. Timorese students learnt ideas about liberation from the works of Mao Tse Tung, Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Marx, Vladimir Lenin, Ho Chi Minh, Agostinho Neto, Samora Machel, Amílcar Cabral, Christian Palloix and Josina Machel.

6. Broyelle's book also cited the appeal by Mao Tse Tung in relation to women's emancipation: *contarmos com as nossas próprias forças, desembaraçarmo-nos das tarefas domésticas e participarmos nas actividades produtivas e sociais* (rely on our own strength, get rid of household chores and participate in productive and social activities).

– back to Timor-Leste to help the struggle for national liberation. These five returning students brought with them new dynamics that influenced FRETILIN. In particular, the students introduced the concept of *trabalho de base* (grassroot work) as a means of people's mobilisation.⁷ These students, who later became leaders of FRETILIN, had learned from anti-colonial struggles in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea Bissau that the march to liberation in the colonies did not start with armed struggle, but instead, with intensive work in raising people's consciousness (*conscientização*). The grassroot work for *conscientização* or raising people's consciousness required the political bureau to carry out the work. Unlike in Portugal, where universities become places of political recruitment, in the absence of tertiary education in Portuguese Timor, high school students were targeted for political education. This process was aimed at forming cadres of political parties to mobilize the people.

As there were not sufficient political leaders at the time, the FRETILIN leaders facilitated the establishment of various student and youth movements, including the National Union of Timorese Students (União Nacional dos Estudantes Timorenses – UNETIM), the People's Organisation of Timorese Youth (Organização Popular da Juventude Timorense – OPJT), and the National Union of Timorese Agents of Primary Learning (União Nacional dos Agentes do Ensino Primário de Timor – UNAEPTIM). The members of the organisations came from different schools, such as Ciclo Preparatório, Escola Comercial e Indústrial Prof Silva Cunha, Escola de Habilitação de Professores de Posto Canto Resende, Escola Externato de São José and Escola Liceu Dr. Francisco Machado (F. R. Kalçona, personal communication, 24 February 2011). With the forming of the three organisations, women's political participation and attention to women's emancipation increased.

FRETILIN's thoughts on women's participation in the struggle for national liberation were evident in a message by the Vice President of the Republic of Timor-Leste, Nicolau dos Reis Lobato, in 1974. Lobato argued that liberating the people without liberating women was an incomplete task. To ignore the role of women in the mission of liberation, he argued, was like an affront to the vital contribution of a major social force in the modern world. To free women is through participation. (Lobato, 1974) According to Lobato, in the political process, Timorese women have words to say, important roles to perform like their male counterparts, and should have the opportunity to participate hand in hand with Timorese men.

Ideas about women's emancipation were also expressed in art form. Francisco Borja da Costa, a founder of FRETILIN and a revolutionary poet, in his poem *Ela*

7. The seventh point of Casa dos Timores' declaration of principles mentions building popular and revolutionary bases.

Vencerá (She Will Prevail) showed how discrimination faced by women and their struggle to set themselves free from discrimination was essential to ensure that everyone has equal rights. (Costa & Costa, 2009) In another poem entitled *O Amor* (*Ibid*) (*Love*), da Costa described the exploitation faced by both women and men in colonial times, and appealed for everyone to move forward to overcome colonialism, which functioned to subdue women.

At the same time, the FRETILIN political manual and program published in December 1974 made no mention of women's emancipation. The document stated: "*Incentivo e apoio à criação de organizações de jovens, mulheres e estudantes e trabalhadores e a fim de preparar a participação de todos cidadão no vida política da Nação,*" meaning that FRETILIN will facilitate the creation of three mass organisations: for youth, workers and women (FRETILIN, 1974). FRETILIN stated that it would mobilise every citizen, women and men to take part in the struggle for national liberation by not discriminating against women. Given that the majority of the people were illiterate during the colonial period, FRETILIN carried out literary campaigns to allow everyone to read and write. FRETILIN was aware that with the literacy campaign, women (who did not have access to education during colonial times) would have more opportunities to contribute to national liberation.

Although FRETILIN did not incorporate women's emancipation in its *Manual e Programa Político*, the front implicitly positioned women as having equal rights with men to take part in the struggle for national liberation. FRETILIN's social justice program, for example, mentioned the protection of women workers during pregnancy (*Ibid.*). Thus, although there was no specific discussion of women's rights, FRETILIN formally promoted workers' rights. FRETILIN also expressed its commitment to mobilising women in the struggle for national liberation. Although women's emancipation did not appear in the party's publication, in practice, the party started to introduce ideas such as the emancipation of women and encouraged women to take part in politics through participating in productive and social activities.

Upon her return to Dili, Rosa Muki introduced new political thinking regarding women's emancipation to FRETILIN. In fact, the 1975 article she wrote in the *Timor-Leste: Jornal do Povo Maubere* can be seen as the OPMT manifesto. FRETILIN established the OPMT with the goal of directly taking part in the struggle against colonialism and fighting every form of violent discrimination against women in colonized society (Muki, 1975). The goal of OPMT was to fight for freedom from oppression. According to the party, it was only through well-organised struggle that victory can be achieved. As Muki wrote, in accordance with the importance of the role of women in the struggle for independence, the first task of women was to educate Timorese children as continuators of the revolution. The

second task was to organise active and conscious women to encourage those who were still passive to fight against exploitation (*Ibid*). For the implementation of these tasks, OPMT organised women to carry out activities in various fields, such as education through the literacy campaigns and setting up creches, production, health and combat.

FRETILIN saw that everyone was equal; no one was more superior to others and no one was inferior to others. However, in reality, in Timor-Leste's society inequality remained based on class, race, colour and gender. In the initial stages of the national liberation movement, discussions of discrimination were focused more on racial discrimination committed by the colonial rulers against the colonised people. FRETILIN perceived that the root cause of such discrimination was the class system, which divided the people along the lines of exploiter and the exploited. They also discussed other forms of discrimination, although they focused mainly on class-based discrimination. Leaders discussed these issues and made strong critiques, expressing these in a number of publications. For instance, in the *Jornal do Povo Maubere*, on September 27, 1975, when analysing the issue of "unity", the writer of "*O Tema da Semana*" (Topic of the Week) wrote as follows:

Discrimination – the product of class society, and therefore of exploitation. The basis of discrimination is economic, similar to other discriminations: racial, religious beliefs, politics, origin and so forth. When we said that discrimination is a product of class society, this implies that in a classless society there would be no discrimination; in an exploitation free society, there is no reason for discrimination based on colour, political conviction or religious beliefs, and so forth.

ASDT/FRETILIN talked about various forms of discrimination such as racial, skin colour, political ideology, or religion – even the issue of discrimination against women was highlighted. This topic can be seen in "*O Tema da Semana*," when the author wrote about "unity" as a means to attain independence:

UNITY is the secret of our victory against traitors that denied Timor-Leste to be a free and independent country. Therefore, it is alerted to form this new struggle, which might be used by the enemies to keep dividing and crushing to better rule over us. For Timor-Leste to be truly free, only UNITY, no discrimination based on race or religion or political conviction, will bring victory to the Maubere People.

During the establishment of ASDT organisations in different places, the party leaders motivated or encouraged women to take part. Since the beginning, ASDT leaders introduced the "right to equality," which meant that both men and women

had equal rights. For instance, in the training sessions for new members of UNETIM, the trainers talked about discrimination against women, which they argued should be eliminated. They introduced discrimination against women in colonial times with the main task of serving domestic needs but now it is different women have the same rights as men (F. Kalçona, personal communication, 11 October 2014).

The establishment of the women's organization, OPMT with Rosa Filomena Bonaparte 'Muki' as the secretary general, who just returned to Timor-Leste from Portugal, FRETILIN's idea of discrimination against women was intensified. In an article entitled "Organização Popular da Mulher Timor – Texto de Análise da Situação da Mulher Timor" published in the *Timor-Leste-Jornal do Povo Maubere*, Muki wrote an analysis of the situation of Timorese women. She described the discrimination that women faced in their daily lives. She argued that the women of Timor-Leste were exploited in two ways: via traditional conceptions of women's subjugation and colonial conception. Muki wrote:

The situation of women being exploited and oppressed is not a phenomenon limited to Timor-Leste. In most countries, women are deprived of their most fundamental rights and are not allowed to participate actively in political lives. But in Timor-Leste, as I said, like in other countries subjected to colonial exploitation, the situation of exploitation and oppression of women reached extreme degrees, due to combination of two factors: one, which concerns the traditional conceptions of the submission of women, and the other, to colonialist conceptions. (Muki, 1975, p. 8.)

The colonial system in Timor-Leste, like in many other colonised countries, meant that the people were discriminated against by the colonial regime. This discrimination took the form of forced labour with small payments (*salários de fome*) and racism. Everyone, including women and men, were living under the same situation. However, there was oppression or exploitation that was specific to women. Even though FRETILIN did not use the word 'gender,' it was evident that the colonial power exploited the people based on gender. Rosa Muki wrote the following:

The system of an ideology in which women are considered to be "inferior", subjected the Timorese woman to a double exploitation: a general form includes men and women without distinction and that manifest itself in forced labour, tiny salary, racism, etc. Another with specific nature aimed especially at women. Separating her from her husband through forced labour, depriving her from means of support for her household and children, colonialism thus creating conditions to force women to sell her body, prostituting herself.

As we have already seen, the double exploitation of women by the colonial-fascist system of domination is reflected in these two aspects: in addition to cheap labor, the Timorese woman is an instrument of pleasure for the colonialist bosses. (Ibid)

Therefore, FRETILIN established OPMT with a double objective: to allow women to take part in the struggle against colonialism and to fight all means of violent discrimination against women in the colonised society

II. Extending and cultivating the emancipation of women

After the Indonesian military started to control of the main towns and cities, FRETILIN resisted the occupation with together with the majority of the people, sought refuge in the mountains and built the liberated zones. Unlike the liberated zones in Portuguese Africa, which started small and became larger, the liberated zones in Timor-Leste were initially large but decreased in size due to the advancement of the Indonesian military. In Africa, the liberated zones were built from the conquest of small areas controlled by colonial forces, and gradually expanded to become larger, until they took over the entire territory by defeating the enemy. However, in Timor-Leste, as a result of the Indonesian invasion and occupation, the liberated zones were established simultaneously throughout the territory. FRETILIN's revolutionary programs prior to the invasion were limited to a few cities, while the liberated zones opening up space for all people to become involved.

The liberated zones were divided into six sectors: Eastern Edge, Centre-East, Centre-North, Centre-South, North Border and South Border. OPMT, like FRETILIN, reorganised its civil structure from the lowest level (*aldeia*, or hamlet) within each sector. Along with this restructure, FRETILIN continued with the programme of establishing structures that were later implemented at the zone levels. OPMT run its programs by creating political spaces, starting from village level to the zones for all women to be involved in the struggle for independence and women's emancipation. Lucia Maria Fátima of Centre-South recalled:

The party structure elects the OPMT secretary at the zones level. At the zones level, the OPMT structure composed of secretary and her two deputies. To strengthen the activities of the OPMT, the structure selected the person in charge of commissions, sections and teams. (L. M. Fátima, personal communication, 23 November 2011)

Through OPMT activities, women began to get involved in politics and gradually comprehended the importance the struggle for independence and women's emancipation. Women's participation in politics which was hampered by domestic tasks, the OPMT established crèche so that everyone could freely carry out the programs of the Fretolin and the OPMT. The programme of the emancipation of women was also continued in every aspect. The territory of the liberated zones, starting with the larger areas, continued to work towards the emancipation of women which, before the Indonesian invasion, had concentrated only on certain areas.

Aspects of women's emancipation in the liberated zones included equal rights amongst women and men, freedom, the right to speak and equal education to both women and men. They had also the right to carry guns. OPMT members also integrated themselves into each significant sector and its functioning structures from zone levels to *aldeia*.

In the liberated zones, OPMT continued with the programmes that had been established before the Indonesian invasion, such as in the fields of education, crèche, health, production, justice, security and the military. Also involved in OPMT were young women, who also served as members of OPJT. At the zone level, women took part in the Education Commission, Production Commission, Health Commission, among others. At the *soco* level, women organised themselves in sections and teams. However, OPMT could organise themselves to talk about issues related to OPMT and due to Indonesian military operations, OPMT they could not organize their conferences.

III. The emancipation of women under the Indonesian military occupation

The large scale military operations carried out by the Indonesia military in the late 1970s largely destroyed the liberated zones. As a consequence, these operations forced political and military leaders, as well as the civilian population, to surrender and resettle in occupied zones.

The reorganisation of the national resistance in Maubai in 1981, on the one hand, reconfirmed the struggle for national liberation. On the other hand, it omitted the revolutionary programmes that had been implemented in the liberated zones and before the invasion. The reorganisation of the resistance focused more on the armed struggle and put aside the social and political programmes carried out in the liberated zones. This happened because of the brutal Indonesian occupation that did not give any space for the implementation of the programmes and

because such programmes were considered communist by the Indonesian occupying forces. The reorganisation of the resistance was carried out according to military logic as it set the armed struggle as its primary objective. The mobilisation of the clandestine was put into practice to meet the needs of the armed struggle. From that point, the struggle for national liberation gradually shifted its objective from the total and simultaneous liberation of the people and the homeland to merely the liberation of the homeland. This objective had to be achieved *before* the liberation of the people. This meant that the programme of women's emancipation could only be achieved after the liberation of the homeland.

This did not mean, however, that women stopped taking part in the struggle for national liberation. The experience of three years in the liberated zones had not only built a strong foundation for the struggle of national liberation, but also for the emancipation of women. Yet the limited space available away from the control of the Indonesian military did not allow the national liberation movement to carry out political activities freely. In public spaces controlled by the Indonesian military, women organised themselves into clandestine movements from their houses. Houses, generally considered spaces for the socialization of traditional values, were transformed into centres of resistance in the occupied zones. Houses became sites for the mobilisation of logistical support, as well as the organization, protection, actions against the Indonesian military, and even hiding places. Judith Ribeiro da Conceição testified that the clandestine meetings prior to the November 12 demonstration were held at her house (J. R. da Conceição, personal communication, 18 April 2013). Antónia Freitas explained that she used her house to mobilize logistical support for FALINTIL and provide protection for freedom fighters and care for sick FALINTIL members (A. Freitas, personal communication, 16 July 2015).

Women found their own ways to fight for independence. In addition to using houses as centers for resistance, women also used public spaces to fight for independence. Some women became Indonesian public servants to obtain information about the enemy and logistical support, worked as helpers in the church to allow them to move freely to carry out clandestine activities, and also organized and engaged in public protests against the Indonesian occupation. Joana Gonçalves Amorim Dias Soares utilized the priest's regular visits to prisons in Dili to obtain information about human rights violations and report abroad. She was one of the main organizers of the demonstrations demanding referendum for Timor-Leste when the US Ambassador to Indonesia John Monjo visited Díli in January 1990 and also the action against the occupation on November 12, 1991 (J. G. A. D. Soares, personal communication, 12 May 2015).

The role of women is uniquely important in the clandestine movement. Women knew to use the stereotyped label from the Indonesian authorities as weak, but

their weakness became a source of strength as they were often unsuspected by the Indonesian military. In critical situations where men were suspected and had to hide, it was women who appeared to carry out clandestine activities.

Conclusion

Since the establishment of political associations in 1974, FRETILIN leaders defended the emancipation of women. Their argument was that the discrimination of women was a byproduct of the class system. The dominant worldview at the time was that women's participation in the struggle for national liberation would open up space for women's emancipation.

Although FRETILIN leaders defined the emancipation of women as an imperative issue in the struggle for national liberation, there was no focused analysis on the exploitation of women by men. This exploitation can, however, be seen in the form of racial, religious and political discrimination, which were considered central. Yet there was also discrimination against women by men after the establishment of the OPMT, whose leaders started to defend the emancipation of women within the party.

The national liberation struggle in Timor-Leste opened up space for the struggle for women's emancipation. The involvement of women such as Rosa Muki influenced the evolution of women's emancipation in terms of ideas and practices. FRETILIN's revolutionary programs were practiced before the invasion and especially in the liberated zones, in the form of education to gain political consciousness – not only to achieve independence, but also to struggle for women's emancipation. The political consciousness gained in the liberated zones provided a foundation for many Timorese women to find their own ways to fight for independence amidst tight Indonesian military control.

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4. *Indonesiação do conflito de Timor-Leste: East Timorese youths and Indonesian nationalism*¹

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Indonesiação do conflito de Timor-Leste: East Timorese youths and Indonesian nationalism

The East Timorese youth movement for independence and the pro-democracy movement among young Indonesians coalesced through joint actions in the 1990s. Through a series of joint demonstrations, East Timorese youths studying in Indonesia and organized in Renetil (Resistência Nacional dos Estudantes de Timor-Leste, or East Timorese Students' National Resistance), created a political movement to "Indonesianize the Conflict in East Timor" which attempted to situate the East Timor conflict within Indonesian domestic issues. This movement successfully created a common "nation-like" space for East Timorese and Indonesian youths which enabled young Indonesian nationalists to imagine East Timor in ways that re-conceptualised their own nationalism.

Existing scholarship on Indonesia and Timor-Leste describes, albeit in an incomplete way, these interactive dynamics between two different nationalist movements. Thus, this paper analyses Renetil's political campaigns based on fieldwork in Dili and Jakarta carried out from 2014 to 2015. The paper argues that the movement to "Indonesianise" the conflict can be understood as a pseudo-national project, an overarching linkage of nations beyond existing post-colonial boundaries.

Nationalism. Youth movements. Renetil. East Timor. Indonesia.

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A Indonesiação do conflito de Timor-Leste: A juventude timorense e o nacionalismo indonésio

O movimento independentista da juventude timorense e o movimento pró-democrático de jovens indonésios uniram-se em ações conjuntas na década de 1990. Através desta série de manifestações conjuntas, a juventude timorense na Indonésia, a Renetil (Resistência Nacional dos Estudantes de Timor-Leste), criou um movimento político denominado Indonesiação do Conflito de Timor-Leste que tentava inscrever o conflito em Timor-Leste como uma questão interna na Indonésia. O movimento de Indonesiação do Conflito de Timor-Leste conseguiu criar um espaço comum “tipo nação” para os jovens timorense e indonésios que permitia aos jovens nacionalistas indonésios imaginar Timor-Leste e reconceitualizar o seu próprio nacionalismo através da luta dos timorense pela independência. A literatura académica sobre Indonésia e Timor-Leste descreve, ainda que de forma incompleta, essas dinâmicas de interação entre diferentes movimentos nacionalistas. Assim, este artigo procura fornecer uma análise sobre os movimentos políticos da Renetil, partindo do trabalho de campo realizado em Díli e Jacarta entre 2014 e 2015. O artigo argumenta que o movimento de Indonesiação do Conflito de Timor-Leste pode ser entendido como um projeto pseudo-nacional, um elo abrangente entre nações que ultrapassa as fronteiras pós-coloniais existentes.

Nacionalismo. Movimentos juvenis. Renetil. Timor-Leste. Indonésia.

Konfliktu Timor-Leste nia Indoniezasau: juventude Timoroan no nacionalizmu Indonézia nian

Movimentu independentista hosi juventude timoroan no movimentu pró-demokrátiku hosi juventude indonéziu hala'o knaar-lisuk hamutuk iha dékada 1990. Liuhosi manifestasun ne'ebé sira hala'o hamutuk, juventude timoroan iha Indonézia, RENETIL (*Resistência Nacional dos Estudantes de Timor-Leste*), harii movimentu polítiku ida ho naran Indonesiação do Conflito de Timor-Leste ne'ebé koko atu hafila konfliktu iha Timor-Leste hanesan kestaun interna ida iha Indonézia nia rai-laran. Movimentu ne'e, *Indonesiação do Conflito de Timor-Leste*, biban hadi'ak fatin ida-ne'ebé sira hotu fahe ba malu, timoroan ho indonéziu sira, no loke dalan ba joven nasionalista indonéziu sira atu haree ba imajen Timor-Leste nian no hafila hanoin kona-ba sira-nia nasionalizmu liuhosi timoroan nia luta ba ukun rasik-an.

Literatura akadémika konabá Indonézia no Timor-Leste, baibain, seidauk konta barak kona-ba dinámika ne'ebé buras iha movimentu nasionalista rua ne'e nia leet. Nune'e, artigu ida-ne'e buka atu fó análise ida tuir loloos kona-ba movimentu polítiku Renetil nian, liuhosi traballu iha kampu ne'ebé hala'o iha Dili no Jakarta iha 2014 no 2015. Artigu ida-ne'e tada katak movimentu Indonesiação do Conflito de Timor-Leste nu'udar projetu pseudo-nasional ida-ne'ebé kona luan no kesi nasaun rua hodi hakat liu baliza pós-koloniál.

Nasionalizmu. Movimentu juvenil sira. Renetil. Timor-Leste. Indonézia.

Introduction

The independence movement of East Timorese youths and the pro-democracy movement of young Indonesians coalesced in joint actions in the 1990s, after student activism had dissipated in Indonesia during the 1980s. Through this series of joint demonstrations East Timorese youths from the Indonesia mainland, Renetil (Resistência Nacional dos Estudantes de Timor-Leste, or East Timorese Students National Resistance), created a political strategy referred to as *Indonesiação do Conflito de Timor-Leste* (Indonesianisation of the East Timor Conflict), which attempts to situate the conflict in East Timor within Indonesian domestic issues. This strategy successfully created a common “nation-like” space for East Timorese and Indonesian youths which enabled young Indonesian nationalists to imagine East Timor to re-conceptualise their own nationalism through the independence struggle of the East Timorese. In this respect, East Timorese youths encouraged Indonesians to “imagine” East Timor, something that political officials in Indonesia had so far failed to do (Anderson, 1993).

The extant scholarship on Indonesia and East Timor, however, hardly describes this distinctive political phenomenon among the youth. While most of the scholars of Indonesian politics have focused on major pro-democracy movements by Indonesian students and activists within Indonesia (Aspinall, 1993; 1995; 2005; Uhlin, 1997), the studies of Timor-Leste have been mostly devoted to delineating the history of the independence struggle – which was initiated by the older generation that has dominated significant political posts since independence (Jolliffe, 1978; Taylor, 1991; Matsuno, 2002; Leach, 2008; 2016; 2019). Although a few historians and anthropologists have recently focused on the East Timorese younger generation (Carey, 2003; Bexley, 2007; Fernandes, 2011; Weldemichael, 2010; 2012; Bexley & Tchailoro, 2013), their analyses do not centre on the dynamic interaction between East Timorese nationalism and Indonesia’s pro-democracy movements, particularly among the youth.

This paper, therefore, aims to examine one political movement by East Timorese youths, based on interviews I conducted between 2014 and 2015 in Dili and Jakarta – in concert with local documents and secondary source literature. The interviews include the oral history of East Timorese activists from Renetil and Indonesian pro-democracy activists who supported the East Timorese struggle. The members of Renetil who moved to Java in order to study at universities promoted the strategy to Indonesianise the conflict, which aimed to transform the East Timorese struggle for independence into becoming an Indonesian domestic issue, and in doing so, to alter Indonesia’s perception of East Timor. This strategy enabled some of Indonesia’s pro-democracy activists to re-imagine their sense of

nationalism. In the Gramscian term, this strategy might be understood as a *counter-hegemony* against a hegemonic *consent* to the dictatorship (Gramsci, 1971). Scrutiny of the East Timorese youth movement, however, reveals that the strategy was instead a pseudo-national project, an overarching linking of nations beyond existing post-colonial boundaries.

Rhetoric of Indonesianising

Since the Soeharto authoritarian regime of Indonesia forcibly incorporated East Timor as the youngest province in the republic, the regime has consistently forced them to behave as Indonesian in return for infrastructure development. A national ideology of Indonesia, called Pancasila, was constructed to foster a ‘national personality’ into which the East Timorese were also included (Tsuchiya, 1995, p. 280). Indonesia attempted to place the whole archipelago under this ideology of Pancasila. Ali Moertopo, a prominent general in the Soeharto regime, explained that Pancasila “is none other than to Indonesianise Indonesians, by which I mean to make Indonesians truly Indonesian,” (cited in Bourchier & Hadiz, 2003, p. 111)³ Pancasila rhetorically connects all members of the nation-state across the Indonesian archipelago (Masuhara, 2010, pp. 80-86), meaning that Indonesians were obliged to commit to official nationalism in exchange for tangible development that might improve their standard of living.

East Timor was part of this national project of “making Indonesians Indonesian.” A considerable amount was spent on building roads to develop Timor-Leste, and local newspapers frequently reported on this construction following the region’s integration into Indonesia (*Tempo*, 1991a, p. 27; *Tempo*, 1991b, p. 21). An investigation team from the Gadjah Mada University visited Timor-Leste twice, in 1981 and 1989, and reported on the dramatic changes in infrastructure development in Timor-Leste (Mubyarto, Soetrisno, Hudiyanto, Djatmiko, Setiawati, & Mawarni, 1990, p. 3). In the educational realm, developments intended to acculturate East Timorese to the tenets of Pancasila were widely promoted. While there were only 70 schools before the integration of the region, there were 569 primary schools and the number of high schools increased from one to 33 during the late 1970s to 1980s (*Tempo*, 1991a, p. 27).

As Benedict Anderson (1998, p. 325) points out, the attitude of Indonesian political elites toward the issue of Timor-Leste simultaneously reflected a contrary

3. The type of argument is common in the history of nationalism; for instance, see Massimo d’Aze-glio and Garibaldi’s “we have made Italy, now we must make Italians” (Carter, 1996). Also see Seton-Watson (1977) on official nationalism and Weber (1976) on “peasants into Frenchmen,”

view, as they “did *not* believe that East Timorese were Indonesian.” For example, Indonesia’s foreign minister from 1988 to 1999, Ali Alatas, articulated that the Indonesian military intervention in Timor-Leste in 1975 was aggravated by the fact that there was “no action taken by anyone to stop the violence” against East Timorese (Alatas, 2006, p. 20). As a result, however, East Timor became what Foreign Minister Alatas referred to as “a pebble in the shoe” for Indonesia (Alatas, 2006; Anderson, 1998). Corresponding with this political attitude the province of East Timor was “closed not only to foreigners, but even to most Indonesians” until the late 1980s (Anderson, 1999, p. 9), one consequence being that Indonesians were unable to imagine East Timorese as fellow Indonesians.⁴ This official view on East Timor even shaped Indonesians’ own self-perception, distinguishing the independence movement of East Timorese from the mainstream pro-democracy movement because the issue of East Timor was not a *domestic* Indonesian issue but rather an *international* one. Thus, Indonesia’s pro-democracy activists hardly imagine the struggle of East Timor as a part of their pro-democracy struggle.

Indonesianising the East Timorese conflict

Against this backdrop, Indonesianising the East Timorese conflict was to transform the independence struggle of East Timor into a domestic issue of Indonesia, and in doing so the group hoped to alter Indonesian perceptions of East Timor (V. S. Guterres, personal communication, November 10, 2014; M. S. Lopes, personal communication, December 23, 2014; D. S. Alves, personal communication, December 26, 2014; D. do A de Carvalho, personal communication, January 5, 2015; F. de Araujo, personal communication, January 7, 2015). One of the founders of Renetil, Carlos Saky (2013, p. 483), explains that “Indonesians did not live in a democracy, nor were East Timorese able to achieve independence.” Thus, East Timorese youths who were sent to the Indonesian mainland were expected to help Indonesians gain an understanding of the reality of the conflict in Timor-Leste from an East Timorese perspective. Members of Renetil started approaching Indonesian democratic activists and discussing Timor-Leste’s issues with them to make their struggle known (L. da Costa, personal communication, December 12, 2014; N. Katjasungkana,⁵ personal communication, November 5, 2014; R. Mendes, personal communication, December 12, 2014). They held regular meet-

4. A Japanese photojournalist, Yukinori Yokota, describes the attitude of local Indonesians, based on his personal contacts: they regard Timor-Leste as ‘dangerous’ and its people as ‘violent’ and ‘evil’ (Yokota, 2001, pp. 60-61).

5. Katjasungkana is a former member of Forltilos, a solidarity group for the people of Timor-Leste.

ings with Indonesian students beginning in 1990 (Saky, 2013, p. 498) and expanded their contacts to include human rights groups, more students, and intellectuals starting in 1993 (Saky, 2013, p. 489). Universities became the centre of communication between the younger generations of Timor-Leste and Indonesia.

Apart from the significant efforts of East Timorese youths in Indonesia, the Santa Cruz Massacre accelerated the East Timorese independence struggle. In November 1991, the Indonesian army fired on a mass of East Timorese youths in Dili and caused the deaths of at least 250 East Timorese youths (Matsuno, 1992). Setting aside the impact on the international community, its impact on Indonesian society cannot be underestimated. The former editor of news magazine *Jakarta-Jakarta*, Seno Gumira Ajidarma offered an in-depth analysis of the violence in Dili, writing on the massacre in *Saksi Mata* (*Eyewitness*):

The difference between the Dili incident and criminal incidents was that [the] Dili incident had a political dimension, so that the details of the affair explained a certain position. (Ajidarma, 1995, p. 26)

In discussing the Santa Cruz Massacre, former Indonesian activist, and now ambassador to Egypt, Helmi Fauzi explains the Dili Massacre as having:

[...] opened the mind of the Indonesian: ‘there is a problem in Timor-Leste.’ At the very least, there was a beginning. Indonesians began to question government’s suppression in Timor-Leste. (H. Fauzi, personal communication, January 24, 2015)⁶

Another pro-democracy activist in Indonesia, Rachland Nashidik, describes the contemporary context:

At that time, I think people still believed that the ‘unification’ of Timor-Leste [with Indonesia] was accompanied by flowers and joy and was not the product of invention and colonialism by Indonesia. So, it was hard for Indonesians to believe that what happened during the Santa Cruz massacre was really because of the charismatic Indonesian army. (R. Nashidik, personal communication, January 27, 2015)⁷

6. Fauzi is a former member of INFIGHT (a human rights group) and a board member of Solidamor (Solidarity for Timor-Leste Peace Settlement). Solidamor was a group which focused on the reconciliation between Timor-Leste and Indonesia as a prerequisite for establishing democracy in Indonesia (Goodman, 1999).

7. Nashidik is a former member of INFIGHT and one of the founders of PBHI. Currently, he is known as a reformist in democratic Indonesia. For the details, see Mietzner (2014, p. 113).

Significantly, East Timorese activists began regarding the demonstration in Santa Cruz as a trigger for changing the oppressive nature of their current struggle, despite the large risks this entailed. Gregorio da Cunha Saldanha, one of the organisers of the demonstration, explains the background story of the massacre as follows:

Xanana [the East Timorese leader of the independence movement] tried to stop the demonstration, but it was impossible. People knew that something might happen during the demonstration. However, they were willing to give their lives for independence. (G. da C. Saldanha, personal communication, November 15, 2014)

Enraged by the tragedy in Dili, East Timorese youths in Java were quick to respond. More than 80 of them demonstrated against the violence by the Indonesian military in Jakarta one week after the Santa Cruz massacre, and 70 demonstrators were arrested by Indonesian authorities (Matsuno, 1992, p. 14). In the aftermath of the arrests and in a show of solidarity, students organised a group of 70 people to meet the 70 East Timorese in custody (Tempo, 1991b, p. 21).

Imagining Indonesia through East Timor

The strategy to Indonesianise the conflict emerged out of the armed struggle of the East Timorese and the rise of a new pro-democracy movements in Indonesia. Through their interactions with East Timorese youth activists, Indonesian pro-democracy activists became more involved in the issue of East Timor. Helmi Fauzi (a prominent human rights activist who later became a board member of Solidamor⁸) argued for the East Timorese right to self-determination, speaking on behalf of the Indonesian National Youth Front (FPN) and the Indonesian Forum for Human Dignity, before the Human Rights Sub-Committee of the Australian government (Fauzi, 1992, p. 51). Another Indonesian pro-democracy activist, Tri Agus Susanto Siswowihardjo, argued that the occupation of Timor-Leste by the Soeharto regime was illegal. Significantly, this was the first time that Indonesians openly started criticising the occupation of Timor-Leste (PIJAR, 1995). East Timorese youths also became increasingly vocal. After Tri Agus was arrested by

8. Solidaritas untuk Penyelesaian Damai Timor-Leste, Solidarity for East Timor Peace Settlement. Solidamor is an Indonesian organisation established for reconciliation between East Timorese and Indonesians.

the authorities, Renetil quickly issued a statement addressed to the Attorney General in Jakarta which requested that the charges against him be reconsidered. The statement emphasised solidarity with all Indonesian pro-democracy fighters, especially Tri Agus (Silva, 1995, p. 67).

The radical wing of the Indonesia's pro-democracy movement distilled the impact of the East Timorese struggle for independence, to such an extent that Indonesian youths even redefined their own notion of nationalism to differentiate it from the existing official nationalism. With Renetil "Indonesianising" their independence struggle in Indonesia, Indonesian youths were able to re-imagine the colonial struggle of their own country through the independence struggle of East Timorese youths. In the following excerpt from a letter by Wilson, a political prisoner and leader of the left-wing party, the People's Democratic Party (PRD) to an East Timorese activist, Puto [Naldo Rei], he indicates his reflections on *pemuda*⁹ (youth in Indonesian) and the *juventude* (youth in Tetum) struggle. As shown also in Indonesian activist Nugroho Katjasungkana's reflection, Indonesian student activists projected the independence struggle of *juventude* in East Timor onto their own *pemuda* struggle for independence from Dutch colonial rule. Here, Wilson also associated the East Timor concept of *juventude* with the Indonesian concept of *pemuda*, acknowledging links between the Indonesian national history of liberation and that of the East Timorese.

[...] since I came to know you and your history of struggle, I feel like I am living in the past, at a time when the colonialism of the western countries was still in full swing, fifty years ago. And through your story, I have become embarrassed at my own country; that a country that had won freedom through a long struggle against colonialism was now taking the same position as its colonial masters in that previous era. (Rei, 2007, p. 309)

Wilson also explained how the struggle for independence in East Timor was a mirror-image of the independence struggle of Indonesia from Dutch and Japanese rule. In the following excerpt from the letter, Wilson indicates his re-conceptualisation of Indonesian nationalism:

Maybe such a person as this had existed in Indonesia during the nationalist struggle against the colonialism of the Dutch and Japan. It was true. You had reversed the wheels of my political history to the former colonial period (Rei, 2007, p. 309).

9. *Pemuda* literally means 'youth' in Indonesian language, but the term historically was synonymous with political radicalism.

Decisively, he reflects on the nascent nationalistic aspirations of pro-democracy figures, while most Indonesians' nationalism was still territorial nationalism¹⁰:

East Timorese did have an impact on the definition of nationalism, specifically from conservative to progressive nationalism. Some radical groups tried to give a new definition to Indonesian nationalism because of East Timor. (Wilson, personal communication, January 22, 2015)

The East Timorese struggle further transformed Indonesia's pro-democracy struggle. The Indonesian democratic activist, Rachland Nashidik, articulates the impact of East Timor on the Indonesian democratic movement:

There was long struggle conducted by generations of Indonesian activists trying to overthrow the dictator. But, we always failed [...] [B]efore we were acquainted with the East Timorese struggle, we did not realise that international pressure was so effective. You know, to push for the openness of Indonesian politics in Indonesia, we admit that only by using the East Timorese struggle, Indonesian politics could be opened up. (R. Nashidik, personal communication, January 27, 2015)

A former member of Fortilos,¹¹ Nugroho Katjasungkana, argued that the struggle of the East Timorese is like that of the Indonesians of his grandfather's generation who fought against Dutch colonial rule (N. Katjasungkana, personal communication, November 5, 2014). Furthermore, a publication of the solidarity group, Solidamor characterised the leader of the East Timorese independence movement Xanana Gusmão as East Timor's Soekarno (*Bung Karno-nya Timor-Timur*) drawing parallels between the former with Indonesia's nationalist fighter and first president (Siswowihardjo, 1999, p. 17).

Although according to Benedict Anderson, East Timor was regarded as "an ungrateful 'betrayal of common historical project' and thus Indonesians were unable to 'imagine East Timor'" (Anderson, 1993; 1983), the Indonesianising strategy of the East Timorese enabled young Indonesian nationalists to imagine East Timor as a nation-state of its own and further re-conceptualise Indonesian nationalism through the struggle of the East Timorese. In so doing, the movement created a common nation-like space for Indonesians and East Timorese in which East

10. Shamsul (1996) conceptualises the idea of nation in a similar manner as 'nation-of-intent'.

11. Forum Nasional Rakyat Timor-Leste (Fortilos), Solidarity Forum for People in East Timor was an independent pro-East Timor group in Indonesia.

Timorese youth struggle was situated within the Indonesia's national history of struggle. In this respect, nationalism is not the product of imagination within a given territory. It rather transcends the existing territorial concept of nationalism so as to link together different national histories for the divergent national projects. For the Indonesians who supported the East Timorese struggle for independence, the referendum of East Timor was a matter not only for East Timorese but also for Indonesians, a historical achievement of democratic Indonesia. East Timorese and Indonesian youth activists often referred to the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia to claim the legality of a referendum of East Timorese. This is evident, for instance, in a petition prepared by a joint organisation of East Timorese and Indonesian youths that began by saying that:

The humble idea shared in the first paragraph of the 1945 Constitution constitute the idea of the Republic's founders to emancipate and guide their people in order to achieve the struggle claimed on 17 August 1945. (Petisi Front Nasional Pemuda Timor-Leste, 12 June 1998)¹²

By aligning their different histories into one destiny, East Timorese and Indonesian youths were able to imagine a united front for their history of nationalism that enabled Indonesians to imagine democratic Indonesia through the fate of East Timor. Through their interaction with East Timorese youths, Indonesian pro-democracy activists were able to articulate an alternative version of Indonesian nationalism which is embedded into their history of struggle – and which stands in opposition to state-sanctioned versions of Indonesian nationalism under the Suharto regime.

Conclusion

This short paper has provided an overview of the political movement of East Timorese youths which worked with the radical wing of Indonesia's pro-democracy movement. The paper articulated that the strategy of Indonesianising the East Timorese conflict, initiated by the clandestine organisation of East Timorese students, Renetil enabled Indonesians to better understand events in East Timor by “Indonesianising” their independence struggle. State officials in Soeharto's

12. This petition was used during the joint demonstration in front of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Indonesia on 12 June 1998. The author thanks Zésopol Carlito Caminha for providing this document.

authoritarian regime failed to imagine East Timor while attempting to assimilate the East Timorese into their version of the true Indonesia in the name of official nationalism. Against this official rhetoric of Indonesian nationalism, the strategy conceived by Renetil led to Indonesians articulating an alternative version of nationalism which is historically embedded in the independence struggle of Indonesia itself. By creating an intersection of nationalism between East Timor and Indonesia, these youths successfully established a common form of nationalism that underpins nation-building for the independence of East Timor and for the democracy of Indonesia. Indonesian nationalism was able to co-opt East Timorese youth struggle into becoming a part of their national history against the regime's official nationalism. Some of the ties between East Timorese and Indonesian activists endured beyond East Timor's independence. The independence era, however, led to situation in which Indonesian-based and educated East Timorese youth found themselves in a subordinate position as a result of the Portuguese-educated older generation questioning their legitimacy and sense of belonging in the new nation-state of Timor-Leste (Bexley, 2007).

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5. Gerasaun¹ de Luca: parentesco e territorialidades em Timor-Leste

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Gerasaun de Luca: parentesco e territorialidades em Timor-Leste

Baseada em investigação em curso, irei desenvolver nesta comunicação os múltiplos sentidos dados à expressão *Gerasaun de Luca* pelos meus interlocutores, descendentes do reino de Luca (região de falantes Tétum situada na costa sul de Timor-Leste). São abordados ao longo da comunicação: os antepassados que servem de referentes comuns; as relações de aliança *fetosan/umane* (Hicks 2004; Ospina 2019; Silva 2018); a territorialidade e a expansão a partir do conceito de topogenia (Fox 2006) e de noções de centro e periferia (Barnes, Hagerdal & Palmer, 2017).

Apesar da palavra *Gerasaun* ser utilizada de forma transversal em diversos contextos timorense, a *Gerasaun de Luca* reflecte reivindicações políticas e territoriais dos descendentes dos *liurais* (“senhores territoriais” e suas linhagens) de Luca que estão, por hipótese, ligadas à importância e singularidade históricas do reino de Luca.

Na comunicação, exploro os entrelaçamentos entre dinâmicas de parentesco, pertenças territoriais e uma historicidade original que faz destes meus interlocutores, agentes relevantes da história de Timor-Leste.

Geração. Parentesco. Territorialidade. Topogenia. Reino de Luca. Timor-Leste.

Gerasaun de Luca (Luca Generation): kinship and territorialities in Timor-Leste

Based on research in progress, in this paper I develop the multiple meanings given to the expression “Luca Generation” by my interlocutors, descendants of the Luca kingdom (a Tetum-speaking region located on the south coast of Timor-Leste). The paper will address: the ancestors who serve as common referents; *fetosan/umane* alliance relations (Hicks, 2004; Ospina, 2019; Silva, 2018); territoriality and expansion from the concept of topog-

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eny (Fox 2006) and notions of centre and periphery (Barnes, Hagerdal & Palmer, 2017). Although the word ‘Generation’ is used in cross-cutting ways in various Timorese contexts, the ‘Luca Generation’ reflects political and territorial claims of the descendants of the Luca liurais (territorial lords) and their lineages that are, by assumption, linked to the historical importance and singularity of the Luca kingdom.

In this paper I explore the interweaving of kinship dynamics, territorial belonging and an original historicity that renders my interlocutors as agents who matter in the history of Timor-Leste.

Generation. Kinship. Territoriality. Topogeny. Kingdom of Luca. Timor-Leste.

Jerasaun hosi Luka: maluk umakain no ukun rai iha Timor-Leste

Bazeia ba investigasaun ne’ebé la’o hela, ha’u sei dezenvolve iha komunikasaun ida-ne’e tatoli lia ida ho naran “Jerasaun Luka” ne’ebé hosi ha’u-nia ko’alia-maluk sira, nu’udar bei-oan hosi reinu Luka (rai-rohan ida-ne’ebé ema ko’alia tetun-terik no hela iha sorin tasi-mane ibun iha lorosa’e). Iha komunikasaun ne’e nia laran ha’u sei ko’alia kona-ba: bei’ala sira-ne’ebé kesi malu hotu hamutuk; hemu-raan moruk hodi hamutuk fetosaa-umane (Hicks 2004; Ospina 2019; Silva 2018); baliza ba rai no hanaran fatin hotu-hotu tuir ida-idak nia lisan (Fox 2006) no hanoin kona-ba tau fatin-klaran no tau fatin-ninin (Barnes, Hagerdal & Palmer. 2017)

Maski liafuan *Jerasaun* uza fali tuir oin-naruk iha lia oioin iha timór nia lisan, Jerasaun Luka haleno ba hahuuk kona-ba ukun, política no rai, ne’ebé mai hosi hun liurai antigua sira (sira-ne’ebé nu’udar “Señor” no sira-nia oan-koson hosi sira-nia liman-kain rasik) hosi rai-rohan Luka. Sira dehan katak sira harii reinu hori uluk kendas, ne’ebé úniku no importante liu. Iha komunikasaun ida-ne’e, ha’u sei buka-hetan tali hirak hotu ne’ebé kesi maluk ho maluk, rai-na’in sira no ko’alia-maluk sira ho ida-idak nia hun, no ajente sira-ne’ebé relevante iha história Timor-Leste nian.

Jerasaun. Maluk umakain. Ukun-rai. Topojenia. Reinu hosi Luka. Timor-Leste.

Geração de Luca, múltiplos sentidos de Geração

Geração de Luca remete-nos para a história do reino de Luca que durante um tempo longo³ estenderia a sua influência muito além das fronteiras que circunscreviam o seu território físico situado na região de Viqueque⁴. Partindo do tra-

3. O poder de Luca é referido em múltiplas narrativas entre o século XIII ou antes do século XVI e até pelo menos finais do século XVIII, altura em que entrou em declínio. Estas duas últimas balizas temporais do poder de Luca estão também documentadas nos arquivos. Mas a influência de Luca mantém-se até aos dias de hoje (relações entre casas, rituais de vassalagem).

4. Luca é também, na actualidade, o nome do suco mais ocidental do município de Viqueque, banhado pelo Mar de Timor, na costa sul do país. O suco de Luca é formado por quatro aldeias: Canlor, Iramer, Uma Boot e Uma Lor. Apesar da sua circunscrição actual, a identidade de Luca

lho de campo que desenvolvi em Timor-Leste entre 2017 e 2018 com descendentes deste reino de Luca e com quem tenho mantido contacto, nesta comunicação foco-me no que significa “Geração de Luca” para os meus principais interlocutores, cruzando com os diferentes significados de geração enunciados por Feixa & Leccardi (2010).

Ouvi pela primeira vez o termo “Geração de Luca” em 2015, numa conversa informal com o *lia nain* (“guardião ou senhor da palavra”) da Casa/*Uma* Tenente, da aldeia de Iramer, que me falava no seu propósito de desenvolver a aldeia, reunir, conhecer e “atribuir terra” aos descendentes da “Geração de Luca”. O assunto da criação da lei de propriedade da terra que, desde a independência em 2002, ainda não tinha reunido consenso, estava em causa nesta afirmação, mas também uma teia mais densa e múltipla de histórias familiares. Por “Geração de Luca” ele referia-se aos descendentes do grupo de origem de Luca, que se espalharam por vários municípios de Timor-Leste. A disputa pela história da geração e pela posse da terra cruzam-se num mesmo emaranhado⁵.

Há duas casas de duas aldeias do *soco* de Luca (Iramer e Canlor) que reclamam e disputam a descendência directa dos *liurais* de Luca – tronco central, de acordo com os meus interlocutores. Quando o *lia nain* da Casa Tenente nos fala de “Geração de Luca”, refere os descendentes desta casa por linha patrilinear – portanto entre os membros masculinos.

A segunda casa que conheci que se reclama descendente do reino de Luca – segmento periférico, tem actualmente grande parte da família a residir em Ermera. Em Ermera, o *liurai* de Luca foi aceite pelos *liurais* locais e casou com uma descendente dumha casa *liurai* local, formando a casa sagrada *Uma Lulik Matahu*, à qual o meu interlocutor pertence. Segundo um ancião desta casa, o culto dos mortos, carpintaria, tecelagem e tecnologia terá sido levada pela “Geração de Luca” para Ermera. Para além da descendência de um mesmo grupo de origem de Luca, tendo por referente o ponto de origem de um segmento familiar de Ermera, proponho usar a noção de “agência da Geração” para descrever transformações culturais e económicas geradas pela “Geração de Luca”. Frequentemente a introdução de actividades como a carpintaria e a tecelagem são objecto de inovação local, de transmissão intergeracional e de tradução cultural (Seixas 2008).

e dos seus habitantes (mesmo que já não residam no seu território na actualidade) parece ser supra-territorial.

5. Em entrevistas no decurso do trabalho de campo em Timor-Leste, o referido *lia nain* facultou-me informações sobre acontecimentos ocorridos com familiares em virtude de alegarem pertencer à “casa real”, usurpação do poder por outro clã, ligação dos dois clãs de Luca, linhagem familiar, “Geração de Luca” e reconstrução da *uma lulik*.

Na sequência do propósito referido pela Casa Tenente (Luca) de reunir os descendentes da “Geração de Luca” e do interesse da Casa Matahu (Ermera) em conhecer a sua origem de Luca, em 2015 os representantes da casa de Ermera foram à aldeia de Iramer (Luca). O ambiente do seu encontro foi de tensão e de interrogações: Quem eram os visitantes? A que geração da casa de Luca pertenciam? O significado de geração como descendência de um mesmo grupo de origem mantém-se, mas o que significa a que geração da casa de Luca pertenciam? Que gerações possíveis são essas?

Numa das conversas em torno desta tensão sobre os descendentes directos de Luca – os da “Geração de Luca”, o *lia nain* da Casa Matahu disse querer perceber qual era afinal a casa original: se era a sua casa ou se era a Casa Tenente, alegando que sentia que era a Casa Matahu (a sua) a casa original. Reivindicações de centralidade da periferia/segmento familiar.

Na minha visita a Legemian, *soco* de Ermera, para participar nas cerimónias rituais para a reconstrução da *Uma Lulik* Matahu em 2017, procurei perceber: a) o significado de Geração de Luca, b) quais as ligações familiares dessa Geração, c) quem foi o primeiro fundador da Geração de Luca em Ermera. Durante as entrevistas, conversas informais e observação participante, foi-me transmitido que o chefe de *soco* é descendente do *liurai* de Luca, que em Laga⁶ há uma aldeia pertencente à Geração de Luca e que em Balibó há duas casas da Geração de Luca – Asa e Loi. Dois elementos da Geração de Luca e de Asa e Loi teriam sido companheiros do fundador da Casa Matahu. Esta Casa indigitou um representante para procurar as famílias da Geração de Luca ligadas à casa e desde 2016 trabalha para conhecer toda a geração. Ele diz que em Ainaro, Díli, Liquiçá, Rai-laco-Ermera, Balibó, Maliana, Atambua, Suai Camenaça, sítios por onde andou, conheceu pessoas que se identificam como descendentes de Luca. O significado de descendência permanece, mas o leque geográfico de descendentes abre-se exponencialmente.

O conceito de geração pode também ser utilizado no sentido de personificação colectiva do passado, presente e futuro (Feixa & Leccardi, 2010), de reflexões transformadoras da origem (Seixas, 2008). Os meus interlocutores pertencem sobretudo a uma geração actualmente com mais de 60 anos⁷ formada no tempo do colonialismo português que se considera mais esclarecida e mais próxima à cultura portuguesa do que a geração seguinte – *gerasaun foun* escolarizada no

6. Município de Baucau.

7. Geração cujas elites foram educadas no período colonial português, com intervenção na luta contra o colonialismo português e muito envolvida na Resistência Timorense à ocupação indonésia.

tempo da ocupação indonésia, também com papel importante na Resistência, que por sua vez se diferencia da actual *gerasaun independencia* (Gonçalves, 2016).

Mas as gerações não surgem necessariamente da cadênciā temporal estabelecida por uma sucessão de gerações genealógicas. Não há um tempo padrão para medir o seu ritmo. Uma geração pode ter um número reduzido de anos ou incluir toda uma linhagem, uma pluralidade de gerações biográficas ou toda uma geração de parentesco unilinear (Feixa & Leccardi, 2010). Efectivamente, o termo “Geração” é utilizado de forma transversal em diversos contextos timorenses, significando casa/clã, para agenciar a relação entre família, tempo e história. Entre os Fataluku, Viegas (2019a) tem sublinhado que a expressão *ratu* (em Fataluku) ou clã é por vezes feita equivaler a *Gerasaun* em Tétum.

“Geração” pode ser entendida também como potencial gerador, alicerce da continuidade do clã/casa. A proeminência da casa como grupo de parentesco, entidade ritual e unidade política em sociedades austronésias emerge em numerosas etnografias, das quais diversas utilizam explicitamente o modelo de sociedades de casas de Lévi-Strauss. Aqui as relações de aliança são fundamentais, obviamente remetendo-nos para a longa e clássica literatura sobre a articulação entre descendência e aliança na vida familiar do sudeste asiático (cf. Barnes, 2011, 2016; Bovensiepen, 2017; Carsten & Hugh-Jones 1995; Ellen, 1986; Traube, 1986; Sousa, 2010).

Num outro nível analítico do significado de Geração de Luca, passarei a referir as relações de aliança *Fetosan/Umane*, que fundamentam as ligações entre as casas mencionadas pelas suas faculdades unificadoras e reprodutoras, fundamentos da continuidade da casa.

Relações de aliança –*fetosan/umane*

As relações entre casas de família de diferentes grupos de origem estabelecem-se em Timor-Leste, em muitos casos, segundo um princípio de aliança assimétrica, em que as casas que se posicionam como “dadoras de vida” (*Umane*) em relação a outras “receptoras de vida” (*Fetosan*), e tendem a manter esse sentido de relação durante algumas gerações (Hicks, 2007; Ospina, 2019; Silva, 2018). A expressão *Umane* e *Fetosan* significa, como alguns antropólogos têm mostrado (eg. Hicks, 2004; Barnes, 2010), mais uma circulação de vida do que um contrato de casamento assente na transferência de mulheres, como as expressões de dadores e receptores de mulheres utilizadas numa literatura, faziam crer (cf. Viegas, 2018).

Apesar da aliança *Fetosan/Umane* ser considerada rara entre a população Tétum de Viqueque no estudo realizado por Hicks (2004), ela está presente no

pensamento acerca de como os grupos de descendência podem aliar-se uns aos outros, e por isso é salientada por um interlocutor. Algumas famílias Tétum têm alianças *Fetosan-Umane* entre si e algumas linhagens Tétum também têm alianças *Fetosan-Umane* com famílias Makassai, como é o caso relatado pelo interlocutor de Waibobo – segmento familiar de Luca.

Foram-me indicados dois casos em que a mãe pertence ao grupo de origem de Luca, grupo dador de mulheres, que nesta aliança cooptou o pai (doutra casa de Viqueque) para a linhagem central de Luca, por aliança matrimonial *fetosan-Umane*. Num deles, o interlocutor, que entrevistei, é quem tem exercido os cargos políticos de maior prestígio da Geração de Luca (tronco central) em Timor-Leste independente.

O que quero debater com esta reflexão sobre a “Geração de Luca” é a relação entre o papel do antepassado que serve de referente comum e as alianças matrimoniais e políticas fundamentais para a continuidade da geração.

No caso de Luca, o antepassado que serve de referente comum terá vivido no século XIII ou em período anterior. Dois dos meus principais interlocutores têm sido responsáveis pela recuperação dos conhecimentos genealógicos e dos registos das *uma lulik's* (casas sagradas), um como representante da Casa Wedah Canlor do grupo de origem de Luca e o outro da Casa Oebic-Lichsana Leo Uai-Hali Waibobo do segmento de Waibobo, como investigador da história de ambas as casas. Este último parece identificar cada geração de acordo com o *liurai* governante e sua descendência. Em geral, cada casa elabora a sua genealogia centrada na linha dinástica do soberano dominante (Fox, 2006).

Antepassado que serve de referente comum

O antepassado que serve de referente comum é considerado o ponto de derivação para os segmentos familiares que se espalharam ao longo dos tempos por grande parte do território timorense e que ganham relevância como forma de territorialidade.

Segundo um dos meus principais interlocutores e representante do grupo de origem de Luca (tronco genealógico central) – *Uma Wedah Canlor*, este referente terá vivido no século XIII ou anteriormente. A existência de um antepassado comum desde um período tão remoto poderá por hipótese, prefigurar este grupo de origem como pertencendo a uma estrutura nobiliárquica.

O reino de Luca não só tinha influência política no Leste mas também nalguns reinos do Oeste... O reino de Luca era e é conhecido por Luca Likasan/Likosan.

Conforme fontes de historiadores verbais, já todos falecidos... chegaram aí os visitantes da actual Malásia e encontraram-se, pela primeira vez, com dois irmãos *liurais*, com muito poder e influência na área, cujos nomes [eram] Na'i Luk e Na'i Kai. Quando regressaram contaram ao que estava a reinar a Malásia, na altura, que estiveram numa grande região e encontraram-se com dois irmãos de grande poder e influência os quais eram conhecidos por Luk e Kai e então passaram a chamar o lugar por Luk Kai e no fim Luca. E porque chamaram e ainda chamam Luca Likasan/Likosan? Porque na altura quando chegaram a Luca, aqueles monarcas da Malásia diziam que eles pertenciam a dinastia de Syah. Talvez, nessa altura, tivessem feito algum acordo verbal de amizade, entre Luca e a dinastia Syah, então passou a ser conhecido por Luca Likasan/Likosan, como deve ser é Luca liga Syah e no fim ficou e fica com o nome de Luca Likasan/Likosan. (Amaral, 2014, p. 6)

Fox (2008) observa que uma das características distintivas das sociedades austronésias é a preocupação com as origens, através da qual as sociedades tradicionais se definem a si mesmas por relação ao passado. Trata-se de uma dialéctica entre interior e exterior, já que é recorrente que se considere que algumas “casas”, nuns casos, e clãs ou segmentos de clãs, noutras, sejam originários de Timor e outros imigrados para Timor. O papel generativo dos forasteiros em conjunto com as tradições indígenas, é enfatizado por concepções distintas e influentes sobre identidade (Leach, 2017) e relações de poder.

Segundo o meu interlocutor de Waibobo, o *Liurai* Sassira Malaca exerceria influência política em Timor no séc. XIII, mas identifica como primeiro referente o *Liurai* Belu-Mau, que situa na primeira geração, anterior a 1510. Barnes, Hagerdal & Palmer (2017) e Soares (2003) identificam o *Liurai* Afoan Sila como o primeiro *liurai* conhecido e que terá reinado antes da chegada dos portugueses à região, em 1512.

A “precedência” ou uma reflexão sobre processos e trajectórias de origem, incorpora uma concertação de relacionamentos, onde o *status* de uma pessoa ou grupo é conceptualizado e definido por referência à sua proximidade a um ponto comum de derivação ou de «origem» (Barnes, 2011; Fox, 1994).

A origem é também designada por “geração” (Seixas, 2008).

Tronco comum e ramos – Territorialidade e expansão

Durante o meu trabalho de campo ouvi recorrentemente a expressão ligada à Geração de Luca, por referência à *Uma Wedah Canlor* (clã Amaral de Luca): “Vocês são o tronco e nós (os outros) somos os ramos”. O tronco comum corresponde ao grupo de origem de Luca. Outra dualidade interconectada.

A topogenia, que no conceito de Fox (2006)⁸, passa pela relação de narrativas com a paisagem, pode traçar a migração (e expansão) de um clã do seu ponto de origem através da paisagem, como é o caso dos Atoni Meto e parece ser o caso de Luca. Pode começar com a criação para depois contar os casamentos dos antepassados masculinos e femininos que povoaram a região aproximando-se da imagem botânica da “árvore” em crescimento e a disseminação que se estende desde a sua base. A base, o “tronco de árvore” é simultaneamente o suporte físico para os membros superiores e o ponto de origem do crescimento, como acontece nas narrativas de Belau referidas em Fox (2006) e nas de Luca. Mas o tronco também representa o centro do território/grupo de origem e a movimentação dos ramos pela paisagem simboliza as migrações do centro para a(s) periferia(s). A mitologia de Belau estudada por Parmentier (1987) e mencionada em Fox (2006) conecta duas metáforas austronésias comuns: o caminho e a sua origem com a imagem botânica da árvore em expansão, a partir da sua base. A narrativa de origem de Belau é expressa geográfica e culturalmente, em termos da construção de um caminho pela movimentação de um ponto de partida a um ponto de chegada. A palavra-chave relativa à “origem de Belau” e “início de um caminho” é *uchul*, que no seu significado alargado abrange origem, ponto de partida, fonte, causa, razão, tronco de árvore – suporte físico para os membros superiores e ponto gerador do crescimento (Fox, 2006).

Entre os processos que remetem para esta lógica, sublinho a afirmação do meu interlocutor de Waibobo, segundo o qual a Geração de Luca de Waibobo constitui uma ramificação genealógica/segmento periférico do grupo de origem de Luca. Ele pertence à oitava geração e deriva do *Liurai Loi-Sak* ou Dom Tomás do Amaral, que governou de 1781 a 1795⁹. Sobre a Geração de Luca de Legemian (outra ramificação/segmentação de Ermera), ela terá começado com o *Liurai Simão* de Luca, que originou a *Uma Matahu* cujo nome está ligado à sua primeira mulher da Casa Ainapa e à sua esposa seguinte da Casa Lomó. Como referido, o representante da

8. No conceito de topogenia de Fox (2006):

“a paisagem” é representada de várias formas: como uma vista topográfica, colocação íntima de experiências locais ou como animação entre sentido, fala e memória... São múltiplas as visões de lugar, e há uma multiplicidade de maneiras pelas quais os lugares são socialmente construídos e pessoalmente experienciados. A ordenação do espaço é fundamental para a criação de identidades locativas e, em certa medida, reflecte padrões de *deixis* que são uma característica fundamental das línguas austronésias... é a incorporação histórica desse processo criativo local que é a principal preocupação. Há primeiro uma diferenciação do espaço de acordo com várias coordenadas e depois há a valorização de uma determinada coordenada ou eixo. Lugares específicos identificados pelo nome, formam uma componente crítica de um conhecimento social que liga o passado ao presente” (p. 2-5).

9. Barnes, Hagerdal & Palmer (2017) situam a governação de D. Tomás Amaral entre 1800 e 1826.

Uma Matahu identificou povoações e familiares pertencentes à Geração de Luca numa multiplicidade de locais sobretudo em Timor-Leste, mas também em Timor-Ocidental.

O representante da Casa Wedah Canlor disse-me em entrevistas, que cada vez mais era convidado a estar presente na inauguração de *uma lulik's* de casas pertencentes à Geração de Luca, em diferentes locais de Timor-Leste.

Territorialidade e expansão: a água

Como tem sido sublinhado por Palmer (2015) e por Barnes, Hagerdal & Palmer (2017) no seu trabalho sobre Luca, em toda a parte oriental da ilha o poder dos lugares de assentamento associados a Luca tem múltiplas conexões generativas com a terra/água, sendo inegável a forma como “relatos vibrantes e constituintes do lugar contêm interpretações muito localizadas e com *nuances* da significância de Luca como centro pré-colonial e colonial de poder político e ritual” (Barnes, Hagerdal & Palmer, 2017, p. 340). Para Palmer (2015), o domínio do reino de Luca sobre o mar é justaposto ao da sua contraparte, o outrora grandioso reino de Timor ocidental de Wehali, ligado ao poder do Sol e da Lua (Palmer, 2015, p. 52).

As dualidades, como as que tenho vindo a enunciar: água/céu, tronco/ramos, e autoridade nativa/rei estrangeiro, irmão mais velho/irmão mais novo, feminino/masculino, ritual/política, são abordadas frequentemente na literatura antropológica sobre Timor-Leste e são estruturantes na organização social de Timor-Leste e nas contínuas construções da realidade. Paulo Seixas (2010) argumenta ser uma significação do outro como tradução do eu, em que um não existe sem o outro.

O povo do reino montanhoso de Ossu narra histórias das suas nascentes relacionadas com o poder das águas de Luca e Irabi (Watu Karabao)¹⁰. Esses trilhos de conexão também se estendem até à costa Norte de Baucau e indiciam que Luca era outrora o grande reino da parte oriental da ilha de Timor, cujo poder foi activado pela sua capacidade especial de comunicar com o poder ancestral¹¹.

10. O guardião da água em Irabi, Armindo da Silva, refere uma longa ligação entre os reinos de Luca e Irabi. Ele sustenta que o irmão mais novo de Luca entrou numa aliança com o povo de Irabi através de casamento, muito antes da chegada dos Portugueses à ilha de Timor.

11. A narrativa de Major Ko'o Raku, líder ritual, incide sobre o casal que chegou a Baucau, cujo marido transportou água sagrada de Luca que lhes permitiu viver ali e que se tornou o pai fundador de Baucau. Os guardiões do complexo de nascentes de Wai Husu, nas proximidades de Teolale, falantes de Waima'a, também registaram que os seus antepassados chegaram a partir de Luca, mas neste caso sob a forma de uma enguiá, que emergiu a partir da nascente e se transformou numa mulher (Barnes, Hagerdal & Palmer, 2017).

De uma forma que sugere uma convergência com narrativas de origem autóctone do oriente da ilha de Timor, o *lia nain* de Luca da casa reinante Uma Wedah Canlor, David Amaral transmitiu uma narrativa sobre sete irmãos que surgiram da terra, cujo irmão mais novo se transformou na fonte sagrada de We Lolo¹². Esta fonte de água fluiu para o mar, passando a lagoa sagrada de Luca We Liurai (T: a água dos governantes). Luca tornou-se num reino de sete aldeias e um centro de poder. “Entretanto estas águas de origem sagrada de Luca são conhecidas metaforicamente como *ai balun* (T: água potável), como se a partir destas águas, a riqueza de Luca tivesse sido distribuída por toda a terra” (Barnes, Hagerdal & Palmer, 2017, p. 346).

David Amaral, que em entrevista em 2018 também me recitou a mesma narrativa que a Barnes, Hagerdal & Palmer (2017), realça a expansão do domínio político de Luca, na parte oriental da ilha de Timor, que se correlaciona com muitas das mencionadas narrativas das nascentes.

Nestas jornadas narrativas da água, o poder político-ritual do reino de Luca é repetidamente relatado como a “mãe”/fonte de poder/origem para muitas nascentes. Todas estas águas são entendidas como estando conectadas com o ‘outro mundo’, um mundo muitas vezes identificado com o mar. No entanto, como Palmer sublinha, foi por causa da relação proeminente visível de Luca com esse outro mundo, que Luca emergiu como o centro político-ritual da região oriental da ilha de Timor (Cf. Palmer, 2015).

Por toda a região, segundo Barnes, Hagerdal & Palmer (2017), histórias contam como em tempos ancestrais pessoas emergiram de nascentes, governando elas próprias até mais tarde ficarem sob o domínio de Luca. Estes autores sugerem que Luca era um “reino de palavras”, implicando uma “activação contínua e homenagem, através do ritual, das malhas do poder cósmico centradas nos lugares e das inter-relações entre as pessoas e os seus domínios ancestrais” (Barnes, Hagerdal & Palmer, 2017, p. 352).

12. Estes sete irmãos começaram a cultivar a terra (T: *fila rai*) à volta de Luca, que até então não tinha tido campos nem água. Como consequência, o irmão mais novo foi continuamente coagido a buscar água, de oeste a este da ilha. Um dia sentou-se esgotado sob um gondoeiro e chorou que seria melhor se tirasse a própria vida. Quando ele falou, a água começou a jorrar sob os seus pés. Mais tarde, os irmãos mais velhos chegaram para ver que o seu irmão se tinha transformado em água do peito para baixo. O rapaz, cujo nome era Nai Leki, disse aos seus irmãos mais velhos que se tinha transformado na fonte sagrada de We Lolo. A sua cabeça então transformou-se numa bacia de água (T: *we lolol*) e alojaram-se no gondoeiro agora chamado Nai Leki.

Conclusão

Nesta comunicação procurei aprofundar os múltiplos sentidos da “Geração de Luca”.

Nos profusos sentidos dados a esta expressão, cabe o significado de casa/clã, membros de uma “geração” de descendentes de um mesmo grupo de origem por via unilinear, que se espalharam por Timor-Leste, dando origem a vários segmentos. Ao mesmo tempo, implica o ponto de origem de uma linhagem de um tempo/lugar de origem. Pode transportar também a noção de agência da “geração”, portadora de transformações.

A geração pode ser entendida como potencial gerador, alicerce da continuidade do clã e de diversas gerações – descendentes com idades semelhantes, que por sua vez coexistem com parentes de diferentes idades.

O antepassado que serve de referente comum é entendido como o ponto de derivação para os segmentos familiares que se disseminaram num tempo longo por uma vasta área do território timorense. Mas a origem e precedência suscitam dualidades de visões entre diferentes casas.

Mostrei a relação do conceito de “Geração” com o conceito austronésio botânico de uma ramificação arbórea, a par do conceito de poder generativo que neste caso está muito ligado, como outros autores têm igualmente sublinhado, com a água, nomeadamente a água doce e potável que emerge de modo transformacional do mar. O “tronco” é simultaneamente o suporte físico para os membros superiores e o ponto de origem do crescimento. A esse propósito, o representante do tronco comum/grupo de origem de Luca disse ser cada vez mais convidado a estar presente na inauguração das *Uma Lulik's* de outras casas pertencentes à Geração de Luca, em diferentes locais, o que pressupõe a procura/fortalecimento das relações dos segmentos familiares com o grupo de origem e a presença/movimentação do grupo de origem do centro para os segmentos/periferia.

Luca é o ponto de origem de inúmeras narrativas de casas locais, como centro da potência activado que não provém apenas do centro, mas também da periferia, dos segmentos. Reivindicações localizadas de lugar e poder que reflectem identidades de casas e histórias integradas nas histórias Austronésias e Melanésias.

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6. Contested histories and solidarities from the South: The East Timorese external front in Mozambique (1975-1999)

Marisa Ramos Gonçalves¹

Contested histories and solidarities from the South: The East Timorese external front in Mozambique (1975-1999)

Portuguese colonialism, which extended from Africa to Asia until the twentieth century, prompted, even if inadvertently, a circulation of people and ideas which questioned the colonial project and envisioned post-colonial futures. This paper analyses the solidarity relations developed between the nationalist movements in Mozambique and Timor-Leste, united by the struggle against the colonial project. During the occupation of Timor-Leste by Indonesia (1975-1999), the Portuguese-speaking African nations were important moral and material supporters of the East Timorese's struggle for independence. Nevertheless, the histories of the encounters between the two peoples from 1975 onwards, marked by Mozambique's solidarity with the movement for Timor-Leste's self-determination, are largely absent in local and international historical production. Part of a contested chapter of the country's history, support by the first Mozambique government to the external delegation of FRETILIN and the training of East Timorese cadres in the country have often been at the centre of inter-party rivalry in Timor-Leste. Such support has been portrayed unfavourably, and even devalued in the context of the international solidarity movements for Timor-Leste's self-determination.

This paper presents this history of solidarity based on interviews conducted with East Timorese living in Mozambique during Indonesian occupation and archival research.

South-south solidarities. Independence struggle. Absent histories. Timor-Leste. Mozambique.

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Histórias contestadas e solidariedades a Sul: A frente externa timorense em Moçambique (1975-1999)

O colonialismo português, que se estendeu da África à Ásia até ao século XX, proporcionou, ainda que inadvertidamente, uma circulação de pessoas e ideias que questionavam o projeto colonial e projetavam futuros pós-coloniais. Este artigo analisa as ligações de solidariedade desenvolvidas entre os movimentos nacionalistas de Moçambique e Timor-Leste, unidos em torno da luta contra o projeto colonial. No período da ocupação indonésia de Timor-Leste (1975-1999), os países africanos de língua oficial portuguesa estiveram entre os principais apoiantes morais e materiais da causa da independência de Timor-Leste. No entanto, a história destes encontros, marcada pela solidariedade com o movimento pela independência de Timor-Leste a partir de 1975, está praticamente ausente da historiografia internacional e local. Parte de um capítulo contestado da história do país, o apoio do primeiro governo de Moçambique à delegação externa da resistência da FRETILIN e na formação de quadros Timorenses tem estado no centro de rivalidades entre partidos políticos, apresentado de forma negativa e mesmo desvalorizado no âmbito dos movimentos de solidariedade internacional pela autodeterminação de Timor-Leste.

Partindo da análise de entrevistas semiestruturadas com Timorenses que integraram a frente externa da resistência e diáspora em Moçambique e da consulta de arquivos, este artigo apresenta uma parte desta história de solidariedades.

Solidariedades Sul-Sul. Luta pela independência. Histórias ausentes. Timor-Leste. Moçambique.

Istória haksesuk sira no solidariedade husi súl: frente esterna timoroan nian iha Mosambike (1975-1999)

Kolonializmu portugés, ne’ebé kona hale’u mundu hosi África to’o Ázia to’o sékulu XX, fó biban, maski lakohi, atu ema bá-mai ho hanoin ne’ebé husu tuir kona-ba projetu koloniál oinsá loos ba futuru. Artigu ida-ne’e lehat kona-ba ligasaun ne’ebé solidariedade haburas iha movimento nasionalista nia leet iha Moçambique no Timor-Leste bainhira luta hamutuk kontra projetu koloniál. Iha okupasaun indonézia nia laran iha Timor-Leste (1975-1999), nasaun afrikanu hirak ne’ebé ko’alia portugés nu’udar lian ofisiál hala’o lisuk hodi fó tulun morál no material ba kauza independénsia Timor-Leste nian. Maski istória sira ne’e hamosu tanba solidariedade hosi movimento ne’ebé sori Timor-Leste nia ukun rasik-an hosi tinan-1975, la hakerek ka la temi iha istoriografia internasional no lokál. Tulun lisuk ne’ebé Moçambique nia governu dahuluk fó ba delegasaun rezisténsia hosi FRETILIN iha li’ur, ne’ebé inklui mós formasau ba timoroan sira, nu’udar parte ida hosi istória Timór nian ne’ebé la hetan dalan klaran. Partidu político balun apresenta tulun hirak ne’ebá ho oin negativu. Istorografia kona-a movimento solidariedade internasional mós seidauk fó importânsia ba Moçambique nia knaar iha Timor-Leste nia luta ba ukun rasik-an.

Artigu ida-ne’e apresenta istória kona-ba solidariedade internacional ne’e bazeia iha informasaun liuhosi entrevista ne’ebé hala’o ho timoroan sira iha frente esterna hosi rezisténsia no diáspora iha Moçambique nomós liuhosi konsulta ne’ebé hala’o ho arkivu hirak hotu.

Solidariedade sul-sul. Luta ukun rasik-an. Istória sira ne’ebé seidauk haktuir. Timor-Leste. Mosambique.

Introduction

This paper presents a preliminary and overview analysis of the collective and personal trajectories of East Timorese who lived in Mozambique during the Indonesian occupation. It is the result of archival research and interviews conducted between 2018 and 2020, in Díli, Maputo and Coimbra.² I interviewed two major groups of FRETILIN cadres: East Timorese from the external delegation in Mozambique and the group of students offered scholarships and support to continue their studies in the country.³

Most of the East Timorese I interviewed returned to Dili immediately after the 1999 referendum and in the first years of independence.⁴ Their personal accounts tell of multiple, rich experiences and intercultural connections which often followed unexpected paths, as they lived through a dictatorial regime and witnessed a revolution in Portugal, followed the African and Asian liberation movements and met some of their leaders and, most importantly, experienced first-hand the challenges of building an independent nation and state in Mozambique.

From 1975 onwards, the Portuguese former colonies in Africa gained independence while East Timorese aspirations for independence were stopped by a brutal Indonesian invasion and occupation. Nicolau dos Reis Lobato, sworn in as Prime-Minister in the FRETILIN government proclaimed days before the Indonesian invasion and attacks on Dili, had sent abroad José Ramos-Horta, Rogério Lobato and Mari Alkatiri to set up the external front of the resistance, knowing of the Indonesian forces already crossing the border and their imminent invasion.⁵ Before the invasion, then Vice-President of FRETILIN, Nicolau Lobato, established previous contacts with FRELIMO during his visit to Mozambique, Angola and Portugal in May 1975.⁶

2. This research is part of the Marie Skłodowska-Curie/Widening fellowship (MSCA-IF GA n.º 867413) and the project EDULIBERA ‘Education as an instrument for liberation in Mozambique and Timor-Leste – histories of solidarity and contemporary reflections’, funded by the EU Horizon 2020 programme. The research comprised of twenty-six interviews between November 2018 and December 2020 and archival research at the Arquivo Histórico de Moçambique. I would like to thank David Webster and Vanessa Hearman for their valuable feedback to this paper.

3. Not all interviewees fitted in two these groups, there were some exceptions – East Timorese who had migrated to Mozambique earlier. From the information gathered in the interviews, I identified around 35 East Timorese belonging to these two groups. Moreover, I interviewed the second generation of East Timorese who were born in Mozambique and Mozambicans who worked alongside East Timorese, though these groups’ interviews will not be analysed in this article.

4. I interviewed two East Timorese who continue to live in Mozambique and two who live in Portugal.

5. Mari Alkatiri, Díli, 11 December 2019; Roque Rodrigues, Díli, 10 December 2019.

6. Roque Rodrigues, Díli, 10 December 2019.

The Mozambican government, run by FRELIMO since independence was achieved in 1975, provided support to the East Timorese FRETILIN cadres who lived in Mozambique, particularly in the area of university training, as well as in the political and economic support which it provided to the East Timorese external resistance delegation, DFSE – *Delegação da FRETILIN em Serviço no Exterior*, based in Maputo (Magalhães, 2007, p. 502; Scott, 2005, pp. 198-199). Mozambique and Timor-Leste initiated, from 1975, an intense relationship of solidarity. Emblematic of this solidarity was the statement by Samora Machel, the first President of Mozambique, in a meeting with a FRETILIN delegation⁷ during Mozambique's independence ceremonies, which the East Timorese were invited to attend in June 1975: "while Timor-Leste is not an independent country, Mozambique's independence will not be fulfilled".⁸

This was part of a way of being for the new Mozambican state, led by Samora Machel, which was based in the principle of solidarity with all peoples oppressed by colonialism and economic imperialism. Hence, the FRELIMO government was effectively a "safe haven" to exiled left-wing political activists from Chile, Brazil and members of several liberation movements, in particular from Africa: the ANC from South Africa, ZANU from Zimbabwe, SWAPO from Namibia, POLISARIO Front from Western Sahara. Earlier, it had also supported the former Portuguese colonies, in particular Angola (Monteiro, 2001, pp. 64-80; Azevedo, 2013).

In subsequent years, when José Ramos-Horta attempted to gather support in keeping the issue of the Indonesian occupation of Timor on the agenda of the UN, the Portuguese-speaking African nations were again instrumental in these efforts.⁹ The Mozambique government provided Ramos-Horta with a salary at the Mozambique UN mission, financial support for travelling and a diplomatic passport (Scott, 2005, 76-77; 198-199).¹⁰ Ramos-Horta states that without the support of the Portuguese-speaking African nations, the East Timorese case would have been dropped in 1975.¹¹

During the eighties, the role of Angola, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, S. Tomé e Príncipe and Cape Verde in maintaining the Timorese question alive on the UN agenda was paramount. In addition to Ramos-Horta, they provided support to Mari Alkatiri, Abílio de Araújo and José Luís Guterres, the East Timorese who lobbied at the UN. This happened when Portuguese diplomats were attempting to drop

7. This delegation included Francisco Xavier do Amaral, Nicolau Lobato, Mari Alkatiri and Roque Rodrigues.

8. Roque Rodrigues, Díli, 10 December 2019.

9. Mari Alkatiri, Díli, 11 December 2019; José Luis Guterres, Díli, 12 December 2019.

10. Ana Pessoa, Díli, 27 November 2019.

11. José Ramos-Horta, Díli, 9 December 2019.

the case and the US, Canada, Australia, Japan, the European countries, the ASEAN bloc and the Arab countries abstained from condemning the actions of Indonesia in the General Assembly yearly votes (Ramos-Horta, 1987, pp. 103-104,107).

Mozambique, Angola and the other Portuguese-speaking African nations were also vocal at the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), where Indonesia played a prominent role. Their diplomatic action led to condemnatory resolutions against Indonesia occupation of Timor-Leste in Colombo (1976), Havana (1979) and Harare (1986) (Gomes, 2010, p. 71; Gunn, 1986, p. 9). Their presence at UN as well as the NAM summits were by then important fora where FRETILIN's external front pressured Indonesia (Saute, 1982).

Contested and Absent Histories

The work of Maria Paula Meneses about silenced histories in the context of Africa and, particularly, in Mozambique invites us to recognise the persistence of a colonial and Eurocentric system of knowledge in the area of social sciences and the importance of filling in these knowledge gaps on the path to a more democratic and plural system of knowledge (2012, p. 86).

It is evident, when trying address these absences and silences, that there is an important gap in the history of international solidarity with Timor-Leste's struggle for independence. The existing research has been mostly focussed on the solidarity movements from Australia, Portugal, USA, Canada and other European countries (Fernandes, 2011; Magalhães, 2007; Simpson, 2004; Webster, 2020; Pureza, 2004). A few studies were published on the Indonesian solidarity movements (Saky, 2015; Bexley & Tchailoro, 2013; Nygaard-Christensen, 2013; Kamisuna, *forthcoming*). In spite of some brief references in the literature to the role of Portuguese-speaking African countries (Magalhães, 2007; Weldemichael, 2012; Gomes, 2010; Ramos-Horta, 1987; Scott, 2005), there are no studies which focus on this analysis or on researching this topic in the context of internationalism and anticolonial movements.

A deeper analysis of the histories, personal experiences and contacts between East Timorese and Mozambicans, Angolans and other independence and anti-apartheid movements, has been subdued to a narrative that connects exclusively these East Timorese to images of being Marxist, centralist and undemocratic, unknowledgeable of their country and purportedly inoperative, as they were riddled by internal conflict and were out of touch with the resistance and clandestine fronts which remained in Timor-Leste during its occupation. Academic analysis and personal accounts of international solidarity activists echoed these views (Kingsbury,

2009, p. 107; Federer, 2005, p. 47-48). Furthermore, focus has been on the divisions which occurred in the external delegation, which were in fact related to power struggles cross-cutting the East Timorese resistance. During the 2006 crisis, several articles in the Australian media were written on the group, which was labelled the “Maputo Group” or “Mozambique Clique”, which led to the former Prime-minister Mari Alkatiri resigning from his post (Hill, 2006).

The lack of studies and knowledge in the literature about this chapter of the East Timorese history for independence highlights the undervaluing of histories set in African countries which are labelled as undeveloped, dictatorial and Marxist. In a similar way to other research on the histories of solidarity networks in the south for political and economic autonomy, there is a dismissal of these movements as radical and communist. They are studied through the ‘lens of Cold War politics’, which narrowly defines ‘Afro-Asian solidarity as a contest between the Soviet Union and China for control of Asia and Africa’ (McGregor & Hearman, 2017, pp. 163-164).

On the other hand, this highlights the difficulties of carrying out a study on any topic of contemporary history. The group of “returnees” from Mozambique, along with other diasporas, were seen by segments of the population as having benefitted from access to education, jobs and a “better life” during Indonesia occupation. In the early years of independence, these perceptions, reflected in political rivalries over language and competing visions of development, partially led to the political crises in 2005 and 2006 (Silva, 2012, pp. 310-353).

While this group of research participants partly includes political elite and who had been in positions of political power during the independence era, a lack of interest in academic production and official history discourse to know in more detail the histories of this group highlights concerns and methodological discussions in the fields of memory and oral history studies. In particular, how memory is understood in a broader sense of what is remembered, forgotten, silenced and suppressed, as well as the process that enables individuals and groups to construct and contest narratives of the past that are tied to their needs in the present (Hirsch & Smith, 2007, p. 226).

In several interviews with the group, the topic of being labelled as the “Maputo clique or mafia” came up without me prompting the discussion. Often the research participants referred to this labelling as a sign of prejudice and reaction to ‘their cohesion and the matured and well structured nature of their project for the independence of Timor-Leste’.¹² They acknowledged that they had cultivated, through-

12. Marina Alkatiri and Filomena Almeida, Díli, 14 December 2019.

out the years in Mozambique, a group identity that was not just that of a diaspora, but of an external resistance front with a strong political mandate and ‘systemic and organised thought’ with a plan of returning to Timor-Leste upon the achievement of independence and contributing to the building of a new nation and state.¹³ Many of the East Timorese who lived in Mozambique protest that their efforts, diplomatic work, difficult times of going through a war in Mozambique and contribution to the East Timorese independence have been unacknowledged in the country and the nature of their role misunderstood.¹⁴

African liberation movements, in particular of the Portuguese-speaking world, had important and direct consequences for the people of Timor as the Portuguese democratic revolution pushed for decolonisation of their territory (Lopes & Barros, 2019, p. 2). This reinforces the idea that there are many ways of looking at the history of peoples and societies, and that we may choose to see only one side of that history.

Furthermore, East Timorese intellectuals and academics (Cabral, 2002; Da Silva, 2012, 2010) refer to the influences of the African liberation movements and intellectuals like Amílcar Cabral,¹⁵ Eduardo Mondlane and Paulo Freire in the literacy campaigns organised by FRETILIN and interrupted by the Indonesian invasion of the territory. These authors also see the creation of schools in the East Timorese resistance bases, in order to train people in literacy and politics, as embryonic of the East Timorese nationalists’ will to invest in education to create a post-colonial identity.

From Timor-Leste, first stop in Portugal

A significant group of the East Timorese who went to live in Mozambique were initially studying at universities and technical schools in Portugal in the early seventies, with Portuguese government scholarships or the support of their families (a minority).¹⁶ They were caught in the 25th April 1974 revolution and the intense political discussions and demonstrations which followed. University students were at the centre of the revolutionary tide. In 1974 and 1975 there were

13. Mari Alkatiri, Díli, 11 December 2019.

14. Ana Pessoa, Díli, 27 November 2019; Isidoro Viana, Díli, 14 November 2018; José Soares, Maputo, 24 October 2019; Madalena Boavida, Díli, 12 December 2019; Marina Alkatiri and Filomena Almeida, Díli, 14 December 2019.

15. Amílcar Cabral (1924-1973), an African intellectual, known as the father of independence in Cape Vert and Guinea Bissau and leader of these countries’ movement against Portuguese colonialism (PAIGC).

16. In 1974 there were around forty students at universities in Portugal (Da Silva, 2012, p. 61).

huge disruptions in classes, their courses were stopped and their scholarships were suspended. A wide array of new political parties were being created, mostly left wing, and several East Timorese students became affiliated with them and participated in their meetings.¹⁷

This group of students had met regularly at *Casa de Timor*, a place for meeting other East Timorese students and holding political discussions, although there was fear to speak openly due to censorship and the threat of arrest by the police, PIDE/DGS.¹⁸ Other houses, such as *Casa de Moçambique* and *Casa de Angola*, were active in Coimbra and Lisboa since the forties.¹⁹ After 25th April 1974, the group associated with ASDT and led by Vicente Reis ‘Sahe’, António Carvarinho ‘Mau Lear’, Hamis Bassarewan and Abílio Araújo, ‘took over’ *Casa de Timor* and renamed it *Casa dos Timores*, according to Marina Alkatiri and Filomena Almeida who were part of this group. The shift, Marina Alkatiri explains, signalled “a stronger political awareness of an East Timorese identity freed from colonialism”.²⁰

José Ramos-Horta, Mari Alkatiri and Rogério Lobato, were met upon their arrival in Lisbon on 7 December 1975 by Abílio Araújo and other members of the *Comité de Acção Externa da FRETILIN* (CAF). At the airport, the recently arrived group received the news of the Indonesian invasion. According to Marina Alkatiri, there was a heavy silence among the group; though they knew Indonesian troops were already inside the territory, this news came as a shock.²¹ Finding no support from the Portuguese government, which was then in a state of constant crisis, and having identified Mozambique as a country willing to support FRETILIN, this group of East Timorese decided to accept the offer from the Mozambican government and set up FRETILIN’s external representation in the country.²² In 1976, the students and CAF members joined the external delegation leaders Mari Alkatiri, Rogério Lobato, José Luis Guterres in this move. José Ramos-Horta was sent to the United Nations to observe the security council vote in 1976.

17. Ana Pessoa, Díli, 27 November 2019; Estanislau da Silva, Díli, 9 December 2019; José Soares, Maputo, 24 October 2019; Madalena Boavida, Díli, 12 December 2019; Marina Alkatiri e Filomena Almeida, Díli, 14 December 2019; Roque Rodrigues, Díli, 10 December 2019.

18. International and State Defence Police/ Directorate-General of Security.

19. These associations were then grouped at the *Casa dos Estudantes do Império* (Association of the Students of the Empire, 1944-1965) by the Portuguese authorities, where students from different Portuguese colonies organised political discussions. In spite of the police control which led to its closure in 1965, this would become the centre for the African intellectuals who started the liberation movements (Castelo, 2011).

20. Marina Alkatiri and Filomena Almeida, Díli, 14 December 2019.

21. Ibid.

22. Roque Rodrigues was FRETILIN’s first representative in the country.

There were, however, among the participants in the research, East Timorese who had left Timor earlier to study in Portugal and who were not part of the CAF group in this period: Leonel Andrade, who studied Engineering at the University of Coimbra in the late sixties and later fled military conscription to Sweden as a refugee²³ and Jorge Graça, who had lived with his Portuguese-East Timorese family in Mozambique in the sixties and went to study Law at the University of Lisboa in the early seventies.²⁴ They followed different paths from their East Timorese colleagues and provide examples of different life trajectories. They would later meet with the other FRETILIN members in Mozambique, however.

East Timorese in Mozambique

When the initial group of students arrived to join the external delegation leaders, adaptation was easy, according to Filomena Almeida and Marina Alkatiri. The use of Portuguese language and the warm way they were welcomed made them immediately feel at ‘home’.²⁵ According to them, FRETILIN’s external representation, which would become the first Embassy of the República Democrática de Timor-Leste, was treated as a state institution and received funding directly from the Mozambican state budget. Initially this funding supported the students before they became government scholarship recipients at the University Eduardo Mondlane (UEM) and other universities and technical institutes. They were also given houses to live in and the freedom to choose their courses of study as part of the determination of both FRETILIN and Mozambique to train East Timorese cadres for future leadership.²⁶

Often students also worked to complement their scholarships and support their young children. Ana Pessoa, for example, spoke of her difficulties in pursuing her Law degree while working as a Legal assistant at the Public Prosecutor’s service when her first child was born.²⁷ Filomena Almeida, who also had a young child, was a Biology student at UEM and worked at the Wildlife and ecosystems department at the Ministry of Agriculture, where she participated in outreach campaigns for awareness raising on wildlife protection.²⁸

23. Leonel Andrade, Maputo, 16 October 2019.

24. Jorge Graça, Díli, 24 November 2018.

25. Marina Alkatiri and Filomena Almeida, Díli, 14 December 2019.

26. From the sample of research participants, there were East Timorese trained in Law, Agriculture, Veterinary Sciences, Biology, Medicine, Economics, Management, Engineering and International Relations.

27. Ana Pessoa, Díli, 27 November 2019.

28. Filomena Almeida and Marina Alkatiri, Díli, 11 December 2019.

Several East Timorese occupied positions in public institutions. Ana Pessoa was a Judge and reached the office of Public Prosecutor; Madalena Boavida was a public servant at the Ministry of Finance; Jorge Graça worked in the Office of the Minister of State in the Presidency in the first government of Mozambique, served in different capabilities in the state administration and law areas; and Marina Alkatiri worked as a public servant in the Human Resource Management department, among others.

The Mozambique government provided also land for the group to farm and raise cattle: two properties (*Machamba* or *Quinta da Matola* and the Umbeluzi farm). This followed the socialist government's principle of 'fighting with our own means' which aimed to instil self-sufficiency in the movements it supported. In the Umbeluzi farm, a fertile land near a river, the East Timorese agronomists, Isidoro Viana, Afonso Oliveira and Mário Alves, planted crops and Madalena Boavida, an economist, managed the farm earnings to support them during the harsh times of the civil war and when the markets lacked food.²⁹

Mozambique was facing several challenges, between 1977 and 1991, pressured by internal civil war and an external war, waged by the South African apartheid regime and Rhodesia (Monteiro, 2001, pp. 76-79). All research participants spoke of the difficulties imposed by the civil war between FRELIMO and RENAMO, which were especially felt during the eighties, when the city of Maputo was under siege and when travelling to other provinces of the country meant to risk one's life. José Soares, by then a trained doctor, was called to attend to the wounded in battle fronts. He recalls living this period while having no news about his family in Timor-Leste. He found out that his family was alive through an International Red Cross worker he met while doing this work and who was able to confirm that his parents were alive.³⁰

Simultaneously, there was a long period when there were no connections to the interior of Timor-Leste, after 1978 when Radio Maubere, operated from Darwin, was captured. In this period, it was especially hard to maintain close coordination with the leadership in the interior of Timor-Leste. Increased divisions among the external delegation's leadership reflected the struggles inside the resistance movement since 1975.³¹ As the literature on the history of resistance

29. Afonso Oliveira, Díli, 17 November 2018; Isidoro Viana, Díli, 14 November 2018; Madalena Boavida, Díli, 12 December 2019; Mário Alves, Díli, 5 December 2019.

30. José Soares, Maputo, 24 October 2019.

31. The most serious incident happened in 1978: a violent attack, commanded by Rogério Lobato and a few followers, in the outskirts of Maputo, which severely injured Leonel Andrade and imprisoned Marina Alkatiri and Ana Pessoa at Quinta da Matola. On this crisis, see: Scott (2005, pp. 249-251); Araújo (2012, pp. 153-158).

to Indonesian occupation shows, there were several splits inside both the armed and diplomatic resistance, which continue to play a role in contemporary politics,³² and whose analysis is beyond the scope of this article. In the interviews, the issue rarely came up and when it did, it was attributed to excessive behaviours by one or two people and the fact that these leaders were too young and inexperienced, with limited information, that led to betrayal accusations occurring frequently in their resistance movements.³³ Most of the students were not directly impacted by these events as their daily life struggles went on.

In several of the interviews, there was a longing to return to their land, where their families were. Most of the students had said goodbye to their parents in the early seventies to study a couple of years in Portugal. Isidoro Viana recalls saying goodbye to their parents in Baucau airport in 1974 only to return in 2002 when it was finally safe to visit his village. In all those years he recalls having only once the possibility to send a letter, in 1986, to his parents through International Red Cross.³⁴ They never imagined that their lives would change in such unexpected ways.

For most of the group, there was a sense that the life in Mozambique was lived in a very intense and ‘militant’ way, in order to achieve personal, but also collective goals.³⁵ As Madalena Boavida reminisces, they were there on a mission, they represented a country and they had to reflect all the trust and support that was given to them by the Mozambican government.³⁶ Marina Alkatiri explained: ‘We were treated as Mozambicans’, however ‘we knew that we were being trained to go to Timor-Leste, this was our main objective’.³⁷

Conclusion

In this article I present a preliminary analysis of the solidarity relations between Mozambique and Timor-Leste during the Indonesian occupation, set in the broader context of political transformations in Portugal and the newly formed independent nations, which had just liberated themselves from Portuguese rule. This analysis highlights the importance of understanding the Mozambican side of this history, a newly independent country strongly engaged in the internationalist Asia-

32. For a more detailed account, see: CAVR, 2005, pp. 436-456; Leach, 2015, pp. 48-49; Gonçalves, 2014.

33. Leonel Andrade, Maputo, 16 October 2019; see also: Araújo (2012, pp. 153-154).

34. Isidoro Viana, Díli, 14 November 2018.

35. Ana Pessoa, Díli, 27 November 2019; Tomás Henriques, Díli, 14 December 2019.

36. Madalena Boavida, Díli, 12 December 2019.

37. Marina Alkatiri and Filomena Almeida, Díli, 14 December 2019.

Africa solidarity movement against colonialism and economic imperialism and in a particularly difficult mission: supporting the liberation movements in Southern Africa against the apartheid regime and its allies (Meneses, 2017, pp. 59-65).

By providing a glimpse into the life trajectories of East Timorese who lived in Mozambique during the Indonesian occupation, it is possible to address the absences and lesser-known narratives in Timor-Leste's official historical account, which has been centralised around the history of male leaders in the armed resistance to Indonesian occupation (Gonçalves, 2019). Along with other lesser studied histories in the country, such as the role of youth resistance in Indonesia, as well as the history of women's roles, the solidarity networks in Southeast Asia and the Pacific, among others, this study aims to shine a light on the complexities and diversity of experiences which made the independence of Timor-Leste possible. Although these are contested histories mobilised in the context of contemporary political rivalries, this circulation of people and ideas, the connections established with other struggles for rights, marked by alternative views of the world, are also part of Timor-Leste's history.

In spite of being a half-Island territory, the East Timorese have been connected not only to their neighbours in the Pacific and Indian oceans, but also to geographically distant countries in Africa and Europe. The history of Timor-Leste has been one account, among others in the world, of how the search for rights and justice started locally from inside a society and developed through connections with outsiders – international organisations, social movements in other parts of the world, international solidarity movements and media – making it possible to expand the magnitude of its mutual influences and local/global ripple effects.

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7. Visual imagery in the Canadian solidarity movement for Timor-Leste (East Timor)

David Webster¹

Visual imagery in the Canadian solidarity movement for Timor-Leste

Visual images are powerful. They were deliberately and effectively deployed within the Canadian solidarity movement for Timor-Leste in order to draw sympathy and an emotional response, aiding movement efforts to promote a sense of Canadian connection to Timor-Leste during the period of Indonesian occupation from 1975 to 1999. Visual imagery became a mobilizing focus by the Canadian solidarity movement, a point illustrated in three examples. Photographs taken by a Canadian traveler in 1974 served as an imagined record of Timorese harmonious life, disrupted by Indonesian invasion and genocide. Timorese textiles, displayed in a Toronto museum, further boosted sympathy for Timorese cultures. Finally, solidarity movement street protests as performed Timorese resistance imagery through the use of flags and crosses in the national capital, Ottawa. Activists used these images collectively to paint a picture of Timor-Leste in the minds of the Canadian public, where the country was almost entirely unknown. The image was of a noble “tribal” people, unjustly invaded, who nevertheless provided an example of resistance for the world. As a result, they more than merited Canadian solidarity.

Photography. Textiles. Protest. Canada. Timor-Leste.

O uso de imagens no movimento de solidariedade canadiano por Timor-Leste

As imagens são poderosas. Foram deliberada e eficazmente mobilizadas pelo movimento de solidariedade canadiano com Timor-Leste, para atrair simpatia e uma resposta emocional, ajudando os esforços do movimento para promover um sentimento de ligação canadiana a Timor-Leste durante o período da ocupação indonésia de 1975 a 1999. O imaginário visual tornou-se um foco mobilizador do movimento de solidariedade canadiano, um ponto ilustrado em três exemplos. As fotografias tiradas por uma viajante canadiana em 1974 serviram como um registo imaginário da vida harmoniosa timorense, perturbada

1. Bishop's University.

pela invasão e genocídio indonésio. Os têxteis timorenses, expostos num museu de Toronto, reforçaram ainda mais a simpatia pelas culturas timorenses. Finalmente, os protestos de rua do movimento de solidariedade mobilizaram imagens de resistência timorense através do uso de bandeiras e cruzes na capital nacional, Ottawa. Os activistas utilizaram colectivamente esta componente imagética para criar uma representação de Timor-Leste na mente do público canadiano, onde o país era quase totalmente desconhecido. A imagem era de um nobre povo “tribal”, injustamente invadido, que, no entanto, deu um exemplo de resistência ao mundo. Como resultado, seriam um povo merecedor da solidariedade canadiana.

Fotografias. Têxteis. Ativismo. Canadá. Timor-Leste.

Imajen nia knaar iha movimentu solidariedade hosi Kanada ba Timor-Leste

Imajen vizuál nu’udar maka’as no la’o hale’u hodi buras iha movimentu solidariedade kanadá nian ho timór hodi dada ema di’ak sira atu tama iha movimentu no hatán ho neon no laran tomak, ho tulun hodi halekar ligasaun entre Kanadá no Timór iha okupasaun indonézia nia laran hosi tinan-1975 to’o tinan-1999. Imajen vizuál sai fali mobilizadór ba movimentu solidariedade kanadá nian liuhosi exemplu tolu: (1) fotografia ne’ebé viajante ida hosi rai Kanadá rasik maka hasai no imajen hirak-ne’e hatudu timoroan sira moris ho hakmatek no invazaun indonéziu naksobu dame iha timoroan sira-nia leet. (2) Espozisaun iha muzeu ida iha Toronto, ne’ebé hatudu hena-tais timór nian, dada tan públiku nia simpatia ba kultura timoroan nian. (3) Ikusliu, ema sira hosi movimentu solidariedade protesta iha estrada no fó hanoin ho imajen kona-ba rezisténsia no haklalak ho bandeira nomós ho krús iha capitál nasionál Ottawa. Ativista sira uza hamutuk imajen hirak hotu hodi hametin Timór iha públiku kanadá nia neon, no to’o tempu ne’ebá ema la hatene buat ida kona-ba rai-Timór. Maibé, sira biban fó sai retratu timoroan nian hanesan kmanek nu’udar ema dato ne’ebé, invazaun la vale, fó exemplu rezisténsia ba mundu. Tan ne’e hotu, solidariedade kanadá hakohak timoroan nia rezisténsia.

Fotografia. Hena-tais. Ativismu. Canada. Timor-Leste.

Introduction

Visual images are powerful. Human rights and humanitarian groups deploy them regularly. Humanitarian photography, Sonya de Laat writes, is “as old as the medium itself and encompasses pictures made by missionaries, reformers, professional and amateur photographers, and professional humanitarians.” They aim to either to “raise awareness of suffering, all the while shocking spectators into action [or promote] a visual narrative of salvation” (de Laat 2019: 232-3). They have often proved highly effective. Images of postwar Chinese refugees fleeing to British-controlled Hong Kong, for instance, built a story of deserving people in desperate need, through no fault of their own. This “created unprecedented

empathy for the Chinese in Hong Kong, even as it perpetuated difference,” as Laura Madokoro (2016: 125) writes. The result was a wave of sympathy for Asian refugees in Europe and settler states that soon shifted from policies of racial exclusion towards becoming countries of welcome for refugees – even while those refugees were still “othered” as victims.

In this paper, I discuss the use of visual imagery as a mobilizing focus by the Canadian solidarity movement for East Timor (Webster 2020), using three cases. The first is the way **photographs** taken by a Canadian traveler in 1974 were used in solidarity movement actions as a key document of Timorese harmonious life, disrupted by Indonesian invasion and genocide. The second examines the use of Timorese **textiles**, seemingly apolitical, to boost sympathy for Timorese cultures. The third attempts to “read” the visual imagery of a solidarity movement **protest** as a visual expression of solidarity with Timorese resistance imagery. In sum, the Canadian solidarity movement used images to paint a picture of East Timor in the minds of the Canadian public, where East Timor was almost entirely unknown. The image was of a noble “tribal” people, unjustly invaded, who nevertheless provided an example of resistance for the world. As a result, they more than merited Canadian solidarity. While this visual form of “claims-making strategy” (Torelli 2020) did not reach all Canadians, it built sympathy among some Canadians, and proved far more powerful than the narrative promoted by the Indonesian government and largely accepted, at first, by the Canadian government.

In this paper, I largely avoid discussion of atrocity pictures. These were present, of course. Photographs of the late-1970s famine in East Timor sketched a picture of a hapless, suffering people, but provided no sense of hope upon which to mobilize activism. Canadian activists had access to images of torture and suffering, but chose instead to deploy more positive images. This paper reflects that emphasis. The exception, torture photos released in the late 1990s, actually proves the rule, since they were released late in the struggle and in a context of existing, persistent protest.

Speaking mouths? The photographs of Elaine Briere

In 1974, a young Canadian woman took the “hippy trail” that so many other young people had taken through Southeast Asia. Elaine Brière had studied at the University of British Columbia and gone on to work as a photographer for the *Yukon Daily News*. In 1974, her travels took her to East Timor, where she took some remarkable black-and-white photographs of local people fishing, carrying water, playing, and otherwise going about their lives.

After the Indonesian invasion, no one took that sort of photograph any more. Pictures from Timor became rare. Gradually, Brière’s images began to be appear in

photo exhibits by small East Timor solidarity groups located around the world. They became a visual representation of East Timor.

Until 1989, East Timor was a closed military territory. The Indonesian army used silencing as a weapon. Consequently, in a pre-internet time, very little information reached the outside world. Outside Portuguese-speaking countries and Australia, the lack of information tended to keep the country off the global agenda. A Canadian government official noted that “Indonesia is not a sufficiently flagrant violator to attract the attention of the public as some other countries do” (INFID 1988). Brière’s photographs started to change that in the late 1980s. For some, they became what the Mambai story calls “speaking mouths” (Traube 2001: 249). They told a story that those without voice (here, the Timorese) could not tell themselves. Though they were silent images, they still had voice.

Brière herself was living on a boat docked in Nanaimo, BC, at the time of the invasion. It took her ten years to transform “from Timor photo-archivist to activist,” in the words of a subsequent profile (Olson 1997). Her photos entered the world of solidarity movement campaigning in 1985 with the launch of Amnesty International’s campaign marking ten years since the Indonesian invasion. One photo of a young woman carrying corn on her head, staring impassively into the camera, became iconic after appearing on the cover of Amnesty’s newspaper *The Candle* and, the same year, atop the Indonesia East Timor Program’s tabloid publication *East Timor: A Call for Justice*.

The same image would lead a pamphlet produced in 1987 introducing Brière’s new group, the East Timor Alert Network (ETAN), the major Canadian solidarity group from that point on. The photos appeared around the world, almost always in events and venues organized by solidarity movement activists. They became a campaign tool.

Brière’s photographs documented a way of life disrupted by forced resettlement. Her writing, too, stressed the threat to Timorese Indigenous peoples, as did the culmination of her work, the 1997 documentary *Bitter Paradise: The Sell-Out of East Timor*. The most complete example appeared in Toronto-based *This Magazine* in 1991. Brière wrote of arriving in East Timor with a friend, being adopted by a village woman, and visiting a village house reserved for women. “I’ll never forget how indescribably pleasant and serene it felt dozing off in the women’s house; the animated chatter of mama and her old friends fading off into the hot afternoon.” Timorese lives, in her view, represented “subsistence affluence interwoven with a rich social and cultural tradition.” In this romantic view, pre-invasion East Timor was close to paradise. It made the hell of Indonesian rule all the starker. “Now it’s no longer possible,” Brière wrote, “to visit the spectacular villages, to be enchanted by the house’s walls decorated with paintings of the sacred



Figure 1. Indonesia East Timor Program tabloid featuring Elaine Briere photograph.

crocodile and other mythical creatures or to admire the richly carved houseposts and rooftops sporting nautilus shells and small animal carvings.” Timorese traditions, meanwhile, were an example for supposedly superior western countries. “My personal awakening,” Briere wrote, “has led me to believe the Timorese way of life holds the answers to many of our modern-day problems” (Briere 1991).

Not surprisingly, this line drew special ire in Ottawa. As the first Canadian government letter to Brière put it, “the people of East Timor are not ‘simple mountain tribesmen’ as you suggest. Most live in the plains, have a complex culture and social customs, and are ethnically related to the people in the west-



Figure 2. East Timor Alert Network pamphlet, 1990s, using photograph by Elaine Briere.

DET GRYMMA SPELET



Figure 3. Briere photograph used in a publication by the Swedish East Timor Committee.

ern half of Timor Island and on neighbouring islands. The cultural identity of the East Timorese does not appear to be threatened” (Canada 1987).

Yet the Canadian record shows that the view promoted by Brière took more powerful hold on the Canadian public imagination than the government view. The images made the difference. Historians traditionally see photographs as static objects, albeit rhetorically powerful ones. Photography could perhaps be better interpreted as “an event rather than a technology for making pictures.” Briere’s photos, and their multiple deliberate deployments, show “photography as opening a civic space in which modes and powers of signifying and mediating global and local relations can be questioned and negotiated” (de Laat 2019: 237, 224).

Textiles of Timor come to Toronto

The theme of cultural survival of Indigenous peoples dominated early ETAN campaigning. A 1989 exhibit at the Museum for Textiles (now the Canadian Textile Museum) in Toronto illustrates this intersection of material culture and activism. The museum arranged a show of Timorese *tais* weavings for 1989. ETAN members negotiated with the museum to include a display on the history and human rights situation of Timor (drawn from Brière’s photographs and other sources). There was also a public forum featuring an Australian documentary film on East Timor, *Buried Alive*, and a conversation moderated by ETAN activists. A note from curator Barbara Hewitt reflects how political themes wove their way into the display:

The textiles of Timor are beautiful. Many complicated techniques go into making each piece, the colours are lovely and rich, the imagery is intriguing. The more I examine the cloth and learn about the makers and the culture they are part of, the more I love the cloth.

A lot of the Museum’s collection represents the remains of cultures and people that have been absorbed or scattered or destroyed. There’s not much time to spin yarns if you’re fleeing a war zone.

Finding out that the people of Timor were being methodically slaughtered by Indonesian troops was shattering.

I know and I care about a war-torn island across the world because of a connection to the people of Timor that grew out of a piece of cloth. (Hewitt 1989)

This art curator saw textiles that were beautiful and significant. She learned that the cultures that weaved them had been shattered by military rule. It changed her perspective, and the exhibition. The show was not just about cloth stuck to a

wall in an obscure Toronto museum. It was a mobilizing focus for action.

Textiles can be “read” for meaning as texts are, contend anthropologists Lynne Milgram and Penny Van Esterik (1993). “Textiles are used to express identity,” Hewitt (1985) wrote in her first publication on Timorese textiles, which focused on women’s role in weaving the *tais* cloth.

The weavings on display told stories about Timorese cultural survival and the role of women. The exhibit, similarly, used Timorese material culture to promote overseas solidarity. (There are echoes in the use of *tai* and *tais*-inspired imagery to represent Timor-Leste today.)

A two-page note penned by Elaine Brière was also available at the show. It compared the Indonesian occupation to the story told about the United States’ onslaught on Indigenous peoples recounted in Dee Brown’s book *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee*. This reference to global indigeneity signalled ETAN’s positioning in global groups that stressed Indigenous people’s cultural survival, such as the International Working Group on Indigenous Affairs (IWGIA, based in Denmark) and the Fundação Borja da Costa, a Portuguese foundation named for a famous Timorese poet and activist. The connection sometimes became oversimplifying, as in the use of one of Briere’s photos of a “hill tribe” women from Timor to illustrate the cover of a theme issue on Burma of *Cultural Survival Quarterly*. Still, increasing deployment of images of Timorese Indigenous culture, along with Timorese song and poetry (Barreto Soares and Webster), again aided mobilizing by depicting a unique and rich Timorese Indigenous culture fighting for its survival.

Performance as text: “reading” a demonstration

Solidarity movement structures in North America shifted considerably with the arrival of former clandestine activists as refugees after the 1991 Santa Cruz massacre. So too did ETAN Canada’s visual imagery, which increasingly emphasized the spirit of resistance symbolized by the clandestine movement within East Timor.



Figure 4. Textiles of Timor, cover of unpublished paper by Barbara Hewitt. Canadian Textile Museum collection.

One demonstration in Ottawa echoed the visual style of the rally on 12 November 1991 in Dili. Both demonstrations aimed to fill the streets with Timorese flags and banners in order to deliver a clear message in support of Timorese independence. The use of the flag first raised in 1975 makes the link clear.

Following Clifford Geertz (1973), we can read a performance or an event as a text. The Ottawa demonstration can be “read.” There were only a few words present. But it still delivered a clear message, using words sparingly and visual imagery abundantly.

Start with the protest date: 7 December 1995, 20 years after the Indonesian invasion of Dili. This meant it would be a cold day in Ottawa and hard to get protesters to brave the weather for a lengthy walk, but the symbolic importance of the date could be harnessed to a news conference to attract attention from the media and the public.

The protest began on a stage in front of the Indonesian Embassy. After a consultation with the local police, Timorese refugee activist Bella Galhos delivered a speech.



Figure 5. Demonstration at Indonesian embassy, Ottawa, 1995.

Protesters then took to the streets.



Figure 6.

They walked through the city centre to the Canadian Human Rights memorial where Mana Bella spoke again.



Figure 7.

The crowd grew as it moved back on to the streets. Arriving at Parliament Hill, protesters laid down crosses with the names of people killed at the Santa Cruz massacre on parliament's front steps, then turned and faced the city with parliament as the backdrop to their banners.



Figure 8.

The Timorese flag was flown by a Timorese woman at the heart of Canada's government, who walked the cold pavement alone for a time.



Figure 9.

How can we “read” this demonstration? Its date insisted that, in the resistance slogan, “to resist is to win.” Two decades of occupation saw more resistance than ever. Its route mapped the connection between the Indonesian and Canadian governments, from the embassy to parliament. Messages on banners underlined the point: the lead banner declared “East Timor is a Canadian issue,” not a far-away forgotten struggle.



Figure 10.

A stop at the human rights memorial evoked themes of human rights that are dear to the Canadian self-image.

The Timorese flags, sewn by local activist Tracey Lauriault, made the march into a block of vibrant reds with tones of black and yellow, and forced onlookers to ask whose flag that was – an invitation to ask questions. Crosses evoked tragedy and Christian undertones while insisting on speaking the names of the dead – themselves known thanks to clandestine research in Dili and transmitted on new electronic communications networks.

At parliament, the crowd performed mourning – the laying down of the crosses – and then activism, with the display of banners that had been less visible on the streets. Each banner drew a direct Canada-Indonesia tie, from arms sales to business handshakes to the use of Canadian tax money to support the Indonesian government. The messaging was immediate, not distant. East Timor mattered, it was here in Ottawa, and its tragedy was directly tied to Canadian support for the Indonesian dictatorship.

The messaging was consistent and the support growing in Canada. By 1995, Canadian government officials were saying they had to do something for Timor-Leste, if only to “get ETAN off our backs.” If nothing else, they hoped that there

would be no Timorese protesters entering the Canadian embassy in Jakarta. When ETAN's Sharon Scharfe offered them an "assurance" that no Timorese activists planned to enter the Canadian embassy "for now," the Canadian embassy sent a chilly note to Ottawa: "It gives me immense concern to think that a Sharon Scharfe could be orchestrating or controlling whether or not we have potential visitors," one embassy official commented acidly. "I agree with you," replied the head of the Southeast Asia division at Foreign Affairs Canada. "It is one of the many joys that we have in dealing with ETAN. It is the most energetic and single minded of NGOs that I have to deal with" (Webster 2020).

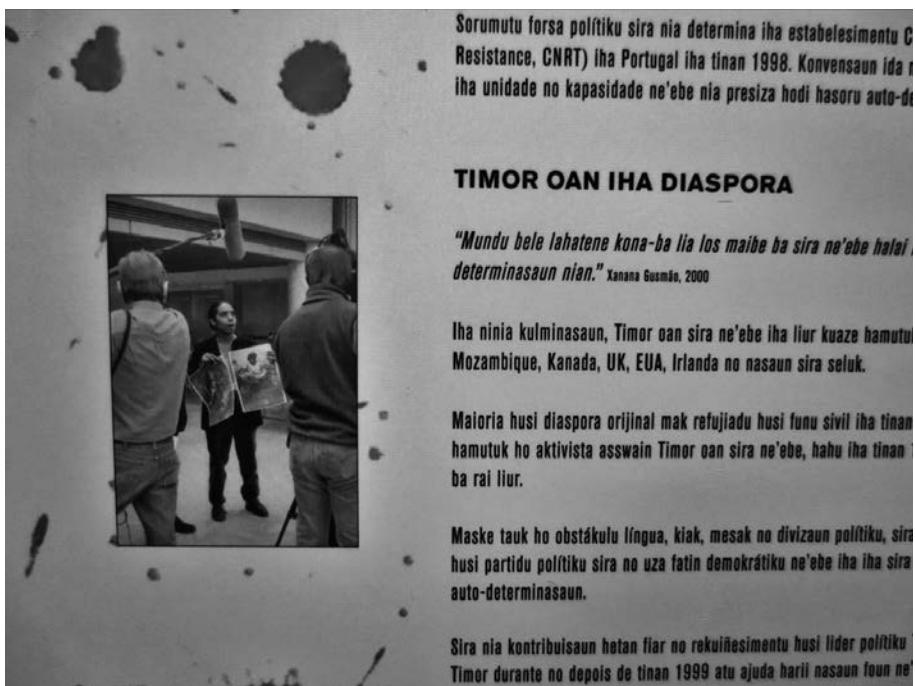


Figure 11. Bella Galhos unveils torture photos, 1997, image produced in Chega! exhibit, Dili, 2017.

The exchange underlines growing solidarity movement coordination with Timorese diplomatic front leaders. The same is evident in, for instance, the 1997 APEC summit in Vancouver. An alternative "People's Summit" invited José Ramos Horta to be keynote speaker, and Bella Galhos released photos – visual messages themselves – to the media. The photo of that event is now itself framed by text in the Chega! exhibit in Dili.

This is the first major use of atrocity photos by ETAN activists. The context, however, was important. It came as the culmination of a "Team Timor" tour of Canada featuring ten activists and a mock trial of Indonesian dictator Suharto,

and amidst large street protests against the APEC agenda in Vancouver. Even as the photos showed prone, helpless Timorese women, they were deployed in ways that stressed Timorese resistance and agency.

ETAN grew by leaps and bounds from small beginnings to becoming a significant protest movement a decade after its foundation. Its use of visual imagery constructed an image of the Timorese people in Canada: first as tribal peoples representing the best of pre-modern life, lived in harmony with the environment; then as people with a significant and distinct culture of their own; and finally as a youthful people determined to resist, come what may. These depictions depended on the images that were deployed. Those images in turn shaped the way ETAN portrayed the Timorese people, first with limited knowledge, and then with closer contact. Government records indicate they were also influential, as Ottawa finally endorsed Timorese self-determination – ETAN's longstanding demand – in December 1998.

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8. In the pursuit of being human: Social commentary and experimental filmmaking in Timor-Leste

Vannessa Hearman¹

In the pursuit of being human: Social commentary and experimental film-making in Timor-Leste

Cross-cultural collaborations involving East Timorese and Western artists have been a strong feature of creative work in independent Timor-Leste. In the context of the rise of Movimento Kultura, artists draw on East Timorese cultural references to intervene in the process of nation-building, including in these collaborations. This paper analyses the feature length film, *Ema Nudar Umanu* (People in the Manner of Being Human), an Australian-East Timorese collaboration, and its use of East Timorese cultural references to raise universal themes such as equality, identity, and individual rights and accountability. As post-conflict and postcolonial cinema, the film portrays the problems of constructing a new nation out of the legacies of colonial violence and amidst stultifying social norms.

Film. Timor-Leste. *Malkriadu Cinema*. Nationalism. *Movimento Kultura*.

Na senda de ser-se humano: cinema experimental e social em Timor-Leste

As colaborações interculturais entre artistas timorenses e ocidentais têm sido centrais na produção criativa nacional desde a independência. No contexto do surgimento do *Movimento Kultura*, muitos artistas partiram das referências culturais timorenses para intervir no processo de construção do país, inclusive no âmbito dessas colaborações. Este artigo reflete a análise da longa-metragem *Ema Nudar Umanu* (“As Pessoas enquanto Seres-humanos”).

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nos”), uma colaboração entre a Austrália e Timor-Leste, nomeadamente do uso que a primeira faz das referências culturais timorenses para abordar tópicos universais, como a igualdade, identidade, direitos e responsabilidades individuais. Enquanto cinematografia pós-conflito e pós-colonial, o filme retrata as dificuldades em construir um país que parte de um legado de ocupação violenta e de um contexto de normas sociais alienadoras.

Filme. Timor-Leste. *Malkriadu Cinema*. Nacionalismo. *Movimentu Kultura*.

Buka sai hanesan ema: komentáriu sosiál no filmajen ne’ebé hanesan espe-riénsia iha Timor-Leste

Kolaborasaun interkulturál bainhira timoroan hala’o hamutuk ho artista-malae sira hosi Osidente sai nu’udar oin ida-ne’ebé kriativu iha Timór hafoin ukun rasik-an. Husi kon-teku Movimentu Kultura, artista sira dada referénsia kulturál timór nian iha prosesu harii nasaun foun ne’e, ne’ebé hatutan mós kolaborasaun hirak ne’e. Artigu-ne’e lehat filme naruk tomak, “Ema Nudar Umanu”, kolaborasaun Australia – Timor-Leste, no uza referénsia kulturál timór nian hodi foti-sa’e tema hanesan ‘igualdade’, ‘identidade’, ‘direitu individuál’ no ‘responsabilidade’. Nu’udar cinema pós-konflitu no pós-koloniál, filme ne’e hatudu problema hirak-ne’ebé hale’u konstrusaun Nasaun nian ho legadu hosi violénsia koloniál no norma sosiál restritívua.

Filme. Timor-Leste. *Malkriadu Cinema*. Nasionalizmu. *Movimentu Kultura*.

Introduction

In 2017, East Timorese and Australian filmmakers collaborated to create the film *Ema Nudar Umanu* (Henning and Dias, 2018), the title of which can be loosely translated as ‘people in the manner of being humans’, set in Timor-Leste’s capital city, Dili and its surrounds. In a filmmaking landscape still in its infancy, the film breaks new ground by being the first feature made in Timor-Leste that employs Gothic aesthetics, within the context of a post-independence art movement referred to as *Movimentu Kultura*, one in which artists draw on East Timorese cultural references to intervene in the process of nation-building. Being the product of a cross-cultural collaboration, *Ema Nudar Umanu* demonstrates a hybridisation of local and foreign influences as well as their commitment to what Ancuta (2012: 430) refers to as ‘doing Gothic (or consciously acting upon an established generic convention)’. The film incorporates the supernatural and other well-established conventions of the Gothic genre, such as ghosts as the main protagonists as a way to comment on belonging, identity and being human in the new nation-state of Timor-Leste. Through cinema, the makers suggest that the postcolonial present is haunted by a colonial history of violence, and that citizens must confront colonialism’s legacies of poverty and powerlessness in the quest to build a new nation.

Contemporary art and political and social critique

The arts, such as dance, music, weaving, drawing, painting and sculpting, as manifestations of culture, have played an important role in East Timor's history. Contemporary art has provided a means for undertaking social critique, even from the late 1990s during Indonesian rule when this took the form of asserting more visibly East Timor's separate cultural identity, such as by painting on the Timorese woven *tais* fabric and the work of several *sanggar* (artist studios) in Dili, Manatuto and Oecussi, some of which were associated with Indonesian-born artist and long-term East Timor resident, Yahya Lambert (Conceição Silva and Barrkman 2008: 47 and Crook 2009). Since independence, artists have intervened in debates on the construction of Timor-Leste as a new nation and to promote the importance of the arts in the process of nation-building. Veiga (2019: 256) has argued that '[artists'] attention has been directed towards fostering an inclusive national identity where all spectrums of society are represented." She characterises the rise in independent Timor-Leste of what artists term *Movimento Kultura* as a phenomenon in which 'artists residing in the country's metropolis [Dili] share a desire to forge a national identity through fragments of traditional arts, many times coupled with social commentary (Veiga 2019: 256).' One of the most important contemporary art hubs is Dili's Arte Moris, established in 2003 by Swiss couple, Luca and Gabriela Gansser (Conceição Silva and Barrkman 2008: 48).

The rise of *Movimento Kultura* has coincided with a revival of East Timorese customary ritual practices (sometimes referred to simply as *kultura*) and a valorisation of indigenous origins, as shown for example by the reconstruction of the traditional sacred houses (*uma lulik*) in the countryside (McWilliam 2005: 39). An important element of *kultura* is the practice of honouring the dead, because it is perceived that how the living pays homage to the dead shapes relationships between the living themselves (Bovensiepen, 2014: 119). The dead also continue to be linked to the living through ties such as the *uma lulik* and marriage alliances between families. The rituals to be observed in honouring dead tend to merge Catholic and animist practices (Grenfell 2012: 92-93). Cultural revival in the independence era enables artists to deploy East Timorese motifs and animist beliefs in their work.

Experimental filmmaking in Timor-Leste draws on traditions of oral storytelling, animism and a belief in the spirit world that predated mass conversion to Catholicism in the 1980s and 1990s. A surfacing of the supernatural, even in a globalised form in a cross-cultural artistic collaboration, relates well to Timor-Leste's recent history, of matters left unfinished and unresolved in its transition to independence. For artists and intellectuals intervening in this arena, as Medei-

ros (2011: 131) argues, in his work on postcolonial African Lusophone films, ‘what is at stake is the conceptualization of a form of postcoloniality that is haunted, by colonialism of course, but also by *the irruption into the present of those forces from the past that condition the possibilities for any future development of the polities in question* (emphasis added).’ More broadly, Bräunlein (2016: 12) has argued that Southeast Asian ghost movies, of which East Timorese experimental video and film form a part, fit into the genre of post-mortem cinema, as they reflect ‘on identity crises of the living as well as the dead’, in which the present is one of precariousness, insecurity and chaos. Concern with the shape of postcoloniality to come has also led to East Timorese artists making audiovisual works that incorporate spirits, ghosts and customary rituals to comment on present day crises and alienation and the unequal distribution of power.

Malkriadu Cinema is a small film production house in Dili and describes itself as ‘a creative film collective from Timor-Leste’ that produces ‘fiction films, music videos, creative documentaries, video projection and installation’ (Malkriadu Cinema n.d.). Its aim is ‘to develop the roots of a collaborative and experimental film-focused community within Timor-Leste, from which can grow a unique culture of film production.’ Irreverent, the production company’s name, *malkriadu* means rude or ill-educated in Tetun. In 2015, Malkriadu produced a 17-minute vampire film, *Hamrok ba Ran* (Thirsty for blood), a cross-cultural collaboration between Australian filmmakers and East Timorese actors, musicians and technical crew (Henning 2015). It is a critique of corrupt practices in government, drawing parallels between a vampire (played by Apo Quintão) and a greedy government bureaucrat. They enter into a devil’s pact where the bureaucrat traded his blood for the vampire’s help to enrich himself. The film is both a wry, social critique of corruption and a comment on the hardships of life in the new nation of Timor-Leste.

Two key creatives in Malkriadu Cinema, Thomas Henning and Jonas Rusumalay Dias, co-write, co-direct and co-produce *Ema Nudar Umanu*, a film of 70 minutes’ duration. It was Malkriadu’s second film, which will be examined in detail in this paper. Henning is an Australian film – and theatre-maker who has carried out several collaborations with East Timorese counterparts through theatrical productions, such as the surreal *Doku Rai* (Overturning the Earth) that toured several Australian cities, and films such as *Mensajeiru* (Messenger) (Maia 2013). Although Dias himself did not pursue his creative practice at the art hub, Arte Moris, he enjoyed personal friendships with those artists from Los Palos, his home district, who formed a key part of this hub, such as musician Etson Caminha, musical director of *Ema Nudar Umanu*. Prior to Malkriadu’s founding, Dias wrote television sketches, such as for the series *Dalan Realiza Mehi* (Ways of Realising

Dreams), produced for young jobseekers and trainees by the State Secretariat for Education and Employment (SEFOPE) and funded by the Asian Development Bank.

Malkriadu's storytelling is of a surreal and Gothic style, a hallmark of work coming out of Arte Moris and its artistic collaborations (Phillips, n.d.), but not usually one of choice in East Timorese filmmaking which has been preoccupied with films depicting the country's history (De Lucca 2020). Representing on film what are perceived to be East Timorese cultural practices and beliefs, such as the idea of restless spirits who have died an uneasy death, for example, are entry points into discussion with a movie-going audience regarding the nature of the self, social- and interpersonal relationships and the ethics of a good life. Using the Gothic genre enables artists to undertake social critique and to participate in debates about East Timorese society and nation, constituting, according to Veiga (2019: 256), 'performative acts of citizenship, which communicate with local and international audiences.'

Being human and postcolonial discontent

Ema Nudar Umanu is preoccupied with social critique and the imagination of an alternative future. It was made with a budget of AU\$7000, the script written, and film shot in five weeks (Henning, pers. comm, 24 February 2020). Post-production, however, lagged for 18 months due to a lack of funds, given there is no government support of creative filmmaking. The country's recent experience of colonisation and of the 2006 *krise* (crisis), in which intra-Timorese conflict arose (ostensibly as a product of divisions between the eastern and western regions of the country), were highly influential on the writing of the film (Leach 2017: 175). In the 2006 crisis, 'easterners' were targeted due to allegations of discrimination in their favour and against officers from the western region of the country in the East Timorese Defence Force.² Some 150,000 were displaced throughout Dili by fighting between groups split into regional lines (Leach 2017:191). Dias was born in Tutuala, Los Palos in the country's easternmost district, where the Fataluku ethno-linguistic group predominates. He migrated to Dili in 2008, when the city was still recovering from the crisis (Dias, pers. comm, 6 March 2020). East Timorese experiences of violence and colonisation led him into highlighting, in the film, the importance of human values (*valores ema nian*), such as mutual respect, empa-

2. The eastern regions of East Timor are Baucau, Viqueque and Los Palos of which Tutuala is a part, while the western regions are the other 10 regions of the country: Dili, Aileu, Manufahi, Ainaro, Manatuto, Ermera, Liquica, Suai, Bobonaro and Oecussi.

thy and appreciation of others, and linking these with preventing gender and racial discrimination and the recurrence of violence.

The very title of the film is clearly designed to confound Tetun-speaking audiences, differentiating by placing side by side two words which are, at first glance, very similar to one another: *ema* and *umanu*, both of which are words which can be translated as ‘people’ or ‘humans’. In this, Dias argues, he sets out to emphasise that being biologically human does not equate to behaving in the ‘manner of being human’, of practising human values. This is important to him as a member of a generation that experienced only the last years of the Indonesian occupation, as young children. In a country where the median age is 17.4 years with 39 per cent of the population below the age of 15 (UNDP 2018: 20), he sees his task as promoting the importance of practising concepts such as equality and tolerance among young people, who did not experience colonialism firsthand, in order to avoid future conflict.



Figure 1. Wedding ceremony (screengrab).

The film’s four main characters are a husband and wife couple, a wedding singer/musician (*tocador*) and a female ghost (*mate klamar*). The film opens with a man in a black suit floating in the sea (Apo Quintão). He rises out of the water. He meets a woman dressed in white who is sitting by a fire. In tears, the woman (Lola Betty Pires) confides in him that she is already dead, a ghost (*mate klamar* in Tetun) and she has lost her shadow. The man is confused about how he has ended up there beside her, listening to her story. The film soon shifts to the other protagonists, the wedding of a couple (Tuta Monteiro Pires and Juvêncio da Silva Correia) taking place in the bare frame of a churchlike building. Their families,

each from the east and the west of the country, have arranged their marriage since they were babies, as if alluding to Western colonial powers determining the future boundaries of postcolonial nation-states. They dance their wedding waltz mechanically like dolls, barely looking at one another. They are serenaded by a long-haired wedding singer (Quintão) on his acoustic guitar who we recognise as the man floating in the sea at the opening of the film.

After the wedding, the couple move into a basic cement house that has been constructed above another. Their house is bare and has few furniture. The setting is Dili and surrounds, where land tenure is tenuous after decades of conflict and displacement under Indonesian rule and construction is chaotic and unregulated (Fitzpatrick, 2002: 6). Their house is not unlike many others in Dili, but comes with its very own ghost, the woman in white, who we saw at the opening of the film. *Ema Nudar Umanu* refers to Dili's stark contrast between rich and poor, by showing the destitution of the couple in the film as they struggle to find anything to eat and cannot ask their families for help.



Figure 2. Wedding Singer and Ghost holding hands on a Dili night (screengrab).

On their first morning together, the corpse of a man is left in the street outside their house, which is then cast away at the rubbish tip, symbolising a society in which humans are accorded little value. The film shows a deep pessimism about life in Dili by including a montage of images of urban decay, with voiceovers referring to boredom, a boredom that slowly rots brains and hearts, making everything 'all rotten' in the city. Viewers are shown Dili's 'Smoky Mountain', its rubbish tip, the incessant sandmining of the Comoro River, and monkeys chained up as pets pacing restlessly as far as their chains would allow. The film seems to infer meaningless lives, by, for example asking the question, 'How has life come out like this?' claiming there is no freedom, no liberty and no reason for being human, a reference to the title of the film.

The distinct pall of pessimism about life in the city is an expression of how boredom, poverty, inequality and hopelessness are features of postcolonial dissatisfaction in the country's capital. For Dias, Dili is a 'dirty place' (*fo'er fatin*) and 'not a good place for people to live as humans' (Dias, pers comm. 2020). Dili has increased in size and population from 100,715 in 1999 to 277,279 in 2015, driving competition for living space and access to jobs and infrastructure (*Dili em Números 2018*, 2018: 25). It is, arguably, what Schneider and Susser (2003: 1) term a 'wounded city', a body politic that has been collectively damaged by widespread killing, violence and dispossession that, in turn, has been wounded in more recent times by the city's increasingly sharp social demarcations. Government jobs, contracts and procurement are concentrated in Dili. Yet, the 2015 national census shows, for example, that youth unemployment was as high as 26 per cent in urban areas (UNDP 2018: 5). The city is ill-equipped to dispose of increasing amounts of rubbish, largely detritus from cheap, disposable imports and packaging (Quintão 2018). Sand is mined continuously in the Comoro River to satisfy demand for building materials, as shown in the film.



Figure 3. Husband escaping the makeshift pigpen (screengrab).

The search for meaning and dignity leads Husband to go and search of work, but instead he gets kidnapped by an evil man, Gouveia, after his skin inexplicably turns green. Gouveia promised to help him, but instead keeps him imprisoned in a pig pen, ordering him to teach his pigs 'to become smart' from a few old textbooks, in a comment in the film about rote learning. He eventually breaks free and makes his way home to find the Musician has been invited into their house by Wife out of a sense of solidarity with the lonely figure. The Musician is assisted in trying to work out his identity by a giant mirror in the couple's home. In East Timorese culture, the mirror is an item used as part of death ceremonies to enable family members to see the reflection of the spirit of the deceased. In the context

of this film, according to Dias, ‘We should use the mirror to see ourselves first, to reflect on human values, on the fact that we are all equal (*hanesan hotu*), that we are all just humans (*ita ema de’it*).’ The mirror renders Musician visible to himself and symbolises reflection and growing self-awareness.

Related to the theme of identity is the question of gender and gender roles. While sharing a meal, consisting of cakes that Husband has collected from the rubbish bin, stale and full of cockroaches, Wife confides in him, “Every day I dream of escaping,” telling him of her dislike of housework and her love of parties. Her dream is to invent robots to go to war and to help people plant corn, an important source of food for the East Timorese. In turn, he discloses to her that he prefers to stay home and cook. They seem to find common ground in desiring to challenge the prevailing gendered division of labour in Timor-Leste. While formal mechanisms are in place to improve gender equality, there continue to be gaps in the labour participation rate and rates of pay between men and women (ADB, 2016: 13). In peacetime, despite women’s involvement in the struggle against the Indonesian occupation, recognition of their contribution has been slower to occur compared to the way in which the heroism of male guerrillas has been celebrated (Kent and Kinsella, 2014). The couple in the film find that each of them is not happy with their accorded gender role. Instead, the film suggests, gender fluidity and boundary-crossing can enable one to pursue one’s dreams, and of achieving personal freedom and individual autonomy. An example of such gender-crossing in the film, in terms of childbirth and child-rearing, is discussed below.



Figure 4. Wife and Husband discuss their dissatisfactions (screengrab).

The film also aims to challenge gender norms more broadly, by arguing for acceptance and equal treatment for lesbian, gay, bisexual, intersex and queer (LGBTIQ) people in Timor-Leste. Despite the East Timorese constitution stipulating human rights for all citizens, a report by East Timorese coalition of women’s

rights organisations, REDE FETO and the ASEAN SOGIE Caucus (2017) found that a majority of 57 LBT women surveyed had experienced violence, including being subjected to forced marriages, as a result of their sexual orientation and gender identity. Evidence shows that there is also stigmatisation of those who are HIV positive in Timor-Leste, with the Catholic Church having a strong influence on state policies on sexual health and attitudes towards reproductive choices and sexuality (Williams, Haire & Nathan, 2017: 1117; Richards, 2015: 343-58). Dias is critical of the role of religion, more specifically the Catholic Church, and of the education system in promoting what he believes to be a narrow worldview that condones the oppression of others who may be perceived as different, such as Amanu with his green skin. In the film, the personification of evil in the form of Gouveia, who confines Amanu in the pigpen and violently murders the Wedding Singer, symbolises a system of oppression, a system that stifles creativity and critical thinking among citizens, that takes away life and liberty at will. This system of oppression is made up of a dominant patriarchal culture, as well as religion and government, and Dias argues, it leads to the East Timorese people losing their 'humanness', with gender discrimination being one manifestation of this oppression and this oppression must be resisted.

For most of the film, it is not revealed to the audience the names of our two key protagonists. As the audience, we do not know much about them, other than as possibly, Woman and Man, or Wife and Husband – binary categories. This practice of not naming the couple relates to a major theme of the film, the search for one's identity, belonging and purpose in life, with the end of the national liberation struggle that had so occupied the people before. Youths are reminded on a regular basis of the sacrifices of their elders in establishing the nation-state, as despite its mythic status, this liberation struggle is also one that has remained elusive from the domain of lived experience for those born after 1999. The Wedding Singer and the Ghost too are wondering about where they have come from and how they fit in, if they do. With a growing section of the country's youthful population not having taken part in the national liberation struggle, the film raises the theme of alienation and inter-generational rifts and misunderstandings.

As if in a resolution of some of these contradictions, towards the end of the film, as the Wedding Singer is buried in a hilltop cemetery, the couple stands together by his grave, the grave of a friend they had only just begun to know. At that moment, they disclose their names to one another for the first time; he, Amanu and she, Ela. Disclosing their names shows them beginning to know themselves and to be human. Amanu appears to be carrying the couple's baby in his belly. When the couple finally has a baby girl, each is shown holding the infant and smiling, and then in a rapid burst, the film shows alternating shots of their faces

until it becomes difficult to distinguish between the two; they seem to morph into one another. By using this technique, the film seems to raise the question of whether identity is actively chosen and lived or is governed by oppressive forces such as biology or gender binariness.



Figure 5. Amanu and Ela leave behind the Wedding Singer at his grave (screengrab).

Audience responses

In Dili, the film has been shown a few times free of charge since early 2018 and enjoyed a three-week run in September 2018 at Platinum Cineplex, a cinema complex in the middle-class indoor shopping mall, Timor Plaza (Henning, pers. comm, 24 February 2020; Smith, 2017). Audience numbers were modest, possibly because the US\$5 ticket price was too high for many East Timorese, and according to Henning, the cinema was more accustomed to dealing with mainstream films. With the involvement of mainly Australian filmmakers as collaborators, the film has been shown in Melbourne, Darwin and smaller regional centres including at film festivals, and to niche audiences in art galleries and higher education institutions in the United Kingdom and Malaysia.

Although East Timorese audiences have been– and continue to be exposed to themes of horror, the supernatural and mystical, that constitute strong elements of Indonesian television (Heeren 2012: 136), the surreal storytelling style of Malkriadu Cinema, wrapped around deeper messages about social inclusiveness, has not been as easily digested. Dias blames the influence of Hollywood and Bollywood films in genres such as action, drama, comedy and romance, and Indonesian *sinetron* soap operas. The problem may be that audiences do not view death rituals, spirits and ghosts, which are such embedded parts of their everyday lives as metaphors through which to channel contemporary critiques. Instead, they may be understanding *Ema Nudar Umanu* more as a reflection of an animist world

view and a discussion of the appropriate ways of appeasing restless souls. In its varied interpretations, Malkriadu Cinema's creative works, however, contribute to fostering a critical public sphere. Cheah suggests that radical writers and post-colonial theorists of nationalism regard literature as capable of creating or reviving a critical public sphere that can, in turn, be vital in reenergising the national spirit (Cheah, 2003: 258). At the same time, though, the extent to which cross-cultural collaborations in contemporary art in Timor transmit global ideas and values which are predicated on the rights and accountability of the individual could be an area for further research, with *Ema Nudar Umanu* being highly influenced by Western concepts of individual freedom and liberty, seen as ways of overcoming a nation's problems in the twenty-first century.

Conclusion

Ema Nudar Umanu is a manifestation of *Movimentu Kultura* in Timor-Leste in the way that it draws on East Timorese cultural references that are brought into play with global transnational concerns and themes, such as gender and identity. Its key message is that personal and individual empowerment should be a corollary of national independence. By emphasising the importance of self-reflection, of overcoming alienation and estrangement from one another, in the journey of the East Timorese people from colonialism to liberation, the film warns that the colonial history of violence is deeply embedded in the fabric of the postcolonial present. Violence not only haunts the built environment of Dili, but is, more troublingly, embodied within the East Timorese as they emerge from colonisation. As part of post-conflict cinema, the film expresses the trauma of the wounding of a city, and by extension, of a land and a people; and in a cinematic exercise of *nunca más* (never again) seeks to perform citizenship in this newly established nation-state by calling for the East Timorese to strive for a more equitable society if they are to overcome the legacies of violence. Its East Timorese cultural reference points also enable *Ema Nudar Umanu* to be interpreted by local audiences in more diverse, complicated and creative ways, thus creating a new, critical public sphere.

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9. *Moris Mai*, o filme ensaio enquanto documento e criação que espelha lutas

Luísa Neves Soares¹

***Moris Mai*, o filme ensaio enquanto documento e criação que espelha lutas**

Moris Mai, filme ensaio documental, atualmente em fase de pós-produção, surge enquanto um dos resultados da abordagem vivencial a Timor Leste entre 2015 e 2020, e que através do campo audiovisual acompanhou de forma comprometida e continuada a prestação de cuidados de saúde à população do interior montanhoso do país. O filme, tem por temática base a ligação da ideia do nascer de um povo e do nascer de um país. O nascer no sentido fisiológico, com todas as condicionantes e complexidades, e o nascimento de uma das mais jovens nações do mundo, marcada ainda por múltiplos desafios a resolver fruto de muitos séculos de privação recorrente, violência, conflito e reconstruções sucessivas.

Filme ensaio e criação artística, portador de uma voz própria, ativa, autoral, presente e visível. Uma voz que pretende dar a conhecer, mas também a convocar tanto a reflexão como a ação sobre uma realidade complexa que advém de um passado marcado pela subjugação a outros, pelo confronto, pela luta e por recomeços, construindo o presente todos os dias com o anseio de um futuro pleno e a conquistar em breve.

Filme-ensaio. Documentário. Nascer. Saúde. Montanha.

***Moris Mai*, an experimental film – creating and documenting struggles**

Moris Mai, an experimental film which is currently (2021) under postproduction editing, emerges as a result of a life experiences approach in Timor-Leste from 2015 to 2020, which, through audio-visual means, followed the work of healthcare providers that was continuously and committedly delivered to the population in the mountainous Timorese countryside. This film links the ideas of a community being born and a country being born, in its physiological sense, with all its constraints and complexities. Thus, this film shows how one of the newest nations in the world was born and how it is still marked by multiple chal-

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lenges which stem from centuries of recurrent privation, violence, conflict and consecutive building and rebuilding.

This experimental film has its own voice, which is active, authorial, present and visible. This voice describes Timorese reality and calls for action and reflection about its complexity. *Moris Mai* shows a reality marked by a past of subjugation, conflict, struggle, and new beginnings, where people build their own present while trying to build a joyful future.

Essay film. Documentary. Birth. Health. Mountain.

Moris Mai, ‘filme-ensaiu’ ida nu’udar dokumentu no kriasaun ne’ebé haleno luta

Moris Mai, filme nu’udar ensaiu dokumentál, dadauk ne’e la’o hela iha faze pós-produsaun, mosu hanesan rezultadu hosi ko’alia no haree kona-ba Timor-Leste nia moris entre 2015 no 2020, no liuhosi kampu audiovizuál akompaña tulun ne’ebé fó iha área saúde ba popula-saun iha foho leten ne’ebá. Filme ne’e ninia baze temática maka kona-ba hanoin ba oinsá povu ida ho ninia NASAUN moris-mai no buras sa’e. Moris, dehan tuir oinsá hahoris, ho kondisaun no susar oioin, no oinsá maka NASAUN ida-ne’ebé jovem liu iha mundu moris-mai iha tempu susar nia laran tatuir tempu uluk liubá ho moris-kiak, nakonu ho violénsia, kon-flitu no harii filafali beibeik.

Filme ensaiu no kriasaun artística, hala’o ho hanoin rasik, badinas, hakerek-na’in, tada-an no haree-belek. Lian sai hodi fó hatene maibé bolu raronak na’in sira mai hanoin lisuk kona-ba moris klean oinsá ne’ebé mai hosi tempu kotuk bainhira la’o iha ema seluk nia mahon, liuhosi hasoru malu, luta no hahú filafali, harii ohin loroloron ho hakaran ba aban-bainrua nia dí’ak no hetan ukun foun.

Filme-ensaiu. Dokumentáriu. Moris. Saúde. Foho.

Timor-Leste: uma reconstrução constante

Timor-Leste foi, desde sempre, na história ocidental uma referência breve.

Vários séculos de ocupação colonial, duas décadas de ocupação violenta e um certo isolamento geográfico deixaram um legado pesado num dos mais jovens países do mundo.

Algumas das descrições internacionais (ocidentais) sobre a ilha de Timor datadas do século XIX que subsistiram ao tempo, são síncronas numa visão amarga e desiludida sobre a realidade encontrada, natural, material ou humana, muito diferente da expectativa europeia e da prática colonial vigente, onde as possessões distantes simbolizavam lugares exóticos, luxuriantes e apelativos, administrados pelos poderes “civilizatórios” de uma élite, aqui portugueses e holandeses, que a partir do século XVI impõem a sua presença e dividem território e riquezas.

Nas descrições do naturalista Alfred Russel Wallace da sua estadia de quatro meses no território colonial português em 1861 é notório o tom de desencanto e crítica, apelidando o território e a capital como “muito miserável, mesmo comparando com a mais pobre das cidades holandesas”, um local pouco saudável, rodeado de lama e insetos onde “as febres nos recém chegados se tornavam frequentemente fatais”. As montanhas eram descritas como locais estéreis, com vegetação pouco luxuriante, e as estradas como “meros trilhos entre ravinas gastas pelos cascos dos cavalos”, com clima mais ameno e agradável, mas onde admiravelmente nenhum dos Portugueses tinha construído nada, desde casas a estradas, em três séculos de permanência (Wallace, 1890, pp. 144-146).

Joseph Conrad, prolífico escritor moderno radicado em Inglaterra com uma obra ácida sobre o colonialismo europeu em África e no Oriente, passará também, décadas depois, pelo território timorense, o que transparece no conto *Victory: an Island Tale*. Díli é descrita como uma “cidade abominável” ou como “local altamente pestilento” (Conrad, 1915, p. 36).

Como tantas vezes encontramos descrito em Conrad, os entrepostos eram locais frequentes nos impérios coloniais, lugares de chegada e transação de mercadorias, sem muitas infraestruturas associadas, localizados em zonas secundárias dos territórios ocupados, locais de embarque, desembarque e transporte das matérias primas exploradas.

No caso da ocupação colonial portuguesa em Timor-Leste, poder-se-á dizer que por mais de três séculos a própria colónia era um entreposto, um local periférico, muito longe da administração central, sem infraestruturas ou construções de relevo, sem investimento visível em troca da exploração dos recursos materiais e humanos, em suma, um local de transação de sândalo, escravos e cera numa primeira fase, a que se junta café, cacau e borracha em período seguinte.

Wallace descreve:

The Portuguese government in Timor is a most miserable one. Nobody seems to care the least about the improvement of the country, and at this time, after three hundred years of occupation, there has not been a mile of road made beyond the town, and there is not a solitary European resident anywhere in the interior. All the Government officials oppress and rob the natives as much as they can, and yet there is no care taken to render the town defensible should the Timorese attempt to attack it. So ignorant are the military officers, that having received a small mortar and some shells, no one could be found who knew how to use them; and during an insurrection of the natives (while I was at Delli) the officer who expected to be sent against the insurgents was instantly taken ill! (Wallace, 1890, p. 151).

Esta ‘fotografia’ permanece atual até à viragem para o século XX, quando a necessidade de manter o território como pertença portuguesa após a definição final das fronteiras e divisão com os holandeses passa a significar um maior empenho².

A implantação da República e a conjuntura política em Portugal faziam antever uma nova relação com as colónias no sentido de uma autonomização administrativa e progressista, mas tal não se veio a verificar.

O discurso oficial voltado para as possessões portuguesas em África e no Oriente só existirá depois do golpe de 1926 e da instauração do Estado Novo, onde um léxico imperial e colonial será utilizado na construção de um ideal de nação que se estendia do *Minho a Timor*.

Nas décadas de 30 e 40 houve ligeiro investimento central, mas com a 2.^a Guerra Mundial e a invasão japonesa da ilha, as infraestruturas existentes foram destruídas e perdidas entre 40 a 60 mil vidas timorenses. Só após este conflito o poder central português “acordará” para a realidade do território, uma vez mais por pressão externa.

Num ciclo de contracorrente com a realidade internacional em que a auto-determinação das colónias começa num crescendo cada vez maior, coadjuvado pelos ideais de libertação, pela paz, contra a repressão e tradição tão característicos da Contracultura, Portugal opta por fazer uma transferência do anterior discurso imperial e colonial para uma narrativa propagandística lusotropical: uma visão unificadora de todo o território nacional, em que as colónias passam a ser chamadas de províncias ultramarinas e em que a relação entre povos deixa de partir da “*função histórica da Nação Portuguesa de possuir e colonizar*”³ para se basear na “*realização da vocação ecuménica do povo luso, a traduzir-se na criação de comunidades pluri-raciais plenamente integradas e estáveis, síntese harmónica de valores culturais de variada origem*” (Castelo, 2015 citando Decreto-Lei de 1961)⁴.

Neste contexto de um ideário lusotropical, no território timorense a propaganda do Estado Novo evidencia a reconstrução realizada após a presença japonesa, da abertura de estradas à edificação de habitações, escolas, missões, instalações sanitárias e a realização de obras públicas para infraestruturas básicas,

2. O tratado de divisão entre as duas partes, oriental e ocidental da ilha de Timor data de 1859, mas as delimitações definitivas e as fronteiras só são estabelecidas em 1904 (Figueiredo, 2004)

3. Acto Colonial, 1930, Art. 2.º: “É da essência orgânica da Nação Portuguesa desempenhar a função histórica de possuir e colonizar domínios ultramarinos e de civilizar as populações indígenas que nêles se compreendam, exercendo também a influência moral que lhe é adstrita pelo Padroado do Oriente.”

4. in C. Castelo, *A Mensagem Luso-Tropical do Colonialismo Português Tardio*, citando o Decreto n.º 43895, de 6.9.1961, publicado no *Diário do Governo*, 1.^a série, n.º 207, de 6.9.1961, p. 1128

todas essencialmente na capital, onde residiam os ocidentais e estavam sediados os serviços, tendo no resto do território esse desenvolvimento sido muito limitado.

Cerca de duas décadas depois, a confluência da revolução de 1974 em Portugal, a turbulência política e geoestratégica na região, as ingerências internacionais e o apagamento português culminam na invasão Indonésia de Timor-Leste em 1975, em que o território volta uma vez mais a ser ocupado e destruído, agora com um grau de violência claro.

Estamos portanto perante um território que durante séculos transitou de ocupação em ocupação, de opressão em opressão, com maior ou menor grau de violência adjacente, mas sempre por ela marcado. Violência que se traduz tanto no imediatismo físico e biológico dos atos como na apropriação dos recursos próprios, na falta de acesso a bens básicos e a direitos essenciais, ao trabalho livre, à escolha em liberdade.

Douglas Kammen refere a este propósito que toda a cronologia histórica de Timor-Leste é construída com base em momentos de violência, desde a ocupação colonial, à neocolonial, ao conflito ou à resistência, existindo sempre uma “*institucionalização da coerção*” e “*uma recorrente violência política em massa*” (Kammen, 2015, pp. 4-168).

É uma nação em que a luta pela independência acompanha desde sempre a sua história e que cuja autodeterminação como país acontece finalmente em 2002, deixando no caminho percorrido um enorme rastro de gerações hipotecadas. Os sucessivos anos de ocupação e conflito foram continuamente destruindo as poucas e precárias infraestruturas do país. Recorrentemente era preciso começar de novo a reconstrução de um território, começando quase sempre do zero.

Se em todas as áreas estruturais o recomeço é penoso, no acesso à saúde torna-se espelho das questões enunciadas anteriormente. Séculos de parco investimento localizado no litoral do país que embora pequeno tem uma dispersão populacional enorme e acessos muito difíceis, fizeram com que o acesso à saúde só nos últimos anos tenha sido uma possibilidade, ainda com muitas condicionantes, mas num esforço coletivo de fazer acontecer.

É uma população habituada pela sua história a ter de ser auto suficiente, ainda muito enraizada a hábitos ancestrais de cura e tratamento (até há pouco tempo a única possibilidade existente), que hoje algumas vezes colidem com as práticas a implementar e que a educação em saúde operada em todo o país tenta fomentar.

Dados disponíveis indicam que durante a ocupação portuguesa, a construção de infraestruturas de saúde acontece tarde, com respostas limitadas e circunscritas à capital.⁵

5. “No que se refere ao sector da saúde e assistência, o apoio de Goa às possessões da Oceania inte-

Em 1917 é implementado pela primeira vez um serviço de saúde (*Serviços de Saúde da Província de Timor*) integrando pessoal militar e local em número reduzido.⁶ Em 1939 o número de técnicos mantinha-se, essencialmente na capital, com algumas infraestruturas no interior, uma maternidade e mais dois hospitais (Figueiredo, 2004, pp. 621-732).

Durante os 24 anos de ocupação indonésia houve algum investimento no setor, com a instalação de postos de saúde pelo território e com a vinda de profissionais de saúde, o que ajudava fomentar a propaganda do desenvolvimento e da integração pacífica de Timor-Leste como 27.^a província indonésia. Após o referendo de 1999 que ditou a vontade do povo timorense à autodeterminação, nova destruição violenta se verifica, que para além de resultar em milhares de mortos e desalojados, fez com que grande parte das infraestruturas públicas fossem destruídas e que consequentemente os funcionários públicos, na sua maioria indonésios, abandonassem o território.⁷

Em 2002 nasce um dos mais jovens países do mundo, após anos de violência, conflito e subjugação a terceiros com quase tudo para reconstruir.

Moris Mai: filme-ensaio e voz

O filme Moris Mai (atualmente em fase de pós produção), filme-ensaio documental e autoral e projeto que alberga em si metodologias de investigação pela prática em contexto artístico da investigação doutoral em curso da autora, acontece como um dos reflexos do trabalho documental, filmico e fotográfico realizado em Timor-Leste entre 2015 e 2020 que acompanhou de modo muito próximo a realidade da prestação de serviços de saúde à população no interior do país.

Moris Mai (nascer em tétum) surge da transposição para filme de uma ideia de encontro entre inícios. O ato de nascer em duas vertentes, o do nascer de um

grava por vezes o envio de uma botica e de um “físico”. Mas, a maior parte do tempo, não havia no arquipélago quem tratasse as pessoas. Só em 1830, foi instalado um hospital rudimentar. [...] Com a organização do distrito autónomo, [...] ja partir de 1906, a criação de um novo hospital na capital, melhoraram a assistência médica, continuando embora a restringir-se, praticamente, a Díli e às proximidades.” (Figueiredo, 2004, p. 752)

6. Contabilizava 5 médicos, 1 farmacêutico, 1 chefe de enfermagem e 41 enfermeiros e auxiliares.

7. “ 70 percent of private homes and public buildings were burned to the ground, and almost all government archives, office equipment, and consumable materials were destroyed or removed. The majority of Indonesian public servants, who filled most senior and technical posts in the Timorese administration, left in the aftermath of the referendum, creating an extreme shortage of qualified personnel. By the end of 1999, the country had 2 power engineers and 23 doctors, and only 20 percent of its secondary school teachers remained (World Bank 1999, 14)” (J. Blum, M. Ferreiro-Rodríguez, V. Srivastava, 2019, pp 355).

povo, fisiológico e literal, e o do nascer de um país, figurado. Se o nascer no sentido biológico continua a ser um desafio em Timor-Leste, o da consolidação do país não apresenta mais facilidades.

Timor-Leste é um dos países mais jovens do mundo num duplo sentido. No seu reconhecimento internacional que acontece apenas em 2002, e na constituição global da população, com 43% dos seus cidadãos menores de 14 anos (SWOP 2019).

A sua condição de país pós-conflito conjuntamente porventura com fatores biológicos/ambientais particulares faz com que a taxa de fertilidade seja uma das mais elevadas do mundo, o que, aliado às condicionantes históricas anteriores e aos fatores culturais e religiosos potencia que cada mulher tenha um elevado número de filhos num processo que continua a apresentar inúmeros riscos.

Embora os últimos anos tenham sido animadores no caminho percorrido, Timor-Leste continua a ter uma das mais altas taxas de mortalidade materno-infantil do sudoeste asiático.⁸

Nascer, continua a ser uma luta travada em diversas frentes, uma batalha que ocorre diariamente e muito especialmente nas zonas rurais, onde um conjunto alargado de intervenientes atua, tentando contrariar os parcos recursos existentes, os acessos francamente difíceis, a dispersão das populações, a falta de nutrição, os hábitos enraizados pelo isolamento e falta de apoio, anos de sobrevivência e luta em privação recorrente.

O filme surge neste contexto num sentido duplo, como instrumento e ferramenta do real e como criação artística. Se por um lado é o médium escolhido para documentar e representar uma realidade, por outro é o motor assumido para uma criação visual cinematográfica e uma reflexão autoral imersiva que quer convocar o espectador a questionar o que vê e aquilo que dá por assumido ou assegurado nas sociedades em que se insere, de algum modo olhando para a parte para suscitar o todo.

É uma criação documental em que a auto-inscrição da autora é assumida, enquanto visão, reflexão e percepção pessoal de determinada realidade que é alicerçada pela convivência continuada e pela partilha de tempo e quotidiano com

8. Em 2017 o rácio de mortalidade materna (n.º de mortes por cada 100.000 partos) era de 142 e rácio de mortalidade abaixo dos 5 anos (n.º de mortes por cada 1000 nascimentos) em 2018 era de 46. A estimativa das Nações Unidas em países desenvolvidos é de que a mortalidade materna se situa nos 12 casos para 100.000 partos e a mortalidade infantil sub 5 anos será de cerca de 9 em 1000. A agenda de Objetivos de Desenvolvimento Sustentável 2030 da ONU pretende atingir mundialmente nesta matéria um máximo mundial de 25 mortes de crianças com menos de 5 anos por cada 1000 nascimentos e um máximo de 70 mortes maternas por cada 100.000 partos.

o sujeito filmado, mas marcadamente longe de uma visão etnográfica. Ao procurar e filmar o Outro pertencente a uma cultura diferente da de origem, ao passar períodos de tempo alargados, observar e compartilhar rotinas e quotidianos, lidando com questões éticas e de representação, nomeadamente a do poder de representação, que aqui assume um papel particularmente relevante, o objetivo não é o de identificar e mostrar a realidade vivida pelo sujeito filmado numa perspectiva etnográfica, de recolha de peças que possam constituir o “mosaico” de determinada realidade ou cultura, e sim o de olhar essa mesma realidade e escolher o que se quer mostrar, sendo a forma, a metodologia e a reciprocidade com o sujeito filmado variáveis, na justa medida de cada autor.

A realizadora Thrin Minh-Ha, de forma certeira no seu filme *Reassemblage*⁹ reflete exatamente sobre a sua posição enquanto autora que olha o Outro, e que reflete acerca da sua representação em filme. Aquele sobre quem não pretende falar acerca mas sim de perto: “*I do not intend to speak about. Just speak nearby.*” (Minh-Ha, 1992, p. 98).

Trata-se então aqui de uma visão pessoal, imersiva e reflexiva no universo e temática que se escolheu ver e dar a ver, de forma mediada. O filme representa uma realidade “filtrada” pela autora, e que representa um ponto de vista, objetivo no que se refere à utilização de enquadramentos e escolhas visuais, e subjetivo naquilo que se escolhe destacar ou evidenciar, tanto nas imagens como no texto ou som. Para Bill Nichols, teórico fulcral dos estudos filmicos documentais, a voz no documentário é uma das suas características definidoras enquanto género e que representa a força e a forma como o ponto de vista autoral de quem faz o filme é transmitido ao espectador (podendo assumir diferentes metodologias ou modos): “*The voice of documentary, then, is the means by which this particular point of view or perspective becomes known to us.*” (Nichols, 2001, p. 43).

A voz, em Moris Mai, assumir-se-á de forma concreta na reflexão da autora a partir da sua vivência e partilha dos territórios e quotidianos entre 2015 e 2020. O processo de aproximação à realidade dos cuidados de saúde no interior montanhoso de Timor-Leste iniciou-se no acompanhamento, registo e documentação de uma das maiores campanhas de vacinação global da população infantil contra o sarampo, poliomielite e rubéola (esta última administrada pela primeira vez) entre Julho e Agosto de 2015, e que foi uma das primeiras campanhas realizadas até então, conseguindo vacinar grande parte da população (93%). Este processo, diário e continuado, feito em conjunto com o fotógrafo e realizador Pedro Sousa

9. Filme lançado em 1982 e um dos primeiros da obra da cineasta e teorizadora de origem vietnamita cujo trabalho filmico e teórico questiona as questões de pertença e apropriação cultural, género e pós-colonialismo

Raposo e maioritariamente nos distritos circundantes ao monte Ramelau de Ainaro e Manufahi, mas também nas zonas montanhosas de Manatuto, permitiu compreender experienciando e permanecendo por um período alargado de tempo, a realidade complexa da região, a grande dispersão das comunidades, aldeias e vilas, os acessos muito difíceis, a falta de comunicações em muitos locais.

Se nos últimos anos um esforço grande tem sido feito na formação de profissionais de saúde em larga escala, primeiro com protocolos de cooperação e formação de profissionais de outros países (de que Cuba é o maior expoente), e depois com o próprio país a formar médicos, enfermeiros e parteiras em grande número, o mesmo não se aplica ao edificado, aos equipamentos e ao material médico. A realidade é que os centros de saúde, muitos deles fracamente equipados e com pouco material, estão demasiadas vezes muito distantes das populações, que para lhes aceder demora muitas horas, tantas vezes a pé ou com auxílio de animais de carga, que, em muitos locais, são os únicos meios capazes de aceder a caminhos estreitos, sinuosos, com pedras soltas, lamas e em ravinas escarpadas.

A solução encontrada, tanto pelos serviços estatais como pelas variadas organizações locais (organizações religiosas, empresas, ONG's) que prestam cuidados de saúde é levar equipas de profissionais de saúde ao encontro das populações dispersas pelo território. Não é raro, tal como pudemos vivenciar, o transporte todo o terreno ter de deixar os elementos ainda muito longe do destino, por impossibilidade de prosseguir. Daí seguir-seão várias horas a pé e carregando o material médico, ora por vegetação cerrada, ora atravessando cursos de água, num caminho onde se cruzam apenas homens e animais, com descidas acentuadas que terão necessariamente de ser subidas no regresso em poucas horas. Muitas vezes estas deslocações fazem-se durante a noite iluminadas com lanternas e telemóveis, para tentar evitar o calor intenso do dia. Esta é a realidade partilhada por muitos timorenses habitantes do interior rural montanhoso do país, tanto por aqueles que precisam dos cuidados de saúde como pelos profissionais (médicos, enfermeiros, educadores) na sua maioria muito jovens e que desempenham a tarefa com grande entusiasmo, num anseio evidente de ajudar a reconstruir o país.

Nascer não é portanto menos complexo. As instalações com valência de maternidade situam-se nos centros de saúde ou hospitais de referência (em toda a região existe o de Maubisse), a que as mães com gravidezes menos imprevistas conseguem chegar, pelos seus meios ou trazidas por familiares. Nas situações de emergência muitas vezes esse tempo e disponibilidade de meios não existe e não raras vezes parteiras fazem o caminho inverso através das montanhas ao encontro das mães, trazendo consigo pequenas malas com escasso material médico, muitas vezes levadas de mota por familiares das mulheres em busca de ajuda, outras vezes através das organizações no terreno que prestam cuidados de saúde

e que levam ajuda com transporte (pickup) e pessoal de saúde de forma a tentar estabilizar a mãe e se possível trazê-la até um centro de saúde próximo.

A juntar a estas dificuldades soma-se ainda a questão da tradição que se encontra muito presente nas questões relacionadas com a maternidade e a saúde reprodutiva, resultado de rituais seculares mas também de todo o tempo de abandono e receio por parte da população acerca dos poderes centrais, primeiro com o governo colonial português sem resposta eficaz às populações do interior, depois o opressor indonésio que causava receio e desconfiança¹⁰ sobretudo nas montanhas onde a fome e a violência estavam ainda mais presentes.

Bastante foi já percorrido nos últimos anos com muitas campanhas de sensibilização e de partilha de informação sobre saúde e maternidade nas comunidades, mas ainda assim, muitas mulheres continuam a querer ter partos em casa, inclusivamente o primeiro, seguindo os rituais tradicionais e com a ajuda das mães ou de parteiras tradicionais, mulheres idosas sem conhecimento capaz de dar resposta a muitas situações e complicações. O pós-parto tradicional apresenta também riscos acrescidos para mãe e criança que permanecem muitos dias ininterruptamente em ambiente fechado e aquecido com fogo constante no interior da habitação, onde o fumo incessante potencia problemas respiratórios a ambos.

Para a realização de Moris Mai, houve o seguimento continuado da realidade materno-infantil nesta zona de montanha, tanto em contexto hospitalar/ centro de saúde como no acompanhamento às populações isoladas e dispersas, umas vezes em situação de regular consulta, outras em contexto de urgência. Acompanhámos os profissionais afetos ao Ministério da Saúde mas também outras equipas de saúde pertencentes a organizações locais, nomeadamente a equipa da Clínica Café que presta cuidados de saúde às populações em zonas produtoras de café e que tem especial incidência na saúde materno-infantil. Em articulação com o poder central, estas equipas constituem-se muito frequentemente como a linha da frente na prestação de saúde nestes territórios.

Com eles partilhámos habitação, rotinas, quotidianos, dificuldades e incertezas, num espaço de tempo alargado que apenas foi encurtado no final do processo devido à crise pandémica mundial.

10. O receio de uma esterilização forçada da população feminina que acorresse aos serviços de saúde geridos pelas autoridades indonésias é referido muitas vezes nos relatos das testemunhas nos anos de opressão, embora não existam provas definitivas como salienta o relatório Chega CAVR (2005): “A suspeita gerada pela abordagem autoritária no tratamento de doentes reflectiram-se na convicção generalizada da veracidade das alegações de que os indonésios estariam secretamente envolvidos numa campanha de esterilização forçada, com o intuito de genocídio. A Comissão não encontrou provas para sustentar estas alegações, mas elas ilustram o tipo de suspeita encorajada por uma abordagem autoritária na prestação de cuidados médicos, na qual o pessoal médico não sentia qualquer obrigação de informar os pacientes sobre a forma de tratamento adoptado” (p. 168).

A experiência adquirida ao longo dos últimos anos ao filmar noutras geografias mundiais e em culturas muito distantes da de origem, nomeadamente no continente asiático e em países e regiões com dificuldades logísticas e até de segurança consideráveis, apresentou-se como um coadjuvante à forma de aproximação à realidade de Timor-Leste, tanto na abordagem aos locais como às populações.

A prática continuada de um tipo de abordagem que de algum modo se transformou em linguagem ao longo do tempo, recorre a uma presença em que o tempo é fator decisivo, numa permanência de partilha, pouco invasiva, recorrendo à observação, com o menor aparato técnico e humano possível, sem mediadores (linguísticos ou culturais) e recorrendo muitas vezes à necessidade de encontrar transporte próprio de forma a poder contornar rotas previamente estabelecidas ou duração de permanência. O acesso às situações e às pessoas é feito assim num encontro, em que as sensibilidades pessoais dos dois lados são colocadas em campo e em que o inesperado acontece muitas vezes, colocando a pesquisa em tempo real como presente ao longo de todo o processo.

A experiência aqui, como em outras geografias, é de que as situações e as oportunidades de encontro com o que se deseja conhecer e filmar acontecem muitas vezes de forma imprevista, sendo necessário ter capacidade de resposta imediata, logística, física e muitas vezes anímica.

Frequentemente, como é o caso de Timor-Leste, torna-se impossível uma preparação ou uma antecipação planeada sem estar diretamente no terreno a trabalhar diretamente com os intervenientes, sejam quem se deseja filmar, sejam as próprias organizações envolvidas, no esforço de criação e operacionalização de redes. Todo o planeamento antecipado possível foi feito em Portugal, mas como era já conhecido, só após a(s) chegada(s) a Díli foi possível, após encontros e reuniões tanto formais como informais concretizar de modo definitivo autorizações, parcerias, logística, apoios, etc. Estiveram envolvidas neste processo, entre outros, o Ministério da Saúde, a CCT¹¹, a Clínica S. Joaquim de Maubisse e a HAI¹².

Num país onde a logística apresenta já normalmente algumas dificuldades, neste interior montanhoso elas são acrescidas, desde logo o acesso aos locais, as condições climatéricas, o fornecimento de eletricidade, ou a falta de comunicação e informação partilhada, tendo os dois membros da equipa no terreno de se multiplicar em inúmeras tarefas extra para além das normalmente a si atribuídas como a captação de imagem e/ou som (condução todo o terreno e navegação, anotação e pesquisa em tempo real, interpretação linguística, etc.). Essa mesma redução de elementos de equipa foi no entanto fator primordial para permitir o

11. Cooperativa Café Timor – Clínica Café.

12. Health Alliance International.

acesso a determinadas situações e contextos, lidando ao longo de todo o percurso com balizas éticas e reflexões constantes sobre a representação e o poder de representação.

Num país onde a tradição patriarcal continua muito enraizada e onde a violência sobre as mulheres, sobretudo a violência doméstica continua a ser um problema por resolver, este filme olha sobretudo para elas, dando voz aos seus corpos geradores de vida, à sua força, às dificuldades que enfrentam, mas também à luta daqueles que tudo fazem para as combater, numa mediação entre a realidade e o olhar da autora.

Moris Mai apresenta-se assim como criação cinematográfica autoral e imersiva que utiliza a exploração visual e experimental dos elementos filmicos recolhidos aliada à reflexão pessoal da autora que convoca o espectador para o submergir no universo explorado.

Usará a sua voz, na aceção de Nichols, para criar, documentar e suscitar a reflexão sobre algo tão essencial e basilar como o direito a nascer em segurança e em paz, algo que continua a não ser a realidade de tantos de nós.

Em muitos locais esta continua a ser uma batalha diária e constante, para a qual o mundo ocidental tantas vezes evita olhar de modo real e comprometido, assumindo as condições históricas, culturais e sociais das desigualdades que tantas vezes estão “coladas” às realidades como algo inevitável.

Numa altura de tantas incertezas mundiais e em que tudo é tão volátil, mutável e onde as fragilidades se tornam cada vez mais claras e evidentes, torna-se importante não perder o pé do que fomos e do que continuamos a ser, agora com outros moldes e terminologias associados, mas com as mesmas relações de força e de poder económico que sempre moldaram as dinâmicas globais e que continuam a condicionar as relações entre os povos. Estas dinâmicas, hoje, tal como ontem, continuam a ser determinantes no crescimento de uns em detrimento de outros, na rapidez desenfreada com que algumas sociedades se assumem como baluartes de direitos, garantias e possibilidades enquanto que outras caminham num esforço continuado e desigual.

Timor-Leste, fruto de uma história de conquistas e recomeços é um país com uma grande vontade e necessidade de futuro que é seu, por direito e por conquista, fruto de um passado de luta e de opressão, que se constrói hoje todos os dias como presente, e onde as novas gerações se esforçam por cuidar, nutrir, amparar e criar o que lhes pertence, os seus filhos e o seu país.



Figura 1.

Foto: Luísa Neves Soares.



Figura 2.

Foto: Luísa Neves Soares.



Figura 3.

Foto: Luísa Neves Soares.



Figura 4.

Foto: Luísa Neves Soares.

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10. Women's Contribution to Timor-Leste's Art and Culture

Maria Imaculada Madeira

Women's Contribution to Timor-Leste's Art and Culture

Over the last few decades, a visual arts movement has emerged in Timor-Leste, which encourages contemporary artistic expression to exist alongside traditional craft based practices.

The principal concern of this paper is to examine and reflect upon the changes and development of Timor-Leste's arts and cultural discourse from its pre-colonial origins to the present day. This analysis contributes to, and provides a broader perspective and understanding of, the relationship between the traditional arts and crafts and the current practices of East Timorese contemporary visual artists. Close consideration will be given to the influence and contribution of East Timorese women, particularly in the areas of textiles, basketry, ceramics and the performance arts industries. Significantly, this paper illustrates the longevity of traditional creative industries, and their reimagining in Timor-Leste's contemporary visual arts.

The presentation is conducted from the researcher's active position in these developments as an East Timorese female visual artist. As a consequence, it provides a new perspective on the existing discourse, which to a certain extent has sidelined the artistic practices of female contemporary visual artists from the country's arts and cultural discourse.

Contemporary visual arts. Women artistic practices. Traditional arts and crafts. Discourse on Arts and Culture. Timor-Leste.

A contribuição das mulheres para as Artes e culturas de Timor-Leste

Nas últimas décadas, surgiu em Timor-Leste um movimento de artes visuais, que encoraja a expressão artística contemporânea a par das práticas artesanais tradicionais.

A principal preocupação deste documento é examinar e reflectir sobre as mudanças e o desenvolvimento do discurso artístico e cultural de Timor-Leste desde as suas origens pré-coloniais até aos dias de hoje. Esta análise contribui para, e fornece uma perspectiva e compreensão mais amplas da relação entre as artes e ofícios tradicionais e as práticas actuais dos artistas visuais contemporâneos timorenses. Será dada especial atenção à influência

e contribuição das mulheres timorenses, particularmente nas áreas dos têxteis, cestaria, cerâmica e indústrias das artes performativas. Significativamente, este documento ilustra a longevidade das indústrias criativas tradicionais, e a sua reconfiguração nas artes visuais contemporâneas de Timor-Leste.

A apresentação é realizada a partir da posição activa da investigadora nestes desenvolvimentos, como artista visual feminina timorense. Como consequência, apresenta-se uma nova perspectiva sobre o discurso existente, que, em certa medida, tem subalternizado as práticas artísticas das artistas visuais contemporâneas face ao discurso artístico e cultural do país.

Artes visuais contemporâneas. Práticas artísticas das Mulheres. Artes e ofícios tradicionais. Discursos sobre Artes e Cultura. Timor-Leste.

Feto sira-nia kontribuisaun iha Arte no Kultura Timor-Leste nian

Iha dékada balu ikus-ne'e, mosu iha Timor-Leste movimentu ida kona-ba arte vizuál ne'ebé fó biban atu ema bele hatudu ninia tatoli artística kontemporánea sorin-sorin ho artezanál tradisionál.

Dokumentu ne'e nia hanoin kle'an mak atu lehat no haleno hikas fali ba buat hirak-ne'ebé hafila tiha no haburas diskursu artístico no kulturál iha Timor-Leste hosi tempu molok koloniál to'o ohin loron.

Lehat ida-ne'e hatutan-hato'o lisuk hodi loke oin no hatene luan liu kona-ba saida mak iha arte no ofísiu tradisionál ho arte vizuál kontemporánea timór nian. Atensaun espesiál sei fó ba influénsia hosi feto timoroan sira-ne'ebé badinas ho suku hena-tais, raga hosi au-laku, kohe, halo sana ho rai-mean no arte dramática ho bidu no hananu. Artigu ne'e hatudu vida naruk hosi indústria kriativa tradisionál, no oinsá sira halo arte vizuál sai kmanek liután iha Timor-Leste ohin loron.

Apresentasaun ne'e hala'o tiha hosi pozisaun investigadora nian kona-ba lala'ok hirak hotu ne'e, nu'udar artista vizuál feto timoroan. Tan ne'e maka hatada-an ho haree ida kona-ba diskursu ne'ebé iha, katak, tuir sasukat, dala balu hatún tiha artista vizuál sira iha diskursu artístico no kulturál iha Timor-Leste.

Arte vizuál kontemporánea. Prática artística feto sira nian. Arte no ofísiu tradisionál. Diskursu artístico no kulturál. Timor-Leste.

Ancestral Voices Present Day Sounds: Traditions Imagined in Contemporary Art

The Role of Women in Timor-Leste's existing Artistic Discourse

If the modern history of Timor-Leste is painful, forged in the spirit of resistance, its ancient history is essentially unknown. In an absence of a written tradition, oral traditions remain, transformed through time, being enriched and lost simultaneously. Beyond the traditions, but closely linked through them, is the lifestyle of women, men and children who have lived from the land and seas of Timor

for centuries, leaving the material marks of their culture; imposing buildings and sculptures in wood, beautiful woven textiles, precious metalwork, ceramics, basketry and many other things (Gusmão quoted in Barrkman 2008, 11)¹.

When I read this quote, I cannot help but wonder about what the “lifestyle of women, men and children” who left marks in their culture must have been like. I wonder mainly about the fingerprints of Timor-Leste’s foremothers, still highly visible in Timor-Leste’s existing creative and artistic practices. Namely, in the “beautiful woven textiles, precious metalwork, ceramics, basketry and many other things” articulated above by Xanana². Significantly, I would hope that when Xanana wrote the words: “many other things” he was thinking of including and contemplating the artistic practices of contemporary women visual artists of Timor-Leste.

Just like Xanana, I understand that the development of Timor-Leste’s arts and culture stems from an ancestral society, where oral traditions and animist beliefs remain strong. Over the last few decades these distinctive cultural traditions converged with concepts and values of contemporary society. It is within these changes and mergers that “many other things” such as new groups of emerging and established visual artists, including women, first appeared. An outcome of this is that, apart from the specific examples of the arts and crafts cited by Xanana, a more current visual art practice has flourished and gained momentum since the country’s independence.

Since Timor-Leste’s independence, there has been an increase in artistic practice, as well as the emergence of various visual art groups, such as Sanggar Matan, Sanggar Masin, Gembel, Afalyca, Arte Moris, and several examples of independent artists like Manuel Justino ‘Bosco’ Alves do Rêgo. For the most part, the works generated by these visual artists not only illustrate a flair for the contemporary, but also evidence deep connection with Timor-Leste’s folklore, myths and traditions. More specifically, they are heavily influenced and rely profoundly on the artistic and creative contributions strongly associated with women. This is particularly evident in the textiles *tais* industry. Pride claims: “Weaving has thus brought East Timor, and East Timorese women into the global world of the arts” (2002, 61). I suggest that Pride is right to a certain degree. According to my observations, *tais* has become a “marketable commodity” (Niner 2009, 13) and regularly features in other creative areas such as visual arts. Many existing visual artists have often included the *tais*, or used it as a reference in their artistic practice. There are

1. This quote by the Prime Minister, His Excellency Mr. Kay Rala Xanana Gusmão.

2. His Excellency Mr. Kay Rala Xanana Gusmão was Timor-Leste’s resistance leader who became the country’s First President holding office from 2002 to 2007. He also became Timor-Leste’s 5th Prime Minister from 2007 to 2015, and is widely known and often referred to as “Xanana”.

numerous artists like Gibrael Garocho, Cesario S. Lourdes, Ozorio Geronimo and Zito da Silva (see figs. 1-2), and Mrs. Verónica Maia whose works are highly influenced by concepts and designs from this well-known traditional cloth. The use of *tais* in this manner is female empowerment that surpasses traditional roles.

Figures 1 and 2 indicate various interpretations of the way Timor-Leste's art visualises the country's cultural identity. These paintings demonstrate that the artists not only sourced their ideas from Timor-Leste's cultural traditions, but have used those sources as inspiration to illustrate and convey Timor-Leste's ancestral roots. Often, we can see images depicting basketry making, ceramic ware, performance art (traditional dance), and textiles through the *tais* worn by the dancers. The responsibilities and roles that East Timorese women play in the country are also highlighted. Figure 1 portrays an older woman playing the *Lakadou* (T), a traditional East Timorese instrument made of bamboo, figure 2 depicts another elderly lady preparing the betel nut.

The innovation, reinvention and revitalisation of Timor-Leste's arts and cultural identity through the use of traditional arts and crafts can be seen as a positive development. Apart from producing artistic expression showcasing glimpses of East Timorese traditional culture, handicrafts and performance, artists have recently "started to experiment by painting on traditional woven cloth, instead of canvas" (Barrkman 2008, 28). For example, many East Timorese artists started to use the *tais* merely as blank canvases, to create new artwork, as evidenced in the works of Lourdes, Geronimo and Xisto.

Professor Caroline Turner, in describing the aspiration of the artists in The Second Asia Pacific Triennial of Contemporary Art in Brisbane in 1996 to revitalise and renew traditions suggests that:

The survival of cultural identities thought lost emphasises the resilience of traditions, memory and history. The consistent desire to revitalise and reinvest traditions and to celebrate those traditions anew (as in the Pacific art in this exhibition) is a consistent feature of artistic endeavour. (Turner 1996, 12)

Even though the above statement is related to an exhibition in Brisbane, I think that this desire to revitalise and reinvest traditions corresponds with the endeavours of most artists of Timor-Leste; specifically, within the works produced by female artists in the Diaspora. This approach has created a new and distinctive East Timorese artistic practice, where innovative and fresh artistic expressions have given rise to successful amalgamations. These bridge the past with the present and create a current artistic practice that accommodates a dialogue between the old and the new, or the traditional and the contemporary. Importantly,



Figure 1. Lakadou II 2006. By Cesario S. Lourdes.
Courtesy of Secretariat of Art and Culture of Timor-Leste.
Photography by David Palazón.



Figura 2. My last present to you 2008. By Ozorio Geronimo.
Courtesy of Secretariat of Art and Culture of Timor-Leste. Photography by David Palazón.

such an approach was and is also favoured by Timor-Leste's female artists, who employ these unique traditions and ideals to convey messages and ideas.

Albertina Viegas, for example, has effectively demonstrated this mixture of traditional practice with a contemporary perspective. In portraying her personal experiences and deep concern for the voiceless, she creates and exhibits artwork that blends aspects of Timor-Leste's traditional culture with contemporary artistic practice. In September 1997, a collaboration between Viegas and Dona Verónica resulted in the exhibition *Tuba Rai Metin* (T) (Firmly Gripping the Earth), which was shown at the Canberra School of Art. In this exhibition, Viegas presented a sculptural (installation) work entitled *Katupa Soldados*, to disclose the atrocities committed against the East Timorese at the hands of Indonesian military regime. Viegas uses the *katupa*³(T), to symbolise the hand grenade and

3. *Katupa* (T) is an East Timorese rice dish of woven palm leaves filled with glutinous coconut rice, and served in various special occasions ranging from weddings to traditional sacred ceremonies such as funerals.

munitions as killing implements used by the military against the population. Crockford notes:

Viegas' lead sculptures: twenty-two *katupa soldados*, marking the number of years since Indonesia's invasion of East Timor ... The sculptures symbolized munitions, inspired by the hand grenade, but they also evoked the shape and texture of the popular Timorese dish *katupa* in which glutinous, coconut rice is wrapped in young palm leaves. Mounted on tripods, the *katupa soldados* initially appeared forbidding and sinister. (Crockford 2007, xxiv)

The artist's idea of altering the *katupa* (T) and using it as a metaphor by transforming it into a 'grenade' has placed or shifted this extremely important traditional item into a contemporary context, principally into political commentary in this case. As stated by the journalist Anna Johnson:

Blending Timorese handicrafts and contemporary installation, Viegas has created her own lexicon that blends the personal and the political. The traditional rice-stuffed palm leaf cakes (called 'katupa') form the basis of her work ... Life-sized, woven from strips of lead and stuffed at the seams with boiled rice, the *katupa* sculptures stand in a re-created compound of an East Timorese sacred house. It is an arrangement that immediately summons images of armed guards, hand grenades and decomposing bodies ... (Johnson, 1997, 43).

Crockford's and Johnson's descriptions highlight how Viegas' work reveals the unification between East Timorese traditional handicrafts and contemporary artistic expression. *Katupa* is a traditional food extensively consumed in Timor-Leste, especially during ceremonial events (fig. 3). Indeed, this rice-stuffed cake, cooked inside a woven palm leaf container, has been widely produced and featured in the basketry industry of Timor-Leste for centuries.

Placing cultural traditions into a contemporary narrative in this piece is very effective because it evokes interest from the East Timorese who are more familiar with *katupa* and from Western audiences who are more familiar with contemporary artistic practice like installation work, and art that encourages cross-cultural interaction.

Similar to Viegas, Carrascalão Cid has for many years produced contemporary artwork that has incorporated or are reinforced by features of Timor-Leste's traditional cultural practices. To my knowledge, Carrascalão Cid was the only known practicing female visual artist of Timor-Leste during the last decade of Portuguese colonisation. This is a significant achievement that is hard to ignore and should be acknowledged. Even though most of her artwork depicts a general overview

of Timor-Leste's cultural identity, the works that stand out in my view are those related to the concept of femininity and the prominence of women in Timor-Leste. This is evident in her latest exhibition entitled *Mana Timor* (T and P), in which Carrascalão Cid highlights and honours the prominence of women in Timor-Leste's society. The word *Mana* means Big Sister or Older Sister. Thus, the title alone is a testament to how Carrascalão Cid extends her highest regards to East Timorese women.



Figura 3. Katupa – The traditional rice-stuffed palm leaf cakes.

Photography by David Palazón.

With intense bright colours and movement, many of her canvases contain female figures as the focal point against a backdrop of traditional scenes or ceremonial events. I recall coming across a painting that showed various female figures embracing to form the roof of an *Uma Lulik*⁴. In addition, most figures are illustrated wearing a traditional Timorese costume, that is *tais*, and most show evidence of traditional dance performances such as the *tebedai*. From Carrascalão Cid's perspective, this representation accentuates the status of power and significance that women possess in Timor-Leste's culture. In an interview I conducted in August 2011 with Carrascalão Cid, she asserted that as far as she is concerned, it is mainly women who keep our culture intact; it is women who are mostly pro-

4. *Uma* = building, house, descent group; *lulik* = sacred, set apart, prohibited. Another term by which the building is denoted is *uma lisan* (*lisan* = ceremony, usage, custom) (Hicks 2008, 179).

tective of the country's customary ways, especially within the domain of the family, the household and so forth. This sentiment remains strong. This outlook and position resonates with my beliefs about the pivotal role women play in Timor-Leste's society.

Dona Verónica Pereira Maia, on the other hand, displays her critical artistic practice through the more traditional method of *tais* making. Just like Carrascalão Cid, her journey into the area of arts and culture began during Portuguese colonisation and she continues to be exceptionally vocal and strongly active through her *tais* weaving.

Exhibited in the recent *Elastic / Borracha / Elástico Mobile Residency* exhibition was the powerful work by Dona Verónica entitled *Tais Don* (1994-1999). It contained 271 names of every victim from the 1992 Santa Cruz Massacre⁵ in Dili, when the Indonesian military opened fire, killing more than 270 mourners. The piece was uniquely made of hand-dyed *tais*, woven on back-strap loom in five parts. As such, it is a rare and matchless object. In all my research and analysis, I have never come across a *tais*, or any textile work, comprised of five parts. These traditional Timorese cloths are usually made either as one piece: the *tais man'* and *tais feto* (male and female *tais*), or in two pieces: where both of the *tais* are matched and accompanied with a *salendang*⁶. The display of the five-piece *tais* is therefore significant in conveying Dona Verónica's innovative and groundbreaking stance in terms of steering away from the long-standing practice of *tais*-making culture.

The work is challenging as Dona Verónica is fundamentally operating with abstract imagery: written text or letters. Here, the common depiction and representation of abstract symbols of traditional imagery such as geckos, linear patterns, and designs are challenged and unconventionally replaced by crosses and letters. Dona Verónica's approach to "inscription" (Crockford 2007, xxiv) became, therefore, the main ingredient of the imagery shown. In the *Elastic Borracha Elástico: Timor-Leste/Australia Mobile Contemporary Artists' Residency* catalogue, curator Jo Holder noted:

The names of each of the 271 who died appear in white letters on black ground divided by blood-red stripes: black for lasting life, red for sacrifice and courage. The white cross of peace beside each name identifies sacred ground. (The identified dead number 271, the wounded 278, the hospitalised 103 and the disappeared 270.) The conception of the artwork is remarkable as an abstract weav-

5. The Santa Cruz Massacre is also known as the 12th of November Massacre.

6. Salendang is a scarf made with East Timorese traditional cloth called *tais*.

ing in an unfamiliar practice and a virtuoso technical feat (each horizontal panel measures 3 x 0.64 metres). (Holder 2017, 23)

Significantly, in the words of Crockford, Dona Verónica “has never learned to write” (2007, xxiv). This was emphasised through a casual conversation we shared whilst observing her work. She declared that she did not know how to read or write, but was aware that the imagery in her work represented the names of the victims. In her words: “*Tanba hau la hatene lee, hau kopia deit jovens hirak ne'e nia naran. Hau tuir loloops deit buat hirak ne'ebé sira hakerek mai hau atu kopia*” (T) (Because I do not know how to read, I just copied the names of these young people. I just followed precisely what they wrote for me to copy).

Given the challenge of accepting and producing this work, which forced her to venture into unknown territory, Dona Verónica evidently has the ability to be adventurous, and innovative in producing artwork with a contemporary outlook. To consider beyond the demands of written text are also the sheer size of the work and the process of displaying it in a contemporary manner as an installation.

In regard to my artistic practice, my inspiration is derived from my cultural roots. As an “artist of traditions” (Clifford 1988, 251), this has encouraged me to become a supporter of contemporary arts practice that is at times mixed with Timor-Leste’s cultural traditions. In the photo book *Timor Runguranga: A Photographic Journey Through Timor-Leste* (2016) by David Palazón, I describe this viewpoint:

Over the years my creative insight has developed towards the strong belief in the notion of the ‘contemporary’, and ‘modern-day’ practice. Not disregarding or undermining the significance and importance of the ‘traditional’ and long established ways of my foremothers. Rather, I cherish the idea of ‘marriage’ or ‘amalgamation’ of the past / present, the old / new as well as the traditional / contemporary. (Madeira, quoted in Palazón 2016, 184)

I have used *tais* in my work, but only 100% recycled *tais*, because I consider any *tais* to be an individual artwork, just like a piece of ceramic or basketry. I see using *Tais* not only recycling but as revitalising the textiles industry by creating new works in visual arts practice. I further see it as evidence of successful mergers between traditional and contemporary art. Here, my main objective is to innovate, revitalise, reinvent and communicate this fundamental aspect of Timor-Leste’s cultural identity. Consequently, this traditional cloth has also turned out to be an extremely important item in my artistic and creative endeavours, becoming the focal point in many of my artwork for over 20 years. One example is the sculpture entitled *What Price Silence?* (Fig. 4), which was created and exhibited in 1996. This sculpture portrayed my horror-struck reaction to the following report by Amnesty International to the United Nations in July 1993:

On December 27 1992 young East Timorese Fernando Boavida was taken by the Indonesian military. During his interrogation he was made to lie on a plank of sharp nails, while another plank was laid on top of him. A heavy tyre was placed on top of the second plank. When Fernando failed to give his torturers ‘satisfactory answers’, another tyre was added. Fernando lost consciousness and died, three days after his arrest. (Amnesty International to United Nations, 13/7/93)



Figure 4. What Price Silence? 1996. Sculpture by Maria Madeira.

Photography by Maria Madeira.

Unlike the paintings illustrated in figures 1 and 2, where the artists used the *tais* as a canvas, in this piece I use the *tais* as the main device to symbolise and personify the human body/flesh, the spirit, and the fabric of Timor-Leste’s society. Resembling Boavida’s fate, here the *tais* has been flogged, lashed, and torn apart, represented by the action of physically harming the cloth by pushing and stretching it through the sharp nails, to the point of finally destroying it. The *tais* in this case is used as a metaphor to represent not only the death of Fernando Boavida, but also the death of the spirit and the fabric of Timor-Leste’s identity.

Apart from the use of *tais*, there are other materials used in artwork such as the betel nut and other traditional ornaments /symbols. The betel nut, for example, was first introduced to my artistic practice in February 2003⁷. The practice

7. In 2009 I carried out a project called *Halo Pintura Ho Bua Malus* (T) (Painting with Betel Nut), which resulted in a short documentary filmed by Victor De Sousa. The film documents the con-

of chewing betel nut is deeply embedded in Timor-Leste's way of life. It is widely used on a daily basis in formal (sacred ceremonies) and non-formal occasions. As a tribute to my ancestors and my journey of self-discovery, I have produced artwork using this item in paintings like: *Mama Hamutuk (Chewing Betel Nut Together)*, *Renascent* and *Foremothers Fingerprints* (figs. 5-7).

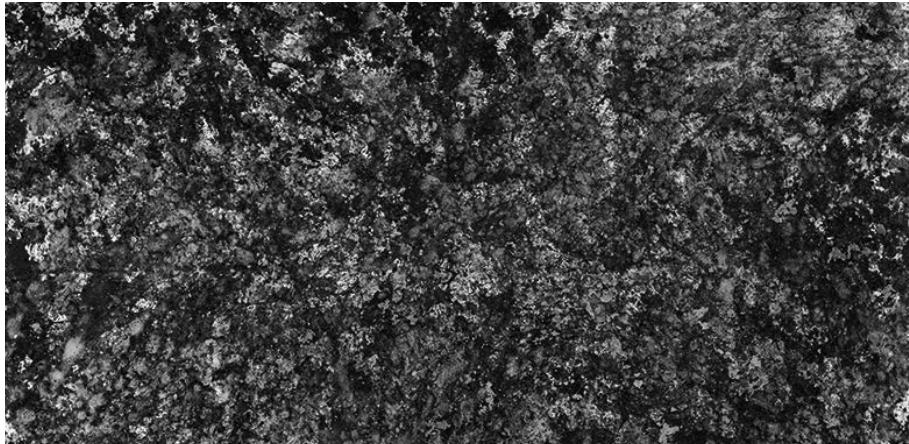


Figure 5. *Mama Hamutuk (Chewing Betel Nut Together)*, 2003. By Maria Madeira.

Photography by Maria Madeira.

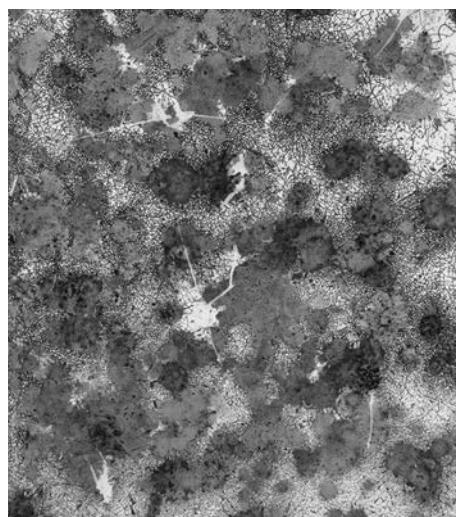


Figure 6. *Moris Tan (Renascent)*, 2007. By Maria Madeira.

Photography by David Palazón.

cept and introduction of betel nut into the visual arts, especially the artistic practices of the students from Arte Moris.



Figure 7. Bei'ala feto sira nia liman fatin (Foremothers Fingerprints – Detail), 2014. By Maria Madeira.

Photography by David Palazón.

This approach has generated several discussions regarding betel nut chewing practices and created much attention. The interest generated has trickled down to influence other creative minds and artistic expressions. Some East Timorese artists like Tony Amaral and Victor De Sousa have applied betel nut in their work. Other international artists have also followed similar trends. David Palazón, for example, effectively used betel nut in the *Chega!* exhibition in 2009.

In conclusion, I think that the expansion and progress of Timor-Leste's present-day artistic and cultural practices stem from ancestral times. In order to grow, these practices have reached out and learned from the past. Whatever is produced and expressed today is greatly influenced by the different aspects, customs and behaviours drawn directly from Timor-Leste's ancestry, one stained with the fingerprints of the country's foremothers. Hence, Timor-Leste's current artistic language finds its voice from both ancestral trends and the contemporary aspects of living. Significantly, this growth and development has been strongly influenced and impacted by the contribution of East Timorese women to the arts and crafts of Timor-Leste, specifically in the ceramic, basketry, textile and performance art industries. This bond and relationship between ancestral beliefs and current development and progress is found particularly in contemporary visual arts practice. Within it one can find evidence of Timor-Leste's past enmeshed with current innovative visual artistic language.

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11. Victimhood and Martyrdom in Timor-Leste¹

Amy Rothschild²

Victimhood and Martyrdom in Timor-Leste

This paper examines the politics of memory surrounding the estimated 100,000 to 200,000 East Timorese who died during the Indonesian occupation and preceding civil war. I argue that there are two main frameworks through which the deceased have been remembered in post-independence Timor-Leste. First, the deceased have been incorporated into the new Timorese nation-state as heroes and martyrs; second, the deceased have been remembered by international human rights and transitional justice institutions based in Timor-Leste, such as Timor-Leste's truth commission, the CAVR, as victims. This paper compares and contrasts these two main frameworks. It analyses, among other things, how the two frameworks work to highlight and obscure the deaths of different Timorese and to attribute different meanings to these deaths, and to what effect.

Victims. Veterans. Martyrs. CAVR. Transitional justice.

Ser lembrado como vítima ou mártir em Timor-Leste

Este documento examina a política de memória em torno dos cerca de 100.000 a 200.000 timorenses que morreram durante a ocupação indonésia e na guerra civil precedente.

1. This article is a heavily condensed and altered version of my book chapter: Rothschild, A. (2020). *Remembering the Dead in Timor-Leste: Victims, Heroes and Martyrs*. In L. Kent & R. Feijo (Eds.), *The Dead as Heroes, Ancestors and Martyrs in Independent Timor-Leste* (pp. 219-241). Amsterdam University Press.

The article relies on analysis of the CAVR's final report, *Chega!* It also utilizes data from over three years of work and research inside of Timor-Leste, spanning the years 2002-2013. Between 2002-2003 I worked at the CAVR as a human rights lawyer; from 2008-2013 I conducted approximately two years of ethnographic research in Timor-Leste for my anthropology Ph.D. dissertation on remembrance of the Indonesian occupation. My main period of fieldwork took place between 2011-2013. I also spent an additional stint in Timor in 2007 before beginning my Ph.D.

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Defendo que existem dois enquadramentos principais através dos quais os falecidos têm sido recordados em Timor pós-independência. Primeiro, os falecidos foram incorporados no novo Estado-nação timorense como heróis e mártires; segundo, os falecidos foram recordados por instituições internacionais de direitos humanos e justiça transitória baseadas em Timor-Leste, tais como a Comissão da Verdade de Timor-Leste, a CAVR, como vítimas. Este documento compara e contrasta estes dois quadros principais. Analisa, entre outras coisas, como funcionam os dois enquadramentos para realçar e obscurecer as mortes de diferentes timorenses e para atribuir significados diferentes a estas mortes, e para que efeito. Vítimas. Veteranos. Mártires. CAVR. Justiça Transicional.

Hanoin hikas nu'udar Vitima ka Mártir iha Timor-Leste

Artigu ida-ne'e lehat politika hosi hanoin kona-ba ema hale'u na'in 100 000 to'o 200 000 ne'ebé mate iha okupasaun indonézia nia laran nomós iha funu-malu entre timoroan molok invazaun. Ha'u haree katak iha oin rua hodi hanoin matebian sira iha tempu daudauk ne'e hafoin ukun rasik-an. Dahuluk, matebian sira tama iha Estadu Timor-Leste nu'udar eroi asua'in no martir; daruak, instituisaun internasional ba direitu umanu no justisa tranzisional, ho baze iha Timor-Leste, hanoin matebian sira liuhosi CAVR (Komisaun Simu Malu, Lia Los no Rekonsiliausaun) nu'udar vítima. Dokumentu ida-ne'e lehat ba oin-rua ne'e hodi hanoin matebian sira. Tanba, bainhira lehat hun oioin, oinsá mak oin-rua fali hodi hanoin sira atu hasa'e ka nakukun matebian sira tuir ida-idak nia signifikadu kona-ba sira mate oinsá no tanbasá.

Vitima. Veteranu. Mártir. CAVR. Justisa Tranzisional.

Introduction

This paper examines the politics of memory surrounding the estimated 100,000 to 200,000 Timorese who died during the Indonesian occupation and preceding civil war. I argue that there are two main frameworks through which the deceased have been remembered in post-independence Timor. First, the deceased have been incorporated into the new Timorese nation-state as heroes and martyrs; second, the deceased have been remembered by international human rights and transitional justice institutions based in Timor-Leste, such as Timor-Leste's truth commission, the CAVR, as victims. This paper compares and contrasts these two main frameworks. It analyzes, among other things, how the two frameworks work to highlight and obscure the deaths of different Timorese and to attribute different meanings to these deaths, and to what effect. I begin the article with a focus on the CAVR in the immediate post-independent period in Timor. After analyzing the CAVR's truth-seeking work and its framing of the Timorese

war dead as victims, I turn to the present-day dominant State-promoted framing of the dead as heroes and martyrs and compare and contrast the two framings.

The deceased as victims [of fatal violations]

On 13 July 2001, the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) established a truth commission in Timor-Leste, the CAVR, to attempt to deal with Timor-Leste's violent past. The CAVR concluded on 31 October 2005, with the handing over of its final report, *Chega!*, to the Timorese government and the international community. In fulfilling its mandate, the CAVR produced the first official post-independence historical narrative of Timor-Leste's recent past and thus the first post-independence framing of the deceased.

The CAVR was tasked with "inquiring into and establishing the truth regarding human rights violations which took place in the context of the political conflicts in Timor-Leste between 25 April 1974 and 25 October 1999" (CAVR, 2006, 2, p. 2). In line with this task, the CAVR's historical narrative of the past centered around the violations experienced by Timorese during its mandate period. The CAVR examined nine main groups of violations, which it divided into "fatal" and "nonfatal" violations. If an examination of violations necessarily implies an examination of the victims of these violations, the CAVR's focus on victims and victimhood was also explicit and ubiquitous, a result of its mandate to "[assist] in restoring the dignity of victims" (CAVR, 2006, 2, p. 2). The CAVR declared its commitment to victims frequently, asserting, for its example, its intention to be "the voice of the victims" (CAVR, 2006, 10, p. 2). The CAVR's many victim-focused activities backed up its rhetoric. For example, the CAVR's first public hearing was termed the "Victims' Hearing"; the CAVR also held 52 local public victims' hearings throughout the country and six three-day healing workshops for victims. While the CAVR necessarily focused its activities on surviving victims, the category of victimhood was obviously all-encompassing, including the deceased as well as the living.

If the CAVR's primary classification of the war dead was as victims, specifically as victims of fatal violations, what did the CAVR say about these victims? Truth commissions tell many different kinds of truths about the victims and violations they investigate; the CAVR was no different. Yet one of the main truths about victims and violations which the CAVR attempted to tell was a "truth by... numbers" (Roosa, 2007, p. 574). This focus on numbers was particularly pronounced or acute where the deceased were concerned. While the CAVR aggregated nation-wide statistical and demographic data on all of the violations at its center, it only laid out statistical patterns of the nonfatal violations it investigated. It went much further with fatal violations, seeking to uncover the total number

of such violations that occurred during its mandate period. The CAVR ultimately determined that approximately 102,800 Timorese suffered conflict-related deaths during its mandate period; 18,600 Timorese died by killing and 84,200 died due to hunger and illness (CAVR, 2006, 6, p. 3).

What groups of deceased Timorese, or which types of conflict-related deaths, were included or highlighted in the CAVR's truth-telling work, including in its statistical analyses? In other words, whose deaths were counted by the CAVR? As seen in the breakdown of the death toll above, the CAVR's two main categories of fatal violations were killings or death by "famine" and "unlawful killings and disappearances." In other words the CAVR focused on two main groups of deaths: the deaths of Timorese due to hunger and illness as a result of famine, and the deaths of Timorese due to direct killings. Notably, the CAVR examined the deaths of Timorese at the hands of Timorese forces in addition to the deaths of Timorese at the hands of Indonesian forces.

Despite the fact that many more Timorese died during the Indonesian occupation as a result of hunger and illness than as a result of direct killings (or disappearances), by the time of the CAVR's operations these deaths had been relatively underrecognized in the international community. One reason is that most of these deaths occurred in the mid-late 1970s when Timor was cut off from the outside world. Another reason is that deaths by famine are indirect – as Gerry van Klinken has pointed out: "nobody killed those ... famine victims directly. They died from hunger and associated weakness because they could not harvest or carry stores" (Van Klinken, 2012, p. 3). Because of the indirect nature of deaths by famine, famine is often viewed as an unfortunate side-effect of a natural event or disaster and its victims are overlooked.

By investigating and highlighting the estimated number of Timorese killed by famine as opposed to by direct killings during its mandate period, the CAVR revealed the important truth that many more Timorese died as a result of famine than as a result of killings. The CAVR highlighted famine deaths in other realms of its work as well. One main way was by holding a public hearing on the topic of famine; this public hearing, held from 28-29 July 2003, was one of only eight total held by the CAVR. The CAVR also emphasized the severity of the famine and its victims by labeling the period of famine from late 1977-1979 the "greatest humanitarian tragedy in Timor-Leste's history" (CAVR, 2006, 3, p. 83). The CAVR stressed the Indonesian regime's responsibility for these killings by noting there was nothing "inevitable" about the famine deaths in the 1970s. Finally, the CAVR asserted that: "It was not the case that food could not have been made available to the people who needed it. Instead those people were positively denied access to food and to its sources" (CAVR, 2006, 7.3, p. 7-8).

During the Indonesian occupation, Timor's Resistance movement and the international solidarity movement that worked alongside it sought to draw the attention of the international community to the deaths of Timorese at the hands of Indonesian forces so as to encourage international intervention. At the same time, the Resistance and its international partners sought to downplay or obscure intra-Timorese or intra-Resistance violence and the victims of this violence.³ The CAVR's interpretation of the category of unlawful killings to include Timorese killed by Timorese forces, in addition to Timorese killed by Indonesian forces, thus served to highlight a second group of Timorese whose deaths had gone relatively unrecognized by the time of the CAVR's operations. The CAVR not only included the deaths of Timorese who were killed by Timorese forces in its death toll, it made a point to calculate and highlight the total percentage of Timorese who were killed by Timorese forces as opposed to by Indonesian forces. Notably this number was a not insignificant 29% (CAVR, 2006, 6, p. 17). The CAVR highlighted the deaths of Timorese killed by Timorese forces in other aspects of its work as well. One main example involves the CAVR's public hearing on massacres, held from 19-21 November 2003. At this hearing, 17 Timorese participants told stories of massacres they had witnessed. Seven of those who testified told stories of massacres committed against Timorese by Timorese forces, a number proportionate to the total estimated number of Timorese killed by Timorese forces over the CAVR's mandate period.

The deceased as martyrs [of the nation-state]

I turn now from the CAVR to discuss the present-day dominant or official narrative or framework for remembering the Indonesian past and the deceased in Timor-Leste. This is a State-promoted nationalist narrative of past resistance to Indonesian rule, centered around the categories of veteran, martyr, and hero, as opposed to the category of victim.

The basis of this narrative and its central categories can be found in Article 11 of Timor-Leste's Constitution, which asserts that Timor-Leste's State "acknowledges and values the historical resistance of the [Timor-Leste] People against for-

3. Intra-Timorese violence includes violence committed by Timorese political parties during the civil war preceding the occupation; it also includes violence that occurred during the occupation. Intra-Timorese violence, specifically intra-Resistance violence, peaked in the late 1970s. The Indonesian regime tried, and often succeeded, in provoking Timorese violence, particularly intra-Timorese violence, with the goal of framing the violence in Timor as a civil conflict. The Resistance and its allied downplayed this violence so as to prevent a false equivalence of Timorese and Indonesian violence in the international sphere.

eign domination and the contribution of all those who fought for national independence” (Constituent Assembly, 2002). This narrative was reinforced in 2006 with the passage of Timor-Leste’s Statute of National Liberation Combatants. This Statute defines veteranhood and martyrdom (veterans are those who “militated” or “participated” in the struggle for independence for at least three years; martyrs are “all militants of the struggle for national independence who have ‘perished’ or ‘disappeared’ as a result of their participation in the struggle”) (Statute of the National Liberation Combatants, 2006). The Statute also lays out the terms of recognition for veterans and martyrs in the form of payments, medals, and other benefits. The resistance narrative was further reinforced in 2008 following the beginning of the distribution of pensions to those deemed veterans and to family members of those deemed martyrs.

If the main classification or category for the deceased within the State-sponsored resistance narrative is martyr – a category, like veteran, that is more or less interchangeable with the less formal category of hero – which deceased Timorese does the martyr category include and which does it exclude? The 2006 Statute makes clear that it intends to give equal treatment to all Timorese, living and deceased, who served in Timor’s Resistance movement. This includes members of all three fronts of Timor’s Resistance movement: Falintil guerrilla soldiers, members of the clandestine front, and members of the overseas diplomatic front. According to the Statute, differences in payments and other forms of recognition are to be based primarily on time served in the Resistance.

Yet despite these official guarantees of equality, former members of Falintil have generally been considered more heroic and have received more recognition in the post-independence era than have former members of the clandestine front (who in turn have been considered more heroic and have received more recognition than former members of the diplomatic front). Put simply: former members of Falintil are considered the truest veterans or heroes in post-independence Timor. This hierarchy of heroism applies to the deceased as well as to the living, so that deceased members of Falintil are generally considered more heroic than deceased former members of the clandestine front. One piece of evidence of this hierarchy is that Timor-Leste’s State has prioritized finding and burying the remains of former members of Falintil, as opposed to the remains of former members of the clandestine front or the remains of other civilians.⁴

4. This form of State recognition is particularly significant to Timorese as properly burying the dead – particularly those who have suffered “bad deaths” – is a critical cultural practice in Timor-Leste. This cultural practice is linked in turn to the central role that the deceased play in Timorese social life as ancestors (Hicks, 2003; Bovensiepen, 2014).

The State's resistance narrative and its central category of martyr thus serves to highlight and obscure very different groups of deceased Timorese than the CAVR's narrative with its central category of victim. The CAVR worked to recognize the deaths of all civilian Timorese who perished as a result of the occupation and civil war, regardless of how those Timorese were killed, and regardless of their resistance activity (or lack thereof). The State's resistance narrative, on the other hand, works to give primary recognition to the deaths of those Timorese who were part of Timor's more formal Resistance movement, affording the greatest recognition to the deaths of former members of Falintil, seen as the ultimate symbol of the Resistance in post-independence Timor.⁵ In so doing, the State's narrative largely obscures the existence of the two groups of deceased Timorese which the CAVR attempted to bring out of obscurity: Timorese who died as a result of famine in the late 1970s, and Timorese who were killed by Timorese forces, including during the spate of intra-Resistance violence in the mid to late-1970s.

Victims, martyrs, and questions of agency

If one major difference between the State's framing of the deceased as martyrs and the CAVR's framing of the deceased as victims concerns which deaths are highlighted or obscured, a second major difference concerns questions of meaning. In line with other truth and reconciliation commissions, the CAVR was guided by a "therapeutic ethic"⁶ that worked to frame victims within a specific discourse of trauma, healing, and suffering (*terus* or *susar*). For example, the CAVR proclaimed its goal to be a voice for victims "who had for so long been unable to express the suffering that they had experienced" (CAVR, 2006, 10, p. 2). It declared the healing of victims' suffering to be one of its main goals, central to the very question of "why Timor-Leste chose to address its difficult past" in the first place (2006, preface, p. 1).

If victims were framed by the CAVR in a discourse of suffering, veterans and martyrs in post-independence Timor-Leste are defined instead by their past experiences of intentional sacrifice or struggle (*luta*). This sacrifice or struggle was for something: specifically it was for independence, the nation, or liberation. The

5. Notably, the only category of war dead not officially accounted for by the CAVR were deceased Falintil soldiers. As non-civilians, Falintil were legitimate targets of war according to the international humanitarian law that guided the CAVR's work.

6. See Moon, 2009 for a discussion of this ethic in relation to the South Africa Truth and Reconciliation Commission (and more generally); see Kent, 2008 for a discussion of this ethic in relation to Timor."abstract": "Since South Africa's truth and reconciliation commission (TRC).

main intentional action or sacrifice on the part of martyrs was of course the sacrifice of life. My Timorese informants emphasized that Timorese martyrs “didn’t die for their family, they didn’t die because they were a thief, they died for the nation.” Their “body and bones were lost in the war and [their] blood spilt for the beloved land.” They gave their “whole life … to the people and beloved land of Timor-Leste.” As Gregorio Saldhana, the main organizer of the demonstration on 12 November 1991 stressed in an interview (in relation to those killed in the massacre): “it wasn’t that the Indonesians just went and shot them, but they took *concrete action* and many people died” (my italics) (G. Saldhana, personal communication, September 27, 2012).

Significantly, the CAVR did not project a similar past agency onto the deceased victims at the center of its work. The CAVR emphasized that the deaths that occurred during the civil war and occupation could have a positive effect in terms of preventing future deaths. In other words, the CAVR made it clear that there was purpose and meaning in remembering the deceased and their deaths. This purpose was at the heart of the CAVR’s work. Yet the deaths of Timorese victims were not imbued with purpose as such. The CAVR’s victims did not die as a result of sacrifice; they died “due to human rights violations” (CAVR, 2006, 11, p. 37). The CAVR instead largely attributed past agency, albeit of a negative kind, to the perpetrators of violations, in the form of legal responsibility and culpability.

Conclusion

The State’s resistance narrative with its central category of martyr, and the CAVR’s human rights narrative with its central category of victim, serve to highlight and obscure the deaths of different Timorese; they also serve to give different meaning to these deaths. Why does this matter? The current dominance of a narrative of the past that emphasizes past resistance and that classifies select deceased Timorese as martyrs has multiple concrete implications. Here, I briefly discuss two. First, as a result of the State’s policy of granting pensions and other benefits to relatives of those it deems martyrs, the families of a select number of deceased Timorese benefit materially and otherwise in present-day Timor while the families of other deceased Timorese do not. Significantly, there is a gendered element at play here. As I have argued elsewhere, in the post-independence era a female victim has come to be positioned against a male veteran or martyr (2017, p. 455-456). The State’s category of martyr thus not only serves to highlight more male deaths than female deaths, it arguably also results in the families of deceased male Timorese receiving greater benefits post-independence than the families of

deceased females.⁷ Second, questions of justice for crimes committed during the Indonesian era are also at stake. As former Falintil General Major Mau Buti declared in 2002: “Those who died are not victims of war, but heroes because they won” (cited in The World Bank, 2008, p. 4). The underlying argument here is simple but profound: if the Timorese who died during the Indonesian occupation or preceding civil war are heroes or martyrs as opposed to human rights victims, there is no need to pursue justice for their deaths. Their deaths have already served their ultimate proclaimed purpose of “winning” or securing Timorese independence.⁸

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7. Most Timorese women who receive veterans’ pensions receive “survival pensions” as widows and children of deceased male veterans (Kent and Wallis, 2014, p. 1).

8. That Timor’s independence equals the ultimate justice is of course, the exact argument that Xanana Gusmão and other Timorese leaders have made in their attempts to convince Timorese there is no need to pursue punitive justice for crimes from the past. Xanana has said, for example: “The best justice was when the international community – the powerful countries that helped Indonesia to exterminate us – finally recognized their responsibility and helped us to achieve justice” (Kingston, 2006, p. 286).

12. Creative approaches to Intergenerational Transmission of Memory and History Education

Vicente Maia¹

Creative approaches to Intergenerational Transmission of Memory and History Education

This paper reflects on how the Centro Nacional Chega! (CNC)’s Education and Training Unit uses family history writing and other creative approaches to introduce the history of the 1974-1999 conflict to younger generations in order to promote dialogue and non-violence, respect for human rights and mutual understanding.

The unit promoted several initiatives, from fostering of family history writing, intergenerational stories, and painting competitions with secondary schools and universities, to the use of visual media such as photography and film in exhibitions displayed at the prison building where CNC is housed.

By focusing on the intergenerational transmission of memory as an approach for introducing popular history and memory to younger generations, we also aim to provide innovative methodologies and relevant materials for educators. Over the last two years, this education programme has been introduced at different levels in high schools and universities, youth organizations and government institutions.

The unit is also working closely with schools to facilitate initiatives such as the Chega! Tour and provide Chega! books to schools’ libraries in Dili and other municipalities. Through close cooperation with the Ministry of Education and schools, the Chega! Tour program attracts many visitors, not only local students but also students from outside who visit CNC exhibitions.

Education. Family history. Activities with young people. Intergenerational memory. Centro Nacional Chega!

1. The author is Director of Education and Training Division at the Centro Nacional Chega! (CNC) in Dili, Timor-Leste. The author gratefully acknowledges Dr. Marisa Ramos Goncalves and Dr. Vannessa Hearman for co-organising the panel at which this paper was first presented and Dr. Vannessa Hearman for editing this paper.

Abordagens criativas para a transmissão intergeracional da memória e da educação histórica

Este artigo reflete sobre o uso que a Divisão de Educação e Formação do Centro Nacional Chega! (CNC) faz da escrita de histórias de família e de outras abordagens criativas para apresentar a história do conflito de 1974-1999 às novas gerações, com o objetivo de promover o diálogo, a não-violência, o respeito pelos direitos humanos e a compreensão mútua. A Divisão promoveu diversas iniciativas, desde encorajar a escrita de histórias de família e o programa de histórias intergeracionais, competições de pintura com escolas secundárias e universidades, à exibição de meios visuais como fotografia e vídeo em exposições que tiveram lugar no edifício prisional onde o CNC se encontra instalado.

Ao enfocar na transmissão intergeracional da memória como uma forma de introduzir a história e as memórias pessoais às novas gerações também procuramos proporcionar metodologias inovadoras e materiais relevantes aos formadores. Nos últimos dois anos este programa educacional tem sido aplicado em diferentes graus de instrução, especificamente em escolas secundárias e universidades, organizações de jovens e instituições governamentais.

A Divisão também trabalha em estreita ligação com escolas, facilitando iniciativas como a Chega Tour! e fornecendo livros do Chega! às bibliotecas de escolas de Díli e de outros municípios. Através de uma cooperação próxima com o Ministério da Educação e escolas, o programa Chega! Tour atrai muitos visitantes, estudantes não só locais, mas também os vindos de fora que visitam as exposições do CNC.

Escrita de histórias de família. Atividades com jovens. Memória intergeracional. Centro Nacional Chega!.

Fó sai ho kriativu kona-ba hala'ok hatutan ba otas foun liuhosi memória no edukasaun istórika

Artigu ida-ne'e haleno filafali ba oinsá Divizaun Edukasan no Formasaun (DEF) hosi *Centro Nacional Chega! (CNC)* hakerek istória família nian no kona-ba buat seluk hodi apresenta istória konflitu nian hosi 1974 to'o 1999 ba jerasaun foun, ho objetivu atu haburas ko'alia ba malu, lahó violénsia, respeita direitu ema nian nomós komprende malu.

DEF hala'o koko oioin, hahú hosi fó biban atu hatene hakerek istória família nian no hala'o programa ho istória ne'ebé hateke hikas ba moris hosi jerasaun ida ba jerasaun tuírmai, hala'o kompetisaun ba pintura iha eskola sekundária no universidade mós, hala'o ezibisaun ba arte vizuál hanesan fotografia no vídeo, no ne'e hotu hatudu iha uma dadur-fatin ne'ebé CNC iha eskritóriu ba.

Bainhira atu halo transmisaun interjerasional memória nian, nu'udar oin ida hodi hatada istória no memória ema nian ba jerasaun foin-sa'e sira, ami mós koko hatudu metodologia foun ho material relevante ba formadór sira. Iha tinan rua ikusmai programa edukasional ida-ne'e fó hanorin ba nível instrusaun oioin liuliu ba eskola sekundária no universidade, organizasaun juventude sira nomós instituisaun governu nian.

DEF mós hala'o knaar lisuk ho eskola hodi hanorin hala'ok hanesan *Chega Tour!* nian no fahe livru *Chega!* ba biblioteka hirak iha eskola iha Díli no iha munisípiu seluk. Liuhosi koperasaun ho Ministériu Edukasaun no eskola, programa *Chega Tour!* dada bainaka

barak, estudante sira lokál no hosi fatin seluk, nomós sira-ne'ebé mai hosi rai-li'ur no hakarak vizita CNC.

Hakerek istória familia nian. Atividade ho foinsae sira. Memoria interjerasionál. Centro Nacional Chega!.

Introduction

The Centro Nacional Chega! (CNC) is the successor institution of the Timor-Leste Commission for Reception, Truth and Reconciliation (Comissão de Acolhimento, Verdade e Reconciliação, CAVR). The main purpose of the establishment of the CAVR was to promote reconciliation and justice after the long political conflict in 1974-1999. The CAVR issued a report, referred to in abbreviated form as the *Chega!* (Enough!) report on its findings and recommendations. The CNC is mandated to follow up and implement the recommendations of both the CAVR, and the Commission for Truth and Friendship (CTF), the latter formed between the governments of Timor-Leste and Indonesia which produced a report entitled *Per Memoriam Ad Spem* (Through Memory to Hope) to promote reconciliation and justice and provide assistance to the most vulnerable of survivors.

The CNC, the institution that I work for, has operated since July 2017 and its mandate is provided under law through Decree Law no.48/2016. Article 5 of this law attributes functions to the CNC to promote the recommendations of the *Chega!* report including the institutionalization of memory and promoting human rights through education and to work with those who are the most vulnerable survivors of human rights violations in past conflict, and to contribute to education and teaching methodologies of the history of Timor-Leste and human rights violation between 1974 and 1999. CNC recognizes that Timor-Leste continues to struggle with documenting aspects of its history among students and the public. Timor-Leste which proclaimed its independence in 2002, has a high population growth rate and a young average age. These two demographic aspects of the country motivated the CNC to respond in creative ways to a youthful population. In this paper, I reflect on the work of the CNC in the area of Intergenerational Transmission of Memory (ITM) in which I have been involved.

Intergenerational Transmission of Memory

At the beginning of 2017, the Education and Training Division (ETD) team visited high schools and universities and youth organizations in Dili to introduce

the CNC and its programs. In 2018, the CNC introduced a program called Intergenerational Transmission of Memory (ITM) which involved a number of different activities (discussed further below). The ITM program can be seen as the extension of the memorialization program in which community based organizations, families, and traditional houses (*uma lulik*), civil society, state and government have participated. The ITM program links the activities of each institution conducting memorialization work.



Figure 1. The author discussing ITM with students in Ermera, Timor-Leste.

The main aim of ITM was to ensure that the narratives of the people will be preserved, particularly those accounts of ordinary people as victims and survivors of past human rights violations and those who have contributed to the struggle for an independent of Timor-Leste but are not recognized. Therefore, the ITM aims to raise – and provide a listening space to different people's experiences. The CNC also implemented the program to facilitate intergenerational transmission of memory from the older – to the younger generation, to improve literacy, to build a writing culture, to establish a basic standard of documentation of memories and to document such memories to become references for future researchers.

The ITM program also aims to introduce key questions arising from the recommendations of the Timor-Leste Commission for Reception, Truth and Reconciliation (CAVR) and Commission Truth and Friendship (CTF) reports as follows:

- How to utilize the historical narrative documentation to contribute to peace?
- How to support intergenerational memory transmission or history-telling in order to create sense of empathy and transform emotions in order to build peace and reconciliation?
- How to utilize memory to understand the years of conflict in Timor-Leste?

- How to use memory to facilitate the acceptance that there are various truths, and that ‘absolute truth’ may not be as important as the ability and space to listen to other people histories and acknowledge them?
- How to create discussion about how people of Timor-Leste can step away from a culture of violent conflict?

Under the ITM umbrella, the CNC has reached out to teachers in some high schools in Timor-Leste to promote pedagogical approaches for teaching human rights, supporting teachers to use these approaches, such as by giving homework or assignments to students. Students might be asked to interview their parents who used to be involved in clandestine activities to support the resistance movement against the Indonesian occupation. This activity lets students listen directly to their parents’ past experiences and contribution to the nation-state-to-be. In so doing, participants are asked to accept multiple narratives and various experiences in the hope to bring about peace, justice and the non-recurrence of violent conflict.

The design of the ITM program was based on CNC’s experiences in implementing memorialization activities in 2018-2019 and CNC’s piloting of the ITM approach in 2019 at several high schools in Dili and one private university, the Universidade da Paz (UNPAZ) in Dili. At UNPAZ, the ITM program was introduced by Dr. Santino Barros, head of Political Development Department at the Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities and constituted a compulsory assignment for students. Following the pilot, history and human rights teachers at other schools also became interested in introducing ITM in their schools.

The ITM program takes place in the context of a number of educational activities organized by CNC including a visit to the Chega! Permanent exhibition at the former prison building, the Comarca Balide, Dili, where CNC is housed, as well as visits to historical sites and commemoration events in Dili, where they listened to survivors’ testimonies. Interviewing and writing up their parents’ histories, therefore, is yet another activity that young people can do to learn about Timor-Leste’s history of political conflict. They are also encouraged to follow CNC’s work through its website (www.chega.tl), Facebook page and YouTube channel. Below I outline how each of these activities support our overall ITM program at CNC.

Activity: Tour of the CNC HQ (Chega! Tour)

The Chega! Tour involves viewing the permanent exhibition and important sites at the CNC headquarters. The CNC is located at a former prison (*comarca*) in the suburb of Balide. It was constructed in 1963 by the Portuguese colonial admin-

istration and used to detain East Timorese who opposed the colonial rulers including those who did not pay the head tax. During Indonesian rule, many East Timorese were detained, tortured, and abused by the military because they were fighting against the Indonesian regime for an independent of Timor-Leste. This site holds and preserves important documents and exhibits related to Timor-Leste's history which have been collected by the CAVR. The CNC is located there at the present time. Its main mandate in regard to this site is to preserve it as a historical site containing the memory of human rights abuses. In 2018 after the CNC signed a Memorandum of Understanding with the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports, the then-Minister, Dulce Soares launched the 'Chega! Tour' at the CNC headquarters. More than 100 students from three municipalities, Liquica, Ermera and Manatuto visited the former Balide prison. She encouraged schools and teachers to bring students to historical places including the CNC during the holidays.

Activity: Tour to historical Sites

The ETD team also works closely with teachers and lecturers at schools and universities in Dili to organize students to undertake tours to historical sites in Dili and surrounds, places where violence, such as killings, massacres, detention and torture, was committed, as well as places used for resistance. The latter included sites of public demonstrations and bunkers for resistance leaders (*abrigos*). The CNC has identified about 50 historical sites in Dili and conducted research to those sites and collected information from survivors and people who knew about those sites. The main role of the ETD is to use these sites to educate students and teachers by being able to see and experience these places and to listen to survivors' testimonies about these sites.



Figure 2. Students visiting a monument to the Aifu Massacre in Ermera district.

Activity: Supporting School Libraries

In 2017, when the CNC started its mandate, the ETD conducted a baseline assessment of schools in order to understand what relevant programs the CNC could provide. The assessment found that teachers and students needed books from the CNC to support teaching and learning because there were no references about history and human rights issues. In response, CNC distributes publications and videos to school libraries in Dili and other districts.

Activity: Recording parents' memories

Finally, to reflect on the concept of intergenerational transmission of memory, another activity involves students being asked to interview their parents and write up their experiences between 1974 and 1999, a period of focus for the CNC's mandate. All Timorese experienced violence over 24 years of Indonesian military occupation in Timor-Leste. Because it is only leaders and famous people who have had their history written, our initiative can help students to record their parents' history. The approach also helps to improve students' writing abilities and habits, introducing basic research skills early to students, particularly high school students.

I wish to add a note here regarding the role that CNC envisages for teachers. Teachers should have knowledge about the ITM program itself, and the program could help them to adopt appropriate teaching methods for history and memory, which include more participatory approaches involving students' perspective. Teachers can work more closely with CNC to facilitate students' learning by accompanying students during interviews of their parents or family members and their transcription, as well as by collecting students' work and submitting the narratives to the CNC archive, which can then compile them into books.

In regard to the role of students, it is hoped that they can improve their research, reading and writing skills beginning with interviewing their own family members. In this way, they are encouraged to find out for themselves and to be proud of the history and memory of Timor-Leste. Their supervised interviews and write-ups, it is hoped, will contribute to research materials on Timor-Leste's history that could be used in schools and preserved at the CNC archive.

Information dissemination and media

The External Relations and Media Division (Divizaun Relasaun Esterna no Komunikasaun) at CNC is playing a very important role in disseminating infor-

mation about CNC publications such as the Chega! report and the Report of Commission Truth and Friendship (CTF), and other publications of the CNC, like books about people's history, booklets about narratives of historical sites and historical days, brochures, and videos of activities such as talkshows. This division promotes understanding among youth of human rights issues through social media channels such as Facebook and YouTube.

ITM Program Results

Since the CNC was established, the ITM program has become a very significant program for teaching history and memory of human rights violations in Timor-Leste to students from primary schools and university in Dili and from regional areas, and among members of youth organizations. At the end of 2019, CNC observed that many survivors not only paid attention to the ITM program, but also wanted other people to write up their histories. Meanwhile, there were also many youth organizations, teachers and university lecturers who wanted to adopt ITM in their schools and institutions. Some specific results are discussed below.

By December 2019, CNC had received more than 300 student-produced histories. On 17 July 2020, historical accounts by 25 students were compiled into a book titled, *Hatutan Memoria: Ema-nia Istoria durante Konfliktu Politiku 1975-1999 (Transmission of Memory – People's history during the political conflict 1975-1999)*. It was officially launched by the Minister of Education Youth and Sport, Armindo Maia to mark the three year anniversary of CNC. The CNC had planned to implement the ITM program in 2020 in two municipalities and to extend to another four municipalities in Timor-Leste in 2021. A few high schools outside Dili requested CNC to provide training to their students on interviewing and writing their parents' history. Since the CNC launched the first book in 2019, written by 30 students about their parents, over 200 students have been trained, including about 50 young people from youth organizations who voluntarily came to CNC and requested training on intergenerational transmission memory to enable them to write their families' histories.

Many schools have taken their students to visit the Chega! exhibition. In the period between 2017 to August 2020, 20,000 high school and university students visited the Chega! permanent exhibition and participated in our tours of historical places, where they listened to the testimonies and experiences of more than 30 survivors. Supplying books and publications to school and university libraries continues to be an important activity for the CNC. Over the last two years, CNC has used social media to invite people to participate in our events and to share

information. Most East Timorese students who access information about CNC do so through the Centre's Facebook page. Those who are researching and writing essays tend to use the website more. Young people also access the CNC's YouTube channel.

I have described above some of the strategies that the CNC uses to provide information to young people in Timor-Leste and to carry out our mandate of preserving memory of the past and to promote peace and non-violence, respect for human rights and to prevent the recurrence of violence in the future. The ITM program aims to contribute to the capacity of the new generation of Timor-Leste to document their own history and to promote the dignity of vulnerable survivors of past human rights violations who need to be included in the national narratives and to benefit from the development of Timor-Leste as part of the implementation of the recommendations in the two truth commissions reports, *Chega!* and *Per Memoriam Ad Spem*.

Key documents of note

- Centro Nacional Chega! Baseline assessment on key partners in implementing CAVR recommendations in their institution. Dili, 2017
- Comissão de Acolhamento Verdade e Reconciliação (CAVR) or Chega!, Report of the Timor-Leste Commission Truth and Reconciliation). Timor-Leste. December 2005.
- Sixth Constitutional Government. Decree Law no. 48/2016. Establishing the Chega! National Centre Public Institute. Through Memory to Hope. Dili Timor-Leste, 2016.

13. O lugar dos arquivos na memória e na história do processo de autodeterminação de Timor-Leste

Zélia Pereira¹

O lugar dos arquivos na memória e na história do processo de autodeterminação de Timor-Leste

A história da autodeterminação de Timor-Leste e da luta do seu povo pela independência encontra-se em parte documentada em materiais preservados em instituições arquivísticas, bibliotecas, museus e outros espaços de memória. Neste texto escolheu-se abordar especificamente o papel dos arquivos na investigação e conhecimento de aspectos tão diversos como os relacionados com a memória, a identidade, a cultura, os direitos humanos ou as narrativas políticas, com enfoque no período entre 1974 e a independência do território em 2002, a partir dos arquivos disponíveis em Portugal. Enumeram-se algumas instituições e materiais, e levantam-se questões em torno das restrições de acesso ainda existentes, e do direito à informação e ao conhecimento do passado.

Autodeterminação de Timor-Leste. Arquivística. Multiverso Arquivístico. Arquivos de Comunidade. Memória.

The role of the archives in the memory and history of Timor-Leste's self-determination process

The history of Timor-Leste's self-determination and its people's struggle for independence is partly documented in materials preserved in archives, libraries, museums and other sites of memory. This paper aims to address, specifically, the role of archives in the research and knowledge of aspects as diverse as those related to memory, identity, culture, human rights or political narratives, with a focus on the period between 1974 and the restoration of Timor-Leste's independence in 2002, from the archives available in Portugal. Some archival institutions and materials are listed and questions are raised about the access restrictions that still exist and the right to information and knowledge of the past.

Timor-Leste's self-determination. Archival studies. Archival Multiverse. Community Archives. Memory.

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Oinsá mak arkivu kontribui ba memória no istória ukun-rasik an Timor-Leste nian

Timor-Leste nia ukun rasik-an nu'udar istória ida funu nian no Artigu hirak-ne'ebé hakerék tiha balu maka rai hela iha instituisaun arkivístikas hanesan biblioteka, muzeu no fatin seluk ne'ebé kuda no rai memória. Iha testu ida-ne'e hili tiha dalan hodi buka-hetene arkivu nia knaar ba investigasaun kona-ba memória, identidade, cultura, direitu umanu ka narrativa política, liuliu ba tempu entre 1974 to'o ukun rasik-an iha tinan-2002, no sura hotu arkivu ne'ebé iha Portugal. Halo tiha lista ho instituisaun nomós material balu no foti kes-taun kona-ba asesu, ne'ebé ladún, no kona-ba direitu ba informasaun hodi hatene sá de'it maka mosu iha tempu hori uluk ba kotuk.

Autodeterminasaun Timor-Leste. Arkivística. Multiversu Arkivístico. Arkivu sira Komunidade nian. Memória.

Introdução

A história do processo de autodeterminação de Timor-Leste depende de uma multiplicidade de elementos relacionados com a memória individual e coletiva, registados em documentos textuais, audiovisuais, objetos ou mesmo locais com potencial de ativar a memória, e sob os mais distintos suportes físicos e, mais recentemente, também digitais, incluindo ainda a lembrança das vivências dos indivíduos, nomeadamente a transmitida por via oral. Neste texto, resultante de um projeto de investigação sobre a autodeterminação de Timor-Leste, com balizas temporais situadas entre 1974 e a independência do território em 2002,² escolheu-se abordar o caso específico dos arquivos disponíveis em Portugal com materiais relevantes para o conhecimento desta história, considerados fundamentais enquanto espaços onde essa memória é conservada e pode ser ativada.

A investigação no campo dos estudos arquivísticos tem vindo a dar maior atenção a questões relacionadas com a memória, a identidade, os direitos à cultura e à herança histórica, aos problemas das narrativas históricas e contra narrativas, bem como às dinâmicas de poder e das preocupações das comunidades com os seus direitos (Gilliland *et al.*, 2017, 18). Memória e arquivos possuem uma simbiose há muito reconhecida, compartilhando uma relação implícita, que tem feito com que a informação contida nos arquivos seja um dos seus principais poderes e o acesso à memória uma das esferas de influência da Arquivística (Bastian, 2017, 271).

2. Este trabalho é fruto do projeto *ADeTiL – A autodeterminação de Timor-Leste: um estudo de História Transnacional*, coordenado pelo Doutor Rui Graça Feijó, financiado pela Fundação para a Ciência e Tecnologia (PTDC/HAR-HIS/30670/2017) e desenvolvido no Centro de Estudos Sociais da Universidade de Coimbra.

Situando-nos assim no campo teórico da Arquivística, é objetivo deste artigo, partindo da apresentação de alguns materiais disponíveis em Portugal sobre a história recente de Timor-Leste, estimular a reflexão sobre a importância dos arquivos no seu conhecimento. Serão convocadas recentes propostas de abordagem de conceitos como o de Multiverso Arquivístico³ e o de Arquivos de Comunidade⁴, com o objetivo de fomentar a discussão sobre como providenciar um melhor conhecimento sobre a história de Timor-Leste e um acesso plural à mesma, expandindo e tratando de forma holística a representação da informação, e questionando teorias e práticas clássicas menos inclusivas. Pretende-se apontar alguns problemas que subsistem no acesso à informação e sugerir a adoção, nos estudos arquivísticos, dos conceitos indicados, como contributo para o enriquecimento da memória coletiva em geral e para fortalecimento de comunidades como a timorense.⁵

Um percurso pelos arquivos em Portugal

Em Portugal existem várias instituições públicas e privadas com materiais de diversa tipologia que documentam a história de Timor-Leste.⁶ O Quadro 1 exemplifica alguns dos principais fundos preservados em arquivos de instituições e organismos do Estado.

3. Um conceito emergente na Arquivística orientado local e globalmente no sentido de entender a informação e a evidência dos atos humanos num quadro de pluralidade, em registos de múltiplas formas, resultantes da diversidade dos contextos culturais, motivações institucionais ou pessoais, perspectivas e necessidades de comunidades, construções legais e espaços de memória. Cf. Gilliland & McKemmish (2011).

4. Os arquivos de comunidade abrangem uma diversidade de grupos que podem compartilhar crenças, geografias, etnias, estilos de vida, ideologias ou histórias comuns. Podem ser materializados em museus, associações históricas, arquivos religiosos e espirituais, centros culturais, ou diversos locais que preservam e difundem materiais relacionados com as lutas pelos direitos humanos e justiça social. O conceito pode também ser ampliado a espaços digitais de mediação da informação que têm surgido nas últimas décadas, com a proliferação do uso de tecnologias e da Internet, como indica Sheffield (2017, 351). Uma visão recente da investigação sobre este tema, na última década, está disponível em Bastian & Flinn (eds.) (2019).

5. Encara-se aqui o povo de Timor-Leste enquanto comunidade, considerando-o detentor de uma singularidade social, com um sentido de comunhão e solidariedade, unido por um espírito comum de unidade e de nacionalismo, que o período da ocupação indonésia solidificou, e que ficou patente nos resultados do referendo de 30 de agosto de 1999, independentemente das distintas percepções sobre o passado histórico e políticas nacionalistas, e sua evolução, amplamente desenvolvidas por Soares (2003).

6. Informação mais detalhada sobre alguns fundos documentais enumerados e acerca do seu conteúdo pode ser encontrada em Fernandes (2005) e Carvalho (2008).

Quadro 1. Arquivos de instituições e organismos do Estado.

Arquivos de instituições e organismos do Estado	Fundos e coleções
Arquivo Histórico-Diplomático [Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - MNE, Direção-Geral dos Negócios Políticos - MNE, Missões Diplomáticas (Legações e Embaixadas) - Arquivo do Ministério do Ultramar (Gabinete do Ministro/Gabinete dos Negócios Políticos) - GAE Timor (Gabinete de Assuntos Especiais Timor) - Arquivos pessoais - Vasco Futscher Pereira - Duarte Vaz Pinto da Fonseca de Sá Pereira e Castro
Arquivo Histórico da Presidência da República	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Presidência da República
Arquivo Histórico Parlamentar	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Assembleia Constituinte - Assembleia da República - Comissões Eventuais relativas à questão de Timor
Arquivo Histórico da Marinha	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Comissão COLOREDO (Comissão Eventual para a Localização e Recolha de Documentos da Marinha sobre a sua Ação nas Operações Militares em África e Timor, 1961-1975) - Unidades navais (Corvetas Afonso Cerqueira, João Roby, Oliveira e Carmo) - Fotografias
Arquivo da Defesa Nacional	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Gabinete do CEMGFA - Secretariado-Geral da Defesa Nacional - 1.ª Repartição (Operações) - 2.ª Repartição (Informações) - EMGFA. 5.ª Divisão – Informação e Relações Públicas
Arquivo Histórico Militar [Exército]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Divisão Colónias/Ultramar (Secção 9, Timor)
Arquivo Histórico-Ultramarino	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Ministério do Ultramar / Ministério da Coordenação Interterritorial - Arquivo pessoal António de Sousa Santos
Camões – Instituto da Cooperação e da Língua, I.P.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Arquivo da Cooperação Portuguesa
Torre do Tombo	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Conselho da Revolução - Conselho de Imprensa - Arquivo pessoal Ernesto Melo Antunes
Arquivo da RTP	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Rádio e Televisão Portuguesa
Museu Nacional de Etnologia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Arquivo pessoal Ruy Cinatti

Os arquivos da Presidência da República e do Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros (MNE) são os que possuem documentação mais avultada, cobrindo todo o período desde 1974 até à independência de Timor-Leste, essencialmente de caráter político e diplomático. No entanto, ambos apresentam condicionalismos para a consulta. No primeiro caso, é relativamente fácil de identificar na base de dados disponível online as pastas relativas ao caso específico de Timor-Leste e de órgãos dependentes da Presidência da República que se pronunciaram sobre a questão, como é o caso do Conselho de Estado ou da Comissão Nacional de Descolonização. Todavia, a consulta presencial depende de autorização e existem também restrições ao acesso derivadas de legislação específica portuguesa.

Relativamente ao Arquivo do MNE, o acesso é livre ao público, mas o utilizador é confrontado com alguns problemas limitadores da investigação. A base de dados na Internet diz respeito apenas a parte do arquivo, e a pesquisa nesta revela-se insuficiente na obtenção de informação. É necessário, complementarmente, a consulta presencial de outros catálogos e inventários disponíveis em papel ou digitalmente no local. Ainda assim, grande parte da documentação não possui descrições arquivísticas completas que permitam identificar com clareza os processos, os assuntos em questão e mesmo o período cronológico a que dizem respeito. Alguns fundos estão incompletos, como é o caso de algumas legações e embaixadas no estrangeiro, por não ter havido ainda a integral incorporação no Arquivo. Finalmente, e à semelhança do arquivo da Presidência da República, muitas das pastas de alguns fundos têm restrições de consulta, por motivos de confidencialidade ou sensibilidade da informação, em face da legislação em vigor. É o caso particular do Gabinete de Assuntos Especiais relativo a Timor, constituído por mais de um milhar de caixas cuja consulta está vedada na maioria.

Os três arquivos sob dependência das Forças Armadas têm sobretudo documentação para os anos de 1974-1976. Cobrem questões político-militares ocorridas no território timorense após o 25 de abril de 1974, e nos seus fundos encontramos mensagens, telegramas, relatórios, estudos e informações militares relacionadas com Comando Territorial Independente de Timor, com Comando-Chefe das Forças Armadas em Timor, Comando de Defesa Marítima de Timor, com as missões das corvetas portuguesas destacadas nas águas de Timor entre outubro de 1975 e os primeiros meses de 1976, bem como sobre a atuação do Governo Geral de Timor, cuja hierarquia e estrutura dependia na sua maior parte de militares. Além disso, atestam a comunicação estabelecida entre os órgãos militares em Timor com as autoridades em Portugal, nomeadamente com os Estados-Maiores dos ramos militares, o Estado-Maior General das Forças Armadas (EMGFA) e o próprio Governo e Presidência da República.

Os arquivos militares indicados são de acesso público e possuem catálogos e inventários da documentação, uns disponíveis em bases de dados na Internet e outros cuja consulta tem de ser efetuada localmente. O facto de a acessibilidade estar assegurada por estas vias, não significa, contudo, que a documentação cubra a totalidade da atividade das Forças Armadas Portuguesas em Timor para os anos indicados, ou que seja fácil para o utilizador, compreender de forma imediata a organização das estruturas militares. Por exemplo, no caso do Arquivo da Defesa Nacional, vários processos não estão completos, e é de supor que numerosos documentos se encontrem ainda no EMGFA por avaliar.

No Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino existe alguma documentação do período de 1974-1975, da época do antigo Ministério da Coordenação Interterritorial, que carece de catalogação, embora seja possível requerer a consulta a determinados materiais que estão identificados, como seja as coleções de mensagens telegráficas trocadas entre o Governo Geral de Timor e o da metrópole, durante aqueles anos. Depois da extinção daquele ministério, as questões da cooperação com os antigos territórios colonizados por Portugal estiveram sob a dependência, primeiro, do Ministério da Cooperação e, depois, de vários organismos que lhe sucederam. Nesta área existe documentação sob tutela do arquivo do Instituto Camões, cobrindo o problema dos refugiados, o apoio a bolseiros timorenses, ou atividades de promoção da língua portuguesa.

Na Torre do Tombo, está depositado o importante fundo do Conselho da Revolução, que possui documentação relacionada com as sessões em que a questão de Timor foi abordada. A identificação desta, todavia, depende da consulta presencial do inventário, que, por seu turno, apresenta um detalhe descritivo minimalista, dificultando a identificação das caixas com documentos sobre o caso de Timor. O arquivo pessoal de Melo Antunes, que foi conselheiro da Revolução, ministro dos Negócios Estrangeiros, e uma das figuras-chave do Movimento das Forças Armadas (MFA) em Portugal, é uma fonte de informação preciosa do ponto de vista da intervenção de um dos mais importantes atores portugueses no processo de descolonização. Não obstante as funções públicas do seu titular, trata-se de um arquivo que tem documentação da esfera privada e pessoal de Melo Antunes, e a sua consulta depende de autorização da família, tendo, portanto, reservas de comunicabilidade, inclusivamente quanto ao próprio catálogo do fundo. Refira-se ainda o arquivo do Conselho de Imprensa onde pode ser encontrada documentação relacionada com análise da atuação de jornalistas e órgãos de comunicação, incluindo quanto à questão de Timor, como seja a polémica surgida na sequência da divulgação do programa Grande Reportagem, em 1981, que teve significativo impacto na opinião pública portuguesa da altura. A propósito deste programa, transmitido pela RTP, mencione-se também o arquivo desta estação

televisiva, que dispõe de uma plataforma digital disponível na Internet, onde a reportagem pode ser visionada, tal como outras peças referentes a Timor, designadamente entrevistas, gravações de declarações de membros do governo, noticiários, etc.⁷

Os arquivos das instituições públicas são apenas uma parte daqueles que possuem documentação sobre a questão de Timor em Portugal. Em instituições formadas a partir de iniciativas várias da sociedade civil e em arquivos pessoais que têm vindo a ser colocados ao dispor do público, nomeadamente através da sua doação ou depósito em alguns repositórios, destacamos os do Quadro 2.

Quadro 2. Arquivos privados e da sociedade civil.

Outros arquivos (sociedade civil, comunidades)	Fundos e coleções
Centro de Documentação 25 de Abril, Universidade de Coimbra	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Arquivos pessoais – Maria de Lurdes Pintasilgo – Vítor Alves – Francisco Fialho da Rosa – António Lopes Cardoso/Maria Fernanda Lima – Coleções de recortes de imprensa – CD25A – Serviços de Apoio do Conselho da Revolução – Ministério do Trabalho – Coleção de comunicados e panfletos – Agence France Press
Fundação Mário Soares	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Arquivo da Resistência Timorense – Arquivos pessoais – Mário Soares – Mário Ruivo – Coleção José Manuel Barroso/Atas do Conselho da Revolução – António Arnao Metello – Mario Dujisin
Faculdade de Engenharia da Universidade do Porto	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Arquivo pessoal de António Pinto Barbedo de Magalhães
CIDAC – Centro de Intervenção para o Desenvolvimento Amílcar Cabral	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – CDPM – Comissão para os Direitos do Povo Maubere – APPTL – A Paz é Possível em Timor-Leste – CIDAC
Centro Audiovisual Max Stahl Timor-Leste [via Universidade de Coimbra]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – CAMSTL

7. Disponível em <https://arquivos.rtp.pt/>.

Verifica-se que tem havido particular interesse na preservação e disponibilização de um conjunto de arquivos pessoais, nomeadamente por parte de pessoas que tiveram posições de poder na esfera política, ou que assumiram papel preponderante como ativistas em defesa dos direitos do povo leste-timorenses. Trata-se de arquivos pautados por uma grande hibridez, menos conformes, na sua estrutura interna e organização, com padrões próprios de instituições de orgânicas e hierarquia definidas, possuindo tipologias documentais de grande variedade, cujo interesse para preservação permanente nem sempre se coaduna com as políticas de avaliação das instituições arquivísticas da esfera pública. Assim, embora alguns arquivos pessoais tenham vindo a ser paulatinamente depositados em instituições públicas, muitas pessoas e famílias têm encontrado maior recetividade no acolhimento dos seus documentos junto de organizações privadas, que frequentemente assumem uma política ativa de incentivo ao seu depósito.

No caso dos arquivos pessoais, um dos problemas que se coloca é o de eventuais condicionamentos ao acesso, por restrições impostas pelos doadores ou por questões legalmente previstas no que respeita aos dados pessoais. Alguns apresentam também insuficientes instrumentos de descrição que permitam identificar e localizar a informação. Deve ainda ser ressaltado que não existe qualquer política definida em Portugal para a sua recolha em instituições de memória, ou, sequer, obrigatoriedade de preservação, particularmente dos arquivos daqueles que foram titulares de cargos públicos, pelo que subsiste o risco de alguns, que ainda se encontram em coleções particulares, se virem a perder, deixando lacunas na História e questões por responder.

Como exemplo de arquivos constituídos por grupos e movimentos de solidariedade para com Timor-Leste, salienta-se o CIDAC, cujo centro de documentação possui numerosos materiais sobre a solidariedade em Portugal e no estrangeiro. Tutela os importantes fundos da Comissão para os Direitos do Povo Maubere e da associação A Paz é Possível em Timor-Leste, organizações sobre as quais também se encontra documentação no arquivo pessoal reunido pelo Prof. Barbedo de Magalhães, este preservado pelo próprio com apoio da Faculdade de Engenharia da Universidade do Porto. Todavia, no CIDAC apenas parte da documentação que foi possível digitalizar (comunicados, imprensa, testemunhos) está disponível para consulta através da Internet. O facto de a sua descrição ser de tipo bibliográfico também não permite uma adequada contextualização, que poderia contribuir para a melhor interpretação de cada documento. Por outro lado, remanesce por organizar numerosa documentação original da atividade destes grupos de solidariedade, e que não está acessível. O arquivo do Prof. Barbedo tem sido objeto de vários projetos de digitalização e tratamento, mas também não se encontra ainda integralmente acessível online, carecendo de consulta presencial autorizada.

Fazem ainda parte deste grupo instituições que têm tido iniciativa colaborativa com outras entidades empenhadas na preservação da memória e história da resistência timorense. É o caso da Universidade de Coimbra que, no âmbito de um protocolo recentemente estabelecido com o Centro Audiovisual Max Stahl de Timor-Leste, se disponibilizou para permitir o acesso digital a este importante arquivo, que se encontra em território timorense. De igual forma, ao longo de vários anos, a Fundação Mário Soares trabalhou diretamente com personalidades e instituições timorense, no sentido de salvar, recolher, preservar, digitalizar e disponibilizar numerosa documentação relativa à Resistência e ao processo de autodeterminação. Embora apenas uma parte dos fundos e coleções recolhidos no contexto do projeto do Arquivo da Resistência Timorense tenha sido colocada online, espera-se que, no futuro, o Arquivo e Museu da Resistência Timorense (AMRT) constituído em Díli, ao qual toda esta documentação foi confiada, venha a dar continuidade ao trabalho de digitalização e de estudo arquivístico da mesma, nomeadamente investindo na descrição dos materiais, ainda incipiente face à magnitude dos materiais recolhidos.

O acesso à História de Timor-Leste: desafios e vulnerabilidades para as instituições de memória

Olhando para a lista de arquivos e documentação disponível para o caso específico da história recente de Timor-Leste fica evidente a sua grande diversidade, quer em termos dos produtores, dos contextos em que os fundos foram reunidos e preservados, das tipologias de documentos, e da própria informação registada.⁸ A luta pelos direitos do povo Timor-Leste foi um exemplo de como a circulação da informação, ao nível global, permitiu combater as tentativas de silenciamento do problema e das violações dos direitos humanos no período da ocupação. Agora que Timor-Leste é uma nação independente, o seu povo tem também o direito ao acesso à informação sobre os factos que condicionaram o seu passado, o direito

8. Embora este texto seja especificamente orientado para a documentação disponível em Portugal, deve ser tido em conta que há uma pluralidade de outros arquivos essenciais para análise do acesso à memória e história de Timor-Leste, quer no próprio território timorense (além do AMRT, pode salientar-se os exemplos do Arquivo Nacional de Timor-Leste e o fundo do CNC – Centro Nacional Chega!, herdeiro dos materiais da Comissão de Acolhimento, Verdade e Reconciliação), quer noutras países, seja detidos por instituições públicas, seja por organismos privados e por iniciativa da sociedade civil. Sem esgotar a sua totalidade, veja-se, por exemplo a enumeração de coleções de grande diversidade reunida no blog Timor Archives – Clearing House for Archival Records on Timor Inc (CHART), acessível em <https://timorarchives.wordpress.com/about/>

a conhecer o que é também parte da sua história e da sua memória enquanto comunidade. É justamente esta realidade que pode ser abordada a partir de novos conceitos que têm vindo a ser propostos e debatidos entre arquivistas.

Um deles é o de multiverso arquivístico, cuja aplicação ao referencial teórico da Arquivística é recente.⁹ Este conceito radica na ideia de que a sociedade humana funciona numa pluralidade ontológica de experiências, e de que a Arquivística necessita de trabalhar com paradigmas plurais, e alargar o seu trabalho a todo o tipo de documentos que testemunham as atividades humanas, além dos tradicionais registos textuais, e à própria forma como a memória é concebida e transmitida em comunidades distintas.

Alguns autores que têm sustentado que o conceito deve permear todas as atividades das instituições de arquivo, dos arquivistas e da investigação sobre arquivos, sendo especialmente importante para apoiar nações emergentes e sociedades pós-confílito, capacitar múltiplas comunidades dentro de nações individuais, apoiar a construção de comunidades fortes e sustentáveis, e suportar agendas de justiça social, direitos humanos e inclusão social (Gilliland & McKemmish, 2011).

Neste contexto, tem-se dado maior importância aos designados arquivos de comunidade, entendida esta como qualquer forma de organização de pessoas que se apresentam como tal em função de determinadas características, e o seu arquivo como o conjunto de materiais que reuniram e sobre os quais exercem algum tipo de controlo (Zavala, Migoni, Caswell *et al.*, 2017).¹⁰ São uma alternativa aos repositórios controlados pelas instituições dos governos, e importantes para dotar as comunidades de poder sobre a informação, desafiando restrições de acesso, e suportando a defesa de questões humanitárias ou de direitos humanos, sendo o ativismo uma das suas características (Evans *et al.*, 2015). A Arquivística, ao aceitar que grupos, dos mais distintos possíveis, controlem e transmitam a sua própria memória, utilizando a informação de formas menos convencionais, pode, assim, apoiar uma “descolonização” dos arquivos como forma de autodeterminação e de exercício de direitos culturais (McKemmish, 2017, 150).

A questão da “descolonização” no universo dos arquivos insere-se num debate mais lato, relacionado com a forma de abordar a própria produção de conhecimento.

9. O conceito surgiu na sequência dos trabalhos do Archival Education and Research Institute (AERI), com base na Universidade da Califórnia, em Los Angeles, e foi definido com maior precisão num artigo publicado em 2011 na revista *The American Archivist* (AERI, 2011).

10. Não se trata, por isso, de um conceito apenas aplicado às clássicas instituições de arquivo (enquanto repositórios de fundos orgânicos, quase sempre assentes em registos textuais), mas que se estende a outros espaços de memória, de que podem ser exemplo os museus comunitários, como no caso abordado por Prata (2017) a propósito do Museu Cenário da Memória do Povo em homenagem à Frente Clandestina da Resistência, construído em Samalari, na região de Baucau, Timor-Leste, por um grupo de cidadãos.

mento a partir da informação obtida de documentos, objetos e outros registos, produzidos em período colonial ou sobre povos e comunidades sujeitas a formas de colonialismo. Neste debate, incluem-se, além da problemática do repatriamento ou restituição de documentos e objetos, o questionar de premissas que estiveram na base da produção dos arquivos, bem como de práticas de seleção dos materiais preservados, catalogação, classificação e linguagem descritiva, e mesmo na aplicação de normas e padrões arquivísticos elaborados à margem dos contextos específicos de cada comunidade.¹¹

Um dos principais desideratos do conceito de multiverso arquivístico é o da pluralidade, quer no campo das ideias e da teoria, quer no da prática dos profissionais dos arquivos. Os tradicionais arquivos, controlados pelo Estado ou por organizações institucionalmente reconhecidas, ainda se mantêm muito fixados nos documentos textuais, preservados e descritos de acordo com hierarquias administrativas e organizacionais, tendo afastado das suas práticas e teorias outras formas de registo da memória, e deixando sem expressão comunidades cuja identidade foi ignorada ou silenciada, por vezes porque a teoria e a prática dos arquivistas refletiu um posicionamento de tipo ocidental, em que a voz principal foi a dos colonos ou a dos invasores.

Ao invés, os arquivos de comunidade demonstram maior abertura a outros formatos e formas de comunicar informação (Flinn, Stevens & Shepherd, 2009). Esses materiais podem incluir documentação efémera, artefactos, panfletos, vídeos, áudio, e mesmo blogs e sites na Internet. Tendem também a quebrar cadeias entre os produtores dos arquivos e os contextos de produção a que usualmente o arquivista recorre na tarefa de descrição dos registos, dando mais atenção a aspetos culturais, e reconhecendo formas orais, visuais e cinéticas da transmissão de saber e de informação, refletindo valores mais próximos às suas comunidades (Caswell, 2014, 313).

A utilização de normas na descrição arquivística tende a promover a consistência na forma de comunicar os arquivos, bem como a permitir a partilha da informação, através de redes institucionais e internacionais, mas um dos problemas que daí advêm é o da hegemonia de uma forma específica de descrever os conteúdos dos arquivos. Em consequência, contraria-se outras formas possíveis de descrever factos, de apresentar memórias e atores, de interpretar acontecimen-

11. Para um maior desenvolvimento acerca da importância de abordagens decoloniais das fontes arquivísticas e sobre a questão da “descolonização” aplicada aos arquivos, veja-se Stoler (2009) e Roque & Wagner (2012). Acerca do debate em torno da repatriação de arquivos, diversas perspetivas podem ser encontradas em Lowry (2017). Sugere-se ainda a leitura de Karabinos (2013) a propósito de documentos sobre a independência da Indonésia que foram mantidos sob tutela da anterior potência colonial, a Holanda, e cuja restituição foi objeto de diversas negociações.

tos e contextos, impedindo a pluralidade de perspetivas sobre os arquivos por parte das comunidades, e podendo abrir caminho à obliteração de uma multiplicidade de eventos que podem ter significado para determinados grupos menos representativos (Gilliland, 2017, 39-40). Devem por isso ser considerados aspectos relacionados com a própria linguagem e paradigmas subjacentes às práticas arquivísticas de organização e descrição da informação.

Ora, um dos aspectos essenciais do multiverso arquivístico é a proposta para que os profissionais que trabalham com os arquivos e formas de transmissão de memória os possam abordar considerando diferentes semânticas, expressões linguísticas, epistemologias, tradições e políticas, levando em conta dimensões normalmente ausentes do arquivo como a oralidade, ou manifestações emocionais ou espirituais subjacentes a factos e acontecimentos (Gilliland, 2017, 52).

Abraçando os conceitos indicados, é também possível discutir outros aspectos e questionar práticas que têm, de algum modo, condicionado um acesso mais amplo e plural à informação arquivística sobre o processo de autodeterminação de Timor-Leste. Como acima se verificou, a existência de materiais em várias instituições e coleções reflete a forma como vários organismos públicos e privados, políticos ou cidadãos ativistas, se envolveram na questão timorense. Contudo, os acontecimentos de 1974-1975 relacionados com a descolonização de Timor, a subsequente invasão e ocupação indonésia, e facto de a questão ter contornos de caráter político e diplomático considerados sensíveis, por dizerem respeito a indivíduos com responsabilidades na questão e a órgãos de soberania, determinam que a consulta de alguns fundos documentais esteja ainda sujeita a limitações.

É comum, ao nível global, que o acesso aos arquivos, nomeadamente em casos de conflitos políticos, guerras, questões humanitárias e outras, seja determinado menos pelo direito à informação ou por questões arquivísticas do tratamento documental, e mais pela visão de líderes e intervenientes nos processos, que consideram que o interesse político, a segurança e o segredo da informação devem guiar o acesso e uso dos arquivos. No entanto, a imposição do sigilo ou de legislação restritiva da comunicabilidade, se bem que juridicamente aceite e praticada por repositórios governamentais, intergovernamentais ou mesmo fora da esfera governativa, pode ser debatida num contexto mais amplo da defesa de acesso à informação.

Países como a Austrália ou os Estados Unidos da América, com sensibilidades políticas semelhantes, têm vindo a dar amplo acesso ao público a documentação relacionada com questões idênticas, e sobre o seu papel particular quanto ao caso de Timor-Leste vários arquivos têm sido trazidos à luz do dia. Em Portugal, porém, a sua divulgação parece decorrer a um nível mais lento. Existe, no quadro jurídico português, diversa legislação que regula o acesso aos arquivos,

como é o Decreto-Lei que estabelece o Regime Geral dos Arquivos e do Património arquivístico,¹² diplomas relativos à proteção de dados pessoais,¹³ ou sobre o regime do Segredo de Estado.¹⁴ A generalidade desta legislação impõe prazos para a desclassificação e acesso à documentação, mas muitas das instituições que se referiu no ponto anterior possuem igualmente regulamentos internos com regras acrescidas, cerceadoras da consulta pública.

Ora, perante o exemplo português, face às restrições à comunicabilidade sobre o caso de Timor, um desafio essencial se levanta: como é possível à comunidade timorense aceder a informação diretamente relacionada com a sua memória e a sua história? A “descolonização” dos arquivos passa, deste modo, entre outros aspectos, também pela importância de se encontrarem formas adequadas para ampliar o acesso às fontes das histórias pessoais e das comunidades. Negar o acesso à informação pode ser considerado, por parte de sociedades indígenas e de comunidades, uma ferramenta de opressão (Thorpe, 2014, 212).

Outro aspeto que gera constrangimentos ao estudo da história do processo de autodeterminação de Timor-Leste é a multiplicidade de instituições e as diferentes formas de tratamento dos arquivos de cada uma. Além disso, apesar de haver hoje maior conhecimento da documentação disponível, remanesce uma certa distância entre os arquivos e as comunidades que neles são visadas ou que desejam obter informação. Parte do problema radica na forma de comunicação das instituições arquivísticas dos seus acervos. Nem sempre é claro, aos investigadores e às comunidades, exatamente quais são os fundos documentais com materiais sobre Timor, quem os produziu, e em que contextos. A insuficiência de informação descritiva continua a obrigar à deslocação aos arquivos para consulta presencial, o que, para a comunidade timorense, levanta problemas de acesso aos documentos que se encontram fora do seu país.

A Arquivística tem estado também condicionada, no campo da prática, dos métodos e da teoria, por diferentes abordagens, patente num debate sobre a sua própria qualificação enquanto ciência ou enquanto disciplina, que não cabe desenvolver no âmbito deste texto. Importa, no entanto, reter que diferentes tradições arquivísticas e paradigmas distintos, têm influenciado o tratamento dos arquivos,

12. Decreto-Lei n.º 16/93, de 23 de Janeiro de 1993.

13. A legislação portuguesa neste domínio tem evoluído ao longo dos anos, acompanhando questões relacionadas com a utilização das novas tecnologias digitais, e refletindo também diretrizes europeias. Refira-se, por exemplo, a evolução registada desde Lei n.º 67/98, de 26 de outubro, até à mais recente Lei 58/2019, de 8 de agosto.

14. A anterior Lei n.º 6/94, de 7 de Abril, que regulava o Segredo de Estado, pela qual alguns arquivos públicos se orientavam para restringir o acesso a documentos classificados de Muito Secreto, Secreto, Confidencial ou Reservado, foi entretanto revogada e substituída pela Lei Orgânica n.º 2/2014, de 6 de agosto, atualmente em vigor.

com consequências para a forma como são descritos. Em Portugal, tem havido um esforço nos últimos anos para normalizar a descrição arquivística, com instituições a procurar aplicar a norma internacional proposta pelo Conselho International de Arquivos, a ISAD-G. No entanto, nem todas a utilizam e, mesmo entre as que o fazem, a organização da documentação pode não obedecer a um critério claro ou uniforme para todos os fundos documentais.

Por outro lado, mesmo quando existe informação descritiva, esta nem sempre é suficiente ou a organização da documentação não é imediatamente percepçável, tornando difícil a identificação dos assuntos que se pretende localizar. Relativamente aos instrumentos de pesquisa para acesso à informação, não existe um modelo único, obrigando ao penoso investimento na exploração de catálogos, inventários, em papel ou bases de dados, até se obter a informação necessária apenas para saber como chegar à consulta da documentação propriamente dita. A escassa familiarização dos utilizadores com normas e terminologias arquivísticas também nem sempre permite a compreensão dos contextos em que a informação foi produzida, organizada e depois preservada.

Apesar destes novos conceitos, remanesce por parte da generalidade das instituições arquivísticas a questão de como conciliar a informação detida pelas organizações públicas e privadas, com a memória, por vezes apenas oral, dos indivíduos e das comunidades locais. O investimento na história das comunidades tirando proveito das tecnologias digitais para disponibilizar informação pode auxiliar, neste caso, no transcender de fronteiras geográficas, reunindo materiais dispersos ou menos acessíveis. O ato de reunir registos dispersos online, como aquele que está na base do trabalho desenvolvido por algumas instituições e projetos já mencionados,¹⁵ enquadra-se no que se pode designar de “reunificação virtual”.¹⁶ A utilização das tecnologias digitais e da Internet propicia uma abordagem mais holística de histórias comuns e abre caminho ao envolvimento da sociedade civil e das comunidades. No entanto, a complexidade imposta pela gestão tecnológica implica que as plataformas sejam desenvolvidas e apoiadas ao longo do tempo, o que pode ter implicações para comunidades que não têm capacidade apoiar esses esforços por conta própria ou que desejam fortalecer a sua autonomia. A construção de plataformas colaborativas exige um investimento significativo de recursos humanos e materiais e espírito colaborativo, que será um dos desafios para o acesso global e plural à informação no que respeita à história e à memória do povo timorense.

15. Como foi o caso da colaboração da Universidade de Coimbra com o arquivo do Centro Audiovisual Max Stahl de Timor-Leste.

16. Conceito proposto por Ricardo Punzalan (2014).

Conclusão

A história do processo de autodeterminação de Timor-Leste, do papel dos seus múltiplos atores ao nível local e internacional, e das dinâmicas políticas transnacionais, ainda permanece sujeita a diversos constrangimentos. Neste aspecto, os arquivos e outras instituições de memória têm um papel fundamental a desempenhar com vista a assegurar às futuras gerações o acesso ao conhecimento deste processo. No entanto, os arquivos permanecem ainda como locais de tensão, não apartados das consequências que podem advir à construção de narrativas históricas devido às restrições de acesso e de comunicabilidade da documentação. Carecem, designadamente, de práticas de tratamento e de partilha da informação de formas mais inclusivas e que permitam uma abordagem plural de factos e acontecimentos.

Será um desafio para os arquivistas que lidam com fundos e coleções importantes para questões relacionadas com descolonização, direitos humanos, justiça social, e outras, ultrapassar as tensões ainda existentes no domínio do acesso, conciliando os aspectos do foro técnico, metodológico e teórico da Arquivística, com a necessidade de um posicionamento mais ativista, e, no caso em apreço, em prol do direito à memória do povo timorense. As tecnologias digitais hoje ao dispor das organizações e dos cidadãos permitem que, cada vez mais, se possa difundir informação local e globalmente, justificando-se um investimento neste domínio.

Porém, se os recursos digitais oferecem a possibilidade de providenciar o acesso aos arquivos e ultrapassar distâncias, subsiste um longo e complexo caminho de negociações no campo da memória e do acesso à informação, onde se jogam interesses diversos e questões legais, para as quais a tecnologia não dá resposta.

Uma das formas de atuação neste campo é a que pode ser desenvolvida pelos arquivos das comunidades através do investimento em documentar uma memória plural, além daquela que é prosseguida pelas instituições governamentais ou agências corporativas, promovendo maior transparência. Outra forma é através da própria investigação que pode ser desenvolvida nos arquivos, trazendo à luz factos e interpretações da História menos compreendidas ou até suprimidas. Finalmente, o trabalho dos próprios arquivistas pode ser mais consciente socialmente, defendendo os arquivos como espaço de inclusão, mesmo sob a necessidade de orientação ética face a questões de segurança e de legislação que impedem o acesso integral ao património documental das sociedades.

Os arquivos são parte fundamental para conhecer a História de forma consciente, sendo especialmente importante para as sociedades e comunidades em que a construção ou reconstrução de identidades e a recuperação da memória é fundamental. Para a sociedade timorense, que obteve a sua independência ainda

recentemente, cumpre discutir em que termos esta pode alcançar o conhecimento de parte da sua própria história, documentada em arquivos que lhe estão distantes e, em grande parte, sujeitos a condicionalismos de acesso.

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14. Negosia poder memorializasaun iha Timor Leste

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Negosia poder memorializasaun iha Timor Leste

Comissão Acolhimento, Verdade e Reconciliação (CAVR) harii iha tinan 2001 hodi halo investigasaun ba violasaun direitu umanu ne'ebé mosu tanba konflitu polítku hosi tinan-1974 to'o 1999, iha Timor-Leste. Iha tinan 2005, "Chega!" – CAVR nia relatório final – hatada tiha rekomendasau 204 ba Presidente Kay Rala Xanana Gusmão. Tada-ne'e, iha rekomendasau hirak hotu, "Relatório Chega!" hato'o liuliu mak ida memorializasaun nian. Hahú kellas 2002, governu Timor-Leste harii memoriál barak, monumentu no práktika tau-naran oioin hodi hanoin hikas no selebra asu'ain sira. maibé sira la tau matan ba materalrestu sira, nune'e sei iha nesesidade barak memorializasaun nian kona materalrestu sira-nia partisipasaun no tulun-lisuk. Artigu ida-ne'e halibur Sentru Memoriál Timor-Leste (Centro Nacional Chega!, CNC) nia hanoin no atividade sira hodi haree hamutuk kona-ba kestaun memorializasaun, nomós kazu memorializasaun komunitáriu rua ne'ebé harii tiha ho CNC nia tulun. Ho nune'e, vítima sira haree katak, hafoin mosu tiha violénsia iha tempu naruk, importante tebes selebra no hanoin hikas eventu no fatin istóriku sira ne'ebé halo materalrestu sira bele haktuir sira-nia esperiénsia ba ema hotu ne'e. Memorializasaun iha Timor-Leste tenke nakloke ba ema hotu atubele ko'alia loloos kona-ba konflitu istóriku.

Politika Memória nian. Nacionalizmu. Centro Nacional Chega!. Práktika memorializasaun komunitáriu. Timor-Leste.

Negotiating the Power of Memorialization in Timor-Leste

In 2001, the Timor-Leste Commission for Reception, Truth and Reconciliation (CAVR) was established with the mandate to investigate human rights violations during the period of 1974-1999 in the context of political conflict in Timor-Leste. In 2005, Chega! – the final report of CAVR, with 204 recommendations – was presented to President Kay Rala Xanana Gusmão. Memorialization was one of the major recommendations of the Chega! Report.

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Since 2002, the East Timorese government has established various memorials, monuments and naming practices to memorialize and celebrate “heroes.” Yet these fall short of meeting the needs of survivors by leaving grassroot demands for memorialization unfulfilled. This paper discusses the views and activities of East Timor’s National Centre of Memory (Centro Nacional Chega!, CNC) on the issue of memorialization, including two cases of community memorialization undertaken in partnership with the CNC. Given that victims regard memorialization as very important in the aftermath of violence, commemoration of historical events and sites that provide opportunities for survivors to speak out about their experiences and have these publicly recognized is vital. Memorialization in Timor-Leste must be inclusive in order to address historical conflict.

Memory Policies. Nationalism. Centro Nacional Chega!. Community memorialization practices. Timor-Leste.

Negociação do Poder da Memória em Timor-Leste

A Comissão Acolhimento, Verdade e Reconciliação (CAVR) foi criada em 2011 com o desígnio de investigar as violações de direitos humanos ocorridas no período entre 1974 e 1999, no contexto do conflito político de Timor-Leste. Em 2005, o Relatório Chega! – o relatório final da CAVR, com 204 recomendações – foi entregue ao Presidente da República Kay Rala Xanana Gusmão. A memorialização foi uma das principais recomendações do relatório Chega! Desde 2002, o governo de Timor-Leste tem criado e estabelecido diversos memoriais, monumentos e práticas de nomeação para memorializar e celebrar os/as seus/suas heróis/heroínas. Contudo, o que foi feito não é ainda suficiente face às necessidades dos sobreviventes, encontrando-se ainda por preencher algumas exigências fundamentais de memorialização. O presente artigo examina as perspetivas e as atividades do Centro Nacional Chega! (CNC) no que se refere à questão da memorialização, nomeadamente dois casos específicos de memorialização comunitária, realizada em parceria com o CNC. Tendo em conta que, na perspetiva das vítimas, a memorialização é fundamental nos períodos pós-violência, torna-se vital a comemoração de eventos e lugares históricos, oferecendo aos sobreviventes a oportunidade de relatarem as suas experiências e obter o seu reconhecimento público. É imperativo que a memorialização em Timor-Leste seja inclusiva de forma a melhor abordar este conflito histórico.

Políticas de Memória. Nacionalismo. Centro Nacional Chega!. Práticas comunitárias de memorialização. Timor-Leste.

Lia Makloke

Iha tinan 2005, wainhira Relatoriu no Rekomendasaun Chega! entrega ba Prezidenti Republika, S.E. Kayrala Xanana Gusmao, memorializasaun sai nudar rekomendasaun importante ida husi prosesu Comissao Acolhimento, Verdade e Reconciliacao (CAVR) nian. Memorializasaun konsidera nudar prosesu fundamen-

tal ida iha kontestu formasaun no harii estadu. Komemorasaun tenki hatur iha kontestu ida ne'ebe rekoneze katak ema ida-idak nia memoria la'o iha enkuadramentu sosio-politiku ida. Sondazen resente sira hosi vitima violasaun sira hatudu katak memorializasaun mak prioridade da-ruak ho valor boot liu hosi forma sira reparasaun ne'ebe Estadu harii, hafoin kompensasaun monetariu (Brett, et al 2008, 2). Forma seluk hosi memorializasaun mak bele hamosu iha forma sira hanesan justisa no rekonsiliasaun, fo perdaun (simu sala) no retribuisaun, no hanoin hikas no haluha (Moore, 2009).

Hahu kedes tinan 2002, Governu harii ona memorial oi-oin hodi hanoin hikas no selebra eroi sira iha forma sira hanesan tau ema eminente sira nia naran ba luron, avenida, eskola sira, no harii estatua sira nudar aktu ida memorializasaun nian, maibe husik hela lia halerik sira hosi komunidade konaba memorializasaun. Por exemplu, tuir vitima feto ida hosi Lospalos, “Hau hakarak hodi fila hau nia la'en nia ruin fila, nune'e, hau bele hakoi nia ho didiak.” (Testimonia, 28 Abril 2008).

Opsaun sira ne'e, sobrevivente no Estadu sira sempre infrenta laos deit oinsa mak atu memorializa, maibe iha forma ida oinsa no to'o iha ambitu ida ne'ebe. Diak liu mak, memorial sira tenki tulun hodi kura kanek antagonism nian no fanun ema ida-idak atu refleta konaba saida mak sir abele halo hodi prevene violasaun iha future (Brett, et al, 2008, 3). Karik governu falla atu halo balansu ba poder memorializasaun nian, ne'e bele la fo importansia ba harii dame no rekonsiliasaun. Governu harii espasu “simboliku” politiku bele promove fali divizaun no fo mensazen represivu ba povu.

Negosiasaun konaba Memorializasaun (Komemorasaun) iha Timor-Leste tenki hatur iha kontestu inklusivu hodi responde ba konflitu istoriku. Tan ne'e mak komemorasaun tenki hala'o iha kamada oioin no nesesita kontestualizasaun ne'ebe forte hodi bele komprende pasadu.

Relatoriu Chega! introdus konseitu Memorializasaun nudar metodu ida hodi halo reparasaun koletiva hodi promove memorializasaun nasional liu hosi konsulta ho vitima no parte interesante sira inklui governu. Programa Memorializasaun tenki halao bazeia ba guia ida hodi halao seremonia komemorasaun ba atrocidade sira ne'ebe mak temi ona iha Relatoriu Chega! liu hosi komemorasaun eventu istoriku sira, harii memorial-monumentu hodi fo onra no hanoin hikas vitima sira hosi violasaun direitu umanus iha nivel komunidade no nasional. Memorializasaun mos bele halo hosi dezenvolve materia edukativu sira konaba istoria luta hodi defende direitu umanus, dezenvolve literatura popular, muzika no arte sira hodi hanoin hikas hodi promove kultura paz nian.

Depois de dekada rua, hahu mosu memorial sira iha sosiedade nia leet, liu-liu iha nivel komunidade sira iha nivel munisipais to'o ba suku sira. To'o tinan 2020 memorial sira ne'ebe mak harii iha sitiu istoriku sira mak hanesan tuir mai:

Tabela I.

Nu	Memorial	Objetivu	Lokalidade	Inisiadór
1	Memorial Invasaun, 7 Dezembru 1975 iha Mota Maloa	Komemora komunidade Bairo Pité ne'ebé Militar Indonézia oho iha loron Invazaun	Suku Maloa, Bairo Pite, Dili	Inisiativa Komunidade no familia vitima
2	Memorial Levantamentu Marabia 10 Junu 1982	Komemora vitima no komunidade sira ne'ebé partisipa iha levantamentu Marabia 1982	Marabia, Lahane, Dili	Komité Levantamentu Marabia no familia vitima
3	Memorial Ipikuru	Komemora vitima masakre Setembru 1999	Ipikuru, Com, Lautem	Familia Vitima, Igreja Katolika
4	Memorial Masakre Meti Oan, Wedauberek, Same	Komemora masakre ativista Fretilin ne'ebe UDT sira oho iha Agostu 1975	Wedauberek, Meti-oan, Same	Familia no kolega husi vitima sira
5	Memorial Setembru Negro 1999	Komemora masakre Igreja Nossa Senhora de Fatima iha tinan 1999	Igreja Nossa Senhora de Fatima, Suai	Familia vitima, igreja Katólica no Autoridade Lokál
6	Memorial Quibiselok no Tumin	Komemora vitima masakre Milisia Laksaur iha Outubru 1999 iha Oecussi	Quibiselok no Tumin, Pasabe, Oecussi	Familia Vitima
7	Memorial 7 Dezemburu 1975	Komemora vitima sira iha loron invazaun boot Indonézia nian iha loron 7-10 Dezembru 1975	Portu Dili, Dili	Centro Nacional Chega! no Familia vitima
8	Memorial ba Mateus Silvino, Setembru 1999	Memorial ne'ebé familia harii hodi fo omenajen ba Mateus Silvino	Maliana	Familia
9	Graffiti iha Lospalos ba Gerileiru no Populasaun Lospalos	Komunidade Artista Lospalos oan sira fó omenajen ba gerileiru no populasaun Lospalos neebe kontribui ba rezisténsia ba ukun-rasik-an	Lautem	Komunidade Artistiku Lospalos.

Fonte: Relatori Mapamentu Sitiu Istóriku Centro Chega! 2020.

Forma seluk memorializasaun nian mak komemorasaun eventu istoriku sira iha teritoriu Timor-Leste. Iha tinan 2018, Centro Chega! estabelese parseria ho Asosiasiun Vitima Konflitu Politiku (AVKP) hodi komemora eventu istoriku sira. To'o iha tinan 2020, Centro Chega! hamutuk ho familia vitima no autoridade lokal sira komemora ona eventu istoriku sira hanesan tuir mai:

Tabela II.

No	Eventu Istoriku	Fatin akontesimentu	Narativa badak
1	6 Abril 1999	Masakre Igreja Liquisa	Iha 6 Abril 1999, Milisia Besi Merah Putih hamutuk ho Militar no Polisia Indoneziaatake no oho ema sivil kuaze nain 30-60 iha Igreja Liquisa.
2	10 Junu 1980	Levantamentu Marabia, Dili	Iha 10 Junu 1980, Hafoin Falintil no populaun hao levantamento Marabia iha loron 10 Junu 1980, Militar Indoneziaoho kuaze ema 121 no destairu ema ba Atauro.
3	8 Agustu 1981	Levantamentu Mehara, Tutuala	Fulan Agostu 1981, iha Lautém, tropas Indonézia lori ema nain 13 ba ilha Jaco no ezekuta hotu iha fatin neé.
4	11 Agustu 1975	Aifu, Ermera	Iha 11 Agostu 1975, Fretilin oho militante UDT iha Prizaun Aifu, Ermera.
5	20 Agustu 1982	Mauchiga, hatubuilico	Iha 20 Agustu 1982, FALINTIL halo levantamento armada iha Suco Mauchiga, Ainaro.
6	20 Agustu 1982	Hatudu, Ainaro	CNC/DPAI halo ona Peskiza
7	26 Agustu 1999	Masakre Kuluhun, Dili	iha 26 Agostu 1999, Grupu Pro-Otonomia halo kampana ikus ida Dili no iha Kuluhun, sira oho hamate jema nain 8.
8	30 Agustu 1982	Rotuto, Manufahi	Militar Indoneziaoho, tortura, muda obrigatoriu, hamosu hamlaha no halo violasaun seksual ba populaun sira hafoin Levantamento Armada Falintil hasoru militar Indonesia.
9	27 Agostu 1975	Meti-oan, Wedauberek, Alas, Manufahi	Iha 27 Agostu 1975, militante UDT oho membru Fretilin iha Meti-Oan, Wedauberek, Alas, Same.
10	1 Setembru 1975	Aifu, Ermera	Iha 1 Setembru 1975, Militante UDT halo masakre ba Militante Fretilin ema nain 30.
11	2 Setembru 1999	Matadouro, Dili	Iha 2 Setembru 1999, milisia halo serku ba edefisiu UNAMET no oho funisionariu UNAMET Timoroan nain 2.
12	4 Setembru 1999	Au-hun, Becora, Dili	Iha 4 Setembru 1999, Milisia halo atake ba grupu Pro-Independensia iha Becora, Munsipiu Dili no oho ema nain 7.
13	4 setembru 1977	Mankatik Un, Laclo, Mantuto	Falintil hetan orden husi CCF hodi oho populaun nain 9 tan diskonfia iha ligasaun ho Prezidenti Francisco Xavier do Amaral atu tun mai rende.

(Cont.)

No	Eventu Istoriku	Fatin akontesimentu	Narativa badak
14	6 Setembru 1999	Igreja Nossa Senhora de Fatima, Suai	Milisia Laksaur no Militar Indoneziaatake no oho ema sivil 200 inklui Padre nain3 husi ema 2000 neebe refujia iha Igreja Suai.
15	7 Setembru 1983	Suku Kraras, Viqueque	Iha 7 Setembru 1983, Militar Indoneziaatake suku Kraras, oho ema 5 no sunu hotu kedas uma populasaun nian.
16	7 Setembru 1999	Laclo, Manatuto	Militar Indonezia oho populasaun nain 3 wainhira Militar Indonezia atu retira hosi Laclo ba Dili.
17	8 Setembru 1999	Eis POLRES, Maliana	Iha loron 8 Setembru 1999, TNI ho Milisia Halilintar atake oho ema 13 iha POLRES Maliana.
18	9 Setembru 1999	Tumin, Oecusse	Iha loron 9 Setembru 1999, Militar Indoneziano Milisia Sakunar oho ema 82 iha Boboufe-Tumin, Suku Bobometo, Oesilo, Oecusse.
19	Setembru 1975	Bobometo, Oesilo, Oecusse	Iha Setembru 1975, Militante Fretilin oho Militante APODETI nain 12.
20	8 Setembru 1983	Krarias, Viqueque	Iha 8 Setembru 1983, Falintil no populasaun Suku Krarias halo Levantamentu hasoru Militar Indoneziahia Krarias, Viqueque.
21	9 Setembru 1999	Mota Malau, Maliana	Iha 9 Setembru 1999, Militar Indoneziano Milisia Halilintar oho ema nain 9 iha Mota Malau Maliana.
22	12 Setembru 1999	Laktos, Fohorem, Suai	Iha 12 Setembru 1999, Militar Indoneziano Milisia Laksaur oho ema nain 7 iha Laktos, Fohorem, Suai.
23	17 Setembru 1982	Masakre Tahu bein, Viqueque	Iha 17 Setembru 1982, Militar Indoneziao ho populasaun iha Suku Tahu Bein, Viqueque.
24	23 Setembru 1999	Masakre Suku Maununu, Ainaro	Iha 23 Setembru 1999, Militar Indoneziano Milisia oho populasaun iha Suku Maununu, Ainaro
25	25 Setembru 1999	Masakre Aipikuru, Lautem	Iha 25 Setembru 1999, Milisia Tim Alfa, oho ema nain 9 inklui Clero nain 5, Jornalista nain 1 husi Indoneziahia ema sivil nain 2 iha Aipikuru, Lautem.
26	15–16 Outobru 1975	Masakre Balibo Maliana	Iha 16 Outobru 1975, Militar Indonesia, atake Balibo no oho jornalista internasional nain lima, kunesidu ho the Balibo Five.

(Cont.)

No	Eventu Istoriku	Fatin akontesimentu	Narativa badak
27	20 Outobru 1999	Masakre Maquelab, Oecusse	Iha 20 Outubru 1999, Milisia Sakunar ho Aitarak hamutuk TNI halo serku ba Komunitade husi Suci Maquelab, Oecusse no oho ema nain 12.
28	12 Novemburu 1991	Masakre Santa Cruz, Dili	Iha loron 12 Novemburu 1991, Militar Indoneziaoho – masakre kuaze ema nain 200 iha Semiteriu Santa Cruz, Dili.
29	22 Novemburu 1978	Masakre Lakudala, Quelicai, Baucau	Iha 22 Novemburu 1978, TNI halo atake aero ba fohu Matebian no oho populasaun barak iha mumentu neé.
30	28 Novemburu 1975	Hatulia, Ermera	Iha 28 Novemburu 1975, lokraik tuku 17:55 Fretilin proklama Unilateralmente Independensia RDTL iha Palacio Governo, Dili.
31	1976	Masakre Luafalu, Suku Soba, Laga, Baucau	Iha tinan 1976 militar Indoneziaoho ema 100 resin, iha Luafalu Natarisi, Suku Soba, Postu Laga, Municipiu Baucau.
32	Novemburu 1978	Aldeia Euvai, Suco Soba, Laga, Baucau	Aldeia Euvai, Suku Soba, Laga, Baucau TNI uza nudar sentru detensaun no torturasaun ba populasaun sira neebe mak rende.
33	7 Dezembru 1975	Masakre Iha Dili	Iha loron 7 Dezembru 1975 Militar Indonezia invade Kapital RDTL, Dili no iha loron ne'e Militar Indonezia oho ema kuaze 100.
34	8 Dezembru 1975	Masakre Portu, Dili	Iha 8 Dezembru 1975 Militar Indoneziaoho ema sivil sira iha Portu Dili, inklui Isabel Lobato, Rosa Muki Bonaparte, Francisco Borja da Costa no Jornalista Australiano, Roger East.
35	8 Dezembru 1983	Masakre Muapite, Lospalos	Iha 8 Dezembru 1983, Militar Indoneziaoho ema nain 5 iha Muapite, Lospalos.
37	7-8 Dezembru	Toko Lay, Dili	Iha 17 Dezembru 1975, Militar Indonézia oho ema Xina Timor nain 13 iha areadores Toko Lay, Dili.
38	7 Dezembru 1975	Matadouro, Dili	Iha 7 Desembru 1975, Militar Indonézia oho mane nain lima, iha areidores Matadouru, Dili.
39	7-8 Setembru 1975	Mota Maloa, Dili	Iha 7-8 Desembru 1975, Militar Indoneziaoho kuaze ema nain 8 iha Mota Maloa, Dili.
40	31 Dezembru 1978	Loron Herois Nasional Timor Loste	Iha 31 Dezembru 1978, Prezidente Fretilin Nicolao Lobato mate iha kombate hasoru Militar Indonezia iha Mindelo, Turiscai.

Fonte: Relatorio Annual Komemorasaun eventu Istoriku, Centro Chega!, 2018-2020.

Hari'i memorial no eventu komemorativu sira ne'e hotu nudar dalan ida atu haklaken lia lo'os no husu responsabilidade konaba atrosidade violasaun direitu umanus pasadu nian hamosu mos kestaun importante sira konaba kontribuisaun memorializasaun nudar kontribuisaun ida ba harii sosiedade pos-konflitu nian.

Paper ida ne'e bazeia ba observasaun pesoal no mos experiensia empiriku hosi Centro Chega! relatoriu komemorasaun sira no observasaun hosi ema no entidade sira ne'ebe mak durante ne'e organiza eventu komemorativu sira hanesan Asosiasiun Vitima Timor-Leste no komunidade no mos grupu estudante no juventude sira ne'ebe mak durante ne'e servisu hamutuk hodi organiza komemorasaun sira. Obra ida ne'e, koko atu haklaken deit observasaun sira konaba oinsa mak komemorasaun sira hala'o iha Timor-Leste, se mak involve no saida mak efeitu hosi komemorasaun sira sobrevivente, lider sira iha nivel lokal no nasional, no jerasaun foun sira.

Negosia Poder Komemorasaun

Konseitu sira ne'ebe mak introdus ona iha Programa Reparausaun haktuir Relatoriu Chega! alina mos ho konseitu teoretika sira konaba Memorializasaun – nudar forma ida reparasaun koletiva iha mekanismu sira justisa tranzitoriu nian sira.

Memorializasaun iha kontestu Justisa Tranzitoriu nian iha hodi fo onra ba vitima sira hosi violasaun sira direitu umanus nian. Memorial sira bele tulun governu hodi rekonsilia tensaun ho vitima liu-hosi hatudu respeitu no fo rekunesementu ba pasadu. Memorial sira mos bele tulun hodi dokumenta memoria istoriku no prevene repetisaun hosi violasaun sira (Hirst 2008).

Hahu iha dekade 1990 nian, hahu mosu diskusaun no peskiza akademiku sira konaba Memoria politiku no komemorasaun iha disiplina sira siensia sosias nian hodi kompriende relasaun entre Istoria, Identididade, Movimentu Sosial no Relasaun Sosial sira. Hafoin Maurice Halbwachs hakerek livru *On Collective Memory* (kona ba memoria kolektivu), siensia sosial hahu halo ezaminasaun konaba oinsa mak pasadu afeita prezente. Foku hosi estudu konaba memoria sira ne'e mak hakarak atu explora oinsa mak komunidade, movimentu sira no nasaun hanoin hikas (*remember*) sira nia pasadu hodi estabelese sensu solidaridade no sensu esepsionalidade iha sira nia komunidade ne'ebe mak boot liu. Iha ninia konseptu kona ba nasaun, Benedict Anderson (2006) hatudu katak iha nasaun ida sidadaun sira persiza memoria kolektivu hodi kria no halo manutensaun projeitu nasional sira nian.

Mekanismu sira justisa tranzitoriu nia aprosimasaun konaba memorializasaun diferente ho aprosimasaun estudu memoria sira iha sosioloxia. Justisa tranzitoriu

haree memoria no memorializasaun nudar konseitu ida sosiedade pos-konflitu sira hatan no responde ba legadu sira hosi atrosidade pasadu nian sira. Sosiologu sira foku ba oinsa esperiensia komunidade nian iha sira nia esforsu atu relembra pasadu, literatura sira konaba justisa tranzitoriu foku liu ba instrumentu no medida sira judisial no non-judisial sira ne'ebe mak implementa ona iha rai-seluk hodi hatan no responde ba legadu sira hosi violasaun direitus umanus boot sira (De Yeaza and Fox, 2013).

Iha kontestu Timor-Leste nian, memorializasaun sai tiha asuntu ne'ebe mak tenki negosia entre autoridade sira ne'ebe mak iha poder atu implementa programa reparasaun no sentimento sira hosi vitima sira. Narativa vitima nian refere responde ho lia kmo'ok sira hosi lider sira durante audensia publiqua CAVR nian ne'ebe hatur katak, paz tenki sai sentru hosi komemorasaun memoria pasadu nian hodi kontinua fo konfiansa ba vitima sira hodi kontribui signifikante iha dezenvolvimentu Timor-Leste nian bazeia ba sira nia kapasidade atu simu pasadu nee nudar forsa boot ida husi sosiedade nian.

Iha Audensia Publiqua Nasional kona ba konflitu politiku internu, loron 15-18 Dezembru 2003, saudozu Prezidente Francisco Xavier do Amaral hatete katak se ita hakarak halo dame ba Timoroan sira, tenke halo ho didi'ak... ita tenta no tenke tenta bebeik, ita labele haluha atu eduka ita-nia ema sira no ita-nia povu para sira bele perdua malu."

Nune'e mos Primeiru-Ministru RDTL iha tempu ne'eba, Dr. Mari Alkatiri hatete nune'e: "Kapasidade povu-nian hodi halo sakrifisiu boot atu manan independénsia ne'e, nu'udar lisaun boot ida para ita hanoin ba oin." Saudozu João Carrascalao hatutan mós katak Ita nasaun ida, iha ona moris foun ida, ita persiza hetan hahalok foun ida, ita hotu fó ita-nia kontribuisaun hodi buka moris foun ida.

Prezidenti Republika RDTL iha tempu ne'eba, Kay Rala Xanana Gusmão, bainhira taka audiénsia públiku ne'e iha tempu ne'ebá hato'o, "...povu sei hakarak, tamba ita-nia futuru kaer hela ba ita-nia promesa boot sira. Futuru ida iha demokráśia, futuru ida respeitu malu, futuru ida iha hodi hanoin – ho partisipaun konsiente, responsavel hosi hotu-hotu no ida – idak nia kapasidade –, ita sei halo Timor ida boot duni."

Maibe, narativa inspirativu sira ne'e, nakfilak tiha nudar narativa ne'ebe la enkoraza hodi estabelese politika no programa reparasaun sira. Iha seremonia simu Relatoriu Chega!, Kent (2012, p. 133) sita Prezidenti Kay Rala Xanana ne'ebe hatete wainhira simu relatorio ne'e:

I must say that, upon learning about the content of the Report, I concluded that both Prime-Minister Ramos-Horta and myself were right when we said that the best justice, the true justice, was the recognition by the international community

of the right of self-determination and independence the people of Timor-Leste have... the goal was to liberate our homeland because only with a liberated Homeland, could all the people enjoy better living condition as the product of their rights. And this goal was much too important for us to consider individual sacrifices.

Nune'e mos Dr. Jose Ramos Horta hatete katak governu Timor-Leste nian la fiar katak ita tenki fo kompensasaun ba vitima individual sira tanba iha rihun ba rihun ema nebe afetadu husi violensia direitu ka indireitamentu. Ema nain rihun ba rihun mak mate ka "lakon." Difisil tebe-tebes, iha ninia opiniaun, se Estadu tenki identifika ema ida-idak nebe dehan katak sira mak vitima durante tinan ruanulu resin ha'at nia laran (Kent, 2012, 134).

Maske seidauk iha peskiza hodi halo Justifikasiun karik tan lider sira nia narativa ne'e mak impede tiha implementasaun rekomendasau Chega! nian, inklui programa reparasaun sira, maibe hahu keda hosi tinan 2005-2017, memorializasaun nudar parte ida hosi programa reparasaun nian la hetan apoiu masimu hosi governu nasional to'o ba autoridade sira iha nivel munisipais.

Iha tinan 2008, ICTJ halo peskiza ida hatene karik vitima no sosiedade sira hetan ona resposta balun hosi Rekomendasau Chega! nian. Deklarasaun sira tuir mai kontinua hatudu katak programa memorializasaun iha forma sira kolektivu nian seidauk implementa:

Hau hirus tan autor moris ho ami iha suku ne'e. Ema ne'ebe oho no tortura ami nia familia nunka admite hahalok sala ne'ebe sira halo (Vitima-Mane, hosi Lospalos, 2008).

Hau hakarak hau nia la'en nia mate-restu fo fila mai hau, nune'e hau bele hakoi nia ho dignu (Vitima-Feto, hosi Same, 2008).

Dala-ruma labarik sira sai frustradu tan ema bolu sira: Indonezia nia oan eh "militar nia oan". Dala-ruma sira nia inan sai frustradu tan ema hatene nia militar nia feen (Vitima-mane, Ainaro, Abril 16, 2008).

Bazeia ba esperiensia empiriku sira iha leten, iha tinan 2019, Centro Chega! introduz Programa Memorializasaun Integrado ho objetivu jeral mak atu fo oportunidade ba Diskursu Publiku ne'ebe aseita katak existe narrativa oi-oin (*multiple narratives*) no esperiensia oi-oin, ne'ebe mak fo impaktu ba harii paz, justisa no asegura katak violensia konflitu pasadu sei la akontese tan (*non-recurrence of violent conflict*). Programa Memorializasaun mos intende atu koleta, arkiva no estabelese plataforma oi-oin hodi ema sira bele partisipa liu hosi hato'o sira nia memoria sira konaba pasadu. Liu hosi involvimentu no partisipasaun publiku iha Pro-

grama Memorializasaun nian sira, tenki sai nudar fatin ida ba publiku atu fo rekonsementu ba memoria sira ne'e no mos nudar hahalok ida atu prezerva memoria pasadu nian. Konseitu memoria iha ne'e refere ba ema nia istoria no lembransa iha aprosimasaun justisa tranzitoriu nian no laos aprosimasaun siensi sosial nian konaba "Estudu Memoria" nian.

Objetivu espesifiku hosi Programa Memorializasaun Integradu mak:

- 1 – Harii plataforma ba ema no komunidade hosi parte etnik-kultural no politika sira atu fahe sira nia istoria no involve komunidade iha dialogu no memorializasaun
- 2 – Atu Prezerva memoria istoriku liu hosi arkiva no dezamina narativa sira ba publiku
- 3 – Atu fasilita prosesu kompriensaun komun konaba politika no programa sira oinsa mak utiliza memoria istoriku sira.

Maske nune'e, refleta ba esperiencia sira antes 2019, Centro Chega! dezena Programa Memorializasaun Integradu bazeia ba asumsaun sira hanesau tuir mai:

- Ema bai-bain sira kontribui ba konflitu tan sira nia ignoransia ba malu nia esperiencia no la koko atu buka abut hosi konflitu ne'ebe mak halo sira vulneravel liu no fasil atu hetan manipulasaun hosi ema eh entidade sira ne'ebe mak iha interesse
- Ema bai-bain sira persiza involve ho grupu oi-oin hodi bele hakloot divisionismu iha sira nia komunidade rasik moluk atu asegura katak violensia la repepe tan iha grupu sira boot liu
- Katak fanun fali memoria ema ida nian sei hamosu katarsis, maibe hamosu empati ba ema seluk ne'ebe mak hetan esperiencia hosi violasaun sei hamentin fier ba malu
- Fo hanoin ba malu konaba esperiencia sira violasaun nian no fahe valor sira entre grupu etniku no politika sei kria konesaun no opurtunidade ba paz, liu-liu entre jerasaun foun sira ne'ebe mak laiha eh la hetan esperiencia direta konaba violensia iha sira nia moris
- Katak wainhira iha kompriensaun konaba konflitu, sei tulunema hodi ihaabilidade atu kunesa sinal inisiu nian hosi konflitu nune'e sir abele hamentin komunidade nia reseliensia.

Durante periodu 2019 to'o 2020, liu hosi implementasaun programa Komenorasaun Eventu Istoriku sira hatudu ona sentimentu sira hosi vitima sira iha aspeitu sira hanesau tuir mai:

Kura Kanek

Vitima no sobrevivente hosi atrosidade violasaun direitus umanus pasaduhan sira, liu utiliza komemorasaun Eventu Istoriku sira nudar dalan ida atu fahe tiha todan eh sira nia sofrementu durante tinan naruk. Sofrementu sira ne'e sira tutur laos deit durante periodu okupasaun Indonezia nian maibe mos dala barak mak sira kontinua sente tan komunidade sira nunka hatene razaun hosi sira nia aktusaun.

Sobrevivente ida hosi Rotutu hatete: “Hau obrigatoriu sai nudar “Bapak Nia Feen” hodi salva ema Rotutu (Vitima – Feto, Rotutu, 29 Agostu 2020).” Sobrevivente ne'e ba Centro Chega! hatete katak, hafoin hato'o tiha nia deklarasaun ba publiku, nia agora sente kma'an ona tan saida mak durante ne'e komunidade duun ba nia, liu hosi eventu komemorasaun ne'e nia iha opurtunidade atu isplika ba komunidade. Nia sente hetan respeitu no onradu.

Aktu Rekonsiliatoriу

Iha komemorasaun tinan 38 Levantamento Marabia no nia konsekuensia sira, eis Komandante Falintil ida, publikamente husu diskulpa ba familia hosi HANSIP Timoroan ida ne'ebe mak Komandante ne'e tenki tiru mate hodi bele kontinua halo levantamentu. Iha okaziaun ne'e Komandante ne'e mos husu diskulpa ba Komunidade Dare no Marabia.

Aktu rekonsiliatoriу mos akontese iha uma kain (familia). Laen ida hosi vitima violasaun seksual hafoin Masakre Setembru Negru iha Suai, iha 1999, liu hosi Komemorasaun Masakre Setembru Negru iha tinan 2019, deklara katak, “Hau simu hau nia feen maske nia liu hahalok aat oi-oin iha 1999 (Mane, Suai, 2019)”.

Aktu rekonsiliatoriу mos halao durante periodu komemorasaun eventu Levantamento Rotutu no nia konsekuensia sira. Komunidade Rotutu no Komunidade Betanu ne'ebe mak uluk desteiru hosi Rotutu halao seremonia ritual tradisional hodi kesi fali sira nia ligasaun uma lisan nian. Komunidade orijin Betano mos simu Komunidade Rotutu sira hodi kesi metin ligasaun tradisaun ne'ebe mak kotu tiha durante tinan 38 nia laran.

Komemorasaun Eventu Istoriku Levantamento Rotutu no nia atrosidade sira refleta liu husi memorializaun ne'ebe mak halao iha Suku Rotuto, Manufahi iha 30 Agostu 2020.

Komemorasaun Eventu Istoriku Rotuto, Manufahi

Levantamentu Rotuto akontese iha loron 20 Agostu 1982, wainhira komunitade hamutuk ho forsa Falintil organiza levantamentu armada hasoru Militar Indonezia iha Rotuto, Manufahi. Levantamentu ne'e rezulta ba oho komunidade, detensaun no tortura, violasaun seksual ba feto sira no mos muda obrigatoriu komunidade Rotuto ba hela iha Betano. Tan klima ne'ebe mak diferente, lalaok atividade agrikula ne'ebe mak mos direferente iha Rotuto no Betano, no mos iha restrisaun ba movimentu populasaun nian, rezulta ba ema Rotuto nain 300 resin mate tan hamlaha no moras iha Betano, Manufahi.

Komemorasaun iha Rotuto, Manufahi nudar komemorasaun ida ne'ebe mak foins halao ba dala uluk hafoin tinan 40. Komemorasaun halo ho kombinasau fo oportunidade ba vitima no sobrevivente sira atu hatoo sira nia memoria no refleisaun, seminariu konaba importansia memorializasaun nian halo mos seremonia nahe biti bot hodi halo rekonsiliasaun entre komunidade Rotuto no Betano.

Atividade komemorasaun masakre akontese loron 30 Agustu 2020 iha Suku Rotuto, Manufahi. Partisipante ba aktividade seminar, komemorasaun neb'e hahu ho misa, kari aifunan no seremonia simu malu rekonsiliasaun hamutuk ema 1.000 resin. Iha loron 29 Agostu 2020 realiza seminariu ba komemorasaun levantamento Rotuto ho tema “Refleta Ba Pasadu Hodi Hatutan Historia” iha sede suku Rotuto.² Iha loron terseru 30 Agostu 2020 halo konvoi husi suku Rotuto ba Betano hodi realiza seremonia Nahe Biti Boot, entre Komunidade Rotuto no Komunidade Betano. Seremonia Nahe Biti Boot ne'e nudar aktu rekonsiliatoriu entre Komunidade Rotuto no Betano ne'ebe durante tinan 20 nia laran hela hamutuk iha Betano. Seremonia Nahe Biti Bo'ot ka simu malu ne'e mos nudar aktu rekonesimentu hodi kesi amizade entre parte rua iha futuru. Depois Seremonia Nahe Biti Bo'ot ka simu malu nian remata kontinua ho kari aifunan ba martires sira iha Simeteriu Raifusa, Betano.

Sobrevivente, Senora Alda Americo Silva hatete iha seminariu katak Kome- morasaun ne'e nudar opurtunidade ba nia no sobrevivente sira seluk atu koalia sai sira nia sentiment ne'ebe mak sira rai mesak durante tinan 40 nia laran. Nudar

2. Orador sira ba seminariu ne'e mak Amandio A. da Costa, Administrador Postu Administrativu Same ne'ebe reprezenta Administrador Munisipiu Manufahi, Alino da Cruz, Komandante, PNTL Eskuadra Same, nebe koalia konaba papel joventude suku hodi kontribui ba dezenvolvimentu nasional, Nelson Miranda, Rep. Diretur Ezekutivu Centro Chega! koalia konaba politika Centro Chega! hodi fo asistensia sosial ba vitima vulneravel sira no konserva memoria sobrevivente hodi sistematiza memoria pasadu liga ho Komunidade Ida Istoria Ida, Domingos P. A. Moniz, Kordenador Asosiasau Vitima 74-99 koalia konaba Papel ASV hodi fo apoio ba vitima period 74-99 no reprezentante sobrevivente, Alda Americo Silva.

vitima eskravidaun sexual militar Indonesia nian durante komunidade Rotutu destera iha Betano. nia hatete katak durante ne'e sira nia istoria sira falun hela iha sira nia laran, maibe ho komemorasaun ne'e sira bele konta-sai ba publiku no hanesan kasu todan ne'ebe durante ne'e sira rai deit iha fuan, "Ho komemorasaun ne'e bele fo oportunidade ba vitima sira hodi konta sira nia istoria ne'ebe durante tinan barak ema lahatene, maibe liu husi sira nia istoria ne'ebe sira konta ema barak bele hatene sira nia sofrementu no involvimentu iha luta litertasaun patria. Sobrevivente, Sra. Alda mos hatete katak ho komemorasaun ne'e halo sira sai unidu liu tan no halakon tiha diskonfiansa ba malu no mos hakotu tiha stigmatizasaun nudar vitima violasaun seksual iha komunidade nia oin.

Aktu Diginifikasi saun ba Vitima

Programa Komemorasaun sira ne'ebe mak durante ne'e hala'o ona iha nivel komunidade sira mos ba vitima sira sai tiha seremonia dignifikasi saun ba sira. Domingos Moniz, sobrevivente no mos koordenador Sekretariadu Nasonal Asosiasaun Vitima Timor-Leste (AVTL) ne'ebe mak parseira ho Centro Chega! hodi halo komemorasaun sira hahu hosi 2018 to'o 2020 hatete katak, vitima no sobrevivente sira sente onradu no dignifikadu hafoin sira hato'o tiha sira nia testamuna ba publiku maske iha nivel komunidade deit.

Vitima sira mos kontinua ezizi atu eventu komemorativu sira tenki halo nafatin. Ba Centro Chega!, sobrevivente iha Komemorasaun Masakre iha Rotutu, Same ne'ebe mak foin halao komemorasaun ba dala-uluk iha 29 Agostu 2020, hato'o sira nia sentimentu hanesan tuir mai: "Ami hein eventu hanesan ne'e kleur loos ona. Ohin ami sente onradu no dignifikadu ba ami nia partisipasaun iha luta ba ukun rasik aan maski liu hosi sofrementu sira."

Maske iha ona kompriensaun komun konaba valor hosi memorializasaun nudar Programa Reparasaun nian, maibe kontinua eziste narativa sira seluk hosi entidade balun iha nivel lokal. Debate konaba vitima no eroi kontinua domina preparasaun sira atu komemora eventu istoriku sira. Komemorasaun Masakre Makanik U'Un, Laclo ilustra oinsa mak komunidade demanda refleta importancia husi komemorasaun eh memorializasaun ba sira nia sofrementu.

Masakre iha Mankatik U'un, Laclo, Manatuto

Masakre Mankatik U'un, Laclo akontese iha 4 Setembru iha tinan 1975, wainhira Falintil oho populasaun nain sia ne'ebe mak membru Partidu Uniaun

Demokratiku Timorense (UDT). Atividade komemorasaun ne’ebé realiza iha Mankatik U’un, Postu Laklo, Municipiu Manatuto hahu hosi dia 3, to’o dia 4 Setembru 2020. Atividade durante loron rua ne’e, hahu ho dialogu komunitariu, refleiksaun, Misa no vizita ba sitiu masakre Mankatik, Hatukonan, Laclo hodi kari aifunan. Komemorasaun ne’e hetan partisipasaun maximu hosi komunidade, familia vitima no sobrevivente sira.³

Iha dialog komunitaria ne’e, Ministru Justisa, Dr. Manuel Carceres hateten Laclo oan sira nia terus durante tinan 45 seidauk hetan rekonesementu maibe ema mate iha fatin seluk governo konsidera no halo ona monumentu. Dr. Carceres ne’ebé mos nudar sasin moris ba akontesementu ne’ebé ema nain 9 mate iha Mankatik Matan. Ministru Justisa ne’ebé mak marka prezensa iha eventu ne’ebé hodi fo omenajem no onra ba Saudozu nain 9 ho sira seluk no ohin nia sai sasin hahu ho istoria foun, agradese tanba ohin Estadu liu husi Centro Chega! rekonesee ona Laclo nia sofrementu ba oin, Comite orientador sei hakerek istoria sira nee.

Iha komemorasaun Mankatik Matan, Laclo, reprezenta hosi comunidade mak Jaime Carceres no Domingos da Cruz nudar sasin no sobrevivente Masakre Mankatik Matan. Jaime Carceres hatete, “Komunidade no sobrevivente presta ami nia sentimento kontenti tamba Governu liu husi Centro Chega!, iha ona dalan naronan hodi rekonesee Laklo oan durante tinan barak nia laran. Komemorasaun ida ne’ebé foin mak primeira ves realiza iha ami nia suku ka Aldeia.” Carceres mos hatutan, “nudar sobrevivente hau sente kontenti tanba ami bele koalia sai saida mak durante ne’ebé ami rai hela iha ami nia fuan no iha ami nia memoria ba publiku.” Da Cruz hato’o, “Hau kontenti tanba masakre Makatik Matan ba dala 45 ne’ebé, governu mai selebra hamutuk ho ami vitima no familia vitima hodi rona ami nia sofrementu no halerik. Ho komemorasaun ne’ebé bele fo oportunidade ba vitima sira hodi konta sira nia istoria ne’ebé durante tinan barak ema lahatene Laclo oan nia sofrementu, maibe liu husi sira nia istoria ne’ebé sira konta ema barak bele hatene sira nia sofrementu no kontribuisaun ba luta ba ukun rasik a’an.” Da Cruz mos hatete katak ho komemorasaun ne’ebé hodi hametin ami nia unidade hodi luta oinsa ezizi ba estadu atu rekonesee oan kiak no fetu faluk sira nia direitu.”

3. Iha komemorasaun ne’ebé marka prezensa Ministru Justisa, Manuel Carceres da Costa, reprezentante Centro Chega!. Aventino Ximenes, reprezentante ONG Asia Justice and Rights (AJAR), Inocencio Xavier no reprezentante Komite Orientador 25, Francisco Ximenes ne’ebé hatoou sira nia refleisaun. Partisipante sira kompostu husi mane 143 no fetu 110, sobrevivente nain 57, estudente 81, veteranu nain 6, autoridade nain 52 no komunidade nain 57.

Impaktu atividade memorializaun sira to'o ohin loron

Husi hahu'u to'o tinan 2020, Centro Chega! hamutuk ho komunidade no autoridade lokal sira komemora ona eventu istoriku haatnulu resin ida. Komenrasaun sira ne'e, hala'o bazeia ba iniciativa hosi sobrevivente sira ne'ebe mak hetan apoiu husi Centro Chega! no mos autoridade lokal no nasional sira.

Iha tinan 2020 deit, programa memorializaun liu husi komemorasaun eventu istoriku sira hetan ona partisipasaun diak hosi autoridade governu nian sira. Deklarasaun sira hosi komunidade no publiku sira hafoin komemorasaun sira hatudu katak liu hosi komemorasaun eventu istoriku sira sira hetan esplikasaun klaru hosi orador no sasin sobrevivente ba publiku, estudante sira no foin-sae'e sira konaba akontesementu pasadu sira.

Durante periodu tinan 2020, bele mos nota katak, iha ona mudansa pensamentu hosi autoridade governamentais sira konaba impaktu hosi programa memorializaun. Mudansa pensamentu ne'e, hatudu hosi partisipasaun membru governu no mos autoridade lokal sira iha komemorasaun eventu istoriku sira.⁴ Governu sira nia intervensaun iha komemorasaun sira ne'e bele konsidera hanesan indikasaun diak ba kompromisu Governo hodi toma atensaun ba programa sira memorializaun hanesan komemorasaun ba eventu ka fatin istoriku sira no tau matan ba sobrevivente ka vitima mais vulneravel.

Durante hala'o atividade komemorasaun loron istoriku sira nia impaktu ba publiku, sobrevivente, joven no parte relevantes hanesan tuir mai:

- Ho komemorasaun bele halakon dezentendimentu entre ema no bele kria situasaun perdua malu ka rekonsilia ba malu entre veteranu no sobrevivente sira.
- Vitima no sobrevivente sira sente sira nia sofrementu durante nee hetan ona rekonesementu husi publiku no líder governu sira.
- Komemorasaun eventu istoriku sira mos nudar dalan ida ba komunidade sira atu rekonsilia.

Iha tinan 2020, Centro Chega! halao sondazen publiku ida liu husi telefone ba respondent nain 402 hodi husu konaba serake publiku fiar katak komemorasaun sira bele hodi ema ba rekonsilasaun no paz, husi total responde nee, 66%

4. Membru governu sira inklui por ejemplu Ministro Justisa, Dr. Manuel Carceres da Costa iha komemorasaun masakre Mankatik Un, Laklo, Manatuto, Presidente Autoridade RAEOA, Dr. Arsenio Paixao Bano iha komemorasaun masakre iha Tumin, Passabe, Administrador Postu Laga-Baucau iha Komemorasaun Masakre iha Laga no mos Sr. Amandio Assuncao da Costa, Administrador Postu Manufahi, iha komemorasaun lenvatamento Rototu, iha Rototo, Manufahi.

hatete katak sira fiar katak komemorasaun eventu istoriku sira sei kontribui ba paz no rekonsiliaсаun. Impaktu signifikante eh notavel sira husi programa memorializasaun ne'ebe mak komunidade sira hala'o ona, prova mos saida mak Brett et al (2008, 2) hakerek katak, vitima violensia sira hato'o, liu hosi sondazen, katak memorializasaun, depois kompensasaun finanzieru hosi estadu, importante liu.

Konkluzaun

Esperiensiа empiriku dokumentada sira hatudu katak, maske iha narativa hosi autoridade sira hodi impede implementasaun rekomendasauн Chega! konaba politika reparasaun koletiva sira, maibe sobrevivente no komunidade sira konsidera komemorasaun nudar eventu ida hodi kura-kanek, rekonsiliaсаun no aktu ida hodi dignifika no fo onra ba sira nia partisipasaun iha luta ba ukun rasik aan.

Ba vitima no sobrevivente sira, programa reparasaun koletiva sira hanesan komemorasaun sira iha Timor-Leste importante tebes ba sira. Komemorasaun sai tiha nudar mekanismu ida atu kura kanek, hatoo sira nia memoria ba publiku, hetan rekunesementu no mos diginifikasiаun ba sira nia partisipasaun. Vitima no sobrevivente no mos komunidade sira hato'o tan sira nia konfiansa ba governante sira ne'ebe mak partisipa katak partisipasaun ativu hosi governante balun hosi nivel nasional to'o nivel lokal hatudu ona katak, poder atu negosia memorializaсаun hahu hetan atensaun diak no hatudu duni katak komemorasaun sira mos sai tiha plataforma hodi prezerva memoria pasadu nian, dignifika vitima no sobrevivente sira no mos sai nudar aktu rekonsiliatoriу iha komunidade nia. Estudu ho metodolozia apropiadiu tenki halo hodi bele hatete impaktu hosi Komemorasaun sira iha prosesu har'i paz, rekonsiliaсаun no konstrusaun estadu nian.

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